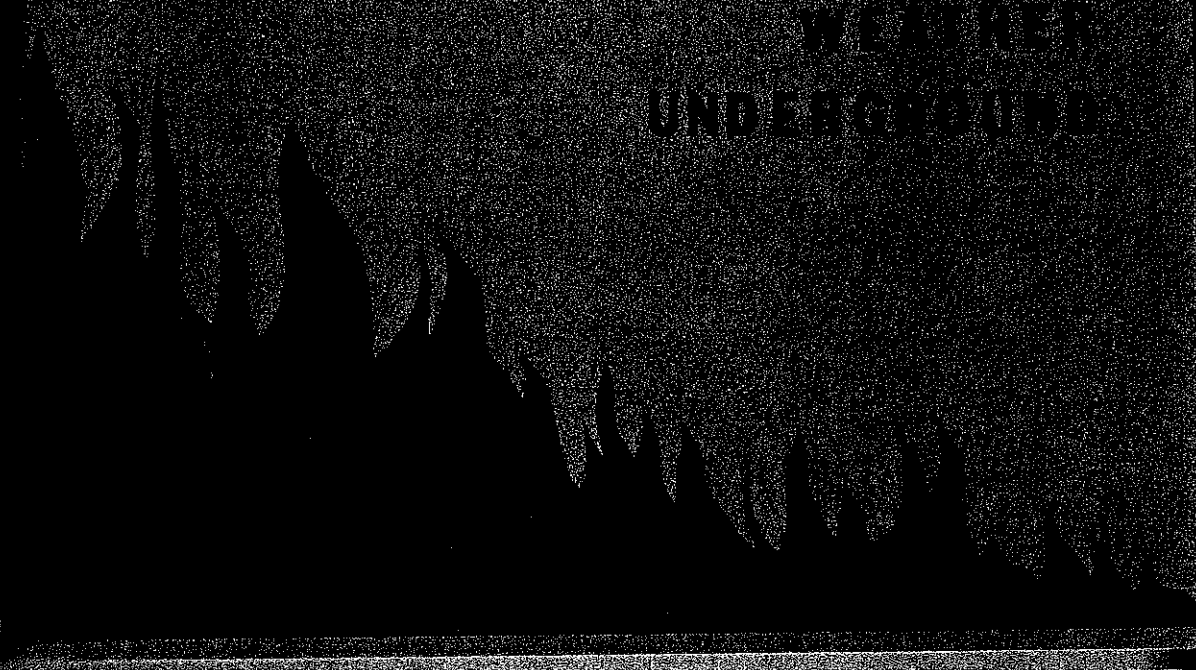


PRAIRIE FIRE

THE POLITICS OF REVOLUTIONARY
ANTI-IMPERIALISM

POLITICAL STATEMENT
OF THE

WEATHER
UNDERGROUND



PRAIRIE FIRE

The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism

The Political Statement of
the Weather Underground

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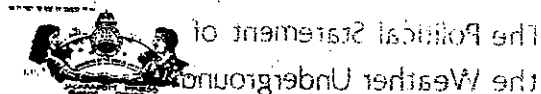
PRAIRIE FIRE

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The Politics of Revolutionary War

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To Harriet Tubman and John Brown

To All Who Continue to Fight

and

To All Political Prisoners in the U.S.

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May 9, 1974

Sisters and brothers,

Here is PRAIRIE FIRE, our political ideology - a strategy for anti-imperialism and revolution inside the imperial US. It comes out of our own practice of the last five years and reflects a diversity of experiences. This paper is not the product of one or two people, nor even a small handful of us. Rather PRAIRIE FIRE represents the politics and collective efforts of an organization. It has been the focus of our study groups and our political education. It has been chewed on and shaped in countless conversations, struggles and written pages. It has travelled around the country, growing, developing thru the attempt to understand the shape of world forces and the revolutionary possibilities before us. The paper was rewritten four times and collectively adopted as the political statement of the Weather Underground. The twelve-month process of writing PRAIRIE FIRE, squeezed between on-going work and practice and action, has now reached a kind of end-point. A cycle is done.

We undertook this analysis to explain the changes in US and world conditions since the Vietnam ceasefire and to evaluate the consequences of the Vietnamese victory. We have come some distance in evaluating the political situation, the priorities for revolutionary work since we began this writing. Now many more revolutionaries will need to shape and change the paper. The politics cannot be realized unless and until the content of the program is activated in thousands of situations, among thousands of people in the coming period. PRAIRIE FIRE will be a growing thing.

We hope the paper opens a dialectic among those in the mass and clandestine movements; we hope people will take PRAIRIE FIRE as seriously as we do, study the content and write and publish their views of the paper as well as their analysis of their own practice. We will respond as best we can.

Our movement urgently needs a concrete analysis of the particular conditions of our time and place. We need strategy. We need to battle for a correct ideology and win people over. In this way we create the conditions for the development of a successful revolutionary movement and party. We need a revolutionary communist party in order to lead the struggle, give coherence and direction to the fight, seize power and build the new society. Getting from here to there is a process of coming together in a disciplined way around ideology and strategy, developing an analysis of our real conditions, mobilizing a base among the US people, building principled relationships to Third World struggle, and accumulating practice in struggle against US imperialism.

PRAIRIE FIRE is written to communist-minded revolutionaries, independent organizers and anti-imperialists; those who carry the traditions and lessons of the struggles of the last decade, those who join in the struggles of today. PRAIRIE FIRE is written to all sisters and brothers who are engaged in armed struggle against the enemy. It is written to prisoners, women's groups, collectives, study groups, workers' organizing committees, communes, GI organizers, consciousness-raising groups, veterans, community groups and revolutionaries of all kinds; to all who will read, criticize and bring its content to life in practice. It is written as an argument against those who oppose action and hold back the struggle.

PRAIRIE FIRE is based on a belief that the duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution. This is not an abstraction. It means that revolutionaries must make a profound commitment to the future of humanity, apply our limited knowledge and experience to understand an ever-changing situation, organize the masses of people and build the fight. It means that struggle and risk and hard work and adversity will become our way of life, that the only certainty will be constant change, that the only possibilities are victory or death.

We have only begun. At this time, the unity and consolidation of anti-imperialist forces around a revolutionary program is an urgent and pressing strategic necessity. PRAIRIE FIRE is offered as a contribution to this unity of action and purpose. Now it is in your hands.

Bernardine Dohrn
Jeff Jones
Billy Ayers
Celia Sojourn

For the Weather Underground

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**I.
ARM THE SPIRIT**

That is good, because revolutionary spirit must always be present, revolutionary spirit must reveal itself. We must arm our spirits. When the spirit is armed, the people are strong.

Fidel Castro

Santiago, Chile

November 29, 1971

The unique and fundamental condition of this time is the decline of U.S. imperialism. Our society is in social and economic crisis and assumptions about the U.S. are turned on their heads. These are hard conditions to live through. But they are favorable for the people and for revolution.

These conditions of constant change demand the weapon of theory. Like people everywhere, we are analyzing how to bring to life the potential forces which can destroy U.S. imperialism.

We are a guerrilla organization. We are communist women and men, underground in the United States for more than four years. We are deeply affected by the historic events of our time in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Our intention is to disrupt the empire, to incapacitate it, to put pressure on the cracks, to make it hard to carry out its bloody functioning against the people of the world, to join the world struggle, to attack from the inside.

Our intention is to engage the enemy, to wear away at him, to harass him, to isolate him, to expose every weakness, to pounce, to reveal his vulnerability.

Our intention is to encourage the people, to provoke leaps in confidence and consciousness, to stir the imagination, to popularize power, to agitate, to organize, to join in every way possible the people's day-to-day struggles.

Our intention is to forge an underground, a clandestine political organization engaged in every form of struggle, protected from the eyes and weapons of the state, a base against repression, to accumulate lessons, experience and constant practice, a base from which to attack.

THE BANNER OF CHE

The only path to the final defeat of imperialism and the building of socialism is revolutionary war. Revolution is the most powerful resource of the people. To wait, to not prepare people for the fight, is to seriously mislead about what kind of fierce struggle lies ahead.

Revolutionary war will be complicated and protracted. It includes mass struggle and clandestine struggle, peaceful and violent, political and economic, cultural and military, where all forms are developed in harmony with the armed struggle.

Without mass struggle there can be no revolution.

Without armed struggle there can be no victory.

It will not be immediate, for the enemy is entrenched and intractable. It will require lengthy, deliberate political and armed





struggle to build the organized power of the people and to wear away at the power of the enemy. Many people have given their lives in this struggle and many more will have to. Paradoxically, this protracted struggle is the shortest and least costly road to revolution.

We are at an early stage, going from small to large. The mass armed capability which will destroy the enemy has its beginnings in armed action. It matures unevenly, with setbacks and at great cost. It will not spring full-blown on the scene at the magical moment of insurrection. We cannot leave the organizing and preparation for armed struggle to some more perfect future time. It would be suicidal. There is no predetermined model for revolution — we are always figuring it out. But for some, armed struggle is always too soon, although it is underway here and around the world.

We made the choice to become a guerrilla organization at a time when the Vietnamese were fighting a heroic people's war, defeating half a million troops and the most technologically advanced military power. In our own hemisphere Che Guevara urged that we "create two, three, many Vietnams," to destroy U.S. imperialism by cutting it off in the Third World tentacle by tentacle, and opening another front within the U.S. itself. At home, the struggle and insurrection of the Black liberation movement heightened our commitment to fight alongside the determined enemies of the empire.

This defined our international responsibility and our duty as white revolutionaries inside the oppressor nation. We are part of a wave of revolution sparked by the Black liberation struggle, by the death of Che in Bolivia in 1967, and by people's war in Vietnam. This period forged our belief in the revolutionary necessity of clandestine organization and armed struggle.

Why Is Revolution Necessary?

Revolution is a fight by the people for power. It is a changing of power in which existing social and economic relationships are turned upside down. It is a fight for who runs things, in particular, for control by the people of what we communists call the means of production — the means by which people eat, work, protect themselves from the cold and rain, get around, raise children and build.

The imperialists now control the means by which these necessities of survival get produced and distributed. They determine what gets produced, at what cost in human effort, under what conditions, and who gets what's produced. This is complete con-

control over people's lives. It is economic power and far more. It involves and implicates people in a system over which they have little control. A system which includes unprecedented slaughter through continuous wars, genocide, the violent suppression of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Indian people, the subjugation of women, daily control and exploitation of maximum profit from the people's work, the development of a fantastic arsenal of weapons (including nuclear arms) in the control of the imperialists. It intimately affects day-to-day behavior — thoughts, values, potential and hopes.

Only the pressure of the struggle of the mass of people humanizes this system at all.

It is an illusion that imperialism will decay peacefully. Imperialism has meant constant war. Imperialists defend their control of the means of life with terrible force. There is no reason to believe they will become humane or relinquish power. As matters deteriorate for imperialism, there is every reason to believe they will tighten control, pass their contradictions on to the people, and struggle for every last bit of power. To not prepare the people for this struggle is to disarm them ideologically and physically and to perpetrate a cruel hoax.

In the Early Stages

Armed struggle has come into being in the United States. It is an indication of growth that our movement has developed clandestine organizations and that we are learning how to fight.

The development of guerrilla organization and armed activity against the state is most advanced in the Black community, where the tradition and necessity for resistance is highest. The crises of the society provide the training grounds; for Third World people the conditions of prison, the army, the streets and the most oppressive jobs produce warriors, political theorists, and active strategies.

The Black Liberation Army — fighting for three years under ruthless attack by the state — the fighters in prisons, and recently the Symbionese Liberation Army are leading forces in the development of the armed struggle and political consciousness, respected by ourselves and other revolutionaries.

At this early stage in the armed and clandestine struggle, our forms of combat and confrontation are few and precise. Our organized forces are small, the enemy's forces are huge. We live inside the oppressor nation, particularly suited to urban guerrilla warfare. We are strategically situated in the nerve centers of the international empire, where the institutions and symbols of im-

perial power are concentrated. The cities will be a major battleground, for the overwhelming majority of people live in the cities; the cities are our terrain.

We believe that carrying out armed struggle will affect the people's consciousness of the nature of the struggle against the state. By beginning the armed struggle, the awareness of its necessity will be furthered. This is no less true in the U.S. than in other countries throughout the world. Revolutionary action generates revolutionary consciousness; growing consciousness develops revolutionary action. Action teaches the lessons of fighting, and demonstrates that armed struggle is possible.

We are building a foundation. In four years of armed work, we have come to appreciate the complexity of doing it right and the difficulty of sustaining it. These are the contradictions we are working with:

- We live in a whirlwind; nonetheless, time is on the side of the guerrillas. Fighting the enemy is urgent, and we have a duty to do all we can. Yet it takes time to win the people's trust; it takes time to build an organization capable of surviving the hunt; it takes time to recover and learn from mistakes, to prepare, train, study and investigate. This is an observation. It is not offered as an argument for delay.

- There is constant resolution between carrying forward the struggle and the necessity of preserving valuable cadre and supporters. Sometimes this is not a matter of choice — the guerrillas are forced, because of torture and murder committed by the repressive apparatus, to escalate and move beyond what can be immediately sustained.

- Armed struggle brings the resistance to a sharper and deeper level of development. The greater the resistance, the greater will be the force and scope of the state repression brought to bear upon the people. When resistance is at a high level, the enemy takes measures against the people. But treading lightly will not assuage the rulers. Violent repression is built into the status quo. Guerrilla strategy has to resolve the contradiction between the necessary progress of the struggle and what the people can sustain at any given time.

- Armed actions push forward people's consciousness and commitment; they are a great teacher and example. Yet they must be clearly understandable to the people, identify our enemy precisely, and overcome his massive lies and propaganda.

Attacks by the Weather Underground have been focused and specific. These actions were a catalyst for thousands of politically-

directed armed actions between 1970 and 1972, almost all of which complemented mass struggles.

These bombings were carried out by the Weather Underground:

— To retaliate for the most savage criminal attacks against Black and Third World peoples, especially by the police apparatus;

- Haymarket police statue, Chicago, October 1969 and October 1970.
 - Chicago police cars, following the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, December 1969;
 - New York City Police Headquarters, June 1970;
 - Marin County Courthouse, following the murder of Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain, August 1970;
 - Long Island City Courthouse, in solidarity with prison demonstrations taking place in New York City, October 1970;
 - Department of Corrections in San Francisco, and
 - Office of California Prisons in Sacramento, for the murder of George Jackson in San Quentin, August 1971;
 - Department of Corrections in Albany, N.Y., for the murder and assault against the prisoners of Attica, September 1971;
 - 103rd Precinct of the New York City police, for the murder of 10-year-old Clifford Glover, May 1973.
- To disrupt and agitate against U.S. aggression and terror against Vietnam and the Third World:
- Harvard war research Center for International Affairs, Proud Eagle Tribe (women's brigade), October 1970;
 - U.S. Capitol, after the invasion of Laos, March 1971;
 - MIT research center, William Bundy's office, Proud Eagle Tribe (women's brigade), October 1971;
 - The Pentagon, after the bombing of Hanoi and mining of the harbors of North Vietnam, May 1972;
 - Draft and recruiting centers;
 - ROTC buildings;
 - ITT Latin America Headquarters, following the fascist counterrevolution in Chile, September 1973.
- To expose and focus attention against the power and institutions which most cruelly oppress, exploit and delude the people:
- National Guard Headquarters, Washington, D.C., after the murders at Jackson State and Kent State, May 1970;
 - Presidio Army Base and MP Station, San Francisco, July 26, 1970;
 - Liberation of Timothy Leary from California Men's Colony, San Luis Obispo, September 1970.
 - Federal Offices of HEW (Health, Education and Welfare), (women's brigade) San Francisco, March 1974.

Mass struggle and movements are not mere spectators in revolutionary war; armed struggle cannot become a spectacle. It is the responsibility of mass leaders and organizations to encourage and support revolutionary armed struggle, in open as well as quiet ways. Actions are more powerful when they are explained and defended. The political thrust of each armed intervention can be publicly championed and built on. Parallel mass support will further both the mass and military struggle.

There are many faces to militant resistance and fighting, a continuum between guerrilla and mass work. An examination of recent history points to: *acts of resistance* — draft card burnings, sabotage in the military, on the job, in government, and attacks on the police; *mass demonstrations* — marches on the Pentagon, Stop the Draft Week, Africa Liberation Day rallies, International Women's Day marches, Chicano Moratorium marches; *demands for control and power through seizures of institutions* — community control of hospitals and schools, occupations of land such as Wounded Knee, or symbols such as the Statue of Liberty, People's Park, prison rebellions and takeovers; *clandestine propaganda* — spray painting, pouring blood on draft files, the Media, Pennsylvania FBI ripoff; *popular rebellion* — Watts, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Newark; *outrage expressed violently and collectively* — Jackson/Kent/Cambodia, bank-burning at Isla Vista, TDA's, Days of Rage.

There are connecting lines between these different forms of fighting. All are forms of resistance by the people, and forms of attack against the state. Militancy and armed struggle are consistent threads in revolutionary movements — they cannot be wished away or forced away. They will continue to be practiced as long as imperialism exists. Together they constitute the fullness of revolutionary war.

* * *

The greater part of the revolution remains before us. We need to evaluate our strengths and weaknesses to go on from here. Our present strategy is rooted in our interpretations of the struggles of the last four years.

THE SIXTIES

Denunciations of the struggles of the sixties as a failure do the enemy's work. These surrenders are a live burial of our people's great moments, and weaken the future by poisoning the lessons of the past. The movement produced some of the highest expressions

of international solidarity and commitment in an oppressor nation. Weaknesses there were plenty. We cannot evade them, ignore them nor be reluctant to learn from them. But the lessons won't be drawn apart from the context — where we were coming from and how far we still have to go to revolutionize ourselves and society.

Achievements

The struggles of the '60s changed everything, and we strongly affirm the general thrust and direction of the politics and movements of the last decade. The achievements only represent beginnings, but they are not small:

Desanctification of the empire. The lesson that the U.S. imperial system is not permanently superior, not invincible even at the height of its power, not loved by the people of the world, and not satisfying the needs of the great majority of the U.S. people — this is of incalculable importance to the awakening of consciousness. In this year of cynicism about the U.S. rulers it is hard to remember the power of the myths of U.S. invincibility and democracy which governed our people at the beginning of the '60s. Although U.S. global aims had already been rocked by the success of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, the struggles for African independence through the 1950s and the failure to win in Korea, the implications of all this were not known by the U.S. people. The forces unleashed at Little Rock and Montgomery and the triumph of the Cuban Revolution were already burrowing away at the edifices of U.S. superiority, yet we were still asleep.

People now see that imperialism is war-like, with an economy based on the arms race, defense spending and a need to support expansion with the bloodiest interventions in history. People understand corporate greed: the criminal policies of ITT, United Fruit, Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, Dow Chemical, Chase Manhattan, Safeway, and Honeywell. People can now see the hypocrisy of U.S. freedom, justice and democracy — high-sounding words masking the fact of U.S. exploitation, aggression and counterrevolution.

Material contribution to Vietnamese victory. The anti-war movement made a significant contribution toward forcing the U.S. government to withdraw troops from Vietnam. As part of the worldwide united front against imperialism our movement helped prevent the use of nuclear weapons against Vietnam, a major assault on the dike system, or an invasion of the North. The ruling class is not restrained by scruples — only by their estimation of the political consequences of their actions. The imperial army became





an unreliable tool of domination. There were serious interruptions in the functioning of the draft. In addition, part of the anti-war movement saw through the blinders of national chauvinism and brought a glimpse to the U.S. people of the righteousness and humanity of the so-called "enemy."

Opposition to racism. The spirit of resistance inside the U.S. was rekindled by Black people. The power and strategy of the civil rights movement, SNCC, Malcolm X, and the Black Panther Party affected all other rebellion. They created a form of struggle called direct action; awoke a common identity, history and dignity for Black people as a colonized and oppressed people within the U.S.; drew out and revealed the enemy through a series of just and undeniable demands such as the vote, equal education, the right to self-defense, and an end to Jim Crow. The police, the troops, the sheriffs, the mass arrests and assassinations were the official response. The Black movement was pushed forward into a revolutionary movement for political power, open rebellion and confrontation with the racism of white people and the racism of institutions.

Growth of insurgent cultures. Young women and men fighting to be human beings in the midst of disgusting and crushing social forms found ourselves in opposition to empire. Since World War II imperialism sought to tame its youth through tracked education, the draft, the oppression of women. These conditions produced a profound alienation in work, school, family and an openness to a revolutionary alternative. The youth revolt and the women's movement moved practically an entire generation on one level or another. This means a substantial sector was torn away from sexist and competitive culture and gave birth to new cultures, fragile but real — cultures in opposition to the system. The overthrowing of rotten values of male supremacy, consumerism, passivity, respectability, and the rat race was a wonderful advance. For women working, for women forced into the marriage marketplace, trapped in oppressive relationships, raising children alone, the women's movement brought a new sense of self-worth and dignity; it explained the conditions of women's oppression. We began to create solidarity among women.

Challenge to inaction. We inherited a deadening ideology of conformity and gradualism. Our first protests were law-abiding and peaceful. But the treacherous nature of U.S. power was revealed as we began to comprehend Hiroshima, napalm, slavery, lynching, capital punishment, rape, Indian reservations. We came to see that change is violently opposed every step of the way. We stood up and defied propriety, the state and the law, in street

demonstrations, and outrageous actions. Militant confrontation politics transformed us, we broke with a powerless past. We saw popular uprisings, armed revolution, people's war, and guerrilla combat around the world. We realized the power of armed self-defense, mass rebellion and revolutionary violence in the Black movement. As our own protest elicited teargas, prison and bullets, we recognized the need to fight and the terrible cost of not doing all we possibly can.

Turning Point

The year 1968 was a high point and a turning point. It is not surprising that the maturing of the movement took place at a time when the world was in flames. 500,000 U.S. troops were dealt a staggering blow by the Vietnamese popular forces during Tet. Armed struggle raged throughout Latin America and the Palestinian Liberation forces emerged in the Mideast. Student movements in France and throughout the industrialized world were in full revolt, challenging their own governments, and demonstrating open solidarity with the people of the world. The Chinese Cultural Revolution was unleashing a new dimension to class struggle.

The movement emerged with a growing revolutionary consciousness that it was involved in a battle for power. This grew out of experience. Black Power had become the slogan of the Black liberation movement, and its political thrust transformed the civil rights movement. Black power was applied in persistent struggles for community control of schools, in rebellions in 60 cities following the assassination of Martin Luther King, by Black students occupying universities, sometimes with arms, and in the emergence of the Black Panther Party.

We also came to recognize that issues which once seemed separate had a relationship to one another. Imperialism was "discovered" as a whole, one system. This was a tremendous political breakthrough — it made sense of the world and our own experience. The same school which tracked students by sex, race and class into the appropriate niche, turned out to own slums in the Black community and to develop anti-personnel weapons and strategies against revolution — to be in fact a tool of the corporations and the military.

We were up against a ruling class, and it made no sense to ask them to reform themselves. Our rebellion had led us to revolution — a long and many-sided struggle for power.

SDS was a leading anti-imperialist organization in this movement. Historically, students play an advanced and militant role in anti-imperialist struggle, opposing war and racial injustice. The

revolt at Columbia University was a catalyst which exploded the previous era of resistance into a popular revolutionary movement of students and young people. The street battles at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago several months later led to further occupations and demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of militants. The demonstrations built on each other; each struggle was unique and beautiful. The vitality of SDS was rooted in its local experiences and the application of national programs to different regions and conditions — applying the lessons of Columbia, films on Cuba, building alliances with a Black Student Union. The taste of liberation — the intense struggles transformed our identifications, our lives.

At this point, some new contradictions appeared.

The state set into motion a plan to discredit, divide and set back the movement. The May 1968 J. Edgar Hoover counterinsurgency memo reveals a national plan to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents." Infiltration and sabotage were carried out by a variety of police agencies, including the FBI, the Nixon-Mitchell team, military intelligence, and local red squads. As always the attack was focused on the Black liberation movement and included violent assaults against Black communities and leaders, particularly the Black Panther Party.

With enormous growth of membership, militancy and consciousness after the 1968 demonstrations in Chicago, SDS was faced with several urgent necessities: to draw broader masses of people into the struggle, and also to organize our cadre and transform ourselves into a force which could eventually contend for power. These necessities coexisted uneasily. What were the roads taken at this juncture?

Our strategy was the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). It was aimed at extending the movement among young people — to expand its base and class character, to mobilize those affected by the draft, the army, unemployment, schools, prisons, into anti-imperialist struggle. RYM was a transitional strategy to maintain the militant mass base on the campuses, while we deepened our base among the working class. Young people's openness and consciousness/identification with militant anti-imperialism was a strategic strength. This movement continued to grow spontaneously, even after the decline of SDS.

This politics was opposed by an opportunist politics that took the form of economism. Economism appears in every revolutionary movement as the reduction of revolution to a struggle for purely economic gains. Economism has many masks. It was then

expressed in a leftish form of "going to the workers," not by creating revolutionary consciousness and action but by sacrificing principle in the hope of gaining a place in the labor movement. This is a corrupt politics, proven bankrupt again and again. In the U.S., where many of the people who are exploited by imperialism also receive benefits from the super-exploitation of the colonies, economism feeds the idea that people here can be free while other oppressed people are still under the yoke of U.S. imperialism.

Our deep political concern was the historic tendency of the white left to abandon militant anti-imperialism and anti-racism — principled support for Third World struggle — in search of easy integration with the masses. It is difficult to synthesize militant anti-imperialism with a mass base among oppressor-nation people because of the whole fabric of relative social/material white-skin privilege. Much of the movement resolved this contradiction in the direction of opportunism around race. This was the main error of the period, deeply rooted in U.S. radical history.

A comparable example was the student power movement. Some argued that the demand for students' rights and power would become revolutionary in and of itself. This is not true. The chauvinism of "student power" demands by white students ignored the claims of university workers, the community, and the Third World people who would be the victims of university-researched weapons and programs. This demand encouraged narrow concern for a relatively privileged sector at the expense of the more oppressed. But when the student revolts actively allied with other movements in the interests of the most oppressed peoples against the common enemy, they became a serious threat to the empire. When each movement only sees its own claims and interests in isolation from other movements, they play themselves out, one after the other.

Another major factor at this point was the rebellion of women against sexism in the society and in the left. The left is not immune from the sexism which pervades U.S. society: the oppressor culture persists and must be opposed and fought again and again. This requires an active commitment to anti-sexism. In the late sixties and early seventies many women left the anti-imperialist movement and built a separate women's movement. Sisters inside — and now outside — the anti-imperialist movement began to force men to deal with their sexist practice. These were absolutely necessary advances. The struggles around sexism did not only mean criticism and change of individual practice, they also transformed the overall analysis of the left. The contradiction was that the women's movement, rejecting sexist and authoritarian

leadership, raised blanket challenges to *all* forms of leadership and organization in the movement, good and bad, and failed at that point to build lasting organizations to carry on the task of strong determined anti-imperialist struggle.

SDS was torn by these internal and external dynamics. It was becoming an organization of revolutionaries, anti-imperialist activists. This was recognized by the state which moved to disrupt it. Major ideological struggles about the correct path to transforming SDS into a broader mass organization polarized rapidly, while simultaneously the urgent necessity to join the struggle against imperialism in a serious and armed way was heightened by the Vietnam War and the liberation movement of Black people. Things were in great turmoil and a continuous process of change.

Self-Criticism

We have to learn from our mistakes. Unsorting errors and correct understandings, reassessing strengths and weaknesses, are a revolutionary responsibility. This is because our errors have consequences for the ability to find the right road, for trust and confidence in relationship with the people, and also for the state which learns from our errors and will use them against us. All movements make mistakes. Those which recover from their mistakes have been able to act with audacity and move forward with the people. But errors must first be recognized and corrected; this is a test of our movement's strength.

We were correct in our decision to prepare and build the armed struggle. There is a strategic necessity to build underground movement, to learn to fight through fighting, to pull forward into the conflict. There is a need to develop militant action, and from militant action to develop guerrilla activity. This beginning involved a confrontation with privilege and inhibition and was impolite, rough, disruptive and disorderly. It was an essential step forward, and could not be held back for some "perfect moment." Three of our comrades gave their lives to begin the armed struggle — Diana Oughton, Teddy Gold, and Terry Robbins. By March 1970, a base from which to carry out guerrilla and underground actions had been established.

We were wrong in failing to realize the possibility and strategic necessity of involving masses of people in anti-imperialist action and organization. We fixed our vision only on white people's complicity with empire, with the silence in the face of escalating terror and blatant murder of Black revolutionaries. We let go of our identification with the people — the promise, the yearnings, the defeats.

This error had two consequences.

In the course of preparing for armed struggle in late 1969 we began mistaking friends for enemies. We applied the strictest standards of willingness to risk everything to comrades and allies as well as to the real opportunists who represented the politics of retreat. We attacked those who could not come along the whole way, sometimes just because they were not ready to support everything we said and did. We did not learn from meaningful criticisms from comrades.

We made the mistake of deemphasizing the importance of mass work and lost sight of our long-standing commitment to the mass struggle. The militancy and commitment of the Days of Rage and the initiation of armed actions contributed to and pushed forward mass struggle: the continuous revolt in the armed forces, the Justice Department demonstration in November 1969, TDA's (The Day After demonstrations), Isla Vista, culminating in Jackson/Kent/Cambodia in the spring of 1970. Conditions were ripe. The mass movement continued to grow, broaden and escalate at the same time that mass organizations began to fall apart, waver and dissolve.

Reaffirming the importance of mass movement and political as well as military struggle, we wrote "New Morning" in December 1970. But "New Morning" gave uncritical support to youth culture and came to represent a repudiation of revolutionary violence. The Panther 21 wrote a generous and fighting criticism of "New Morning" from prison, which warned us against putting down our weapons. They correctly pointed to the necessity to continue to fight and our need to teach our people to fight. By failing to answer, we lost an opportunity to engage in dialogue with these brave and dedicated comrades.

TURNING WEAKNESS INTO STRENGTH

Now the movement is disorganized, divided and defensive, unable to fulfill the whole potential to learn and to lead. There has been relatively little organized mass action and relatively great disunity within our movement in the last three years. In the movement times are hard. On the other hand, the opportunity for change and organizing among youth is great. The continuing social crises are accelerating the process of social dislocation, and people are opening to the possibility of revolutionary consciousness.

Objective conditions do not produce revolution themselves. In times of crises and change people's fears and discontents and

hopes can be mobilized in different directions — toward opiates of all sorts, reform, right-wing movement and war. That is why revolutionary organization, leadership and example are required to call the discontent into life and action, to seize the time.

There are serious problems and barriers to revolutionary growth now facing us, which we have to uncover and look in the face. Some are setbacks inflicted by the state; some are obstacles — weaknesses and contradictions among us; some are anti-revolutionary currents and errors within the movement.

Obstacles

Anti-organization tendencies. The lack of a national organization, embracing and based in popular movements, unified around anti-imperialism is a most severe weakness. A generation of cadre was built in the struggle of the '60s and early '70s. People need organization. Organization unites, gives direction and breadth to particular political work. The lack of organization affects all other problems.

It leaves people with no place to go to join the struggle, no way to connect to something larger than ourselves, no form for struggling and resolving our other problems. Good local work or work focused around one single issue suffers from the lack of national, overall organization.

The failures and the dissolution of previous organizations have served as an excuse for anti-organizational tendencies: attacking and undermining all forms of organization. The idea prevails that organization means giving up individual integrity, or is irretrievably sexist/male dominated, or is by definition oppressive. Like every other revolutionary movement on earth, we desperately need good organizations, strong and healthy, to embody the struggle and direct our energies like a spear.

Cynicism. The subjective mood of surrender and powerlessness is expressed in various repudiations of the '60s or turning to idealistic utopian solutions. Cynicism coincides with extreme individualism, expects the revolution to somehow be pure, and victories easy. We also face adversity: some activists feel extremely demoralized, some feel burned out from the difficulties of revolutionary work. We must help each other through pain and breakdown, through separation, loss and death. We must care for the physical and mental health of the revolutionary community, for those in prison, for the raising of the children and the sustenance of the older people. At the same time as we recognize the real difficulties, we nourish our revolutionary spirit, commit every

fiber of our lives to the struggle.

Sexism. The full participation and leadership of women is necessary for successful and healthy revolution. Revolutionary organizations must recognize the struggle for women's liberation as a fundamental political revolution and must repudiate the intolerable backwardness of all forms of sexism. The development of the independent women's movement as well as active struggle against the institutions and ideas of sexism are the basis for insuring that the revolution genuinely empowers women.

Racism. The left must make clear at every point its unswerving and militant support for the liberation of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and all Third World peoples. It must refuse to compromise this active support for short-term "gains," or to win the approval of whites we are trying to organize at the workshop, in the schools, or in communities. This is true for the whole movement and for every individual in the movement. The creation of an anti-racist white movement is the necessary foundation for the functional unity of Third World and white enemies of the empire. Anti-racist organizing and action can create this unity. Where this kind of work has begun, it should be broadened and extended.

Anti-Revolutionary Errors in the Movement

There are two currents of thought and activity that conspire to hold back the power of the movement. They are American exceptionalism and reformism. These tendencies often unite and reinforce each other. They are subtly embedded in various strategies and accepted truisms in the left, and they are strategically put forward by the enemy to deflect us. They are both racist in effect.

American exceptionalism is the assumption that for one reason or another — U.S. "technological superiority," the "post-scarcity economy," the "system of democracy," our "advanced consciousness" — our revolutionary struggle is not subject to the same general conditions and the same general necessities as others.

It assumes different faces. One is American superiority, a kind of cultural chauvinism. This is characterized by the acceptance of some of these positions: that imperialism is something different from and unnecessary to capitalism, something that happens outside the U.S., incidental to the struggle here; U.S. society is stable and even, not subject to the great dislocations and wrenching changes sweeping the world; our feminist consciousness is more advanced than that of women in Third World Liberation movements or in Cuba or Vietnam; our revolution will be a conscious-

ness revolution on the plane of personal relationships and sexuality — we have passed beyond anything as "old-fashioned" as socialism.

Of course there are new conditions and unique aspects to U.S. society. Our revolution makes its own contributions. But we have to elicit the class consciousness and struggle out from beneath layers of false consciousness, resignation and fearfulness. Our women's movement is a great new vital movement, but we can also learn much from women of the Third World about who our enemy is and how to mobilize to fight him. The repudiation of cultural oppression isn't everything, but it does constitute a serious break with the brainwashing control of empire.

As a people we are saturated with the myth of American superiority. As a revolutionary people, we must take our place in the human community resolutely opposed to all expressions of arrogance.

Another form of American exceptionalism is rejecting forms of struggle for the U.S. which are obviously necessary in other parts of the world. Some people actually defend the taking up of arms by the Vietnamese people, the Chilean workers or the Chinese Revolution — but preserve the territory within U.S. borders from the same laws and forces which produce revolution everywhere else. This is half-hearted internationalism. Colossal arrogance is concealed in the self-deception that Third World people and socialist countries can and must do the fighting while we can have some kind of free ride, tidy and constitutional.

Reformism deceives and derails the movement by putting forward the strategy of "peaceful transition to socialism." It pretends to reassure the people by spreading pacifist and conciliatory ideas. It sells short the sacrifices and strivings of the people — disarms them of their correct understanding of the intractable nature of the enemy and disarms them of their own power and will to fight and win. Reformism assumes the essential goodness of U.S. society, in conflict with the revolutionary view that the system is rotten to the core and must be overthrown.

Reformism rejects revolutionary violence by treating each new armed act as if it were a Reichstag fire, an act of provocation, or premature. Along with denouncing armed struggle comes the exaggerated emphasis on legality and electoral struggle, or an attempt to influence power by collaboration with the "best" aspects of the imperialists. Thus many good struggles which are parallel to and complementary to militant and armed struggle are instead turned against it, and posed as an alternative.

Another characteristic of reformism is "mainstreamism" — the attempt within the left to take on the coloration of the worst aspects of the mainstream of U.S. society and history so as to be acceptable, and thereby change things without disturbing people too much. This is an attempt to slide in under the flag. In the name of becoming integrated with the U.S. people, this movement abdicates its responsibility to confront racism and class rule and change it. It becomes corrupt.

Setbacks Inflicted by the State

We are fighting a treacherous and ruthless enemy. The state has implemented a plan to contain and crush the power of revolution. In the last period they have inflicted some serious blows which have set back the struggle.

Counterinsurgency. A major organized attack has been mounted against Black people and the Black community by Nixon forces. Like U.S. military intervention against other Third World peoples, this campaign of genocide is a measure of the powerful threat to empire posed by Black people. It has included waves of assassinations of Black leaders, imprisoning large sectors of the young militant population, often for life, infiltration and generalized terror. Heroin and methadone traffic have been massively directed against Black urban communities. Part of a generation of Black youth has been lost to drugs. It was irresponsible of us in 1970 to emphasize only the social role of consciousness-expanding drugs without making a frontal assault on the genocidal use of heroin the main thrust of our position on drugs.

The government has come down hard on the entire Black community: massive unemployment, schools which cultivate illiteracy among Black children, cutbacks in funds for the cities which hastens the collapse of communities through terrible housing and welfare starvation.

It is impossible to estimate the human cost of the government's strategy — the lives of people like Jonathan and George Jackson.

Repression. The nature of Nixon's extralegal attack on the movement was spelled out in the J. Edgar Hoover memo of May 1968 and elaborated by Mitchell and the Justice Department and White House CIA-types. It is a strategy of infiltration, disruption and selected blows against anti-war and revolutionary movements and leaders. It did temporarily succeed in creating a climate of distrust and suspicion on the left. Its tactics included threats and intimidation, espionage, grand juries and long trials — and selected murders. The strategy against the Black movement and the strategy against the anti-war left are different faces of the same

apparatus. Their basic repressive strategy is to divide, separate out, and make vulnerable — to divide Third World and white, those in prison from those outside, those in solitary from those in population, leaders from the grass roots and the guerrillas from the mass movement.

Organizing a Base for Fascism. In the U.S. this means racism: building explicitly or thinly-disguised anti-Black and Third World campaigns. To the extent that they have gone unchallenged by organized revolutionary forces they have been serious defeats.

The anti-busing movement is a Nixon-special, a tragedy for children and anti-racist people. The entire elaborate campaign against busing is promoted to disguise the fact that segregation of schools today is more intense and extensive than in 1954 when the Supreme Court ordered it ended. Anti-busing will roll back integration where it happened and entrench a segregated school system firmly in the control of racist white Boards of Education. The campaign is violently anti-Black, under cover of anti-busing. In Boston 20,000 whites marched against the busing of children; in Pontiac, Michigan, Ozone Park and Canarsie, New York, white parents attacked school buses and poured oil on Black children.

Nixon's anti-busing campaign goes hand-in-hand with drastic cuts of funds for education. Education for Third World children in segregated schools is colonial-style — Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican youth North and South are abused, overcrowded, ignored if quiet and drugged if not, lost in detention centers and beaten. Anti-busing has a political meaning which is not at all about whether busing is the best way to achieve decent education for most children. The real question is: who will control the schools? The design of the state is control of the child's education, whether in the integrated or segregated school. Segregate where you can; track the kids where you must integrate. White racist control of the schools attempts to prevent the Black child from succeeding in that dangerous and subversive endeavor: learning to read.

A similar assault has been mounted against the people on welfare, women, children and old people. Rockefeller and Reagan have led special drives to institute photo identity cards, compulsory work programs, and impossible requirements to drive people off welfare by every means.

Nixon has twice based his election propaganda on the rallying cry of law-and-order. This has led to a national reorganization of police forces, greater police use of advanced counterinsurgency technology developed for Vietnam, and greater centralization of police forces through computers, training and coordinating groups like LEAA.

Anti-crime legislation mobilizes racist fears in the white population. It has been successful enough to undo many gains of the previous two decades: to initiate preventive detention, undermine the jury system and put into effect new mandatory death penalties. Two models are the special police crackdown unit used in Detroit, called STRESS, which was responsible for the murder of many Black people; and the new Rockefeller drug law, which forces legal addiction by giving people a "choice" between long prison sentences and lifetime parole, or mandatory methadone maintenance.

If we do not create an anti-racist left, the masses of white people being bombarded with these measures have little alternative *but* to resolve these fears and these conflicts the traditional way — in complicity with racism.

CONTINUING CRISIS AT HOME

Conditions will not wait for us. With the decline of imperialism the ability to expand and export basic contradictions becomes less available to the U.S. rulers and this means continual crisis and hardship for people here. We are looking at two of these crises to analyze their origins and their consequences for the imperialists and for the people.

Governmental Crisis

In the wake of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam comes an unprecedented governmental crisis. Watergate is a magnificent victory of the struggles of the '60s, a reflection of the war coming home. Crisis chases crisis as state leaders search for a consolidating strategy. The turmoil is indicative of serious and fatal weaknesses in the system. It offers an unparalleled opportunity for revolutionary and popular movements.

Nixon has been caught with the chicken in his hand. His known crimes include sabotage of elections, cover-up of the sabotage, land deals, income tax evasion, tampering with the evidence, giant swindles and fixes — not to mention his secret wars abroad and at home, campaigns of race-hatred, the air war against Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and violation of the Ceasefire Agreement.

Nixon's re-election was a low point. But the unanimity of his election was momentary and hollow; it began crumbling immediately. The terror bombing of Hanoi was carried out just before the Paris Peace Agreement which acknowledged U.S. defeat and marked a major victory for the Vietnamese people along the road

to independence and liberation; the assassination of Amilcar Cabral, African liberation leader and head of the PAIGC was carried out by mercenaries of U.S.-armed Portugal on the eve of the declaration of the independence of Guinea-Bissau. Nixon: both deadly powerful and seriously weakened. Eighteen months later he has become the symbol of de-legitimized bourgeois ideology, a two-bit criminal, host to a den of monopolies and crew-cut thieves.

Nixon has always been a political leader of counterrevolution and tighter control of the colonies — an executioner of the Rosenbergs, the men at Attica, the students at Jackson and Kent. His national military alert during the 1973 October War in the Mideast shows the fantastic lengths to which he will carry the world to the brink of war. His Christmas bombing of Hanoi was the horrible proof that his policies are based on terror against the people. His fundamental program is militarization — that is, enormous technological and military spending for war and arms abroad and police control at home.

Watergate is a domestic reflection of the empire in crisis. For Nixon/Kissinger, political unity in the U.S. around a program of law-and-order for the world was essential in the wake of successful revolution abroad. There are historical precedents for imperialist repression following revolutionary success:

From the *N.Y. Post*, Wednesday, June 6, 1973:

Radicals were the target. The Attorney General and his agents, armed with 60,000 dossiers compiled under J. Edgar Hoover, struck quickly. In 33 cities across the nation, government men seized more than 4,000 persons, sometimes without the authority of a court warrant, in homes, cafes, club rooms and taverns.

It was January, 1920, and many Americans feared for national security in the wake of the successful Communist revolution in Russia, the specter of spreading Bolshevism, scattered bombings in the U.S. and troubling labor strikes.

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer rode a wave of popular support with his massive federal arrests of Russian immigrants, local Communists and other suspected radicals.

In order to make his foreign policy of military terror and detente effective, and in order to crush rebellion and anger at home, Nixon created an extralegal force (the plumbers), a counter-insurgency program and sabotage operation. He justified these moves on the basis of national security and domestic subversion — both cornerstones of Nixon power for over 25 years. His moves to reassert control spilled over against substantial elements of the

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ruling class and the struggle for bourgeois political power was on. This is the rule in this stage of monopoly capital: the identity of business and government. But for now, Nixon's the one, caught in cahoots, on the defensive.

Every aspect of the prosecution of the Watergate crisis itself remains in the hands of the ruling class. The Watergate investigations observe gentlemanly limits: they have never explored Nixon's deliberate aggression against Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities; they cover for every mention of CIA operations at home. Power in the U.S. is a white gentleman's club.

Yet the crisis runs away. It has become the political expression of a process that began in the '60s — the defeat of the myth of American freedom and democracy. Vietnam is the crime that plagues Nixon, defines his fall. He is a war criminal. The consequence of Watergate is a population wary of the hypocritical words of leading politicians, wise to the bankruptcy of existing society.

The Real and Phony Energy Crisis

The real energy crisis is the crisis of imperialism. It is seen in a fight over raw materials and resources. It reflects the crisis in empire: declining Western control over the economies of the Third World, increased competition between capitalist countries, and growing stagnation arising from contradictions within monopoly capitalism itself. The system is in trouble.

In order to maintain growth and economic dominance, U.S. corporations and government have followed policies which would maximize oil company profits overseas; U.S.-based oil companies provided 60 percent of Europe's oil and 80 percent of Japan's oil, primarily from wells in the Mideast. That arrangement depended on continued domination by the U.S. within the capitalist sphere and over the oil-exporting nations. U.S. imperialism lost world hegemony in Vietnam. This loss made it impossible for the U.S. to keep dollars afloat on its own terms, leading to such things as dollar devaluations and the OPEC embargo. The U.S. oil companies can no longer dictate the terms under which oil and natural gas will be distributed and sold throughout the non-socialist world.

From these conditions, the ruling class devised the phony energy crisis as a strategy to recapture as much control and domination as possible. They deliberately limited refining capacity, and created artificial shortages prior to the embargo. The largest oil companies used the suffering of the people to rake in windfall profits. Through the inevitable crises of capitalism, the giant monopolies grow stronger and seize greater control of the

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economy, political life and the means of destruction. But even as the crisis is engineered, it gets out of hand and creates new contradictions.

The phony energy crisis was cooked up by the giant monopolies, the "masters of the oil world" who control the reserves. They organized for a situation of artificial "scarcity" in order to jack up prices and take in astronomical profits. In addition to unprecedented price rises, they got a blank check to exploit and develop highly profitable energy sources: the Alaska pipeline, shale oil in the Rockies, off-shore drilling rights, strip mining, and dangerous, leaky nuclear power plants with lethal by-products. The oil monopolies have emerged as energy monopolies — with major interests in coal, natural gas, shale and nuclear power. Finally, the big companies have increased their contention with other capitalist rivals in other countries and their power to eliminate smaller U.S. oil companies.

It is the people who are paying for these bonanza profits and are being forced to bear the brunt of the crisis. Although the shortages were created in corporate board rooms, the crisis has become grimly real. The people are directly affected in numerous and serious ways. The lower the income, the greater the impact of energy costs, food prices, inflation and unemployment. There's always been an energy crisis for Black people — no heating oil in winter, no transportation to get to work. Children became sick and died from diseases caused by cold apartments; last winter a 93-year-old couple froze to death for lack of heat; millions have been laid off jobs and suffered hardship from lacking the basic necessities of life.

People know that it is a political crisis — not a natural catastrophe, not a shortage of fuel, not a technical failure. The socialist nations are not in an energy crisis — this is a capitalist crisis of profit and power.

At the same time as the U.S. people are urged to turn down their thermostats, the U.S. 6th and 7th naval fleets alone consume one-third of the Arab oil used by the U.S. Military consumption of energy is astronomical; the energy consumed in the production of atomic bombs and materials for the stockpile, in war reserves of jet fuel, or in the flying time of B-52s should be the first to go. Nixon's policy of Vietnamization depends on substituting energy (fuel for the air war, the technological battlefield and the Saigon military) for U.S. soldiers. Over 20,000 barrels of oil per day for military use are supplied to Thieu by the U.S.

With 6 percent of the world's population, the U.S. consumes

over one-third of the world's energy resources. The corporate myth of limitless consumption was based on control of Third World resources. The ruling class encouraged wasteful and reckless dependence on petrochemical products: high horse-power and excessively heavy cars, plastics and synthetics and nitrogen fertilizers. The failure to develop good sources of energy (such as fusion or solar energy) is not based on priorities for a better life, but on profit.

There are many consequences from the energy crisis:

- The ruling class has tried to use it to lay the basis for war in the Mideast. It is a measure of the strength of the '60s and of the Third World nations that war-mongering in the Mideast is not an easy out for them.

- The oil crisis bodes more of the same for other resources. U.S. corporations are self-sufficient in only ten of the 36 basic industrial raw materials. They are parasites on the Third World. They will face continuing crises over who is to control and who is to profit. Common fronts among the raw material producing countries of the Third World are a great step forward and a significant challenge to unchecked U.S. domination and plunder. The power in the unity of the small! The recent U.N. special session on raw materials drew a sharp picture of the plunder of the poor countries by imperialism, and the terms of future struggle. Countries rich in bauxite, copper, iron ore and other resources are beginning to unite for the protection of their natural wealth. The people of the Third World are striving to control their own economies and to make full use of their resources. This is an upset of U.S. plans for a new stable order.

- The ecological devastation wrought by the energy companies is unparalleled. In Puerto Rico, Indonesia, Angola and Brazil multinational corporations seek new sources of energy at the expense of the same development of the natural resources or the wishes of the people. The plunder for sources of power is emerging as a major threat to the survival of rural areas of this country and to the continued culture and community of people who live there. The major oil companies are pushing through contracts to strip mine coal on the Cheyenne and Crow reservations in Montana on a scale that would forcibly urbanize and transform the Native American population and denude the landscape. Only a tiny proportion of the 1.8 million acres of land damaged by stripping in the West and Appalachia have been reclaimed to any extent at all. The rape of Hopi and Navajo lands to create giant power plants in Four Corners, New Mexico, is creating pollution greater than in Los Angeles. The AEC has pushed through a massive program to build

500 to 700 new nuclear power plants in partnership with industries like Westinghouse and Rockwell. These breeder reactors are expensive, dangerous, and deadly to adjoining waters and communities. They now threaten every major New England river, the Great Lakes and the oceans themselves.

- Industry passed on its problems by increasing unemployment, laying off thousands, and driving up the prices of most everything. Women and Black workers, last hired and first fired, suffered the most immediately.

These disruptions to an already stagnating economy have resulted in a serious attack on the basic necessities for masses of people. For the lives of Third World people, families headed by women, and the people who are dirt poor, it is violent aggression. Inflation is deadly for old people, for families on welfare and for the great number of underemployed. But the crisis cannot be contained among the dispossessed - it attacks the common family, the working person.

- A severe food crisis reflected in the rise of food prices and massive food shortages is emerging. In the wealthiest country in the world, there is a cost of living and it is beyond the reach of millions of people. Inflation and the impact of the energy crisis will be used to drive up this cost to live, especially food prices. There has always been starvation and malnutrition for many in the U.S. - the human consequences of food for profit. As food prices climb and real incomes decline, broad sectors of the population are beset by mounting debt, loss of savings, fear for jobs.

Food production, distribution, and agricultural land have become concentrated in monopolies (called agribusiness) since World War II, with reliance on fertilizers, pesticides, new methods of drying and storage and mechanization that consume enormous amounts of energy. It rests on the super-exploitation of farm workers and sharecroppers on the one hand, and giant programs of government subsidies (welfare for the rich) to keep vast stretches of fertile land deliberately unproductive. This is to keep prices up in the U.S. It amounts to government-enforced shortage, malnutrition for millions of people in the U.S., hunger and starvation for the world's people.

Of all the consequences of the U.S. use of world resources for profit, the most serious is beginning to come to the fore: a major crisis in world food supply. What is experienced here as shortages and high prices is translated in the Third World as real famine and paralysis of industrial development. The U.S. with its mechanized agribusiness has a monopoly on food exporting, and it controls a vast sector of the food-producing land in the world. A rise in food

prices devastates Third World countries. They must depend on the U.S. for food. Agricultural land throughout the Third World is turned into a plantation system of "cash crops" by imperialism (tobacco, rubber, coffee, cotton). Two-thirds of all the arable land in Latin America is planted with non-nutritious cash crops — wealth for the colonizers, not food for the people. South Vietnam, once the rice bowl of Southeast Asia, is now forced to import "miracle" rice from the U.S. Imperialism's irrational use of agricultural resources to produce vast quantities of meat to feed some of the U.S. population means that the amount of protein wasted by U.S. agriculture is comparable to the protein deficiency of the rest of the world.

Starvation, hunger and food shortages will unleash and sharpen all the basic contradictions. The imperialists will respond with solutions like population control, war, and greater monopoly power. But hunger is too stark and the conflict irreconcilable. This contradiction could well define the coming period.

WHAT WE THINK

The world balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution has changed in favor of revolution.

Truong Chinh
January 1972

Our method is dialectical materialism. To plan our strategy, we make an analysis of the conflicting forces, the underlying contradictions of our time, and how they are developing.

This paper is optimistic. That is because we are conscious that the most aggressive and predatory imperialism that ever existed has been defeated by the Vietnamese people. This unique and amazing period of history is the era of U.S. imperial crisis and decline. Today over a billion people organize their lives around socialism; today thousands of guerrillas and millions of people in over sixty countries are engaged in active struggle against U.S. imperialism. Independence movements, wars of national liberation, and revolutionary movements within the U.S. are engaged in the decisive weakening of the empire. It is now being turned back by the people it has robbed and plundered.

U.S. imperialism has had its setbacks, stalemates and defeats before, but never one so defining and decisive as Vietnam. The Vietnamese met and turned back the full force of U.S. technological and military might, and ended the era of world hegemony for the U.S. Vietnam is a watershed in the decline of imperialism — it is the defining event of our time.

Imperialism has dug its claws deepest into the oppressed and colonized nations, and it is these nations who are now the organized, leading spearpoint in the common struggle against imperialism. The imposition of foreign rule and foreign exploitation has created the conditions which gave birth to movements for national liberation — the seeds of its own destruction. These movements have grown and multiplied. Great revolutionary leaders have emerged from the Third World, forged in people's war and in the building of socialism. Because the U.S. is so dependent on its colonies (the super-exploitation of the Third World), national liberation both here and abroad is a knife to the strategic underbelly of the monster.

To say that U.S. imperialism is on the defensive does not mean it is toothless nor that its overthrow will come fast or simply. In its decline imperialism is extremely cruel and it will use every weapon it has to deceive, divide, starve, torture and murder those who attack it. But its eventual overthrow is inevitable.

As colonized nations liberate themselves, imperialism's ability to maintain a stable economy and ideological hegemony over its own people crumbles. The decline of imperialism produces continuing crises inside the U.S.: Watergate, energy crisis, food shortages, inflation, recession, monetary crisis, unemployment. The traditional outlets for domestic crisis and conflict — the export of contradictions, racism, war — have become less workable. It is certain that another crisis will follow the last, that unpredictable crises will color the future. Each separate crisis is temporary and able to be rationalized in the short run; but the overall crisis and decline of imperialism is permanent and ongoing.

The crises related to imperial decline create great possibilities for a leap in revolutionary consciousness.

Throughout its history, the rulers of the U.S. have maintained their power by creating privileged sectors among the people and letting us fight over the privileges. In this, their main weapon is white supremacy. Now great fissures have appeared. The wealth of the world is no longer completely at the disposal of the U.S. Imperialism is faced with the necessity to militarize and increase its control over U.S. society, especially the dissident and rebellious sectors.

The empire feeds on war. War is necessary for expansion and colonial control, but unsuccessful and unjust war loosens the imperialists' hold over the home base. As peoples reclaim their lands and their resources, imperialism is forced to extract more wealth from everywhere it can — where it still can reach in the Third World, from its capitalist allies and competitors, and from the U.S. people.

This is the increasing trend of the '70s: the trend of crisis and depression. Our job is to tap the discontent seething in many sectors of the population, to find allies everywhere people are hungry or angry, to mobilize poor and working people against imperialism. In this process the people will continue to generate new culture and new forms for the struggle to fit our particular conditions and time. There are beautiful developments, like the rising of women against the oppression of male supremacy, and the struggle of young people against alienation and oppression, which are full of revolutionary possibilities. We are not alone. The struggles for national liberation are the lifeblood of our own; their battles are the front line against our common enemy.

We have an urgent responsibility: to destroy imperialism from within in order to help free the world and ourselves from its grasp. Without underestimating the difficulties, this is our position of strength. We use all the weapons available to us. This necessarily includes mass militant action and guerrilla action to lay the foundation for the decisive armed struggle.

This paper is a strategy for revolutionary anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism defines our struggle and direction, helps us correctly identify our enemy and our friends, and is the necessary basis for advancing our movement. The strategic weak point of empire today is its hold of its external and internal colonies, and it is here that imperialism receives the heaviest blows.

Our final goal is the destruction of imperialism, the seizure of power, and the creation of socialism. Our strategy for this stage of the struggle is to organize the oppressed people of the imperial nation itself to join with the colonies in the attack on imperialism. This process of attacking and weakening imperialism involves the defeat of all kinds of national chauvinism and arrogance; this is a precondition to our fight for socialism.

The Vietnamese struggle provides a strategic model: as the anti-colonial liberation movement advanced, contradictions within the U.S. heightened, creating more favorable conditions for revolutionary organizing and action — we organized our people and our movement advanced; as anti-imperialist movement gathered strength and moved forward, this aided the Vietnamese who dealt a decisive blow to U.S. imperialism.

Revolution is a dialectical process of destruction and creation. In the U.S., revolution is intimately bound to the process of defeating U.S. imperialism around the world. Any conception of socialism defined in national terms, within so extreme and predatory an oppressor nation as the U.S., is a view which leads in practice to a fight for particular privileged interest and is a very

dangerous ideology. Active combat against empire is the only foundation for socialist revolution in the oppressor nation.

Socialism is the total opposite of capitalism/imperialism. It is the rejection of empire and white supremacy. Socialism is the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the eradication of the social system based on profit. Socialism means control of the productive forces for the good of the whole community instead of the few who live on hilltops and in mansions. Socialism means priorities based on human need instead of corporate greed. Socialism creates the conditions for a decent and creative quality of life for all.

After a long struggle, power will be in the hands of the people. Society will have to be reorganized, toward the integration of each with the whole, where people can realize themselves in peace and freedom. There will be rebuilding to do, but the tremendous power of creative human energy — revealed now only in flashes of liberated space and in struggle — will be freed to fulfill its potential. Freed from the constrictions, prejudices and fearful anxieties of imperialist society, people can be better. Our values are collective and communal. Birth and death will be celebrated with dignity: old people will have respect, children will have rights. With the elimination of waste from our society, all the people can eat healthy food. The cities can be real human gardens. We will have to rebuild them, reclaim the rivers and forests, and the dying species.

Wielded in the interest of everyone, technology can serve us; no labor need be unproductive. Our art, music, poetry, theater will interpret and awaken the relationship of ourselves to the world forces, acting on each other. Our culture will be insurgent, celebrate people's victories, and record the history of the struggle. We will support those who are still fighting and continue fighting ourselves. We will awaken our sense of being part of a world community. ARM THE SPIRIT!

II. VIETNAM

The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked.

Karl Marx
August 8, 1853
New York Daily Tribune

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.
Ho Chi Minh

Many friends see only the difficulties that lie ahead and do not see the great victory we have won. The Paris Agreement not only speaks to the failure of aggression of the United States in Vietnam, it marks the failure of the global strategy of the United States to stop the liberation struggles of people in many places.

Nguyen Thi Binh
January 29, 1973



MEANING OF THE CEASEFIRE

It is now more than a year since the signing of the Agreement on Ending War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. For the people of the North and in the liberated areas under the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the great effort of reconstruction — to "heal the wounds of war" — has begun. However, since the time of the Agreement, more than 73,000 South Vietnamese people have died in combat, 200,000 remain in Thieu's prisons. There are no illusions that final peace has come. The people in the liberated zones defend themselves daily against bombings and attacks, carried out by Thieu's U.S.-trained and equipped army.

In the liberated areas of the South, new administrations are being set up to build schools and clinics, to comb the soil for unexploded anti-personnel weapons, readying it for replanting. Near Dong Ha in Quang Tri province, the people have already harvested their first crop of rice in over five years.

Slowly, the millions of craters are being filled, though it will take many generations to move enough soil to fill them all. The towns are being rebuilt, since each town of any size was bombed into dust whenever it was liberated. "One puts up with what is available" they say, and out of the rubble and ruins come adequate structures. In the liberated territories people are poor, but medical care is free to everyone, people are learning to read and no one starves. The new life represents the independence and democracy for which the people of South Vietnam have fought so hard.

Nixon and Thieu have both failed to observe the terms of the Agreement they signed. U.S. military advisors, disguised as civilians, continue to advise and organize Thieu's police and army. The U.S. has violated the Agreement by sending in new weapons, like F5-E jets. The Nixon administration is asking Congress to approve \$2.4 billion in military and economic aid to South Vietnam. This is an increase of about 65 percent over what was approved for this year. When the money for Cambodia and Laos is included, the total Nixon request is \$3.5 billion. The administration justifies this increase because of inflation, and now Kissinger is arguing that the U.S. is "obligated" by the Cease-Fire Agreement to give aid to Thieu.

South Vietnam is a police state, 90 percent funded by U.S. tax dollars. This aid makes possible the continued role of the dictator Thieu. The attacks he has ordered launched against the liberated

zones are major obstacles to peace and make possible the re-escalation of the war at any time.

There is still necessary Vietnam work to be done by the U.S. anti-imperialist movement. A strong movement is the greatest support we could give. It would put pressure on Nixon and the government, and it would continue to build our own struggle here. As time passes, and reconstruction proceeds, the strength of the liberated areas will grow and the power of Thieu will be weakened. We can help. We must demand that the Nixon government abide by the Agreement and stop aid to Thieu, and we must remain vigilant against the possibility of U.S. re-escalation.

The Vietnamese struggle is the most significant political event of our generation. Understanding the history of the Vietnam war is a key to understanding the present world situation, the present U.S. governmental crisis, the present possibilities for the revolutionary movement here, and a correct anti-imperialist perspective. This is the era of national liberation, and for most of the past fifteen years, Vietnam has been the leading force in this struggle.

The Vietnam war, alongside the struggle of Black people, sparked the youth revolt of the '60s and created the conditions for the New Left to mature. The relentless barbarity and length of the U.S. aggression became a crucible within which our generation learned about U.S. society. We were forced to see the horrors of empire and the real nature of the monster we live in: we "discovered" imperialism.

Many conflicting forces were at work within the youth movement: progressive characteristics were in conflict with reactionary aspects, and class struggle took place within the culture. The growing independence of young people was a multi-billion dollar market to be exploited with waste commodities. But during the years of resistance — from the Pentagon and Stop the Draft Week, to Kent State and massive protests against the Cambodia invasion — the strength of the strong anti-imperialist forces and consciousness were the "best self" of the youth revolt. We did, at long last, get into the dirtiest of all wars. Slowly, in hesitation and confusion, we responded to the heroism, humanity and revolutionary principle of an Asian people, led by a saintly and very tough revolutionary, Ho Chi Minh.

The draft was an immediate force that pushed us to become an anti-imperialist movement. It was an attack on poor, Black and Third World and working-class youth. Seven million young men

served in the armed forces during the Vietnam War. Few families were spared some direct confrontation with the war machine. At the same time, millions of us took to the streets to protest the 1970 invasion of Cambodia. The seriousness of our threat was growing. The killings of students at Jackson State and Kent State had a significant effect on the youth movement. The war was brought home and Nixon was determined to have law-and-order until the U.S. could pull off its "peace with honor" charade and get U.S. troops out of South Vietnam.

What was happening here was only part of a larger process taking place around the world. It took the Vietnamese many years to force the U.S. troop withdrawal. It was four years between the Tet Offensive — which broke the back of the invading army — forced Johnson to step down and the U.S. to negotiate — and the 1972 Final Offensive. During that time, the anti-war movement reached its greatest strength and the largest and most militant demonstrations took place. Inspired by the Black Panthers and other Black fighters, many whites such as Sam Melville, Cameron Bishop, the New Year's Gang in Madison, and ourselves began building armed struggle. Our movement was undergoing profound changes as the Vietnamese people were leading the attack against U.S. imperialism.

INTERNATIONAL VICTORY

The Vietnamese built international solidarity around their struggle. They organized a broad united front against imperialism throughout the world. This international front — of which the movement in the United States is an important part — consisted of many Third World nations, the socialist countries and opposition movements within the imperialist countries. Mass anti-war movements grew, not only in the U.S., but in Japan, France, Great Britain, West Germany and Sweden.

In an era of intense contradictions among the socialist countries, Vietnam fought for a strategic focus on U.S. imperialism as the major enemy of the world's people — and united all socialist countries in support of its struggle.

The success of the Vietnamese struggle helped call into being the unity of the non-aligned nations. Historic conferences in Guyana (1972) and Algeria (1973), recognized the PRG and the Cambodian government in exile of Norodom Sihanouk, and sparked the growth of the progressive alliance that is becoming an increasingly important force in the world.

By tying down the U.S. military forces throughout the '60s, the Vietnamese opened up the space for other Third World nations to resist imperialism. With the bulk of U.S. armed forces in Vietnam, including 70 percent of the air force at the height of the air war, the U.S. was not in a position to send the Marines to Chile nor to intervene for Portugal in Guinea-Bissau. Cuba was able to survive, and in turn help Vietnam. This was Che's understanding of "Two, Three, Many Vietnams," a strategy to overextend and defeat U.S. imperialism.

By forcing the U.S. to use its entire array of weapons, Vietnam stripped all pretense from U.S. neocolonialism. Anti-U.S. demonstrations took place in the Philippines, Mexico, Lebanon, Iran and Argentina. This showed an inherent instability in the U.S. empire. Neocolonial governments faced pressure from their own people to oppose the Vietnam War or face rebellion at home.

The U.S. attempt to win the war exacerbated the U.S. balance of payments and produced a monetary crisis. Skyrocketing inflation and unemployment at the same time — supposedly an impossibility under "modern capitalism" — cut into the living standards of Third World people, working people, and the poor throughout the U.S.

The deteriorating economic situation of the U.S. has meant that its domination over rival advanced capitalist countries is under greater attack and is no longer as secure. The growing strength of Japan and the EEC pose new conflicts for U.S. imperialism.

There is no doubt that the present political isolation of U.S. imperialism — evidenced in the recent UN decision to declare Puerto Rico a colony, the Arab and African stand against U.S.-backed Israeli-zionism, the world condemnation of the U.S. and NATO support for Portugal's African wars, the admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN, recognition of Cuba by a number of Latin American countries — can be traced to U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

NATIONAL VICTORY

The victory won by the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism is plainly reflected in the Cease-Fire Agreement:

The United States and all other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

and

The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.

The Agreement further states that the United States will dismantle its military bases in South Vietnam, will withdraw all military forces including advisors, and will not introduce new military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material into South Vietnam.

This is a statement of the goals of the National Liberation Front since its founding in 1960 — goals that the U.S. government was forced to accept and sign after thirteen years of aggression.

The period of total war and attempted genocide has been defeated, and the U.S. now has been forced into a public recognition of the NLF program. The Vietnamese victory came at a phenomenal cost to the Vietnamese people and their homeland; the suffering was incalculable. Yet their victory is of enormous consequence. The Vietnamese people, through massive mobilization and the successful carrying out of a people's war of liberation, drove out the U.S. invading force, and thereby checked the advance of U.S. imperialism.

The Vietnam War shows that an organized, united Third World nation can hold off and eventually defeat the full force of U.S. imperialism. This is a major blow to the U.S. attempt to convince oppressed peoples, including those within its own boundaries, that it is "invincible."

The Vietnamese strategy was based on the mobilizing of their own people. They raised people's war to a new level of heroism and humanity, applying the strategy to Vietnamese conditions. The Vietnamese say: "If the resistance is strong, even a Hawk may be forced to withdraw. If the resistance is weak, even a Dove may be tempted to invade." The Vietnamese liberation forces were able to defeat each successive U.S. strategy. The Tet Offensive of 1968 showed that 500,000 U.S. troops would not be enough to maintain the U.S. in Vietnam.

Nixon created the policy of "Vietnamization" — changing the color of the corpses. It was a failure militarily, defeated in the invasions of Cambodia and Laos, and in the 1972 Final Offensive. It was these defeats, capped by the failure of Nixon's late December bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong, which forced him to withdraw just as the French were obliged to withdraw after their defeat at Dien Bien Phu. The Vietnamese refer to the destruction of 1/5 of the entire U.S. B-52 fleet over Hanoi and Haiphong during the Christmas bombings as the Dien Bien Phu of the skies.

Chapter 1, Article 1. of the Cease-Fire Agreement states simply and clearly that the U.S. accepts the definition of Vietnam "recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam." This says that Vietnam is one country, temporarily divided.

The full measure of U.S. defeat can be judged, when one considers that in 1954 the U.S. 1) refused to accept the Geneva Agreements; 2) immediately set out to subvert them by installing a neocolonial puppet regime in Saigon; and 3) fought the longest war in U.S. history to maintain two Vietnams.

"ALL FOR VIETNAM"

The vanguard nature of Vietnamese liberation in the past decade means that we can approach the difficult questions of class analysis, consciousness and potential, by looking at how various groups within society were affected by the anti-war struggle. This way we avoid an idealist or opportunist class analysis, and begin with our understanding, based on practice, of the leading anti-imperialist forces in society. Black and Third World people, and young people — especially students and members of the armed forces — responded to the Vietnam War in the most consistently principled way. These are the forces within society who kept open the possibility of joint action between the oppressed in our country and those in the Third World. Because of its anti-imperialist perspective, the New Left became a cutting edge for the expression of working-class consciousness and commitment. Support for the leading force in the fight against the common enemy is the essential and necessary content of proletarian internationalism here and now.

Many organizations pay lip-service to the anti-imperialist struggle. But those movement organizations who, in practice, did not come to give full support to the Vietnamese struggle as the main priority of class struggle made a serious error. This was especially true during the 1972 Final Offensive, when — between the launching of the offensive on March 31, 1972, and the signing of the Cease-Fire Agreement on January 27, 1973 — the slogan of the movement should have been: "All for Vietnam." By this measure we criticize our own practice during the Final Offensive, when we organized under this slogan, but were not successful in carrying out our full program, especially at the time of the Christmas bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong.

This does not mean that organizing among women, students or workers should have been deferred so that we all could work on mobilizations. It does mean that the period of the Final Offensive

was a unique time in history, when a specific struggle of momentous consequence to the overall weakening of imperialism was in a decisive stage that required full and uncompromising support. It will be a great leap if we can learn to identify those crucial times when a particular anti-imperialist focus becomes the central strategic task of our movement.

Today, many of the same errors continue to play themselves out in various movement responses to the continuing imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia.

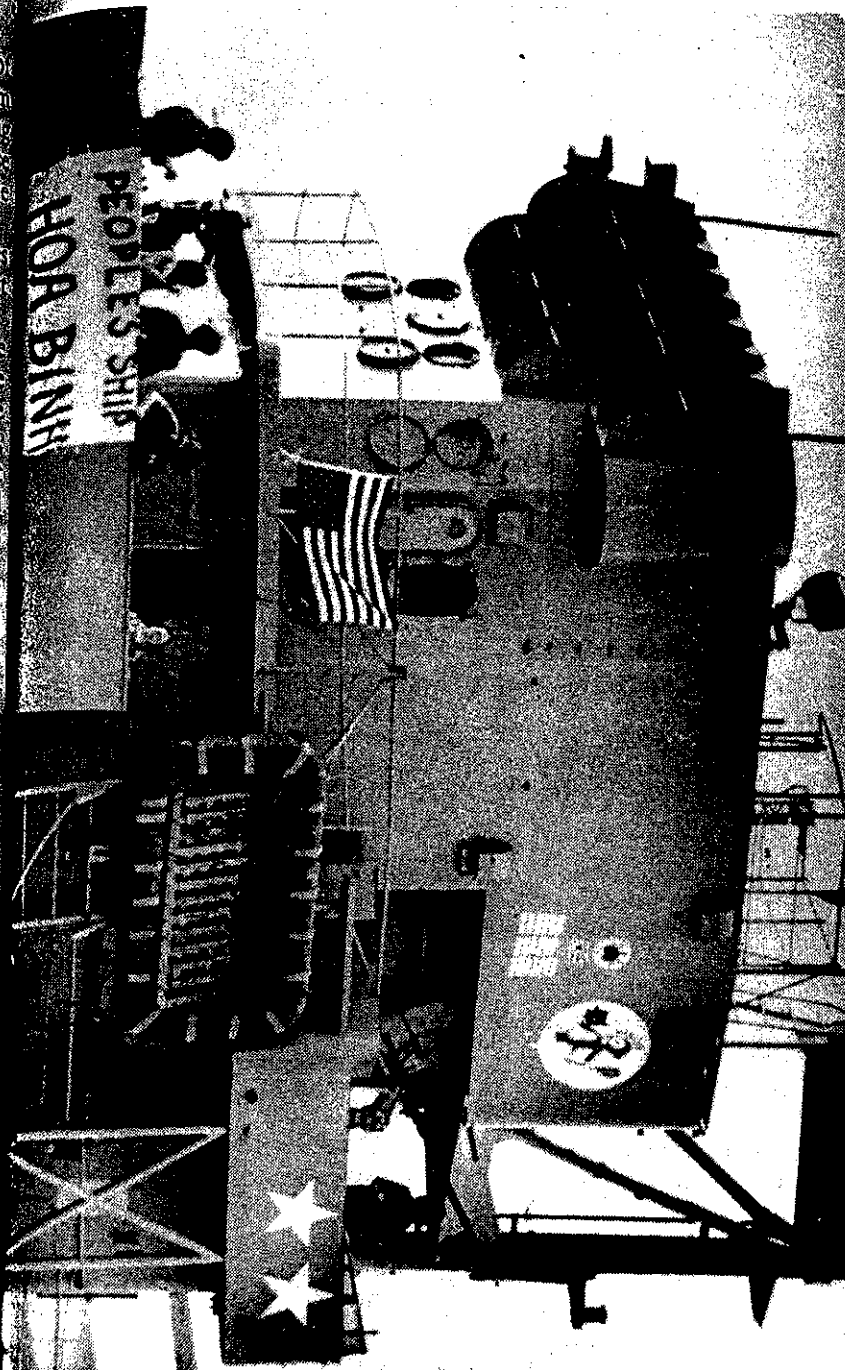
A major error is to be blind to Vietnam's victory. The mistake does not distinguish between victory and Final Victory. There are many victories still to be won in Vietnam: the defeat of the puppet regime in the South, reunification of the North and South, the consolidation of socialism throughout all of Vietnam. But victory in revolution is not like the seventh game of the world series. Victory is built for over time, through a series of successes and failures.

When a variety of quantitative changes achieve a point of qualitative change, this can be considered a victory. The defeat of U.S. ground troops provides an example: for three years the Vietnamese fought the full force of the U.S. armed forces on the ground. In that time there were many defeats and losses as well as many victories. By Tet, 1968, the successes had become the *direction* of the war. The Tet Offensive was extremely costly to the Vietnamese liberation fighters; it was also the decisive turning point in the victory over U.S. ground forces. It was also the point at which Vietnamese victory became inevitable, and the remaining question became: "At what cost?" The Vietnamese demand for this stage of the struggle was for U.S. ground troops to leave their soil, to allow the Vietnamese themselves to resolve the conflict. This has been partially achieved and is the essence of the victory of the Cease-Fire Agreement.

Another major error is to say that the anti-war movement was powerless and failed to affect the outcome of the war. These are words we hear from Nixon. They are destructive lies. Don't do the State's work.

With an enemy as powerful as U.S. imperialism, every peoples' victory is to be treasured and claimed. To deny the major accomplishment of our movement leaves the people weak and demoralized. In our statement "Common Victories" on the occasion of the signing of the Cease-Fire Agreement we said:

We urge all opponents of the government's war policies to allow themselves to seize and celebrate this triumph. We welcome the renewal



which comes from sharing the aspirations of a heroic people. Distrust of the Nixon-rulers must not blind us to the light of Vietnam. Without savoring our common victories, we become cynical and paralyzed. Expecting everything, we discard anything less. Now the Vietnamese can order their unification, plant and harvest, heal and teach, in their own time.

The movement played a specific and important role. Without it, the Johnson-Nixon governments would most likely have:

- launched a land invasion of North Vietnam
- waged tactical or full nuclear war
- started a war with China
- bombed the dikes of North Vietnam

These were all genocidal weapons in the ruling-class arsenal. Without a growing anti-war movement, without drastic escalation in the nature and militancy of our resistance, they might have been used. The political cost at home for each successive strategy became an important point in deferring the use of these weapons.

A point of great resistance to the war was the May 1970 youth rebellion in response to the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. The uprising forced Nixon into an early withdrawal from Cambodia and resulted in legislation prohibiting direct U.S. intervention in Cambodia. Perhaps most importantly, Nixon did not dare use massive U.S. troops in the subsequent invasion of Laos. This restriction aided the stunning victory of the Pathet Lao — a decisive defeat for Nixon's strategy of extending the war throughout Indochina.

The anti-war movement can count other significant successes in a decade of resistance. Never, in the entire history of the U.S. did the rulers have a harder time controlling the minds that pulled the triggers than in Vietnam. Active duty enlisted people developed high consciousness about the nature of imperialism. Military insubordination, desertion, sabotage, and fragging weakened the imperial army and made it unreliable. As a result, U.S. ground forces can no longer be counted upon as a dependable weapon of counterinsurgency. It is very difficult to imagine sending an army that has so many Black and Third World soldiers or put down wars of liberation in Africa or to side with Israeli zionism in the Mideast.

Military Conscription has been abolished. The volunteer army is a somewhat futile attempt to rebuild a strong military by eliminating the unwilling draftee.

A third major error is to say that the struggle of an underdeveloped country like Vietnam is so fundamentally

different from our own that there are no lessons to be learned. The Vietnamese people have taught us a lot if we are able to open ourselves and learn:

— They have shown in practice how to build a revolutionary culture based on internationalism and total commitment to the struggle. In the days immediately following the coup in Chile, the police occupied a large factory. About 20 workers died in combat and a young Vietnamese who had been there since June 1973, learning the technology of food production, climbed on the roof, filled his pockets with dynamite sticks and jumped on top of a police bus as it was coming into the courtyard. He was killed along with 40 policemen. The Vietnamese have shown in practice how to respond to setbacks and defeat by mobilizing and continuing to build forward motion. Victory lies in collective unity, courage and sacrifice.

— The leading role of women in the Vietnamese struggle has been a lesson and an inspiration to oppressed people everywhere. The high number of women in Thieu's jails — over 100,000 — indicates the role women play in the liberation movement. Tens of thousands have been active in the guerrilla army. The Women's Union of South Vietnam has been a leading organization of the liberation struggle. Elderly women composed the Army of Mothers of Fighters, bringing food and medicine to the soldiers on the battlefields. The desertion rate of the Saigon army, which soared to 20,000 per month during the 1972 Final Offensive, was partly the work of the political army of women known as the Long-Haired Army,

In 1970, while working in the rice fields, a mother and daughter-in-law were raped and killed by U.S. soldiers. This drove a group of Saigon women, including Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh, a lawyer with a Ph.D. from Columbia University, to organize the Committee to Defend the Right to Live and the Dignity of Vietnamese Women. Their demands were that the dignity of women be respected, that the right of women to struggle be recognized, that U.S. troops be withdrawn, and that a coalition government in South Vietnam be formed.

Two Vietnamese women leaders are especially known and loved around the world. Madame Nguyen Thi Binh is the Foreign Minister of the PRG of South Vietnam. Now 47, she had participated continuously in the struggle since she was eighteen years old. At 24 she was imprisoned and tortured by the South Vietnamese police under French direction. Today she is working in her office in Quang Tri Province.



Madame Nguyen Thi Dinh, from a poor peasant family, is now Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the army of the PRG of South Vietnam. She was seventeen when she joined the resistance. In 1954 she led the first armed uprising against the U.S. supported dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem.

— Prior to the Vietnamese victory the U.S. seemed invincible. In our lifetime we had not been aware of any U.S. defeat. Of course the U.S. didn't win in Korea, but this information was skillfully hidden from us. This knowledge affects our ability to conceive of revolution in our own country.

— The Vietnamese organized around the idea that there is a difference between the people of the U.S. and the government of the U.S. By so doing they helped make it real. A major reason for the success of the anti-war movement here was the friendship extended by the Vietnamese people to the U.S. people.

— The significance of the Cease-Fire Agreement is that the strength of people — in Vietnam, around the world, in the U.S. itself — was pitted against a handful of men who control technological power and the means of violence. A small poor country can defeat the largest, richest power in the world, provided its people are united and its cause is just.

What an ominous message for the U.S. empire. What an inspiration and comfort for all people.

SUPPORT THE VIETNAMESE STRUGGLE

People are protest-weary and now some have been put to sleep. They believe the media, not only that the war is over, but that the conflict has receded into the background. Our movement is very much undermined by accepting these lies. Not only does it alienate us from our history and so prevent a maturing of movement, but it is also a betrayal of the Vietnamese.

We cannot make the mistake of waiting until the war heats up again to respond to imperialist plans. Our inaction *increases* the chances of U.S. military reintervention. Thieu would fall if the U.S. cut off all aid.

Support for the Vietnamese revolution can be incorporated into individual practice as well as the program of anti-imperialist organizations. Whatever work we do, in day care centers, in factories, on the streets or in jails, education about Vietnam, support for the demands of the Vietnamese people, and resistance to Nixon's aggression are priorities for revolutionaries organizing at this time. Vietnam should play a role in our everyday work.

It is true that Vietnam work cannot be sustained if it is isolated

from the building of the left. However, a left which does not relate to Vietnam is not a healthy left.

FOUR MAIN ISSUES

Attacks on Liberated Zones

Thieu and his administration have been saying that they expect a military offensive by the North, but it is Thieu's forces that are guilty of attacking and attempting to reconquer liberated territory. South Vietnamese pilots have dropped U.S.-made bombs from U.S.-made planes all over the liberated zones. Thieu is using the pretext of an offensive to cover his own violations of the Agreement and as an excuse to get more advanced weapons and more money from the U.S., in violation of the Agreement. His friend Nixon may not last as the U.S. President and Thieu knows he has little support left.

No Aid to Thieu

In the Agreement, the U.S. recognized the reality of two separate zones of administration, two governments and two armies in the South. Nixon has since denied this in his statements. In the Agreement, the U.S. pledged not to impose an administration or political personality, to respect the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. But U.S. aid and weapons maintain the Thieu administration. We must warn the people of the risk of war.

Healing the Wounds of War

The U.S. has failed to honor Article 21 of the Agreement which calls for the U.S. to "contribute to healing the wounds of war and to post-war reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North) and throughout Indochina."

Political Prisoners

The agreement calls for the release of all political prisoners held in Thieu's prisons. But over 200 thousand people remain imprisoned by Thieu for political beliefs and actions.

At the time of the signing of the Agreement, Thieu reclassified thousands of political prisoners as "common criminals" as a tactic to avoid their release. Many of these people are leaders of the anti-Thieu, non-communist, neutralist group — the third force in South Vietnamese politics. According to the terms of the Agreement, they are supposed to help form the new tri-partite Government of National Reconciliation and Concord. Their release is essential to the successful implementation of the Agreement.

The South Vietnamese prisons and tiger cages are built by the U.S. construction combine RM-BRJ (Raymond, Morrison, Knudson, & Brown, Root and Jones). Smith and Wesson manufactures the handcuffs used in the Saigon jails. Prison officials are trained and their funds are supplied by only one source: the U.S. government.

A PROGRAM TO FOCUS ON VIETNAM

— Justice to War Criminals: Amnesty for Resisters

The criminals of this period are the aggressors, the imperialists, the war-makers. Some are corporate leaders who built the sophisticated tools of death; some are government bureaucrats who wrote the contingency plans for bombing the dikes; those responsible for ecological devastation and teaching new methods of torture. Some are the perpetrators of massacres and urban bombings. The Pentagon Papers give a partial list of the crimes and the criminals; the Watergate revelations and dissection of the Nixon organization provides another partial listing. The criminals must be brought to justice.

The heroes and heroines of this period are those who opposed — no matter how inarticulately, no matter what the medium — the aggression in Vietnam. This includes deserters and draft resisters, those dishonorably discharged and those still in stockades, the court marshalled and the fraggers. It includes the thousands of G.I.'s who left the service with less than honorable discharges. It also includes civilians who were arrested and charged with acts of opposing the war, those who lost jobs and sacrificed careers, those who are fugitives or still in prison for their opposition.

Those who opposed the war in Vietnam deserve total vindication. Raise the demand:

**UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL WAR RESISTERS!
A SINGLE-TYPE DISCHARGE FOR ALL VETERANS!**

— The War to Explain the War

The falsification of history of the Vietnam War began years ago and continues to this day. The falsification of history is a most powerful weapon, used against Black people, working people, women and Native Americans. Nixon and his strategic advisors — his coterie of ad men — have generated vast energy, spent millions of dollars and used every political swindle to hide the true story of the Vietnam War from the U.S. people.

Nixon and his class are scared because the Vietnam War exposed

so much. It is essential to them to convince the U.S. people that withdrawal was "peace with honor," that resistance to the war inside the U.S. never had any effect or consequence on its end, that Vietnam was the "most selfless war in history." The barbaric Christmas bombing was murder for propaganda — a cruel attempt to cover U.S. defeat with a show of terror. POW's have been used, trying to whip up a mood of tinny patriotism and panicky reaction where it would be easy to attack anti-war people and justify the most barbarous Nixon policies. It hasn't worked, but the battle is far from over.

We must all become teachers, using pictures, maps, books, slides, and newspaper clippings as tools. The true history of Vietnam must be taken to the people and fought for. The War to Explain the War should not be taken lightly by us; it is taken dead seriously by our enemies.

— The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam is an internationally recognized government. It receives aid from many socialist countries. In a beautiful and historic act of international solidarity, Fidel Castro visited Quang Tri Province last year, the first head of state to enter liberated South Vietnam. In the liberated zones, the foundation for socialism is being built. South Vietnam could possibly develop the next socialist revolution to occur in the world. Support for the PRG is a priority.

Life in the liberated zones of South Vietnam is organized collectively and run for the benefit of the whole people. North Vietnam has made tremendous sacrifices and served as the base area for the liberation of the South. With time, the liberated zones will grow in size and population, as more and more Vietnamese flee the oppression and dislocation of life under Thieu. Without the countryside, the cities cannot survive and will eventually fall.

The liberation armed forces continue to grow and continue to retaliate for attacks made by Thieu forces against the PRG territory. Only a massive re-intervention of U.S. ground troops can postpone the eventual collapse of the Saigon regime. Recognizing this, Nixon tries to ignore the PRG, referring to Thieu as the "legitimate" government of South Vietnam. The strength of our support for the PRG will affect how long it takes for reunification to occur. The revolutionary movement must demand that the Cease-Fire Agreement be upheld and raise the slogan:

DEFEND THE PRG!

NO AID TO THIEU!

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

DEFEND THE PRG!

HANDS OFF LAOS!

U.S. OUT OF CAMBODIA!

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We are a people who understand the price of solidarity. Many people who are living in comfort, who do not suffer from hunger or cold, whose house stays here for a hundred years not destroyed at all, they do not understand the price of solidarity. But we understand what solidarity means no matter how small it may be. In our people, there is a saying: a piece of bread for you when you are hungry is more precious than a banquet when you are better . . . That is why, dear friends, don't believe that your actions are so ineffective . . . please don't believe here that anything you state in solidarity with Vietnam, anything you are doing, any minute you spend in the cold before the American embassy . . . any poster painted on the wall . . . all these acts are more valuable for us than all the gold you may give us.

Le Van Sau  
PRG representative  
December 2, 1972

## ON THE ROAD: IMPRESSIONS OF U.S. HISTORY

One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk.

Tashunka Witko  
(Crazy Horse)

The man over there says women need to be helped in carriages and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over puddles, or gives me the best place —and ain't I a woman? Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man could head me —and ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man —when I could get it —and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most of 'em sold into slavery, and when I cried out with mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me —and ain't I a woman?

Sojourner Truth

I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with Blood. I had as I now think vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done.

John Brown

A people's history is a powerful weapon. In the hands of the oppressors, history is twisted and caricatured. In the arsenal of the revolution, it helps us draw the difficult lessons from past struggles and identify the resistance which has always opposed the enemy.

But history is a weapon only if used honestly, only if reverses as well as high-points, accomodation with empire and white supremacy as well as resistance to it, are looked at straight-on. Looking at the "Founding Fathers" as our radical predecessors or viewing our history as all struggle and no compromise does nothing to help us understand our present situation.

The real history of the U.S. is almost totally unknown to the U.S. people. The most important parts have been buried, falsified, hidden from our view. U.S. history is a product of the conflict between European invaders and Native Americans, white masters and Black slaves, the colonizing army and the colonized, bosses and workers, male supremacists and women, imperialists and anti-imperialists. What must be unearthed are the possibilities for liberation at any given stage, how far these were carried, what held us back, what basis was laid for future struggles, including our own.

This history is not meant to be definitive; it is not a complete or chronological analysis of the U.S. past. We focus on and analyze the periods which mark intersections or qualitative turning points in the people's struggle. Many critical periods are not examined, others are looked at only in passing. This analysis represents the beginning of a process, not its final conclusion. With the U.S. government now organizing for a patriotic outburst in 1976, this is an important time to begin learning real lessons from U.S. history, preparing to take them to the people. The Bicentennial Period can be transformed into a time of action and organizing, demolishing the myths, drawing on the examples and the battles which have come before us.



## IN THE BEGINNING: Genocide, Slavery, Racism

The true history of the Americas begins with the original peoples of the hemisphere: the rise of the brilliant societies of the Mayas and the Toltecs, the Caribs in the Indies, the Incas of Peru, the Aztecs of Mexico, the Tainos of Borinquen (now Puerto Rico), the Iroquois of the Northeast and the Pueblos in the Southwest of the U.S. This history continues today from Latin America to Alaska.

The first significant European intervention was by Christopher Columbus, an Italian in the pay of Genoan capital, who sailed under the flag of Spain. Columbus noted his first day on American soil that "the people are ingenious and would make good servants." When Columbus returned to Hispaniola (Haiti-Santo Domingo), the occupying army he left to oversee the mining of Hispaniolan gold had been wiped out by the Carib people. Columbus attacked again, this time subduing the resistance and beginning systematic genocide against the Indians. In 1492, there were somewhat under 300,000 American Indians living in Hispaniola. By 1512, there were less than 14,000 Indians left on the Columbus plantations.

Whole areas lost their native populations in this way as the Spanish colonists worked millions of Indians to death. Since mines and plantations are run for profit, and couldn't work without slaves, the Spanish did two things: they turned to the trade in African slaves to "repopulate" the Caribbean, and they also "rationalized" their plantation system. This was to insure that the new slaves would live long enough to "breed."

In Mexico and South America, the Spanish adopted a system of peonage, a form of serfdom. A class of Mestizos, persons of Spanish and Indian descent, developed. This system was carried to what is now the Southwest and California.

The British colonies were populated mainly by settlers. A whole group of dissenters, poor farmers, and workers fled poverty and oppression to come to the New World. Many were indentured servants, or chronically unemployed. Others were poor people sentenced to long prison terms or deportation for small crimes. There were also some rich "gentlemen farmers" and mercenaries out for loot.

There was plenty of land in North America to be had by stealing it from the American Indians. In the South, land was suitable for tobacco, indigo, rice, sugar cane, and eventually, cotton. These crops required a plantation economy and a large labor force. But with so much land for the taking, who would

labor cheaply enough to make the plantation owners rich?

Only forced labor — slaves. Chattel slaves — that is, not people but commodities, having no family worth respecting, no personal rights or property, bound for life and generations to come.

Historically, the cultural and social justification of slavery had been religious. This was true during the Crusades in Europe and in the Mideast, and was carried by feudal Spain into its conquests in the Caribbean and South and Central America. Religion was the main ideological control of feudal society and of early capitalism. Chattel slavery was defended as the means of saving the souls of "ignorant heathens" from eternal hell-fire by giving them the "blessing" of Christianity.

When Columbus exterminated the Indians of the Caribbean and replaced them with Black slaves from Africa, several important changes occurred. The plantations grew cash crops for the market and became highly profitable. Slavery became the most powerful lever of expanding capitalism. The slave trade in human bodies was itself most profitable; together with cheaper food and raw materials, this assured the victory of booming mercantile capitalism over the weaker economy of feudalism.

Slavery was never a separate economy in the Caribbean or the Southern colonies of North America — it served the capitalist market and capitalist production from the very first. Huge profits from the slave trade went to the commercial ports of the budding industrial areas of the Northeast and New York. In short, the cornerstone of "free enterprise" is the enslavement of Black Africans.

In the British colonies of North America, unlike the Spanish colonies, there was a population of poor workers and farmers, competing religious groups, plus traditions of poor workers and farmers, competing religious groups, plus traditions of dissent and ideas about "free-born Englishmen." No matter how idealized these notions might have been, the fact of class struggle by a mainly Anglo, Dutch, and German white population made the problems of control different than those of the Caribbean where there were no Spanish workers, other than soldiers. The Spanish Catholic Church, as a unified institution of the Spanish authoritarian state, was itself a powerful means of control with its missions, which were actually plantations as well.

In the Southern part of the British colonies of North America, conversion of Blacks to Christianity tended to break down the traditional barriers between poor, indentured whites and Black

slaves. During the 17th century, Blacks and whites escaped together from forced labor, intermarried, rebelled together in the West Indies, Virginia, South Carolina and Maryland. Virginia planters passed a Fugitive Act in 1643 which ordered that runaway servants should serve additional time twice the length of their absence, and should be branded with an R (for rogue) for a second offense.

Struggles continued to develop around length of service and working conditions. The faintest possibility of unity among the different classes of the oppressed terrified the slaveowners. Because of this, distinctions of color and origin were promoted into an entire system of racism. Africans were made slaves for life, while the white servants were to be freed after a set period. The planters began the conscious cultivation of the whites as overseers, using the myth of the "free-born Englishman" in contrast to the African — now deemed an animal, less than human.

Discrimination based on color did already exist in Europe, North Africa and the Mideast. However, these ideas were still incidental and subordinate to concepts of native or foreigner, Christian or pagan, aristocrat or peasant.

Racism as a prime social and cultural dividing line was born in North America, out of slavery — it was born out of greed for profit, perpetrated by deception and a monopoly of firearms, not out of biological superiority real or imagined. The notion that slavery is somehow based upon racial and cultural inferiority of African and other Third World peoples has been deeply embedded into every U.S. institution as the chief means of brainwashing and using the white population.

The importance of this to us is that it begins to focus on the other, hidden side of our history that the rulers conceal.

Racism is not only directed at Black people — it is also aimed at controlling whites to keep Black people in slavery, and the rulers firmly in command.

The institutionalizing of white supremacy created a structure to divide the white worker and small farmer from the Black slave. Coupled with the economic bribe of white privilege, it is the cornerstone of U.S. history, the rock upon which capitalism and imperialism have been erected. It is not the material bribe alone that is effective; it is the bribe plus self-justification, social approval and status, backed up by punishment for non-conformity, that does the trick.

The U.S. invented a new kind of racism and a more horrible form of slavery. It has been building on this ever since, and exporting its variety of racism to the rest of the world.

The African slave trade was an unprecedented event in human history. The modern slave trade went on for 350 years. It came to an end about 100 years ago. Africans were kidnapped on the West Coast of Africa and brought to the West Indies in exchange for tobacco, cotton, rice and molasses. In turn, slaves and the sugar products were carried to the mainland colonies, which sent food to the West Indies, tobacco and rice to Europe, and distilled rum (from molasses) to Africa. The first African slave arrived here in 1619. In 1770, 4/5 of all colonial exports was rum to Africa. Ten to fifteen million Africans were landed in the Americas. More than that — estimates range from between 20 and 200 million — died on the way. This was the triangular slave trade, the very foundation of rising capitalism.

### NATIVE AMERICAN RESISTANCE: The Early Stages

Will we let ourselves be destroyed in our turn without a struggle, give up our homes, our country bequeathed to us by the Great Spirit, the graves of our dead and everything that is dear and sacred to us? I know you will cry with me, "Never, Never!"

Tecumtha

In North America, Native Americans prevented their enslavement as a people by fighting for their land and freedom. Indians waged protracted wars of resistance, holding out in parts of the U.S. until 1890. In spite of the destruction of whole nations, Indian culture and Indian people survive and fight to this day.

Perhaps two million Native Americans within what is now the U.S. were killed in battle, died as slaves due to extreme overwork and little food, or from white man's diseases like measles and smallpox. They could not be captured in sufficient numbers to supply the labor force needed to enrich the European slaveowners and merchants.

When the attempt to enslave Indians failed, the colonizers went on to destroy Indian power and seize their land. King Phillip, leader of the Wampanoags (the rescuers of the starving Pilgrims — an event ritualized at Thanksgiving) understood what was happening. He worked to bring together neighboring nations and drive the settlers out. His armies fought hard, attacking 52 of the 90 New England colonial towns. Internal disputes, a hard winter, betrayals and superior fire-power defeated the rebellion, which ended in August 1676. Many Indians, along with King Phillip, were killed.





During the colonial period, except at the very first when the settlers were weak and couldn't make it on their own, few whites accepted Indians as human beings. Some backwoods people, a number of runaway servants, religious outcasts and dissenters were friendly. Considerable numbers of escaped slaves also developed ties with Indian people, notably the Seminoles in Florida.

But, the prevailing attitudes were expressed by the Dutch patroons introducing tomahawks in New Amsterdam (later to become New York City) to frontiersmen eager to scalp Indians for \$100 bounty — a huge sum for those days. This was the origin of the saying, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." The colonists came from poor, depressed parts of Europe, eager for land. The desire for land, and with it freedom from servitude and wage labor, dominated early colonial and U.S. history. Land ownership was a viable resolution of many social and class contradictions.

In 1763, the British forbade colonial expansion beyond the Appalachian mountains. This curbed the land speculations of the wealthiest colonists, like George Washington, Ben Franklin and Patrick Henry. It was one of the causes of the Revolution in 1776.

After the Revolution, the speculators felt free to move into the West. Many Indian tribes understood the new government's intentions. While the American Revolution was fought against the fetters imposed by British colonialism on the rapidly developing colonial economy, it was clearly not fought in the interests of either Native Americans or Black slaves. Consider the following condemnation of King George in the Declaration of Independence.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers, the merciless Indians savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

Washington's troops burned Iroquois villages during the Revolutionary War. Not one major tribe lined up with the colonists during the Revolution.

In 1787, Congress authorized the takeover the Ohio Valley. The Shawnee and the Miami, united by thirty years of struggle, fought back. Led by Little Turtle, they defeated a 1400-man U.S. force in 1790, and in 1791 routed St. Clair's army of two thousand. In 1794, Mad Anthony Wayne invaded Indian territory, defeated the Shawnee at Fallen Timbers and celebrated the victory by burning every Indian village on the way back to his fort. The visitors forced the Treaty of Greenville upon the Indians and poured in missionaries, whiskey and settlers. But the Indians still did not capitulate.

From the Shawnee arose a great American Indian leader, Tecumtha (Panther-Lying-In-Wait). He rallied the nations, travelling from Canada (Iroquois land) to Missouri (Osage territory) to Florida (Seminole nation). He argued for unified resistance, denounced alcohol and, with the help of his brother, called for revival of Indian culture and ways. He saw the moment as a strategic one: "a last chance such as will never occur again for us Indians of North America to form ourselves into one great combination." Tecumtha allied with the British in the War of 1812, starting off by capturing Detroit. The British betrayed Tecumtha, who died fighting a year later.

President Thomas Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803. This territory, almost equal in size to the entire U.S. of that date, was actually the land of the Sauk, Fox and other Indian tribes. Andrew Jackson, known as Sharp Knife to the Cherokees, rose to the Presidency by winning fame as an Indian killer and village burner. He used charges of Indian violence to move into Florida, Texas and Canada. Jackson was a popular hero: nearly everyone wanted more land, the only disputes were over how best to grab it from the Indians. Spearheading the land grab, the U.S. Army established forts throughout Indian territory, and began offensive operations. General Winfield Scott, a leading figure in U.S. wars against Mexico, was responsible for the Trail of Tears of the Cherokees in 1838. An entire people were forcibly removed from their homeland in the Southeastern U.S. and marched all the way to a reservation in Oklahoma. The wars against the Indians, like the war against Mexico in 1848, was a war of conquest, a war for land.

Demands now being made by Native Americans for land and for their own sovereignty as separate nations challenge all the terms upon which the U.S. built its empire, and this is why the Native American movement has a special significance for people fighting U.S. imperialism.

## BLACK RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY AND THE RISE OF THE ABOLITIONIST AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

The growing conflict between the Northern and Southern systems of production laid a basis for the Civil War. The Southern system was based on slavery and the cultivation of cotton as a main crop. In 1793, the invention of the cotton gin gave the cotton industry, and with it slavery, a new economic boost. It made cleaning the Southern short-staple cotton fairly efficient

more abundant and cheaper cotton also helped expand the textile industry in the Northeast, which became the center for manufacturing. Cotton cultivation exhausted the soil, which created the continuing need for expansion of the plantation system into new territory.

Up to 1860, the Southern slaveowners attempted to expand the slave system. Seaboard Atlantic states turned to slave breeding, while the expansionists eyed Cuba and Central America. Northern collaboration and compromise aided the planters. The seizure of Texas in 1836 from Mexico and its admission to the Union was part of slaveowners' plots to introduce six new slave states into the Union.

But many Northern industrialists and financiers recognized that the further spread of slavery would stifle their own ambitions; more profits and more political stability could be had by opening up the West and Southwest to industrial exploitation and "free farming." The planters won a great legal victory in 1857, with the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision which sanctioned the introduction of slavery into any free territory, even against the will of the majority of the settlers.

It was the continued resistance of Black slaves and their allies which finally brought matters to a head. As early as 1793 Toussaint L'Ouverture had led a famous slave revolution in Haiti against the French. The Haitian Revolution terrified the Southern slaveowners who feared that the example would spark similar uprisings in North America. Toussaint's forces used drums to communicate with each other; drums were now banned from the Southern plantations. Each rebellion spread panic throughout the slave-holding South: Gabriel Prosser's in Virginia in 1800; Denmark Vesey's in South Carolina in 1822; the Amistad Mutiny led by Joseph Cinque (from whom Ruchell Cinque Magee and SLA Field Marshall Cinque take their names today) in 1831; and Nat Turner's uprisings in Virginia in 1831. In 1829, David Walker, a freed Black man, published *David Walker's Appeal*, which called upon the slaves to rise up in revolution against their bondage.

Escape was a major form of slave resistance. Black soldiers from the War of 1812 brought back the news that slavery was outlawed in Canada. Routes of flight, twisting networks of paths, developed across the Appalachians, up through the Ohio and along the Eastern seacoast. These were the routes of the Underground Railroad, which in the 1840s prided itself on being the only railroad guaranteed not to break down. In the 1850s, something like five hundred Black people a year penetrated the South under



the most dangerous conditions to lead others to freedom. Harriet Tubman — called Moses by the slaves — was the most famous conductor. Not intimidated by a huge bounty on her head, she led hundreds North without ever losing a passenger. She said: "There are two things I've got a right to to, and these are death and liberty. One or the other I mean to have. No one will take me back alive."

The success of the Underground Railroad resulted in the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which ordered Northerners to return escaped slaves to the South and legalized the practice of vigilantes and slave-hunters. Quakers, New Englanders, Pennsylvanians, Ohians cooperated with Black people to rescue some 75,000 slaves in this brave episode in our history.

Black resistance defined the militant terms of the anti-slavery fight, and was an example to the two mass movements which grew up alongside the Black struggle — the Womens Movement and the Abolitionists.

During the early 1800s large numbers of women entered the textile mills and factories of New England for the first time. Often they found themselves at odds with the 19th century standards of factory decorum and with the fact that they were paid far less than men doing the same work. The first strike by women took place in the Dover, New Hampshire, mills in 1828. Proletarianization of U.S. women in the Northeast, the social contact in the mills, was a background for the upsurge in consciousness and protest among women which would develop over the next few decades. Bourgeois women, recently freed by the growth of factories from household chores like weaving, sewing and soap-making, also began to chafe at the limitations imposed on them because of sex.

From the earliest days of the anti-slavery fight, courageous women like Fanny Wright and Maria W. Stewart defied scorn and ridicule in order to speak out in public. Soon Female Anti-Slavery Societies were formed throughout the North, trying to recruit activists for the Underground Railroad, to write, persuade, and awaken their sisters to the tyranny of slavery. Women raised both the issue of abolition and equality for women. Slaveholders and male supremacists responded with threats of mob violence and bitter attacks on the women's character and reputations. Angelina and Sarah Grimke, born to a Southern slave-holding family, spoke out on "both freedoms" and opposed more conservative elements in the anti-slavery movement who were afraid of losing support if the subject of women's freedom was raised.

In 1840, the Anti-Slavery Convention in London refused to seat



women. Experienced and tireless U.S. women abolitionists were forced to sit behind curtains while the main debate went on. Charles Revson, a Black abolitionist, and William Lloyd Garrison, joined the women as a protest. Eight years later, the women's convention at Seneca Falls, New York, called for unconditional equality for women:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man towards women, having in direct object the establishment of absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

For over a quarter of a century, until a serious split developed after the Civil War, the two movements — to free the slaves and to liberate women — nourished and strengthened each other. White women openly advocated freedom for Black people; white and Black women walked calmly together through mobs of angry men, openly challenging the paranoia of plantation morality with its emphasis on the protection of dependent white women. This was a bold blow to racist and sexist ideology.

Contrary to the lies of official bourgeois history, the abolitionists were not abstract moralists, but a social movement based on the urgent necessity to end slavery. There were fierce struggles within the movement over goals and tactics. The abolitionists were split over the question of revolutionary violence, with a substantial number of white abolitionists unwilling to accept the uncompromising terms of the anti-slavery struggle. The leadership of free Black people and escaped slaves like Henry Garnet, David Walker, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth consistently pushed the abolitionists to more militant stands. National conventions of Black people in the North advocated the armed overthrow of the slave system while some abolitionists put forward notions of slaves going quietly back to Africa. Douglass' paper *The North Star*, was a voice for immediate emancipation and full rights for Blacks. Douglass argued for militant resistance to slavery:

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation and men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

The struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will.

At their best, the abolitionists refused to ignore, and more,

refused to let anyone else ignore, the reality of slavery. We see in the abolitionists the beginnings of a tradition of mass white support for Black liberation; the tensions and disagreements within the movement were not unlike those our own movement has faced — especially concerning Black peoples' right to direct their own struggle.

Abolitionists were called fanatics, lunatics and promoters of rebellion. Garrison's defense of the Nat Turner Rebellion, in which 60 white people were killed, brought the wrath of the slavery forces upon him. But he escalated, carrying out a speaking tour of New England. From the large crowds which turned out to hear him came the first meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society held on January 1, 1832. They called for immediate emancipation of slaves without any compensation to the slaveowners.

Simultaneously, a campaign for education and literacy went on clandestinely in the South, more openly in the North. The precious and outlawed right of Black people to read became a battleground — as it is today. Prudence Crandall opened her school in Connecticut to twenty or thirty Black girls in 1831; this led to her imprisonment, the burning-down of her house, and attempts to suppress the school.

Abolitionists like the Grimke sisters, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Wendell Phillips engaged in struggles for prison reform, against capital punishment, in support of Indian rights, and equal rights for women. Theodore Parker hid Black fugitives in his Boston church and protected them with guns.

And then there was old Osawatamie, John Brown. Brown led the four years of guerrilla warfare in Kansas, which kept that state from falling to the slavers. It was this victory in Kansas which drove the South to secede before the anti-slavery forces grew too much stronger. W.E.B. DuBois marked this as the start of the Civil War.

In 1859, John Brown, with a band of Kansas free-soldiers and ex-slaves, attacked the Harpers' Ferry Arsenal in Western Virginia, in direct response to the Dred Scott decision. Harriet Tubman planned to participate but was too ill to go along. John Brown's courage and sacrifice have been maligned as insanity, but he had a practical plan which almost worked. Even in defeat, he accomplished his stated goal of polarizing the mass of Northerners against slavery. Brown's action helped destroy the slave economy of Virginia as many plantation owners, terrified by the accelerating number of slave uprisings following Brown's raid, sold



their slaves in panic.

The Harpers' Ferry action was an effective use of armed struggle to sharpen an already-ripe political situation. John Brown is an example to us of dedication, belief in peoples' power to affect history and the willingness to risk everything in the cause of liberation.

## RECONSTRUCTION AND BETRAYAL

The Civil War began as a war fought by white people over the "future of the Union." At first, the U.S. government ignored Black people; there was no attempt to recruit them into the Union Army, they were not allowed to enlist. Union soldiers were forbidden to sing "John Brown's Body." Slavery, the underlying cause of the war, was a suppressed issue.

Over time, pushed by its wartime need for laborers and soldiers, and by the eagerness of Black people to fight against the slave-owners, the North moved toward emancipation. Fugitive slaves, including Harriet Tubman, joined the Northern forces. General Tubman led her troops in dangerous scouting and guerrilla operations during the war.

With emancipation in 1863, thousands of Blacks joined the army. Before the war's end, 200,000 Black people fought for the Union, often in the front lines as shock troops; 300,000 more helped as laborers, scouts and spies for the North. Many other Black women and men left the plantations, in a general strike against the planters. This crippled the slave economy and the Southern war effort.

The Emancipation Proclamation legally freed four million Black people from chattel slavery. Abraham Lincoln acted in order to win the war and because the slaves were already freeing themselves. This was an important victory for Black people and the Abolitionist movement they had inspired. A sense of optimism and determination to consolidate and extend their gains swept through the Black population in the South. In the post-war Reconstruction period, unique in U.S. history, Blacks and their white allies began a remarkable effort to transform the Southern system.

Black historians — notably DuBois — have challenged the lies of the standard history of Reconstruction, which all of us were taught in school. In his book, *Black Reconstruction*, DuBois catalogues the tremendous achievements of the Reconstruction era: poor and Black people participating in government for the first time, voting and holding office; the introduction of a



progressive income tax; the first massive public schools program in the South; tentative attempts at land redistribution; the temporary disenfranchisement of many planters/slaveholders; the abolition of imprisonment for debt; the expansion of women's rights in marriage. Black people raised the demand for "forty acres and a mule" for every ex-slave, since without land reform, emancipation would leave them at the mercy of the planter class. This demand was never met because its content challenged not only the planters but also the Northern interests who were in the process of taking over Southern agriculture.

Gains made in public education are testimony to the progressive character of Reconstruction. At the end of the Civil War, there were no public schools in the South; by 1870 there were 250,000 children in 4300 schools. This was the result of an astonishing effort by hundreds of Northern volunteers and abolitionists, with the substantial support of Southern Black communities and families. 45 percent of the teachers were women — Black women from the South, white women from the North. The schools they built survived the overthrow of Reconstruction, but were later rigidly segregated by race.

This was a time of slow, painstaking efforts by Blacks to build working relationships with the dispossessed whites of the South, alliances which never developed fully. They were finally shattered when Northern capital and the remnants of the old planter class reassumed control. The support of poor whites, working people and other progressive whites for Reconstruction also involved tens of thousands of Northern white men and women who came South as volunteers — the "carpetbaggers," slandered and defamed by later generations. Reconstruction was one of the high points of overcoming white supremacy and racism in our history. This is why it has been written out of the history texts.

The pro-Reconstruction forces had great strength for a while. They failed by only one vote to convict President Andrew Johnson after impeaching him for supporting the ex-slaveowners and sabotaging Reconstruction. Johnson won because the capitalist North, victorious over its former and future partners, the Southern planters, was eager to get on with the conquest of the West. Crushing Reconstruction involved the conscious reinstatement of white supremacy patterns in order to destroy a kind of peoples' unity which, if not defeated in the South, could have spread to class war in the North itself.

The counterrevolution came disguised as the "compromise of 1877." The word "compromise" should read "betrayal": Northern Republicans sold out the Black population by allowing

federal troops to be withdrawn from the South, leaving ex-slaves and white Reconstructionists open to the terror-campaigns of the planter class. Some of these troops were then sent North to help break strikes; others were used in the final military campaigns against the Ogalas, Hunkpapas, Cheyennes and Nez Perce.

A new power alliance emerged in the U.S.; old and new Southern planters were restored to local power by accepting Northern capital's domination in both Southern agriculture and industry. This rule was enforced by the terror of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan was established by the planter class to prevent Black people and their white allies from consolidating their political gains. Through the Klan, like the old slave patrols, poor whites helped terrorize and control Blacks. Black people were forced back into subjugation through mob violence and lynching, Jim Crow laws and wholesale disenfranchisement, and white skin became the cultural definition of power once again. While there were scattered attempts at Black-white unity in these days, they fell apart as many poor whites destroyed the basis for genuine alliance by defending white supremacy.

With the planters restored to the land, Black people were thrust back into a new form of slavery — sharecropping. Sharecroppers rented plots of land from the planters, and in return, kept a small share of what they produced. Sharecroppers provided the planters with the bulk of the cotton crop, and had to rent tools and other necessities from them. Black sharecroppers were in debt, bound to the planters, enslaved. The consolidation of class rule and the crushing of the popular movement wrecked the hopes for a new South; the South remains an underdeveloped region of the U.S. to this day.

Defeating Reconstruction was a prerequisite to the completion of continental expansion and the strengthening of capitalist power. It was accomplished by terror, the lynch rope and treachery. Supposed white allies deserted Black freedmen and women. The hopeful possibilities of the era were shattered by all the forces of racist order and a decisive step was taken on the road to full-blown, modern U.S. imperialism.

#### EXPANSION AND CONQUEST: THE BIRTH OF MODERN U.S. IMPERIALISM

Throughout this time, the U.S. was consolidating its hold over Mexican and Indian land. Once New Mexico and California were seized, the looting of land and minerals proceeded rapidly.



Through the destruction of Mexican land titles, Mestizo farmers were reduced to laborers on their own land. Mexicans, along with imported Chinese and Filipino laborers, became the chief cheap labor supply for the farms, cattle ranches, mines and railroads of this strategic part of the West. California provided important deep water ports of the Pacific Ocean, industrial sites and gold.

Northern industrialists had moved ahead with the Transcontinental and Santa Fe Railroads. The former was built by Chinese and Irish labor, the latter by Mexicans. As railroads moved West, the last of the Indian lands were conquered. By the late 1870s, the heart of the Indian resistance was shattered. Crazy Horse was assassinated by government agents in 1877 at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. In 1890, the U.S. Army committed the Wounded Knee Massacre. Rumors of an Indian resurgence had been sweeping the country. The Ghost Dance, a Paiute prophecy of a return to Native power, had taken root at Pine Ridge Reservation. When the U.S. Army attacked on December 29, 1890 it was not a spontaneous crime. It was an attempt to wipe out "hostile" Indians, to commit genocide against the Oglala nation. Over 300 Indians were killed, many women and children — afterwards, 18 cavalymen received Congressional Medals of honor for "gallantry" and "bravery."

This was the age of the robber barons, the time when Rockefeller, Morgan and Carnegie made their first stolen fortunes. The normal cycles of capitalist production glutted markets and caused a series of depressions. In the 27 years between the panic of 1873 and 1900, over half were years of depression. As the big industrialists and financiers made their money, the people went hungry and were forced out of work. Capitalism squeezed its domestic work force to the bone, and the workers in the new Northern and Western industrial centers responded with angry strikes. The tenacity and growing consciousness of the working class raised the spectre of class warfare at a time when the frontier, the traditional safety valve for class discontent, was shrinking. Workers were crowding the cities, forming new communities, understanding the need for collective action.

The era of monopoly capitalist was dawning. The ruling class looked to colonial expansion as the solution to economic crisis and rising class discontent.

Revolt within the Spanish Empire opened opportunities in the Caribbean and the Philippine Islands. Rival imperialist powers were engaged in full-scale contention over the penetration of China, so the idea of a strategic base in the Philippines was tempting.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 was a case of imperialist aggression cloaked in democratic slogans. The McKinley Administration at first justified the war as an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist support to the rebelling Cuban, Puerto Rican and Filipino peoples. The battleship Maine was sent to Havana and sunk as a final incitement.

Puerto Rico was seized as a U.S. colony. Cuba was not seized outright: it was instead made a protectorate with control imposed by the U.S. through the hated Platt Amendment. The U.S. occupied Guantanamo and set up a naval base there. This base remains a constant U.S. colonial presence in liberated Cuba.

In the Philippines, Theodore Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and Senator Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts hatched plots with Admiral Dewey to seize Manila and prepare armed intervention to recolonize the island. By the time Dewey got there, the Filipino liberation forces had taken all the rest of the country from the Spanish. A phony attack on U.S. lines outside of Manila was staged (a model for the "attack" Johnson staged on the U.S. Navy in the Gulf of Tonkin in 1965) and the counterrevolutionary war was on. It lasted six years, required a U.S. force of 90,000 soldiers at its peak, and ended with 600,000 Filipinos dead on Luzon Island alone. Those who lived found themselves under harsher rule than even that of Spain. Filipinos to this day are fighting guerrilla warfare against U.S.-supplied troops and a U.S.-backed neocolonial regime.

As the war went on, and U.S. soldiers died from wounds and diseases, the truth about Filipino resistance came out and direct racist and economic appeals to workers and businessmen replaced cover-ups about fighting for Filipino freedom. William Randolph Hearst made his fortune by whipping up racist war fever in his columns. The Hearst papers ran banner headlines, arguing that the "yellow peril" must be defeated.

There was opposition — individuals like Mark Twain, an anti-imperialist league in Massachusetts which grew to have branches in Chicago and the Far West, some workers' organizations (especially among the Boston Irish), plus a few abolitionist and populist veterans. But it is important to understand why, in spite of strong anti-colonial traditions going back to Revolutionary War days, most people finally accepted this leap into full-fledged and open imperialism.

Class struggle at home was muted by plunder abroad. Many workers supported imperialist expansion as an acceptable way to ease economic crisis in the U.S. With the war against the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Cuba, many U.S. citizens condoned

imperialism in the same way they had grown accustomed to justifying genocide against Native Americans or lynching of Black sharecroppers.

The ruling class organized for world empire in the same ways it organized for continental conquest. Racism against Mexican farmhands and Chinese laborers was now turned against Cubans, Filipinos and Puerto Ricans. Internationalism — the commitment to unity in struggle with other people in other lands against the common enemy — does not spring automatically from a culture poisoned by slavery, internal colonization and the slaughter of the native population. It has to be fought for constantly.

Moreover, when leaders of the American Federation of Labor, like Samuel Gompers, ended up supporting the war against the Philippines, they began more and more to sabotage the struggles of millions of unorganized immigrant laborers, women and unskilled workers. They looked down on these workers as outcasts, and often showed the same contempt for them as for the despised Filipinos and Blacks.

The AFL came to represent mainly the aristocracy of labor. Daniel De Leon, a socialist organizer, called the AFL the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Based in the highly skilled crafts, elitist, all white, opposed to militancy, the AFL even then served as an emergency brake on the class struggle.

### THE OPPOSITION:

Miners, Women, Immigrants, Wobblies

Alongside this history of accommodation to imperialism, there are also the great movements and acts of opposition — the stirrings, the militant strikes, the courage of the Haymarket martyrs, the women's shirtwaistmakers, the Wobblies, the Molly Maguires, the Western Federation of Miners, the day-to-day survival struggles of the immigrants. In this disloyal opposition, we can recognize our roots.

On May 4, 1886, in Chicago, a workers' rally was called to protest the murder of striking McCormick Harvester employees a few days before. As it ended, a bomb was tossed killing one policeman. Seven labor and anarchist leaders were framed and convicted and four were executed for the act. From this struggle, people all around the world commemorate May Day. The city of Chicago erected a monument to police power — the statue of a policeman which, until recently, stood in Haymarket Square.

In the 1890s, miners in Colorado and Idaho faced the guns of federal and state troops as they fought for the eight hour day.



After long hours in the mines, workers would meet, teach each other to read, argue politics, talk about socialism and revolution. In 1892, the Western Federation of Miners formed an organization which led major strikes throughout the next decade. In the same year, the Homestead Strike was crushed when federal troops massacred striking steelworkers in Pennsylvania.

In the early 1900s, the labor force underwent a rapid transformation as fifteen million immigrants came to the U.S. Those who came from Europe settled in the industrial and commercial centers in the East and Midwest. Subject to discrimination, viewed as "unamerican" by much of the population, they initiated and led some of the fiercest U.S. labor struggles.

A movement arose in this period called the Industrial Workers of the World — the Wobblies. The preamble to the IWW constitution, written in 1905, reads:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes, a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organized as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

The Wobblies came from the miners' strikes in Colorado, from the immigrant textile workers of the Eastern commercial centers, from women workers, from the lumberworkers of the Far West. The IWW challenged the narrow and elitist craft union approach of the AFL and advocated industrial unionism — organizing all the workers of an industry into one union. The Wobblies organized the unorganized and the dispossessed.

The Wobblies had serious weaknesses — they underestimated the need for strong organization, downplayed political agitation and action, and never developed an effective long-range strategy.

Although the Wobblies were never the chief force in the labor movement, their influence was widespread. They participated in thousands of strikes and actions and helped lead effective mass strikes in Lawrence, Mass. in 1912, Patterson, N.J. in 1913, and Seattle, Wash. in 1919. The Wobblies refused to sign labor contracts, always reserving the right to strike. They advocated revolution and socialism, opposed imperialist war and made great breakthroughs in work with immigrants, women and children. The Wobblies were among the first organizers to recognize the importance of explaining to the children of strikers the political

issues involved in the strikes. Wobbly children's meetings helped in keeping families together through the long and difficult strikes.

There were many immigrants among the masses of women who now entered the factories. Often, the bosses placed women of different nationalities next to one another on workbenches, hoping that language barriers and cultural differences would hinder the possibility for unity.

Women worked as domestics, in the textile industries of New England and New York, garment sweatshops, laundry and food services. In 1909 and 1910, the women's shirtwaistmakers' strikes erupted in New York City. Sixty percent of the workers were women, 70 percent were between the ages of 16 and 25. They worked 56 hours a week in dingy lofts. Women pushed the corrupt male union leadership to support their demands for shorter hours and decent working conditions. At one pre-strike meeting, Clara Lemlich, a young organizer, interrupted the speeches of union officials to decry the go-slow attitude and call for a strike. In the two months of the strike, over one thousand strikers were arrested. The shirtwaistmakers' militancy spurred the organizing of union shops throughout the entire garment industry.

These early strikes confronted the Women's Suffrage Movement with the importance of joining the life-and-death struggles of their working sisters. In 1914, the Rockefeller-owned state militia burned a striking miners' tent colony in Ludlow, Colorado, killing two women and thirteen children. Thirty miners were shot down in the ensuing battle. Attica was not the first massacre ordered by a Rockefeller. A suffrage leader named Elizabeth Freeman led pickets against Rockefeller's Standard Oil offices in New York to protest the Ludlow Massacre.

Strikes often stretched out for long months, involved desperate hunger and want, loss of life and many times despair at crumbling fighting strength. In these situations, family hardship is tremendous, and the strength and fighting capacity of women and children becomes critical. Organizing retaliation, strike support, food, medical help and supplies, fighting on the picket lines, persuading scabs not to scab, and holding out, leading, persisting have all been done by women. Women help special women's meetings in the Lawrence and Patterson strikes. They opened up the struggle against the lord-and-master attitude of many of the men, demanded that the full burdens of housework and raising children be shared.

The official labor movements were worse than indifferent for the most part. When textile workers and the women in the food



industry were first organized, it was at the initiative of the women themselves or of radical left-wing organizers like the Wobblies.

There is a male monopoly of the decisive posts of leadership in traditional unions of women workers. Yet there are names to remember of great women class fighters: Mother Jones, Ella Reeve Bloor, Elizabeth Burley Flynn, Kate Richards O'Hare, Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman.

Women organized and led other social and cultural movements parallel to the labor struggles and the suffrage movement. Anti-lynching crusades were waged by heroic Black women, with the sometimes-support of suffragists and feminists. As summarized by Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching is the aftermath of slavery." Between 1865-1895, over 10,000 Black men were killed without trial. Pretexts for this reign of terror changed over time, settling finally on avenging assaults on white Southern women. These cruel rationales were challenged and repudiated by Ida B. Wells Barnett, a Black journalist who for 40 years investigated each case of lynching and proved that lynching was a systematic campaign of economic and political terror. She was founder of the Negro Women's club movement and challenged white women's organizations to take a stand against lynching. She later became a founder, along with W.E.B. DuBois, of the NAACP.

Women like Jane Adams and Lillian Wald exposed and fought the oppressive conditions in immigrant sections of crowded cities. Women agitated for decent health care, birth control, education and child labor laws.

The long struggle for women's suffrage was won in 1920. Women organizers worked for almost one hundred years to gain the vote, in the process transforming the consciousness of the whole country. They were opposed every step of the way. Incredible effort, militancy and patient organizing were carried out decade after decade for the basic recognition of women's humanity and role in society.

The cost paid for this victory, however, was great. The suffrage movement came to include open arguments for giving women the vote on anti-immigrant grounds and in order to maintain a white majority (since Black women would face disenfranchisement in the South). Anti-foreign and anti-Indian rationales were used by suffragists who posed the vote for enlightened, church-going women against the specter of the coarse vicious and ignorant population of the slums. Sisters who knew better began saying that the Black question and the question of women were not related. Proposals from Black women urging fights against segregation were dismissed as "outside issues." The pact between white

supremacy and the South and suffrage for women was sealed in 1903 on the issue of states' rights, when a Women's Suffrage Convention decided that locals could decide on all policy questions of membership. This insured that many suffrage associations were segregated.

By 1913, at the March on Washington for Suffrage, Ida Wells Barnett was asked not to march in the Illinois delegation, and at the final hour, six thousand Black women who applied for membership in the National Association of Women's Suffrage were told to wait because suffrage was imminent.

While many other women activists were involved in the militant social movement of the day, linking the oppression of women to a class analysis of U.S. society, the suffrage movement became trapped in a more and more narrow fight for the vote. The victory, when it came, was rendered hollow by the compromises with white supremacy that had been made along the way.

This is a familiar pattern in U.S. radical history. Most U.S. radicals traditionally downplayed the Black revolution. "Problems of race" were seen as secondary to the "real" class struggle of white workers. One of the earliest unions, the National Labor Union, refused to organize Black workers. Eugene V. Debs' American Railway Union banned Black people from membership. The Socialist Party had segregated party cells in the South. Racism in the U.S. labor movement was seldom challenged by the left.

A test for all opposition movements came with the onset of World War I. The First World War was a fight of rival imperialist powers for colonies, investments, raw materials, and world hegemony. Millions of people died while the different governments experimented with germ warfare and tested out new weapons systems. Although most of the Socialist parties in the Second International supported each their own governments in the war, there were major revolts against the war by workers, soldiers, and poor people. The Third International was formed by Lenin in 1919 in opposition to the national chauvinism of the organized parties of the time. In the United States, many individual Wobblies actively opposed the war, although the IWW did not take an active antiwar stance. Eugene V. Debs and other left-wing socialists, William Z. Foster and other labor organizers, Jane Addams, Jeannette Rankin and other woman activists, all opposed the war.

The greatest event of the war years, as far as oppressed people were concerned, was the victory of the Russian Revolution in 1917. Establishment of the world's first socialist revolution sent waves of energy through radical movements around the world. The

IWW supported the Bolsheviks. So did Seattle AFL longshoremen, who refused to load machine guns headed for the U.S. anti-Bolshevik expeditionary forces in Siberia. It was in this period that the Socialist Party split and the Communist Party formed.

The example of the Bolshevik Revolution was powerful — and the capitalist fear of revolution was equally strong. The U.S. government launched a major campaign to crush the U.S. left forces.

The Wobblies came under intensive state attack. Organizers in Chicago were rounded up in 1918, thrown into Cook County Jail to await a conspiracy trial which then went on for months. Frank Little, a Native American and prominent Wobbly organizer, was lynched in Butte, Montana in 1917 for his opposition to World War I. He and Joe Hill, legally lynched by the state of Utah in 1915, were martyrs in the Wobbly cause. The Palmer Raids hit in 1920. J. Edgar Hoover headed the "radical squad" in the Justice Department and made his reputation through these raids. Ten thousand people were rounded up and thrown in jail. Some were tortured, many like Emma Goldman were deported. The government whipped up anti-red and anti-immigrant hysteria — a climate which led to the frame-up and murder of Sacco and Vanzetti a few years later.

The Wobblies were finally crushed. Beset by internal division and lack of effective organization, they were unable to deal with the smashing force of state repression. Some of their great leaders, like Big Bill Haywood, were forced into exile.

Gompers and the AFL leadership joined in the anti-Bolshevik campaign. They became the mouthpiece for the rulers, the labor wedge in the onslaught against U.S. leftists. "Americanism" was once again the watchword — the enemy was the immigrant, the Black, the Mexican, the militant woman striker — all the forces of opposition. This is similar to AFL-CIO President George Meany's "patriotic" attacks on the antiwar movement during the Vietnam War.

Attacks on the left were aimed at defusing the revolutionary movement in the wake of the Russian Revolution, and also at insuring that U.S. gains made during World War I could be consolidated. With its European rivals badly battered from the war, the United States tightened its hold on Latin America and made aggressive moves toward China. The United States entered a new era as a major world power. While opposition continued (Debs drew one million votes in the Presidential campaign of 1920), masses of people were mobilized behind the goal of expanding the empire as the sure way to prosperity. William

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Green, who succeeded Gompers as President of the AFL, argued that strikes were no longer needed, that imperialism would bring the U.S. working class great economic benefits. This kind of opportunism and national chauvinism within the U.S. labor movement helped isolate the radical forces.

Parallel to these developments was a marked increase in terror directed at the Black population. This was reflected in a wave of lynchings, organized attacks on Black communities, and the rapid growth of the Klan in the post-World War I period.

Between 1910 and 1920, over 300,000 Black people had moved North and begun life in the cities. For years, Northern industries had refused to hire Black laborers, instead relying on the seemingly endless supply of cheap immigrant labor. But with European immigration disrupted by the war — and following on the heels of a severe depression in the cotton industry, Northern labor agents came South to recruit Black workers.

Thousands of Black workers entered heavy industry. They worked in auto, steel, ironworks and the railroads — at the toughest jobs, with the least pay and no job security. This process began the trend, which is still occurring today, of Black and Third

World workers entering basic industry. This has now markedly changed the racial composition of the working class in these areas and has brought the Black liberation struggle to the industrial center of the United States.

Black men also joined the segregated armed forces. Over a third of all U.S. troops in Europe were Black. Returning home after the war, they were often the targets of racial attacks — and they fought back. This trend has continued after every U.S. war, as more and more Black men come home armed and angry. The cities were tense places, as white mobs assaulted the just-settling-in Black people. Black communities defended themselves with arms in Chicago and Washington, D.C. In the Tulsa battle of 1921, the white mayor ordered an aerial bombardment of the Black section of town. The tenacity of the Black defenders temporarily turned back the white civilian attacks.

It was under these conditions of Black people developing new urban communities and defending them, combined with a race pride and identification with African anti-colonial struggles, that the Garvey movement grew strong and a Harlem renaissance of Black music and art flowered. Marcus Garvey claimed a million members for his Universal Negro Improvement Association. This movement expressed an upsurge of Black consciousness of oppres-

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sion as a colonized people. It also expressed a well-grounded lack of faith in the reliability of white allies. Garvey set up a steamship company and developed plans for an exodus to Africa. The collapse of some of these projects combined with state repression of the UNIA contributed to the organization's decline. But its spirit lived on, as evidenced in Black nationalist movements of today.

## THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The myth that the U.S. economy was somehow headed for continued prosperity outside the normal laws and cycles of capitalist development was rudely shattered by the Great Depression which started in 1929. From the U.S., it rapidly spread to the rest of the capitalist world. Only the socialist U.S.S.R. remained untouched.

Production in the United States fell to 60 percent of the previous year. At least seventeen million people were out of jobs at the worst point — over one third of the labor force. Piles of food, coffee, grain, beans were burned, dumped in the ocean, or contaminated with fuel oil, to get them off the glutted market and raise food prices, while millions went hungry. Small businesses were ruined; teachers and professors were out on the street; farmers were forced off their farms. On the breadlines, at the Red Cross offices, at relief centers, city halls, state capitals, federal offices, the unemployed and the dispossessed began to fight back.

Veterans marching to Washington, D.C., got beaten, gassed, and thrown out of the city by troops commanded by General Douglas MacArthur, on orders from President Herbert Hoover. The Communist Party, along with the Unemployed Councils, led demonstrations and actions. When evicted tenants had their furniture dumped on the street by order of their landlords, members of the Unemployed Councils would organize and haul the furniture back into the house, often past armed sheriffs and deputies. The CP began to grow and train the organizers who later helped establish the CIO. A major campaign for unemployment insurance was launched, which in a few years led to the creation of the Social Security System.

As industry began to recover, some workers were rehired, the unemployed and students began to get jobs. Communists and other militant organizers began a drive to transform the existing company unions in the basic industries into real weapons of class struggle. Auto, steel, meat-packing, maritime trades, lumber, food-processing, were major targets.



This became the period of sit-down strikes and other direct action innovations. In Toledo, Ohio, workers and the unemployed together violated a ban on mass picketing during the 1934 strike at Autolite. The 1934 West Coast Maritime Workers' strike united several craft unions in defiance of conservative AFL leaders. The police murder of two San Francisco strikers during the first days of the strike touched off bloody battles in the city, and resulted in the San Francisco General Strike.

Black people were hit hardest by the depression. Between the start of the depression and the onset of World War II, Blacks lost one third of their jobs in industry, and most of their positions in the skilled trades. In 1940, unemployment rates for northern Black people were 133 percent higher than for whites. In 1935, Black people in Harlem boycotted stores which refused to hire Black workers. Their slogan was "Don't Buy, If You Can't Work." This campaign led to a rebellion in Harlem in the summer of 1935 after a Black youth was shot by store detectives in one of the affected stores.

In the South, Black sharecroppers engaged in major struggles, some of them jointly with poor white farmers. The Alabama Sharecroppers Union helped organize the first series of protests against the Scottsboro Case, the frameup of nine Southern Black men accused of raping two white women. Meetings of the Sharecroppers' Union had to be kept secret, for fear of police terror. Ralph Gray, a Black leader of the group, was lynched by a white mob during one of the sharecropper struggles. The sharecropper movement was the most significant upsurge in Black action and protest in the South since Reconstruction days.

This was the era of the unorganized and unskilled — those workers long excluded from the labor movement. Many of the strikers were women; many were Black. Few were organized into AFL unions. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), led by John L. Lewis, was formed in 1935, for the purpose of "organizing the unorganized" in the major industries. Communists were at the core of the CIO drives. They were great union organizers and Lewis was realistic enough to rely on them to crack the toughest anti-union strong holds.

In the next few years, the CIO campaigns won basic rights for millions of workers. The CIO opened up its membership to Black people, breaking the "whites only" practice of most AFL craft unions. 200,000 Black workers joined the CIO in the years preceding World War II. This was a time of great unity and militancy, of life and death battles for the right to organize and picket, for union recognition, decent pay, decent working condi-

tions, human dignity. The AFL hierarchy was pushed aside as the masses of U.S. workers took center stage.

In 1936, workers at the General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan, staged a forty-four day sitdown strike. This forced GM to grant union recognition and also galvanized the working class throughout the nation. A major victory was also won in 1937 in the fight to organize the steel industry.

By the end of the Second World War, the CIO no longer played this revolutionary role. Many CIO unions had enforced no-strike pledges against their membership during the war; many CIO leaders, like Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, were functioning almost within the Roosevelt administration. The CIO also had a Southern organizing committee, but never organized in the South. It backed off from the task of confronting white supremacy in Southern industry and accepted the formation of Jim Crow unions.

Reflecting their own acceptance of the privileges and ethic of the U.S. empire, especially during the period of the World War II economic boom, and pushed by state pressure and conservative leadership, many labor unions lined up behind anti-Communism. At the 1946 CIO convention, Phillip Murray — the President of the CIO — put the finishing touches on this corruption by reading Communists out of the labor movement. Communist and left-led unions were expelled from the CIO and finally the CIO merged with the AFL. The AFL-CIO became an ardent defender of the Cold War, and its national leadership now functions, for all intents and purposes, as an arm of U.S. imperialism. They no longer represent the unorganized, the poor, and the dispossessed.

Roosevelt granted some concessions to the labor movement in order to save the system as a whole. The Wagner Act of 1935 recognized the rights of most workers to unionize. This was a victory, although the act left out the militant Chicano farmworkers in the West, as well as most industries employing large numbers of women. Roosevelt's aim was to use the power of the labor movement as a wedge in convincing a sector of the ruling class that state regulation of the capitalist system was needed to ensure stability. Roosevelt also tried to ally with the labor membership and bring it under the wing of the U.S. government. These were the strategic goals of the New Deal.

From the depression years until after the Second World War, the CPUSA was the main force of the organized left in the United States. The CP was in the front lines of countless struggles of the



unemployed, the homeless, Southern Black sharecroppers, women textile workers — groups hit hardest and most ready to fight. Around the CP flourished a cultural upheaval: writers, painters, poets were mobilized into struggle and produced a unique people's art.

The CP stressed the special importance of Black liberation. Black people were recognized as an oppressed nation in the South (then called a Negro Nation) with the fight for self-determination, which white revolutionaries were bound to support. This was a great breakthrough. Communists engaged in persistent battles against white chauvinism and white supremacy both within and outside the Party. CP organizers challenged racism in the labor movement. The CP did active work in the Scottsboro Case, making it a central part of Party work in the shops as well as in the defense committees. Many Black people joined the Party in this period: the Harlem branch was one of the biggest and most active. Black organizers were among the most effective CP spokespeople.

Communists circulated works of Black scholars and did important historical research themselves which uncovered Black and revolutionary history; this was like a flash of light. They failed, however, to analyze the culture of U.S. empire-building within the oppressor nation, or to deal with it in practice. This became a cause of the CP's eventual political bankruptcy.

In a great demonstration of international solidarity, Communists joined the fight against fascism in Spain in 1935 — nearly 2,000 people fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade there, and many gave their lives.

The center of the world struggle at this time was the battle to defeat fascism. But, the U.S. government, along with those of Britain and France, wanted Hitler to attack the Soviet Union and hopefully destroy it before they would enter the war against Germany. The Western imperialist powers had long isolated the Soviet Union, setting her up for Nazi attack. In 1936, Communist Parties around the world adopted the strategy of a United Front Against Fascism. Communists everywhere were urged to unite with all progressive forces in their respective countries to defeat fascism and protect the Soviet Union.

In some countries, like China, the United Front strategy was applied effectively, with the Chinese Communists maintaining their own separate identity, program, and army. In the United States, the CPUSA submerged its identity within the CIO. It fought for economic gains, but did not keep alive a vision of socialism and revolution. It stopped fighting its own imperialism.

This is opportunism. While concealment from union officials and company spies was sometimes necessary in order to work and organize, Party members retreated from doing open Communist organizing in their day-to-day work. This made it easier for the CIO to denounce "hidden communists" in the witchhunts after the war.

In 1941, when A. Phillip Randolph organized a March on Washington for more Black jobs, the CP refused support in the name of the war mobilization effort. This was viewed as desertion by Black people.

During the Second World War, the United States and Soviet Union were allied in the fight against German and Japanese imperialism. This presented a complex situation for the CPUSA. Its response was to abandon almost all its opposition to U.S. imperialism. It failed, for instance, to condemn the imprisonment of Japanese families in concentration camps on the West Coast. It abandoned its position on the central nature of the Black liberation struggle — with Earl Browder (the wartime leader of the Party) declaring that Black people had chosen the path of integration. This was part of the CP's betrayal of its revolutionary critique of imperialism: a new version of American exceptionalism. Browder also declared that "the Age of Imperialism has ended" in a speech at the end of the World War II.

After the war, these CP policies were reversed for a while. Browder was expelled from the Party. But the changes did not last. When Cold war repression came, the CP found that its non-struggle direction could not be reversed easily. The CP had lost its capacity to fight. Tens of thousands of supporters and Party members deserted the struggle.

The CP retreated further into reform politics. It joined in the Soviet denunciations of China, renounced revolutionary violence and began supporting liberal Democrats.

It still has not done a full self-criticism of these positions or of the mistakes of the forties and fifties. This means the CP has not changed in a revolutionary way and the lessons of struggle have not been passed on for the future.

We have much to learn from the experience and wisdom accumulated over the years by CP workers of that period. The CP in its early history was a great advance in the U.S. revolution. Its reversals and wrong directions are defeats for us all — that is why the lessons must be drawn sharply.

In the fifties the CP was hit head-on with a vicious campaign of anti-communism and counter-revolution. Truman was consolidating a base for imperial war, for a massive atomic arms race, for the



invasion of Korea — by hunting and terrorizing U.S. Communists. It was then that Richard Nixon began his political-criminal career with the Alger Hiss case. Smith Act trials jailed the Party leadership; for not cooperating with the McCarthy investigations many Communists and progressives were expelled from trade unions, lost teaching jobs, went underground, and were tormented by the FBI.

A bitter example of the U.S. attack on internal opposition to the Cold War was the frameup and execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the Atom Spy case. Their murder, at the hands of the Eisenhower/Nixon government, was committed after a trial in which their socialist beliefs, anti-fascist stands, and refusal to falsely inform on friends were used as proof of conspiracy to steal the non-existent "A-bomb secret." Hundreds of thousands of people around the world stood vigil on the night of the execution. The assassination of the Rosenbergs was meant to silence all opposition to U.S. imperialism.

The truth about the Rosenbergs is just today being understood — another step on the long march toward exposing the crimes of this empire and uncovering the truth about our own past.



John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,

But his soul goes marching on.

#### IV. IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS: THE THIRD WORLD

We will simply say that imperialism can be defined as the worldwide expression of the search for profits and the ever-increasing accumulation of ever greater surplus value by monopoly-financed capital, centered in two parts of the world: first in Europe, and then in North America. And if we wish to place the fact of imperialism within the general path of the revolution of this far-ranging factor which has changed the face of the world — capital and the process of its accumulation — we can say that imperialism is piracy transported from sea to land, piracy reorganized, consolidated, and adapted to the purpose of the exploitation of the natural and human resources of the people. But if we can calmly analyze the imperialist phenomenon, we will not shock anybody by admitting that imperialism — which everything points to as being the last stage of capitalism — was a historical necessity, a consequence of the development of the productive forces and of the transformation of the methods of production in the general contour of humanity as a whole in movement. A necessity, just as the national liberation of the peoples, the destruction of capitalism, and the arrival of socialism are at present.

—Amilcar Cabral

U.S. imperialism is the greatest destroyer of human life on earth. It is a whole: an economic, political, and cultural system. It feeds on piracy of the Third World. It colonizes Black and Third World people within the United States and divides, exploits, rapes, and attempts to buy off poor and working people. Because of imperialism people live in shanty-towns in Saigon and Rio De Janeiro. The same system is responsible for the sub-standard conditions of one quarter of the housing in this country. U.S. imperialism is a parasite on the Third World, and traps us in a culture of waste and death. For the benefit of imperialism we live in a society either at war or producing and preparing for war all the time.

Imperialism has its origin in the necessity for capitalism to expand or face stagnation. Imperialism is therefore the defining characteristic of modern capitalism as a whole. Its penetration into the Third World produces the conditions which give rise to movements for national liberation and socialism. It is precisely because this expansion is necessary that national liberation movements are a vital blow to imperialism.

Imperialism is on the defensive today. Wherever people reclaim control over their lives and their nation's wealth, it removes another brick from imperialism's foundation.

#### MONOPOLY CAPITAL

U.S. imperialism is a stage in the development of capitalism — the monopoly stage.

Long before the present age of monopoly, capitalism was born out of the trade and commerce and empire building of the medieval world. The industrial revolutions of Europe and North America had their roots in the subjugation and looting of Africa, India, and the Americas.

In the United States the end of the Civil War began a tremendous boom in industry in the North. The years between 1880 and 1900 — in Britain, France, and Germany as well as here — marked the transition from competitive capitalism to the concentration of industry and finance in the hands of a few financiers and huge industrial corporations. By the turn of the century, [the] most basic industries were monopolized — energy, railroads, machinery, steel. The power of the banks and financiers grew to finance modernization and expansion.

The capitalist countries fought for control of the world in a series of long and costly colonial wars. The people of Africa, Asia

and Latin America resisted. But eventually, skillful manipulation of divisions among the people, combined with the battleships and machine-guns of the industrial nations, prevailed over the colonies. Africa was divided up among the European countries in 1886; in Asia, France controlled Indochina while the European powers tried to divide up China; England dominated the subcontinent of India. The U.S., having already seized North America from the Indians and Mexico, and staked out its claim to Latin America in the Monroe Doctrine, proceeded to grab Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines from the weakened Spanish empire, began frequent military interventions into Latin America, and attempted to penetrate China through the Open Door policy.

The laws of capitalist competition, expand or perish, did not cease to operate with the triumph of monopolistic finance capital. Actually the competition was reproduced on a bigger scale and at a much greater level of tension and conflict. Modern arms and technology, thought-control and social engineering, try to disguise the facts of oppression behind the mask of neo-colonialism. Nevertheless, conquest and domination have become more devastating, and even more enormously profitable.

What causes this drive for colonial conquest and empire?

— Large companies are more efficient in exploiting labor because they are able to use their great accumulation of capital in developing technology. This leads to producing much more than can be sold domestically at a profit. This "crisis of overproduction" is inherent to capitalism at all stages, but intensified under monopoly capitalism. New markets must be found, and new areas for investment of idle capital.

— Colonized nations hold the promise of labor at starvation wages, unorganized and easily available. The monopolist goes in search of new sources of cheap raw materials in the Third World.

— The profits of monopoly capital are so enormous that the supply of capital outstrips the profitable investment opportunities in the U.S. This capital is invested in other capitalist countries, but most profitable are investments in colonies. Whole factories and branches of industry are now exported to the Third World.

— A by-product of the huge profits reaped from the Third World is the strategy (and ability) to create labor peace domestically by buying off a privileged strata of the U.S. working people, reaching even into large sectors of the industrial proletariat.

By the 20th century, capitalism had reached the stage of modern imperialism; since the U.S. is always competing with other imperialist nations for power, control of the Third World is not

only an economic necessity, but also a political and military necessity.

## IMPERIALISM MEANS UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The condition for the massive development of one sector of the imperialist system — the oppressor nation — is the systematic and violent underdevelopment of the other — the colonies and neo-colonies of the Third World. The wealth of one is a product of the

impoverishment of the other. This has involved nothing less than an unparalleled looting of the labor, resources and cultures of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America by the imperial powers.

This begins with the very first expansions of early capitalism. For example, when the British entered India in force, the primitive textile industry of each country was at a similar stage of development. The British deliberately wrecked the Indian textile industry to force India to import British textiles. Vast amounts of Indian feudal wealth were stolen in order to provide what Marx called the "primitive accumulation of capital" in England. Indian food agriculture was destroyed to make way for cash crops and raw materials needed for British industry. By the late 18th century, the result was the first mass famine in India. In England, the imperialists justified their rule as necessary to care for the "backward and ignorant" Indians. Rudyard Kipling and other imperial writers built elaborate justifications for British Empire which rallied generations of English people.

In Cuba, when the people lived under U.S. neocolonial control, the entire life of the island was based on the sugar plantation system. People worked three months and spent nine months unemployed. No other industries were allowed to develop. This gave the sugar companies a ready supply of cheap labor, since the alternative for the Cuban worker was no work at all.

The most modern form of forced underdevelopment can be seen in the workings of the multinational corporations in the Third World.

The rise of the multinationals can be traced, in large part, to the post World War II growth of U.S. empire. Over 200 U.S.-based corporations could now be characterized as multinational — that is, major corporations having headquarters in one country and a number of subsidiaries in other countries.

The multinationals have attempted to cultivate a liberal image. The Polaroid Corporation, for example, has defended its heavy investments in South African apartheid as the "Polaroid experi-

ment." Polaroid claims that it pays higher wages to South African workers than local South African industry does. But this hides the crucial point: while the multinationals, with their enormous amount of capital, research and development facilities and highly organized sales apparatus, can pay workers a bit more, the profits they extract from this labor are even more staggering. Salvador Allende points this out in his December 1972 speech before the UN. Describing the workings of the two U.S.-based multinational companies, Anaconda and Kennecott, he said:

These enterprises exploited Chile's copper for many years; in the last 42 years alone taking out more than \$4,000 million in profits although their initial investments were no more than \$30 million. In striking contrast, let me give one simple and painful example of what this means to Chile. In my country there are 600,000 children who will never be able to enjoy life in a normal, human way because during the first eight months of life they did not receive the minimum amount of protein. Four thousand million dollars would completely transform Chile. A small part of that sum would ensure protein for all time for all children of my country.

By controlling the copper industry, Kennecott and Anaconda were able to determine how much copper would be mined and what price it would be sold for. Since copper exports account for 80 percent of the total value of Chilean exports, these multinationals had the Chilean economy in their greedy grasp.

The multinationals would sell raw copper to their own subsidiaries in the U.S. at a cost well below the world market price; in return, these subsidiaries would smelt the copper ore and sell the refined product at the going market price. Profits were thus maximized in the U.S. — and minimized in Chile. Before the Popular Unity government nationalized the copper mines in 1971, no Chilean government could even raise the taxes on these corporations, let alone influence their production policies. Any attempts in this direction were met by Kennecott and Anaconda with cutbacks in production and wholesale layoffs of copper workers.

At the same time, the multinationals were able to pay Chilean copper workers higher wages than most other Chilean industries. They used this to attempt to create a labor aristocracy in Chile, a force to oppose the interests of other Chilean workers. AFL-CIO organizers were sent in by the U.S. to help organize anti-communist unions.

Some of the methods by which imperialism creates underdevelopment in the Third World can be summarized as follows:

— The labor of Third World people has been stolen through slavery, super-exploited at low wages, and channeled into production meant to benefit the oppressor nation. Profits are drained from the Third World. Where reinvestment takes place within the oppressed nation, the priorities of the corporate powers determine where it will go.

— The natural resources and raw materials of Third World countries have been expropriated by the imperialist powers, particularly the U.S. The recent actions of the oil-producing countries and the copper-producing countries are important attempts by Third World nations to wrest back control of these resources, and with them, of their own destinies.

— Diversification of industry, real progress and rational economic growth are prevented by imperialism. Where industrialization is allowed to occur, control remains firmly in imperialist hands and, most often, consumer-oriented industries are pushed rather than agriculture or heavy industry. This keeps the "developing" country dependent on imperialist technology and aid.

— Often cash crops, like sugar and coffee, are cultivated at the expense of agricultural production which could feed the people. This is a main cause of famine and malnutrition in the world. Coffee alone is the primary economic life-blood of ten underdeveloped countries.

This exploitation is maintained only through force and violence. Corporations like Kennecott, ITT, Polaroid and Exxon rely on state violence to insure their investments and continued profits.

Most simply, imperialism means super-profits for U.S. corporations at the expense of human lives and possibilities in the Third World.

## IMPERIALISM MEANS RACISM AND GENOCIDE

Imperialism has intensified and spread worldwide the most virulent racist practices and ideology. Racism is built into U.S. imperialism — and imperial culture feeds on and creates racism. Racism is institutionalized as a system of control and containment, necessary to enforce the exploitation and oppression of colonized people. In the Third World, racism takes the form of cultural warfare, the displacement of populations, and genocide.

Imperialism perpetrates a mythology of biological and cultural inferiority. As W. E. B. DuBois describes it:

The white race was pictured as "pure" and "superior"; the Black race as dirty, stupid and inevitably inferior; the yellow race as sharing in deception and cowardice. . . . everything great, everything fine, everything really successful in human culture was white.

Imperial control aims at the thorough domination and humiliation of the subjugated. Ruthless suppression of the oppressed has as its other side the practice of treating colonized women and men as children, attacking their integrity and dignity, enforcing dependency with the underlying threat of superior force.

Imperialism systematically subverts peoples' history and culture — social forms, language, art, respect for old people — everything that identifies a person in society. As with the economy, imperialist penetration cuts off the growth of the culture. It distorts the historical development of the oppressed people. The old culture is used to imprison the people and adapt them to imperialism's needs. As Fanon points out, the goal is rather a continued agony than the total disappearance of the pre-existing cultures.

The displacements of whole populations is another racist weapon of imperialism. The Bantustans of South Africa, for example, comprising 13 percent of South African territory, are "reserved" for the African population who are uprooted and forcibly removed to these poor quality lands. This is enforced by a rigid Polaroid-provided I.D. pass system. The Bantustans are guarded by white South African troops. From them, African men are recruited as a labor pool for the mines and factories, while women are forced into prostitution in order to survive.

Another example of the violent displacement of a whole population is the complete destruction by automated war of the society of Lao people in the Plain of Jars. Every day for five years, the U.S. carried out secret air war to destroy the social and economic infrastructure of the areas governed by the Pathet Lao. The people of the Plain of Jars — with a 700-year recorded history — retreated to caves and dugout tunnels as hamlets were razed and the land made barren. Finally, under massive attack, the youth of the Plain retreated with the Pathet Lao and the remaining people were forcibly placed in refugee camps or airlifted to Vientienne to become peddlers, waitresses, maids and coolies. From 1964 to 1969 over one million Laotians were killed, wounded or made homeless by an officially denied air war.

The final weapon of racist warfare is genocide: the systematic destruction of a people, their means of subsistence and future generations. Today, the native Indian people of Brazil are being decimated by U.S. industry and Brazilian government expansion into the Amazon basin regions. These tribal people are forced off their land, killed by raids and whiteman's diseases, and pacified by government programs, their cultures destroyed. It has been charged that 100,000 Indians are being eliminated. The U.S.

government used genocidal weapons against the people of Vietnam: chemical and biological substances it had agreed to outlaw, which burn the flesh, cripple future generations, and obliterate growth on the land. This was intended to break the Vietnamese and to be an example to other oppressed people.

Even in the face of this terrible suffering the people resist. The culture of the colonized people survives reservations, epidemics, air war, near-genocide. The culture changes, takes on new forms to meet the changed conditions, as Black people transformed the church into a unifying center during slavery. Colonialism is not able to destroy the strong basis of the national culture. The people themselves embody it, preserve it, carry it and hand it down through generations. Imperialism encourages the rejection of the national culture and adoption of the garb and forms of the imperial culture. The neocolonial bourgeoisie which is created by imperialism often "passes" into the culture of the imperialists. But the people's culture does not die out. It lies hidden in secret practices and in the memory of the people until the opportunity and necessity for struggle calls it into life. In the people's culture lie the seeds of resistance and rebellion.

Movements for national liberation are often born with a popular rejection of imperial culture and a renaissance of culture of the colonized peoples: the culture contains the basis on which unity is built. The movement to reclaim and take pride in national culture gives vitality, spirit and fierceness to the political movements. This is a rejection and defeat of the racist tactics of imperialism.

Racism is imperialism's most deadly weapon for brainwashing, controlling and mobilizing the U.S. population in support of conquest. As Fanon says, "Racism bloats and disfigures the face of the culture that practices it." The imperialists create racial identification with one's oppressors among the domestic white population in support of wars of conquest. They also draw on xenophobia and national chauvinism.

Racism is the chief justification for U.S. expansion and colonial ventures. The imperial army has been rallied with vile epithets since "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" and led into conquest by men like Teddy Roosevelt who boasted of "killing rabbits" in the war against Puerto Rico in 1898. Racism is at the root of the unconcern about the indiscriminate murder of civilians that is the horrible face of the war in Indochina: the air war and the combat. To William Calley and the perpetrators of the My Lai war crimes the unarmed Vietnamese villagers including the children were the faceless and nonhuman "enemy."



## IMPERIALISM MEANS SEXISM

The systematic domination of women is an underpinning of imperialism: under imperialism, the organization and fabric of society — the family, production, reproduction, and *all* social relations — keep women dependent and powerless. Sexism is this institutionalized and encouraged system of control. In the Third World, imperialism imposes the most brutal forms of modern sexism. Women are murdered/tortured, sterilized/raped, stifled/crippled, owned/exploited under the banner of male supremacy.

Imperialism fosters the most reactionary (backward) aspects in feudal and colonized nations, including male supremacy. The more humane aspects are suppressed. Thus, for women in the Third World, the most oppressive aspects of both imperialism and the former society are fused and intensified. Imperialism maintains and heightens the oppression of women on a global scale.

Imperialism lays claim to all the natural resources of the colonized society, including the women. They are valued and controlled as laborers, breeders, and sexual commodities.

Women are cut from the economic lifeline. Where imperialism causes rapid and forced urbanization, women are uprooted into unfamiliar cities where there is no economic activity for them — forced to be dependent on men. Sex segregation in the work force is encouraged by the imperialists. For example, in Africa, the European colonizers taught and recruited only men to use technology and to work in their factories. Women were excluded from the "modern economy." If the woman is left behind to do field labor or work on a coffee or rubber plantation, she is also kept at the edge of subsistence, subject to an economy based on imperial needs and disruptions, where the traditional agriculture has been destroyed.

The reproductive power of Third World women is under direct attack by the imperialists. Population control and forced sterilization are now a major U.S. strategy directed against Third World people. These massive programs are intended to prevent social upheaval by restricting population in the underdeveloped world. They have disarmed many because these programs masquerade as concerns for the poor peoples of the world — just like foreign aid and military protection.

Who is behind these programs? "Family planning" for Third World women is being pushed by Rockefeller, the Ford Foundation, Kissinger, International Planned Parenthood Foundation, Protestant missionaries and Academic apologists. U.S.

agencies in the Third World have made sterilization and forced birth control programs a requirement for receiving foreign aid money.

These programs concentrate in Latin America, parts of Africa, and India and Indonesia. By 1965, 34 percent of all women of child-bearing age in Puerto Rico had been sterilized. Sterilization and IUDs are carried to the villages of Bolivia, Guatemala, and Haiti. Women are offered lipstick or \$1.50 to be sterilized.

Population control has its counterparts within the U.S.: Third World women in particular are sterilized without their consent.

World women in particular are sterilized without their consent.

This is not the first time imperialist strategy aimed at the control of reproduction. In 1945, Congress almost passed a bill to sterilize all the Japanese women in concentration camps within the U.S. This motion was defeated by one vote.

The same men who are responsible for U.S. policy in Vietnam say that overpopulation creates social unrest and revolution. They claim that population control is their strategy for hunger. But such a strategy will eliminate neither hunger nor social unrest and revolution. People are not the problem. Injustice, the conditions caused by U.S. imperialism, create revolution. So does the lack of power over our lives and the future of our children.

Women want decent birth control. Women want the choice to control our own reproduction. Instead, birth control has become a weapon of empire — Third World women are used as guinea-pigs for testing and experimentation. Instead, we get coils and pills and sterilizations under threat of losing aid or a few crumbs of welfare. This kind of coercion, for economic and racist reasons, constitutes forced sterilization. It is a direct form of genocide against the future, through the bodies of women.

Imperialism enforces systematic terror against women. The staggering number of rapes of Vietnamese women of all ages by U.S. soldiers, taken together, draws a picture of the intimate relationship of violence and sex under imperialism. Rape and sexual abuse is the prerogative of the conqueror, a means of undermining women's resistance, a murderous assault, part of the arsenal of control and domination. The rape of the Black slave women is one of this country's major crimes. White men claimed the right to rape Black women, and any attempt to defend a Black woman meant death by the lynch rope. Signs of a deep love relationship between slaves led to one of them being sold; mothers and children were systematically separated.



The invader attempts to "possess" and degrade the colonized woman and through her to assault the entire culture. Wherever U.S. imperialism goes, its tourism and its armies produce mass prostitution: Havana (pre-1959), Manila, Saigon, Bangkok, San Juan. Women are used as sexual objects and discarded. There are nearly 500,000 women in prostitution in South Vietnam, leading masses of women to drugs and suicide. There are more brothels than schools. In 1969, there were 214 agencies which recruited young women from the provinces for 21,000 brothels, bars, and hotels. Operations to conform Vietnamese women to American standards of beauty became big business — women's breasts were enlarged and their eyes rounded.

In U.S.-built prisons in the Third World, women are tortured with the special methods developed by the CIA, AID, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. There are over 100,000 women in South Vietnamese prisons, thousands in Brazil and Uruguay. They are tortured by electric shock, beatings, drugs and sexual violence.

Women have begun to transform their lives by participation in national liberation movements throughout the Third World. In striking opposition to their conditions under imperial and reactionary societies, women are overthrowing their oppressors and creating conditions of dignity, equality, and unity. Women have become organizers, heroines, and leaders in liberation struggles ... and under socialism. They are organizing the masses of women in their countries. They are opposing backward superstitions, patriarchal family relationships, polygamy, bound feet, and traditions based on the inferiority of women. Women are armed, fighting imperialism, building long-haired armies and women's militias, defending the new societies they are helping to build. They are working, learning to read, organizing health care and child care. They are implementing new marriage and divorce laws and practices around birth control beneficial to all women.

Sexism is a cornerstone of imperialism's power to organize the population in its home base. Competition, sex and violence are unified by imperial culture and forged into a weapon against women. In the process of humiliating and dominating women, men are mobilized to be the enforcers. Sexism, like racism, is pushed to the level of fanaticism to justify an otherwise naked grab for wealth and power, and to try to insure the loyalty of the imperial army. GI's are promised manhood and glory. Proof of manhood and sexual prowess is built around the weakness of women. Men are rallied to kill and not care. An army training cadence goes like this:

This is my rifle (holding up his M16)  
This is my gun (hand at crotch)  
One is for killing  
The other for fun

Our movement must be involved in the fight against the domination and torture of our sisters in the Third World. We have a common enemy. The greatest male supremacists are the leading imperialists. They are Rockefeller, Moynihan, Kissinger. We cannot betray the struggle of women in general and our Third World sisters in particular. When we embrace these struggles as our own — and merge them with our own — we create a basis for revolutionary sisterhood and an international women's movement against imperialism.

### NEOCOLONIALISM

The U.S. has practiced neocolonialism for over 70 years in Latin America. But in the context of rising Third World nationalism after World War II, it became the main form of U.S. world control. Neocolonialism removes the most glaring symbol of the subordination of the colonized, the colonial government. It grants formal political independence. At the same time, it attempts to guarantee continued dominance through economic, military and cultural penetration.

Neocolonial economies are subordinated to the demands of the imperialists. By the sheer scale of invested capital, multinational corporations can mold these economies to fit corporate needs.

Neocolonialism trains and supports a bourgeoisie within the colonized country — not a capitalist class comparable to the one in the oppressor nations, but a class in service to and totally dependent on the imperial force which sustains it. The bastions of traditional strength, such as landlords in Latin America, are manipulated and strengthened. Neocolonialism relies on reactionary and militaristic forces as a bulwark against social demands from the people, and plunges the vast majority into greater poverty.

### Defeats for Neocolonialism

While neocolonialism is a brutal system, it contains inherent weaknesses and instability. The battles for political independence in the Third World over the last 25 years have been transforming ones, and have brought oppressed people a new sense of dignity and power. With independence came many hopes for a better life — something which neocolonialism has not provided. These popu-

lar measures have in the past forced elected governments like Goulart in Brazil or Bosch in the Dominican Republic to break with various forms of U.S. domination.

The most serious death-blow dealt neocolonialism in Latin America was the overthrow of the Batista regime in 1959 and the successful Cuban Revolution. From the landing of the Granma to the Bay of Pigs to the building and defense of socialism today, Fidel Castro has been the heroic and wise revolutionary leading the fight. The "first free territory of the Americas" has been a continuing inspiration to the people of Latin America and the U.S.

The Cuban Revolution, the only socialist revolution in our hemisphere, has grown and consolidated for fifteen years. The revolution has transformed people's daily lives, eliminating the scourges of the Latin American continent: illiteracy, staggering rates of infant mortality and epidemic diseases, mass hunger and malnutrition, inadequate housing and unemployment. It has created popular forms of organizing revolutionary justice, taking care of people's neighborhoods and communities, and more recently, building a worker's movement to deepen mass participation at all levels of decision-making connected with work. The revolution has launched an offensive to transform education and culture into powerful revolutionary tools.

Cuba is a beacon for everyone in its principled and dedicated support for international revolution; Cuba has made terrific sacrifices to aid other struggles. Cuba's heartfelt support for Vietnam is unmatched anywhere. In Cuba, the whole people mobilized to produce for the Vietnamese, and volunteered to go and fight if needed. Cuba's unwavering defiance of Yanqui imperialism has encouraged other Latin American nations to confront U.S. neocolonial policy and has been exemplary for other Latin American movements of national liberation. U.S. revolutionaries have a special responsibility to defend the Cuban Revolution and recognize its decisive importance to the revolutionary struggle in the Americas. We support the Cuban Revolution.

The U.S. response to any challenge to its rule has always been savage. In 1961, the imperialist Bay of Pigs invasion was turned back by the Cuban people. But the U.S. has never ceased in its attempts to arm and build a para-military force to hurl against [and threaten] Cuba. The U.S.-enforced blockade around Cuba, as well as the boycott of Cuban sugar, are major attempts to destroy the revolution through economic aggression which must be opposed and defeated by our movement. Repeated U.S.-backed plots

to assassinate Premier Fidel Castro by the participants and forces involved in Watergate have been foiled.

## VIOLENT COUNTERREVOLUTION

Throughout Latin America the old neocolonial facades of "democratic alternatives" to communism have been overthrown, to be replaced by openly fascist dictatorships: Banzer in Bolivia, Pinochet in Chile, the junta in Brazil, Bordaberry in Uruguay. These counterrevolutions are the work of the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine. *The Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine means the export of fascism to the Third World.* Its theme is that the U.S. will arm, train, finance and support counterrevolution and reaction without necessarily intervening with ground troops in every area in which its interests are threatened. The price of the Vietnam War was too high to pay again and again. This strategy has the broad backing of the ruling class and is not affected by governmental crisis, domestic differences or Watergate.

Neocolonialism and the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine are ultimately based on violence. The U.S. has the most colossal military establishment the world has ever seen. Over 3000 bases encircle the globe, B-52's are always in the air, and a frightening nuclear arsenal stands ready. There are 600,000 U.S. troops stationed abroad, even when the U.S. is not engaged in a war. This is the ultimate threat behind each policy.

The U.S. has been building a strong network of imperialist alliances linking Western Europe and Japan with a series of fascist governments, reactionary "junior partners" in imperialism. Thieu, the Greek junta, the Brazilian dictators, Lon Nol, the Shah of Iran, the governments of Rhodesia and South Africa are all U.S.-backed regimes, armed against insurgents in their own countries, set up to police their respective regions. In Africa the U.S. has increased support to Portugal, in the Mideast the U.S. arms Israel and Jordan, in Latin America the U.S. and Brazil have backed fascist coups in Bolivia, Uruguay and now Chile. In no way is neocolonialism a more liberal or enlightened or peaceful system of domination. Neocolonialism is Vietnamization on a world-wide scale.

Neocolonialism does not resolve the conflicts within imperialism; it only pushes the struggle to a new stage. To revolutionaries in the Third World, it has made even clearer the necessity to carry the struggle to its final conclusion.

What does national liberation mean in the world today?

Amilcar Cabral provides a clear formulation:

The liberation struggle is a revolution . . . it does not finish at the moment when the national flag is raised and the national anthem played. A nation's national liberation is the recovery of the historical personality of that nation . . . National liberation exists when, and only when, the national productive forces are completely freed of all kinds of foreign domination.

Cabral spoke as an African revolutionary who had watched African independence turn into its opposite under neocolonialism. He argued that the immediate enemy of the people of Guinea-Bissau was Portugal, but that the fight was against neocolonialism as well.

We support progressive nationalist policies or actions which weaken the U.S. empire, like Peru's nationalization of the Exxon and Cerro corporations and the Arab oil boycott. These developments are in opposition to imperialism. However, the movements we look to for leadership are those which fight for the complete freedom of the historical and productive processes from foreign domination, controlled by and for the masses of the country.

### CHANGES IN WORLD POLITICS

Since the ceasefire in Vietnam the center of world conflict is not so clearly focused. Many contradictions are coming to the fore. The contradiction between the Soviet Union and China is deepening. We are studying these issues and offer the following points:

- National liberation movements and the socialist nations of the Third World are today at the center of world history, providing concrete leadership and inspiration to the world struggle. They are faced with the awesome responsibility of consolidating their victories and advancing in the face of the predatory designs of U.S. imperialism. They have the right to full self-determination; this includes the right to take aid from anyone. They are the best judges of their own needs and the realities of building socialism.

The Soviet Union has given substantial aid to liberation movements and to socialist countries like Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Soviet military aid to the Vietnamese was put to the best possible use — shooting down U.S. bomber planes.

It is national chauvinism for U.S. revolutionaries to attack a socialist country like Cuba for accepting Soviet aid. The same attack has been made in the past on the DRV. These "left-sounding" positions display arrogance toward the struggles of Third World nations.

- The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to Mao and Ho Chi Minh — that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism — is the guiding strategic principle of this era.

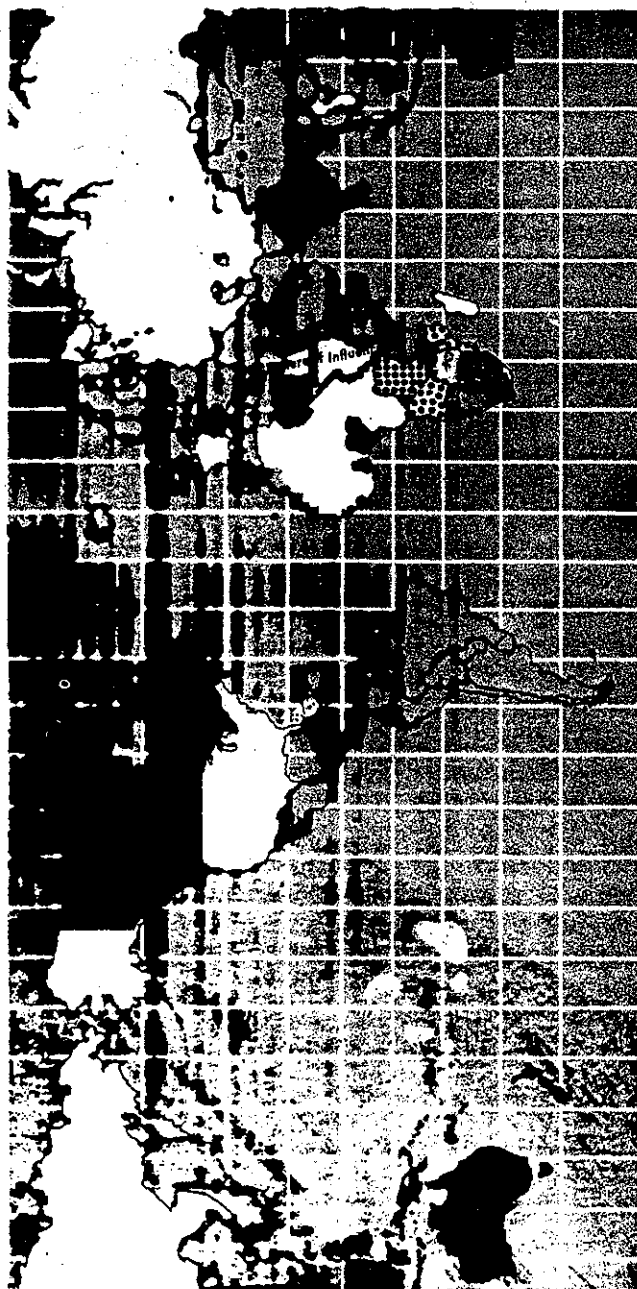
The Chinese have followed a popularly-based revolutionary course, educating and involving hundreds of millions of people in discussion and decision about the economic and political direction of their country. The Chinese have also warred on their own bureaucracy. By launching the Cultural Revolution in 1966, they found a way to combat the rebirth of an exploitative class in China. The Chinese example of continuing the class struggle within socialist society has revolutionized people's vision of the possibilities of socialism.

China, a poor country, has given important political and material assistance to the Vietnamese. In 1950, Chinese volunteers joined the people of Korea to halt the U.S. invasion. China is now helping Tanzania and Zambia build the Great Uhuru railroad, a big step in freeing Southern Africa from dependence on the transport systems of the racist governments in Rhodesia and Mozambique.

- The policy of the government of the USSR, reflected in its ideological stands as well as its state practice, contains conflicting tendencies. While aiding many liberation movements, it has, since Krushchev's 20th Party Congress speech in 1956, put forward the revisionist line that "peaceful transition to socialism" is the correct path to revolution. This has been an argument against taking up arms to fight and has forced revolutionaries around the world, including ourselves, to break sharply with Communist Parties which adopted this line.

Nixon and Kissinger have used detente as a public relations device to mystify the U.S. people about their real intentions. Their rhetoric about "peace" in the Mideast went hand-in-hand with issuing a worldwide military alert which horrified people around the globe. Nixon used his trips to the Soviet Union and China, coming at the time of the massive bombardments of the DRV, to attempt to undermine the Vietnamese resistance. Nixon's lack of success should not obscure his purpose.

Revolutionaries everywhere work for world peace and oppose nuclear war. This is a question of particular concern to the U.S. movement, since the U.S. is the only country ever to have used



nuclear weapons. The devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is a chilling reminder of the tragic consequences of nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialists.

Revolutionaries in the U.S. have as our main enemy U.S. imperialism. Defeating this enemy will require a lot of work — and is the unique contribution we can make to the world revolution.

### THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Let's look at three areas which have been major focal points of world struggle recently: Puerto Rico, Guinea-Bissau and the Palestinian liberation movement. Each is different; they each involve the full complexity and diversity of the struggle for national liberation.

#### Puerto Rico

On December 14, 1973, the U.N. General Assembly overwhelmingly passed the report of the U.N. Special Committee on Decolonization. This resolution buries the U.S. claims that it has no colonies. It reaffirms the "inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence."

Puerto Rico became a U.S. colony in 1898, after years of Spanish rule. Its people have a proud history of resistance — from El Grito de Lares, the great 1868 rebellion against Spain, to the Nationalist uprisings in the 1930s and 1950s, to the present-day resurgence both here and on the island.

The Puerto Rican people are a divided nation, with about 2,700,000 Puerto Ricans living in Puerto Rico and about 2,000,000 living in the U.S. This is the result of a conscious U.S. strategy; its scheme to industrialize Puerto Rico in the 1950s was promoted to create a haven for U.S. corporations seeking cheap labor and tax-free production. This led to the destruction of Puerto Rican agriculture and the forced migration of millions, pushed off the land and unable to find work in the crowded cities. Called "Operation Bootstrap," this was the widely-heralded model of U.S. "aid" to the Third World. It was a cruel attempt to destroy a nation and divide a people for the benefit of U.S. corporate profit.

Emigration continues to be encouraged by the U.S. as a means of defusing Puerto Rican resistance and dealing with mass unemployment on the island. While helping to tighten U.S. control, the forced migration has also provided a cheap labor supply for low-wage employers in the U.S. Sixty percent of all Puerto Rican workers in this country make less than \$100 a week. They work at



punishing jobs in the garment and textile industries, as secretaries, in hospitals, as migrant labor on capitalist farms under the most inhumane conditions. Low pay goes hand-in-hand with staggering unemployment rates — [here and on the island] — the permanent condition of the reserve army of labor.

Characterized by both special oppression and strategic importance, Puerto Rico has a unique relationship with U.S. imperialism. Puerto Rico is the fifth largest market for U.S. goods in the world; over one half of all U.S. investments in Latin America are there — a staggering figure of \$6,800,000,000. Eighty-five percent of Puerto Rico's industrial capital, one of the keys to a country's development, is in the hands of North Americans. San Juan bears the tell-tale mark of empire — prostitution, hotels, gambling, slums.

Puerto Rico is the military center for the U.S. in the Caribbean. There are two nuclear weapons bases and 13% of the best arable land is used for U.S. military purposes. Troops from the island were used in Panama in 1964 and the Dominican Republic in 1965. This military presence is a warning to all Puerto Ricans and a threat to the rest of the Caribbean, particularly socialist Cuba.

One of the chief examples of Puerto Rico's colonial relationship to the U.S. is the superport: a petrochemical and mineral processing complex which U.S.-based multinational oil companies, the Puerto Rican colonial government and the Nixon administration are proposing to build in Puerto Rico. The complex is due to be finished over the next 25 years. Its completion would mean the physical destruction of Puerto Rico as a nation. More rich agricultural land than ever would be destroyed, and the area around the plants would become a vast wasteland. The devastation from oil spills would be incalculable. Estimates are that as many as one million Puerto Ricans would be forced to leave the country. The attempt to stop the superport is a major focus of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

When we look at the importance of Puerto Rico to the U.S., we can begin to understand the historic significance of the Puerto Rican movement. The Puerto Rican nation will not die. It is born again and again through the culture and the struggles of the people on the island, and the people here.

Living in the barrios of major cities, mostly on the East Coast, Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are subjected to many attempts to destroy their culture and their nation. The economic bases of the Puerto Rican community — low-skill jobs and small bodega ownership — is increasingly shaky. Puerto Ricans face conditions of rotten housing, poor health care, brutal police treatment and

institutionalized racism. Colonialism is at work in the schools. Puerto Rican children are denied the dignity of their nation's history and language, not taught to read, and tracked into useless "general diploma" programs.

Against this background the Puerto Rican nation re-emerged inside the U.S. too. In January 1970 the Young Lords took over a church in Spanish Harlem and invited "all New York" to the People's Church. Puerto Rican communities were stirring, many fronts were opened up: the struggle for people's control of Lincoln Hospital in New York City, where Blacks and Puerto Ricans were being abused daily; the ongoing battle for genuine community control of the schools of District One in New York; the continuing day-to-day work of groups like El Comité around issues like tenants and welfare rights; the fight to free political prisoners like Martin Sostre, Gabriel and Francisco Torres, and the Nationalist fighters; the defense of Carlos Feliciano and Pancho Cruz.

The present-day resistance has its roots in the movements and the fighters who have come before: in Don Pedro Albizu-Campos, the great Nationalist leader; in Lolita Lebrun, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andres Figueroa Corde, still in jail after twenty years imprisonment for the armed attack on the U.S. Congress in 1954; in Oscar Callazo, another Nationalist fighter who remains in prison for the attempted assassination of Harry Truman in 1950.

Many forces and organizations now carry on the struggle. The U.N. resolution was presented by the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The PSP was invited as an observer to the recent Non-Aligned Nations Conference in Algiers. The Puerto Rican movement has continued its armed resistance to U.S. imperialism through the actions of the Armed Commandos of Liberation (CAL) who have attacked U.S.-owned companies and the Condado Hotel strip, center of U.S. tourism. Within the U.S., MIRA — an armed revolutionary Puerto Rican group — has attacked many businesses and large stores.

The Puerto Rican movement is a living bond to national liberation struggles in Latin America, an explosive threat to U.S. power. As it continues to grow stronger and more forceful, activists from every movement are pushed to give concrete support through action and organizing. Learning the history of Puerto Rico, understanding and supporting the Puerto Rican movement, and learning to speak Spanish — the people's language — are all necessities for movement organizers in the U.S.

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PUERTO RICAN  
PEOPLE!  
FREE ALL PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!  
STOP THE SUPERPORT!

#### Guinea-Bissau

Guinea-Bissau is a small country of 800,000 people on the West coast of Africa. It was from her shores that Portugal initiated the notorious West African slave trade over four hundred years ago. Since 1963, a fierce people's war has been waged by the forces of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). They have been fighting and defeating over 35,000 Portuguese troops who have been armed, supplied and trained by the U.S. and other NATO powers.

On September 24, 1973, Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of PAIGC, declared Guinea-Bissau independent from Portuguese rule. He announced that the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau would continue to battle the Portuguese soldiers on its territory and would also press for the liberation of the Cape Verde Islands. Soon after, the U.N. General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to extend recognition to the new nation. The U.S., along with South Africa, Portugal, and Israel, opposed the resolution. Eighty-two nations have now formally recognized the new government.

Revolution has profoundly changed Guinean life. PAIGC has liberated almost three-fourths of the countryside. Many people now attend schools in places where no schools existed before. Health care has become a priority in a country where only one hospital was built by Portugal in over one hundred years. Women have assumed a central role in the revolutionary process, breaking from the limits and oppression of the colonial past. Liberation continues to flower in the midst of battle — this is what PAIGC calls "building the revolution as we fight."

Amilcar Cabral was the leader of the PAIGC until his assassination by Portuguese agents in January 1973. Cabral was a powerful, unifying spokesperson for all the African liberation movements. He was one of the truly great, original revolutionary theorists of this era, a dedicated fighter in the cause of liberation. His murder was a cruel blow to Africa and to the world revolution.

Guinea-Bissau is the first Portuguese colony to declare independence. Its liberation struggle has had an effect in Africa similar to the worldwide effects of the Vietnamese struggle. It has been a catalyst for the movements in the other Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and has spurred the rise of revolution





throughout Southern Africa. At the same time, the liberation movements have won more open support from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which represents a broad range of African states.

In Angola, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has liberated one-third of the land — territory inhabited by one million Angolans. In Mozambique, the guerrillas of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) have launched a powerful new offensive against the centers of Portuguese power. FRELIMO forces have crossed the Zambesi River, the supposedly impenetrable natural defense line of Portugal in Mozambique. They have challenged Portugal's planned operation of the huge Caborra Bassa Dam on the Zambesi River. Combined with attacks on the strategic railway between landlocked Rhodesia and the Mozambican port of Beira, these FRELIMO operations have shaken Portugal's hold on the country.

Portugal is a poor country, run since 1924 by a fascist dictatorship. It spends over 50% of its budget on the military and has fielded an army of 250,000 troops to fight in Africa. Like all colonialist and imperialist countries, Portugal is now seeing the chickens come home to roost. Its attempts to crush liberation in Africa have created the conditions for rebellion at home. Over 100,000 youth have fled the country to avoid the draft. Others have deserted from the army. Armed attacks within Portugal have risen — in April, a troop ship about to sail from Lisbon to Guinea-Bissau with 1,000 men aboard, was rocked by an explosion. The action was claimed by the Revolutionary Brigade Organization.

The recent military coup in Portugal reflects the success of the African guerrillas and the deep opposition to the wars among large numbers of Portuguese. It could be said of the ousted fascist government of Marcello Caetano what Cabral said of the death of the previous Portuguese dictator Salazar: "Africa was the disease which killed him." The coup has unleashed a wave of open anti-fascist organizing among the Portuguese people and has also triggered intensified popular pressure to end the African wars.

It is doubtful, however, that the new junta will agree to the only possible solution in Africa: complete independence for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. The junta's leader, General Antonio Spínola, fought with the fascists in the Spanish Civil War, served with the Nazi Army during World War II, and was the major Portuguese commander in the losing war against Guinea-Bissau. Spínola has floated out visions of neocolonial non-solutions which have been categorically rejected by the liberation



forces. Luis Cabral, the new President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has said that:

Spinola talks a lot and he has been known to make a lot of promises. But we know that the only language he listens to comes from the guns of our forces, hitting him and hitting him and hitting him again.

Portugal could not sustain its colonial wars without the aid of the Western imperial powers. As a NATO member it receives arms and supplies from the U.S. and Western Europe. Southern Africa is of great strategic importance to imperialism — a source of valuable raw materials, cheap labor, high-profit investments. Victories for PAIGC, FRELIMO, and MPLA could pose a serious threat to racist rule in the whole area. Consequently, the battle lines have hardened and the U.S. has more openly supported Portugal and the white racist governments in South Africa and Rhodesia.

In 1971, the Nixon government gave Portugal a \$436 million loan in return for continued U.S. use of the Azores Islands as a military base. U.S. companies have a growing stake in Portuguese success; they now are the third largest investors in the Portuguese colonies. Gulf Oil Company pays Portugal \$62 million a year for its rights to oil resources of the Angolan coast (Cabinda). In November 1973 Gulf acknowledged the discovery of new deposits in the same area which it called "the most prolific south of the Middle East." When the Arab states halted oil shipments to Portugal and South Africa, Gulf helped take up the slack, sending oil to both countries and to Mozambique.

Over half of all U.S. African investments are in South Africa, which functions as a junior partner of Western imperialism. South Africa is currently fighting liberation movements in Namibia (Southwest Africa) Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and within its own borders. As Portugal loses its hold over Angola and Mozambique, more direct South African intervention is likely.

This is the Southern Axis in Africa — Portugal, South Africa, the U.S., the NATO powers, Rhodesia — lined up against millions of Africans demanding self-determination. The fight for liberation in Southern Africa is a strategic center-point in the battle against imperialism.

The African liberation struggles have been hidden wars, rarely mentioned in the U.S. press. It has taken the concerted work of the Black movement to break the silence in this country. Black organizations have pushed forward boycott campaigns against Gulf Oil and Portuguese products, have identified U.S. support for Portugal and South Africa, and are now demanding U.S. recognition of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Longshoremen in

Sancti Spiritus, Baltimore and San Francisco have refused to unload shipments of Rhodesian chrome, brought here in violation of a U.N. ban.

All these activities are important for our movement to support and help build. With the current crisis in Portugal, this is a key time to intensify worldwide support for the African liberation movements. While some movement organizers are now engaged in work around Africa, many more of us should make it a part of our daily work. This involves both commitment to action and to political education: a good place to begin is with Amilcar Cabral's writings — *Revolution in Guinea, Return to the Source, Our People Are Our Mountains* — and Basil Davidson's *Liberation of Guinea*. Learn from the people. A basis can be laid within the movement for a new level of solidarity with the African struggles.

**PORTUGAL OUT OF AFRICA!**

**NO U.S. OR NATO AID TO PORTUGAL OR SOUTH AFRICA!**

**RECOGNIZE GUINEA-BISSAU!**

#### THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

People have been confused and misled into thinking that the situation in the Mideast is impossibly complicated. Blindness to the Palestinian people is at the root of this quandary. The Palestinian struggle is a genuine and deep-rooted movement for national liberation. As peoples they have actively opposed colonization of their lands from the beginning: against the Turkish rulers, against the British empire, and now against zionism as embodied in the state of Israel. This is the key to the past and the future of the Mideast. There is a sobering similarity between the situation of the Palestinians and the history of the Native American people. The reality is that Israel is an expansionist power, based on zionist colonialism.

For seven years, the Palestinian liberation movement has been the leading resistance to zionism and Israeli military supremacy in the Mideast. In the October War, the Arab nations delivered a major blow to Israel; destroying the myth of Israeli military invincibility, weakening her position in the world and heightening contradictions within Israel itself. The Arab demands were for the return of the Israeli-occupied lands seized during the 1967 Six Day War in which Israel more than tripled its size. At the core of Mideast politics, unsettled by the October War or the U.S.-Soviet negotiations about the Mideast, are the Palestinian people.

The Palestinians are 3.3 million landless people, dispersed primarily in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the West Bank, Gaza and Israel. They have become the people of the diaspora — exiled from their homeland of thousands of years by the state of Israel and the ideology of zionism. Referred to in the U.S. press as "Arab terrorists," "Arab refugees," or "Southern Syrians," the Palestinians have been struggling to return to their land and for their right to self-determination and liberation. Their claim is just; it is based on the fact of Palestinian national existence: a common heritage, the labor of their ancestors, the cultivation of citrus and olives, trade, the building of the cities of Haifa, Jaffa and Lydda, their culture, their dignity as a people.

For 24 years, hundreds of thousands of proud Palestinians have been forced into hastily set up U.N. refugee camps with no means of survival except food depots and U.N. rations. Displaced again in 1967, this time from the occupied territories, the Palestinians faced a second exodus, twice refugees. The atrocious camps, originally organized as a temporary measure, are the living grievance — they express the contradiction embodied in the existence of Israel at the expense of Palestine.

Israel has never recognized the Palestinians' rights. Zionist leaders have rejected U.N. resolutions calling for the return of the refugees to their homeland, rejected the idea that the "so-called Palestinian people" exist, and insisted that they are the Arab's problem, not theirs. From the outset, Israel has worked toward a purely Jewish state.

It was after the holocaust in Europe in which half the Jewish population of Europe was slaughtered by the fascists that the creation of Israel became a reality. The U.S. and other Western powers denied immigration to Jewish refugees and encouraged migration to the land of Palestine. Zionists colluded with the imperialists to create Israel on an already-populated land.

From its inception, zionism has been an imperial ideology, presented as an alternative to communism. Theodore Herzl, recognized as the founder of modern zionism, had toyed with the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Uganda or Kenya and was blunt about zionist alliances:

England with her possessions in Asia should be most interested in zionism, for the shortest road to India is by way of Palestine. England's great politicians were the first to recognize the need for colonial expansion. That is why Great Britain's ensign flies on all the oceans. And so I must believe that here in England, *the idea of Zionism, which is a colonial idea*, should be easily and quickly understood in its true and most modern form.

Israel is a settler colony. After World War II with the British driven out, the U.N. partitioned Palestine in favor of the zionists. The Hagana and the Irgun, zionist terror organizations, initiated a campaign of violence against the Palestinian people to force them off their land and out of the cities: to create a state "clean of Arabs." At Deir Yassin, the Irgun killed every one of the 254 Palestinian inhabitants on April 9, 1948. Poorly armed, over a million Palestinians fled over the borders, leaving everything behind. Israel seized and confiscated their immense lands and their property under the Absentee Property Laws and justified this occupation with the lie that the Palestinians left of their own free will. The 12% of the Palestinian people who remained behind became hired labor on their own lands or in settlements, and lived under military control, treated as an inferior people.

Israel is an expansionist country. In three successive wars since partition, they have conquered and occupied Egyptian land, Syrian land, and Jordanian land. Forty percent of the Israeli budget is taken up by war. During the October War, the U.S. airlifted supplies of up to 800 tons of war equipment per day to Israel through the Portuguese-held Azores Islands and Nixon got a \$2.2 billion request for military spending for Israel. Israeli government policy is periodic warfare, "... eternal war imposed by destiny."

Israel is a class society. Not only is it based on the special colonial relationships of super-exploitation of native Palestinians, but half the Jewish population are immigrants from Asia and Africa — "Oriental" Jews — who face particular exploitation doing unskilled labor, living in the worst housing, discriminated against by "European" Jews. In addition, because Israel is a religious state, non-Jews are denied basic rights. These conflicts have been submerged by zionism, yet the tensions and contradictions have produced frustration and opposition among some sectors of Israel, particularly the young.

Israel's economy is weak, in spite of the enormous theft of Palestinian land and labor. It is dependent on foreign capital: German reparations, U.S. aid and billions from Western donations. In 1967, Israel received 10% of all U.S. foreign aid. The Nixon administration boasts that it has given Israel more aid than the combined total of all previous administrations. Israel is a client state of U.S. imperialism, serving as policeman and favored partner in the exploitation of the Mideast and Northern Africa.

The zionist government in Israel supported the U.S. in Vietnam, supports the fascist junta in Chile and opposes all liberation movements in Africa. Since the 1967 war, 26 African nations have

severed relations with Israel on the basis of Israeli occupation of Arab land. This is also a consequence of Israel's attempt to penetrate and dominate African development. South Africa and Rhodesia continue ties with Israel.

Zionist colonialism has cultivated a worldwide image as the besieged victim, the heroic people holding off the barbarians, a semi-socialist state where strong and free sabras made the desert bloom, the refuge and guarantee against anti-semitism. The reality is very different:

- The Zionist state is clearly the aggressor, the source of violence and war in the Mideast, the occupier of stolen lands. The military solutions of periodic war and expansion, reprisal raids and constant preparation for war are the consequence of intransigent opposition to a politically cooperative future with Palestinians and Arabs. It is racist and expansionist - the enemy of Palestinians, the Arab people, and the Jewish people.

- Israeli society internally reflects this imperialist reality; militarized, commercial, and competitive.

- The myth of socialism on the kibbutz is a powerful one, but the kibbutzim never contained more than 5% of the Jewish population of Palestine or Israel, and are no evidence for Israel being a socialist country. Many of the kibbutzim are on land which Palestinian peasants were driven from, some directly exploit Palestinian labor, and they are all subsidized by Zionist funds.

- Zionism does not represent Jews. It is a racist ideology based on the claim that "God" chose a people superior to others. It has been consistently used as an alternative to class struggle and socialism for Jews, undermining Jewish progressive and working-class traditions.

- There is no basis for the claim that Zionism is a bulwark against anti-semitism. The Zionist state has allied with the most repressive and intolerant regimes in the world: Nixon, Thieu, South Africa, and the Chilean junta.

The white movement in the U.S. has failed to give clear and open support to the Palestinian struggle. We have not taken on the necessary task of exposing the myths about Israel which cloak the true situation and disarm many people. The nature of the state of Israel is protected by intense passions and by the real memories of Nazism and anti-semitism. But despite ancestors at Auschwitz and relatives in Israel, we cannot escape the responsibility of opposing the crimes of the Israeli government and the consequences of Zionist ideology.

From exile and despair, the Palestinians have slowly developed their resistance capability. They began to lead and define their

own political and guerrilla movement which accelerated after the Arab defeat in the 1967 war. Their brave battle at Kurameh in 1968 helped make them the focal point of resistance to Zionism and galvanized the national identity and yearnings of the whole people. The forces and organizations of Palestinian liberation trained thousands of Palestinians and began to mobilize their people, to provide health and administrative services, to reclaim their history. The active participation of Palestinian women in the struggle for liberation challenges the long history of women's subservience and dependence which has been bolstered by religion and family. The Union for Palestinian Women is active within all the camps, with a primary focus on education and fighting the economic oppression of women.

The Palestinian strategy has been to carry out operations against the Zionist state and Israeli-held territory and to remind the world of the Palestinian people's cause. Their solution is a democratic secular Palestine that will accommodate all Palestinians: Jews, Moslems and Christians. The Palestinian Liberation Organization is the umbrella organization which coordinates policy for the liberation forces.

The Palestinian liberation movement is a most progressive force in the politics of the Mideast, as is the revolution of South Yemen - known as the Cuba of the Mideast. The Palestinians have educated masses of people, opened up the revolution to women and demonstrated fearless determination to win. Their proposal of a democratic secular state stands in marked contrast to rhetorical threats to annihilate the Jews or reactionary expressions of anti-semitism. The Palestinians make a firm distinction between Zionism and Jews.

The presence of the Palestinian struggle is a touchstone for other contradictions in the Mideast. The Palestinian freedom fighters are a highly politicized group, a militant nucleus, scattered in five "host" countries. A principle of the liberation movement has been that the revolution is Palestinian in origin and Arab in extension. The dedicated fedayeen have stimulated wide support among Arab people. Their struggle and their determined independence from Arab governments in whose lands they live, train and organize, makes them a force for revolutionary change throughout the Arab world.

Often Arab governments have rhetorically used the Palestinian cause to maintain their own power and control, while consistently leaving the Palestinians out of negotiations and excluding them from a dignified life within their countries. These rulers are fully aware of the threat posed to their power by a vital liberation

movement strategically located in their midst. Yet they are somewhat restrained by the immense popularity of the movement among the people of the Arab countries.

This precarious balance was shattered by "Black September." Over half the population of Jordan was Palestinian when King Hussein unleashed a major military attack to liquidate the Palestinian revolution in September 1970. The U.S.-backed Hussein with a continuous supply of arms and the threat of intervention with the 6th fleet. Thousands of Palestinians were murdered, refugee camps were bombarded and destroyed, leaders executed. This was a severe setback. The Palestinians have since regrouped in Lebanon and Syria and rebuilt their forces.

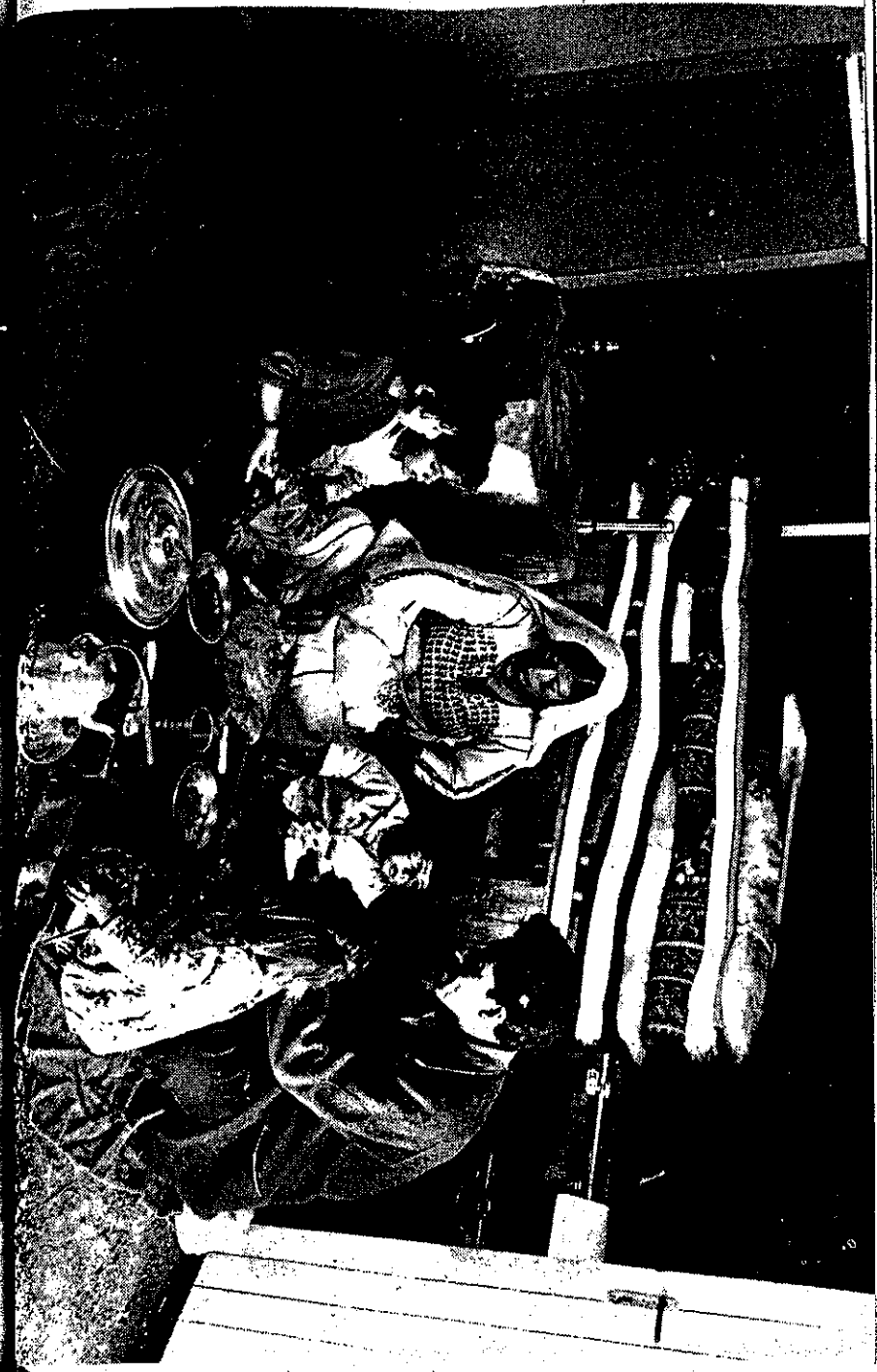
Palestinian independence is opposed with reactionary schemes by Jordan, completely opposed with military terror by Israel, and manipulated by the U.S. The U.S.-sponsored notion of stability and status-quo in the Mideast is an attempt to preserve U.S. imperialist control of oil, using Zionist power as the cat's paw. The Mideast has become a world focus of struggles over oil resources and control of strategic sea and air routes. Yet the Palestinian struggle is at the heart of other conflicts in the Mideast. Only the Palestinians can determine the solution which reflects the aspirations of the Palestinian people. No "settlements" in the Mideast which exclude the Palestinians will resolve the conflict. Palestinian liberation will not be suppressed.

The U.S. people have been seriously deceived about the Palestinians and Israel. This calls for a campaign to educate and focus attention on the true situation: teach-ins, debates, and open clear support for Palestinian liberation; reading about the Palestinian movement — *The Disinherited* by Fawaz Turki, *Enemy of the Sun*; opposing U.S. aid to Israel. Our silence or acceptance of Zionist policy is a form of complicity with U.S.-backed aggression and terror, and a betrayal of internationalism.

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!**

**U.S. OUT OF THE MIDEAST!**

**END AID TO ISRAEL!**



V.  
IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS: THE HOME FRONT

In Vietnam the imperialist soldiers encounter the discomforts of those who, accustomed to the vaunted U.S. standard of living, must face a hostile land, the insecurity of those who are unable to move without being aware of walking on enemy territory, death to those who advance beyond their fortified encampments, the permanent hostility of an entire population. All this provokes internal repercussions in the U.S. and encourages the resurgence of a factor which was attenuated in the full vigor of imperialism: class struggle even within its own territory.

Che Guevara  
Message to the Tricontinental





Bowling Green, East 25th Street, New York, December 25, 1931. Men wait to enter the Municipal Lodging House, where on this Christmas Day 10,000 persons, including women, were fed. The police glee club and band provided entertainment. (UPI)





Above, a photograph taken during a Harlem riot in 1943. At right, a view of the smoking ruins in Washington, D.C., after riots which followed the 1968 killing of Dr. Martin Luther King.

We are living in a huge and naturally beautiful land. The mountains, the deserts and the plains hold the riches of history from Indian tribes who dwelt here — places like Four Corners and the Black Hills, sacred land to the Navaho and the Sioux. Eagles fly overhead in some areas, and coyotes howl at the moon. Snow lands, river lands: travelled many times, seen by many people's eyes.

No wonder we scream at the plunder, the wastefulness, and wreckage. The streams and lakes float with dead fish, victims of industrial waste; the mountains are ripped apart for the wealth of strip-mined coal; the air is thick with pollution. Profit chases greed in a reckless race across the Earth.

Most people live in the cities, giant centers of commerce and production. The cities contain tremendous potential for human development and community, but the potential is mocked by the reality: burned and abandoned houses, dirty avenues and children living in cold apartments — this crowded up against extravagant wealth and the centers of imperial power. Still the culture of the many peoples grows tenaciously.

What kind of society is it? It is a class society, torn by contradictions: the heartland of a bloody empire built on the attempted genocide of Native Americans, the trade in African slaves, the lives of Chinese and Japanese and Filipino workers, the exploitation of successive waves of immigrant labor. It is an imprisoner of nations — Guam, Samoa, the Virgin Islands, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Black and Chicano nations. Like other empires, it combines stolen land, stolen riches and stolen labor.

## THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION

Stolen wealth — not Yankee ingenuity — is the basis of the tremendous concentration in the U.S. of productive forces — large factories with advanced machinery, elaborate computer systems, highly extended organization, the labor of women and men from many nations — all contributing to an astounding productive capability.

This accumulated productive power is used for the most selfish and backward purposes. Whereas this wealth is produced by the people of the world, it is used to enrich the idle handful that controls it, and to subjugate the dispossessed with the destructive power of economic control and war.

Monopoly capital/imperialism is an irrational system. It is not organized to meet human needs. It is run by a very small ruling class whose only morality is the morality of the maximum profit.

This handful of white men control the enormous concentrations of wealth, the means of production, the government. These are the imperialists, the common enemy. They hog the wealth which the people produce. Thirty-two percent of the personal wealth in the U.S. is owned by 1.6% of the population.

Who are these enemies? Of all the imperial dynasties and major thieves of our time, the Rockefeller family stands out: the phenomenal growth of their clan's influence and riches parallels the development of U.S. imperialism. They are the richest people in the world, richer than anyone has ever been before, and they are getting richer all the time. Their wealth is about as much as all the Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Puerto Ricans and forty million poor whites in the U.S. have put together. Like the other imperial dynasties and families, their wealth has been dispersed into an invisible empire which has spread to every corner of the world. It is an empire which includes the world's largest banks and industrial corporations — aerospace, computers, oil, insurance, telephones and television. The Rockefellers control 20% of banking in the U.S. and 20% of all its industry. This vast empire of wealth and power is built to grow, to self-perpetuate, to entangle everywhere on earth that it can. It feeds on domination over the people; its social policies are welfare cuts, stop and frisk, drug detention laws. It dislocates whole populations from our cities for the construction of huge monuments to the god profit, to commerce and world trade. It meets rebellion — as at Attica — with the iron heel. The Rockefellers' policies exist for the continued emiseration of most of humanity and the continued spiral of concentration of power and wealth into their hands.

They are not the only ones. The heads of Ford and General Motors each receive yearly salaries of almost \$1,000,000, yet one third of the U.S. people are considered poor by the government's figures. We measured the energy crisis by cold houses, sick children and lost jobs, while the oil companies increased their profits over last year by as much as 135%.

This irrational and revolting system leaves much social wealth wasted and undeveloped. What is produced bears little relationship to what is needed. For this reason Marxist-Leninists speak of the "anarchy of production" when we refer to the way productive forces are organized under imperialism. The great injustice of this system is that it leaves its potential unrealized while maintaining scarcity for billions of people.



All economic activity that does not go to satisfy human need is waste. Advertising and marketing (a \$30 billion a year business), useless consumer goods, planned obsolescence, bureaucracy, the military — all aspects of waste — add up to the social cost of maintaining this outmoded system. It is working people and the oppressed of empire who bear this cost.

The scale on which military spending consumes capital is staggering. The annual military budget is larger than the net incomes of all U.S. corporations put together. With this the U.S. maintains missiles, submarines, electronic warfare and chemical and biological agents, nuclear weapons, bomber forces and over three thousand military bases around the world. This dominance of militarization in the economy distorts every aspect of U.S. life.

### The Conditions of Life

The purpose of class analysis is to isolate the enemy and to identify our potential friends. Who will lead the fight? Who can be won over? Who at least neutralized? This framework is as important as battle plans.

Class analysis should not use the borders of the U.S. like blinders on a horse. This deprives us of the full picture and throws strategy into chaos. Domestic class analysis must be integrated with the reality of U.S. imperialism as a world economy. There is one system operating internally and externally; there is a unified strategy for power and control although the application and tactics vary greatly; there is one main class enemy. Class analysis must see the entire system and realistically take account of imperial plunder and the realities of national division.

In the U.S. the imperialists stand opposed to the huge majority of poor and working people who have no control over the fruits of our labor.

The ruling class divides us against each other by mechanisms of stratification and competition, and thereby maintains its own power. Some of these divisions are based on real differences in wealth, status, power, freedom, ability to survive and be happy. Some of them are imposed by school, by religious training or the family. We are imbued with the sense of our differentness from other people in the world. The strength of the divisions among us measures only the effectiveness of control over all dispossessed people by the rulers of society. The revolutionary process will sweep these away, seize the transformation of society as a whole, and do away with privilege and advantage.

U.S. society is corrupted by the values that necessarily accom-

pany piracy — racism, greed, competitiveness, brutality, sexism, callousness. The ruling class calls the backward, criminal aspects of culture into being and sets them into motion. The society is the rat-race, marked by an anti-social premium on individualism. There is a stark poverty for masses of people materially and culturally, a poverty in the quality of life.

— Hunger and starvation are world realities. In the U.S. over 30 million people cannot afford to meet basic nutritional needs. In spite of these facts, the U.S. government pays farmers billions of dollars a year *not* to grow food. This keeps food prices high. The war of the rich and the poor has taken on terrible proportions — the face of famine, malnutrition, epidemic against the face of glut.

— Close to half the U.S. population has one or more chronic conditions — diabetes, asthma, arthritis, heart diseases, high blood pressure. Medical care is inadequate and inaccessible to most people. Since 1960, medical costs have been rising twice as fast as the skyrocketing cost of living, and hospital costs five times. One night in a hospital costs a week's pay for a worker. Health insurance companies are getting rich from the people's pain. The horror intensifies for poor people; malnutrition is the great hidden cause of disease in the U.S. With humane priorities, the violence of socially unnecessary pain would be eradicated, women's health would be a priority, people would not die from hunger or poverty-related illness.

— Illiteracy is increasing in the U.S. Schools systematically refuse to teach Black and Third World children to read; millions of people in this country are illiterate. Schools are minimum security prisons, geared to repression and control of the young, to teaching the lessons of competition, self-hatred, fear and loneliness.

— Work is hard to get: unemployment in early 1974 is running at 5.1% of the work-force. This is considered acceptable by capitalist economists. The government also admits that there are at least another 8-10% unemployed or underemployed who are not shown in the statistics. These low estimates add up to 12,000,000 U.S. workers out of work or semi-employed. Women are chronically underemployed; large numbers of young people are marginally employed; Black people have twice the unemployment rate of the population as a whole.

When people do find work, it is alienating and oppressive under imperialism. Industrial accidents resulting in deaths or serious injury are astronomical. Speedup at plants like the Vega Plant in Lordstown, Ohio, leave workers exhausted, tense and drained at the end of the day. Miners suffer from chronic lung diseases.



Factory discipline is rigidly enforced. Between 1960-68, disciplinary cases doubled at Ford plants in the U.S. Absenteeism among workers is on the rise. Work in the U.S. stifles and imprisons the worker. Production for war and waste turns the fulfilling aspect of work into its hateful opposite.

— One-quarter of the U.S. people are living in substandard housing, dilapidated or lacking in adequate plumbing or heating, firetraps. Half of the Black people in the U.S. live in bad housing. Peeling paint in tenements has led to a major plague of lead paint poisoning; lead poisoning today cripples more children annually than did polio before the Salk vaccine. Children are exposed to rat bites as well as broken-down facilities leading to accidents and disease. Families are forced to pay high rents for rotten apartments. The system's "solutions" to these criminal conditions are urban renewal which tears apart poor people's communities in order to build more profitable higher-rent apartments, irrational tract housing which destroys the countryside, and mobile homes which are structurally unsound and dangerous — financed at incredible profits. The housing crisis produces profits for real estate speculators and big landlords and unlivable conditions for millions of U.S. people.

— Old age, instead of being a mark of respect and value, is scary in our society. Old people are poor, many die in old-age homes as if age were a disease. This society discards those whose labor is no longer exploitable for market value. The premium put on youth distorts human links between generations. Old people's lessons from life and stories of the past are seldom learned. Our loss.

— Children are denied self-respect, dignity, and creativity. They have no social power in a driving, competitive society. Almost nothing is built with small people in mind — stairs, toilets, turnstiles, signs, systems of transportation. Schools, television and publishing companies subject young people to a brutal culture of ultra-violence, sexist stereotypes and racism. Children are denied community; day-care facilities are minimal and always facing severe cutbacks. Kids are newer people and have, by the fact of being born, earned the rights that all human beings deserve.

— Personal debt to banks and corporations has increased astronomically in the past decade. The ruling class controls and manages millions of people by tying them to the system with debt. Because of high inflation and unemployment, delinquencies on installment loans hit a new high during January and February 1974.

All of this has a profoundly destructive effect on the people and the quality of life in the U.S. People turn against one another and

ourselves. Over one half of the hospital beds in the U.S. are occupied by mental patients. Alcoholism, drug addiction, child beating, rape, gambling, anger and suicide are all at crisis proportions.

For people in the U.S. the basic fact of life is fear. People are afraid of society. No one knows what is going to happen. Fear of illness, fear of getting laid off. Afraid to go outdoors. Afraid of Black people moving into the neighborhood, afraid of loss of status, afraid of not looking right, afraid of being taken advantage of, afraid to speak up, afraid of growing old.

Still, Vietnam and Black rebellion, the resistance of youth and the rising of women begin to pry open minds and reclaim people ~~imperialism tried to destroy~~. It is harder to sell the bourgeois life. The lace over the machinery of greed and brutality has gaping holes. The circus has lost its glitter. Imperialism's seamy side is up for those who will examine its ugly contours and help plan its downfall.

#### The Changing Nature of the Working Class

People who must sell their labor power in order to survive make up the large and growing U.S. proletariat (working class). The position in society of the working class is in fundamental conflict with the role and function and activities of the imperialists. Oppressed peoples, women and youth and other anti-imperialist forces can and should deliver telling blows against the empire now; the actual building of socialism cannot succeed without the active support of the industrial proletariat. This is the proletariat's historic mission. It is a revolutionary duty to analyze and interpret the factors and causes which are obstacles to forward motion of the working-class in the struggle against the class enemy.

One can repeat formulas of class structure according to income and work and feel like a lot has been accomplished. But what is needed is a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, "the living soul of Marxism." What is needed is a method that analyzes the motion of society, the contradictions and the changes, in relationship to historic realities, possibilities and necessities. In the U.S. in the past twenty years, the white industrial proletariat has seldom exercised its revolutionary initiative. Third World peoples in the U.S., and also women, youth and members of the armed forces have shown the most consistent initiative and practice as measured by the decisive anti-imperialist struggle of this entire period: the war in Vietnam. These groups have been the carriers of proletarian internationalism for this time.

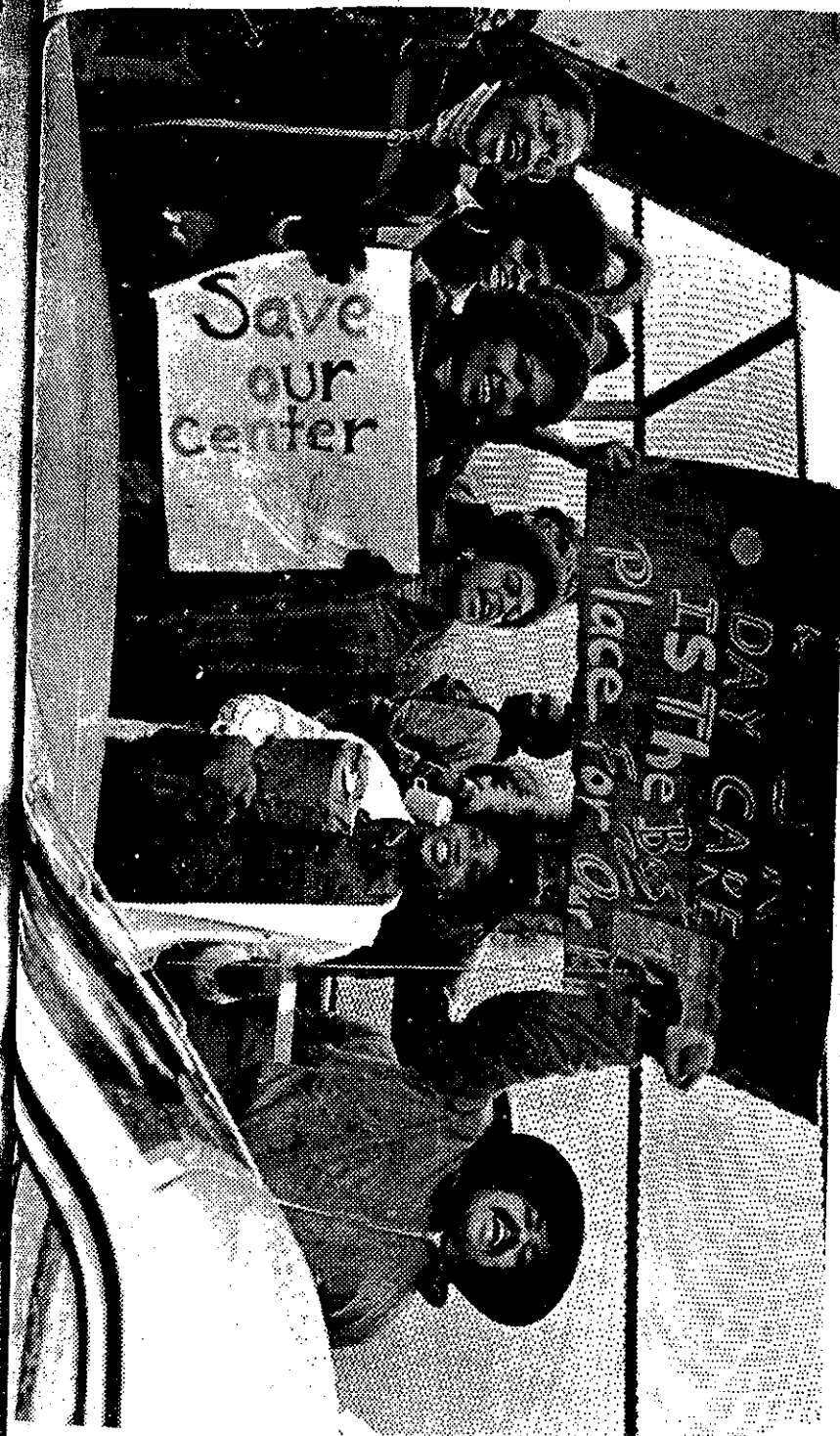


The historic prediction of the leading role of the industrial proletariat in capitalist countries emphasized the concrete processes by which the workers would be socialized and would increasingly find themselves in a common situation of oppression. One of the defining characteristics of the U.S. working class is that it is composed of workers of both the oppressor and the oppressed nations. Any attempt to predict the role of the U.S. working class must place great emphasis on the leadership that has been given by Black and Third World people.

The changing nature of the working class places Black and Third World workers in a strategic position. They have become a major part of basic industry — steel, auto, chemical, transportation — as well as the vital sectors that service the cities — hospitals, transit and clerical work. This has created a new level of militant leadership from below, challenging white supremacy in the unions, confronting and radicalizing white co-workers. Black and Third World workers have raised demands in the interest of the whole class, including the colonized of empire — in contrast to the existing leadership of the labor aristocracy, represented by the AFL-CIO hierarchy, which raises demands that favor the most skilled, work against the interests of the poor and the unorganized, and helps sustain imperialism.

Imperialism on the decline creates new historic conditions for organizing revolutionary struggles in the oppressor nation. The crisis has affected millions. But crisis does not automatically produce red consciousness. The traditional solution to domestic economic crisis — war — remains an option for imperialism. In the face of imperial decline, the rulers make fascistic appeals to whites to try to recoup economic stability and privilege by going along with and enforcing even more intensified oppression of Third World people — welfare cutbacks, miseducation, and expeditionary war against Third World revolution. The imperialists are only able to do this by launching counterrevolution at home as well as abroad.

The revolutionary potential and contribution of poor, unemployed and imprisoned people cannot be dismissed with the category "lumpen-proletariat." Modern imperialism involves chronic stagnation, creating large numbers of permanently unemployed or underemployed people. This large group cannot be equated with the small group described by Marx. Cultural and community ties between today's unemployed and the most exploited workers here plays a leading role in working-class struggle. Working-class unity cannot be built on the terms of the most





privileged sectors. Rather, the demands of the most oppressed must be the basis for isolating the labor aristocracy in their support for U.S. imperialism, and for building a revolutionary class unity.

There is as yet no dynamic way to analyze the class position of women. The class of a woman is typically determined by the class of her husband or her father. This solely derivative criteria is sexist. The usual alternative is to define a woman's class solely by her role in the work force. Yet in itself this is inadequate since the overwhelming majority of women perform socially necessary labor of reproducing and caring for children, and taking care of home and mate. The work of women holds up half the sky. A synthesis of women's household work and her work in the productive process is demanded by these conditions and has yet to be fully achieved.

The concept of a giant, inclusive "middle-class" as applied to salaried and wage workers who must work to live is essentially a status category, broadly representing income differences, not a true class. Granting higher status has been a major tactic of social control, raised to an ideological weapon to mute conflicting class interests by making the affluence of a few the aspiration of many. In fact, the true middle class is more and more an insignificant segment of the population.

The great mass of the white collar workers, clericals, service people, teachers and professionals are underpaid, exploited and profoundly bored by the daily dullness of their routines. They comprise the majority of the U.S. work force at home. They cling to the image of respectability that once separated the old middle class from the mass of blue collar workers. Their consciousness must be changed. The interpenetration of women's consciousness, youth consciousness, and Third World national identity are great channels through which their class consciousness — as workers opposing their class enemy — can be irrigated and made fertile.

As imperialist crisis deepens, the entire fabric of social control is tightened and becomes more severe. Law-and-order and the propaganda barrage to instill capitalist values all intensify. The cultural crisis created, however, spills out in rebellion, in resistance to alienating work, and in revolution. Revolutionary constituencies will form along lines of cultural cohesion as well as along class lines. Cultural identity can be an important element in the process of revolutionizing mass groupings. This has been seen in national liberation movements, and also to some degree in the women's movement and the youth movement.

There are broad social movements developing and growing in the U.S. We have experienced, in the last decade, a tremendous upsurge of anti-imperialist consciousness and a severe breakdown of the established institutions of power and cultural control. All of this affects the consciousness and social/political direction of the working class and provides important new openings for revolutionary organizing.

## BLACK AND OTHER THIRD WORLD PEOPLE IN THE U.S.

Blacks and other Third World people inside the U.S. make up oppressed nations, subjugated peoples. The oppression of Third World peoples takes many of the same forms as the imperialist control of people in colonies in Africa, Asia or Latin America.

### The Black Nation

The Black nation in the U.S. is huge — the second largest Black nation in the world. It is a nation formed out of a distinct common history. The Black revolution is rooted in the cultural identity, common oppression and resistance which synthesizes two realities: the African who was stolen to this country, and the slave and descendants of slaves who built it.

The struggles of Black people in this generation have shaken racist power and culture to the heart of the empire, because the colonized status of Black and Third World peoples inside the heartland of imperialism is the foundation of the economy and cultural structure of the U.S.

The Black struggle for self-determination is the strategic leading force of the U.S. revolution, forged from a centuries-long tradition of resistance and revolt in the face of counterattack by the club, the cattle prod, the gun and the lynch rope. From the clandestine organization of the earliest slavery days, through mass uprisings, the open carrying of self-defense weapons, to guerilla combat, the Black movement has historically raised the level of the whole struggle. The state has imposed the necessity, liberation movements in other countries have helped point the direction. By fighting for control over their communities, schools, jobs and their future as a people, Black people also push forward the overthrow of the existing power relations in the entire society.

Like any movement, the Black struggle grows by qualitative leaps and through periods of building and regrouping of forces. Organized struggles in local areas and the ongoing day-to-day battles of Black people are often not as visible as the actions and

rebellions of a high-tide period. But they are urgent and necessary in the development of a people's movement. The Black movement today embraces the bursting-forth of revolutionary Black art and literature, the battles for land and political power in the rural South, consistent organized support for African liberation, the ever-increasing organization and militancy of Black women, ideological debate and study. Black political conventions in Gary and Little Rock have attempted to develop unifying strategies and direction; Black prisoners have opened a determined front behind the bars; armed struggle against police power has continued in the cities. Always the Black movement persists, finding new forms to meet new conditions and new hardships — tenacious in the people's fight for liberation.

### Institutions of Racism

They call us bandits, yet every time most Black people pick up our paychecks we are being robbed. Every time we walk into a store in our neighborhood we are being held up. And every time we pay our rent the landlord sticks a gun into our ribs.

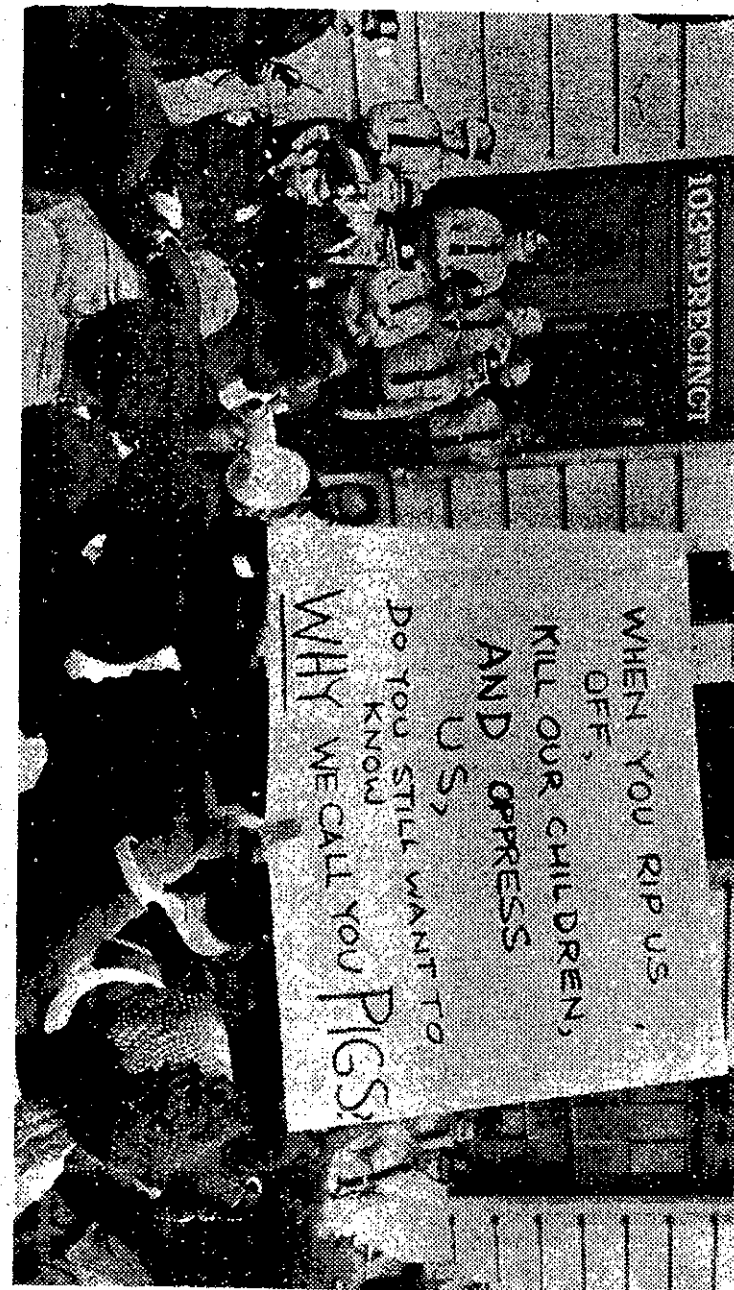
Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard)

Racism is a weapon at the command of the ruling class, deliberately fashioned into a culturally sanctioned institution, written into law, and enforced by all the power of conscious custom and the state.

All primary national institutions — corporations, government, social services and organized labor — are under 100 percent effective white oppressive control. Black people as a group do not control their schools, their jobs or national policy. Despite all the state's propaganda, Black people have not been "incorporated" into the upper, or even middle, levels of U.S. social structure.

In fact, the conditions of life for many Black people have worsened over the last ten years. During the last decade, the differential between the wages of Black and white workers has increased, segregation in the schools has increased, drug addiction has become an epidemic. The annual sales of General Motors — \$30 billion — equals the purchasing power of the entire Black population.

Institutionalized racism is maintained and perpetuated over the generations by the schools, the unemployment cycle, the drug trade, immigration laws, birth control, the army, the prisons.



Black and Mexican and Puerto Rican and Asian labor has been essential in building this country. The labor of Third World people cleans the streets, the floors, hauls the heavy loads, cooks the food.

Last hired, first fired, the unemployment rate among Black people in the cities is four times that of whites and the unemployment among Black youth is now expected to exceed thirty percent. The high rate of Black unemployment reduces the effects of depression cycles on the rest of the population and encourages competition instead of solidarity.

As an example of this relationship: General Motors announced on January 2, 1974, that about 4500 workers would be laid off at its Linden, New Jersey plant because of the "energy crisis." The layoffs were part of a total of over 86,000 GM workers laid off at that time nation-wide. Union officials said that 60 percent of the workers being laid off indefinitely at Linden were Black people, Puerto Ricans and women. Skilled workers, mostly white, were shoved back onto the assembly lines.

Third World women are the lowest paid and in the least skilled jobs in the country. Black women make up half the household workers — in other people's houses. They suffer the triple jeopardy of sex, race and poverty. Black women earn less than half of what white men earn; they are confronted by an infant and maternal mortality rate which is twice that among whites. There is no low-cost daycare, due to cutbacks in welfare and health programs.

The city is becoming Third World territory. Third World people are a majority in fifty of the largest cities. Where they are a large minority (New York, Chicago, Houston, Detroit), the public school populations are often more than 50% Third World. Much of the white population has moved to outer areas and to the suburbs. The cities do not represent, govern, serve, educate or support their population.

An army of occupation prowls the streets of Black communities. Sometimes, they patrol in the name of the welfare of the community. But last year, half the murders of civilians by police — including several children — were Black people. In New York City alone, fifty-three Black people were shot and killed by police in 1973. From 1968-72, there were over one hundred "legal" murders of Black revolutionaries in the U.S. The Black community has paid a tremendous price in the loss of leaders like Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Fred Hampton, Jonathon and George Jackson, Bobby Hutton, Zayd Shakur.

Black people are more likely to get arrested; to get long prison

sentences, to be refused parole, to be beaten and killed. The rulers are setting up a unified fascist infrastructure with identity cards, federal training and arming of police forces. Academic apologists preaching biological inferiority, such as William Shockley, fabricate the justifications for forced sterilization of Third World women.

These are attacks on people as a whole. The heroin epidemic, a counterinsurgency weapon and product of the high profits of the international drug trade, is a form of genocide against a whole generation of Black youth. In the name of a cure, methadone is replacing heroin but serves the same purpose when controlled by the state — debilitation through addiction with the added benefit of increased control. A measure of the genocidal cost to Black people of imperialist rule, is their life expectancy, today fully ten years less than whites. That means that nearly 300 million years of life are being stolen from Black people living in the U.S. today.

The courts are machines for administering the penalties of white rulers to Black victims. The prisons are living tombs. They function as a major institution of economic and political control over the Black nation — the ruling-class safety valve for the rebels, for the alienated. Prison acts as a control on the critical mass on the streets, out of work, angry. There are more Black men in prison than in colleges. Behavior modification techniques are now in wide-spread use in the prisons as an attempted "final solution" to the "problem" of rebellion and righteous anger.

You will find no class or category more aware, more embittered, desperate or dedicated to the ultimate remedy — revolution. The most dedicated, the best of our kind — you'll find them in the Folsoms, San Quentins and Soledads.

George Jackson

Under conditions of maximum repression, Black prisoners have managed to create an important center of resistance. They are organizing, studying, teaching each other, and a number of white prisoners who have joined with them, the politics and skills of revolution. The prison struggle is a microcosm of the revolutionary process, combining armed resistance, mass rebellion, political education collectives, cultural workshops, prison unions, day-to-day resistance. Since the liberation of Attica in September 1971, hundreds of prisons around the country have been held under siege by prisoners. The prison movement, the fruit of terrible material conditions and torture, has produced a heroic resistance and has given birth to many great leaders.



### Black Culture, Black Power

This is the era of national liberation. Black people recognized this early and identified with it: Malcolm X named U.S. imperialism as "the common enemy"; Black people welcomed Fidel to Harlem in 1961; the Black movement was the first in this country to challenge Israel's right to Palestine; SNCC organized early resistance against the draft and in solidarity with the Vietnamese; Martin Luther King shook the country with his denunciation of the U.S. war in Vietnam; Muhammad Ali was another teacher in his principled resistance to the draft.

A grassroots movement of cultural pride and national unity began to reclaim Black history, to encourage collective consciousness and solidarity. The slogan and feeling that "Black is Beautiful" arose everywhere among Black people. The oppressor society has waged war against Black culture by commercialization, by trying to subvert it, by encouraging the form and repressing the substance. But a people's culture persists and takes new forms: Black cultural identity has drawn new strength from the progress and determination of liberation movements in Africa. In 1973, over 150,000 Black people marched in support of their sisters and brothers on African Liberation Day.

The political form of the national movement became the demand for Black Power. Black Power is a revolutionary demand, a demand for freedom and self-determination. It has meant struggle for control of community institutions like the schools, hospitals, day-care centers, and demands for land and political power in the cities. It has taken the form of spontaneous mass rebellion and armed organization. The demand for Black Power has not been met.

Each battle for power is a process of relentless struggle and mobilization. Black parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville have been fighting for community control of their schools for over five years. The United Black Workers at the Mahwah, New Jersey Ford Motor Plant have led wildcat strikes against the company and have done painstaking organizing since 1968 in their battle against white supremacy in the UAW. This kind of persistent work and sacrifice is the essence of the continuing struggle for Black Power and liberation.

### Support for Self-Determination

Black and Third World people's right to determine the direction of their struggle is undeniable. Self-determination means the right of an oppressed people to seize and organize their future and the future of their children.

We support Black and Third World people's right to self-determination, including the right to secession. There is nothing sacred and certainly nothing historically just about the present fifty-state government or the present national boundaries of the U.S.

To argue, as some do, that Black Liberation must wait upon the industrial proletariat or the socialist revolution of the whole U.S. is both false and racist. In practice, this position demands that Black people wait, that they follow an oppressor-nation timetable for liberation. It ignores the fact that empires get broken down in different ways: by wars and occupation, by revolt of external and internal colonies, by disintegration and internal rot and combinations of all these.

Whatever decisions Black people and other oppressed peoples make in exercising this right to self-determination, white revolutionaries and anti-imperialists have a very clear-cut responsibility to support those decisions once they are arrived at. This does not mean to support only those choices one approves of, nor only those that can be worked out by reforms within the existing form of the U.S. — "one nation, under god, indivisible." Support for the right to self-determination is a principle and a prerequisite to successful revolutionary movement in the oppressor nation.

## NATIVE AMERICANS

Native Americans have renewed their long history of resistance with a power, militancy and determination which is an example for all struggles. The Indian struggle is a cultural resurgence which involves the whole people as well as a political fight for dignity and survival. The heroic occupation of Wounded Knee was part of a fabric of audacious action which has shaken the country in recent years: the Native American take-over of Alcatraz Island, the fight of the Pit River Indians in California to keep their land, the Nisqually and Puyallup struggles in Washington State for their fishing rights, the whole series of meetings, gatherings and protest called the Trail of Broken Treaties, which led to the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C. in 1972.

Native Americans have survived all attempts at cultural, economic and political genocide. They have made it clear that their battle continues here and now and they have shattered the white man's myth that Indian culture and resistance died with the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre.





The Bureau of Indian Affairs is a chief enemy of Indian people, a colonial administration which determines the lives of Native Americans. The BIA runs all Native American schools; all elected tribal leaders must be approved by the Interior Department or the BIA; the BIA must sanction any Indian land sales, leases or wills; the BIA officials argue in favor of corporate land-grabs on the spurious grounds that the sale's revenues will bring the tribes prosperity. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is an agency which serves the interests of the U.S. rulers — its aims is to administer the continued rip-off of Indian land and resources.

The BIA has made it policy to refuse aid to the hundreds of thousands of Indians who have left the reservations and settled in the urban centers. The American Indian Movement (AIM) was born out of the struggles of these urban Indians against police brutality and impossible living conditions.

Conditions on Native American reservations are a further indictment of this system: life expectancy is 43 years, infant mortality runs three times as high as the rest of the U.S., one-half of all Indian students never graduate from the poorly-served, rundown, racist BIA school system. BIA schools don't teach Native American languages, and vilify the heritage and culture of Indian people. Reclaiming the Native American past is one of the basic elements of the Indian struggle today.

The destruction and theft of Native American land has continued. Northern Cheyenne and Crow people in Montana are faced with the plans of major coal companies like Peabody to stripmine their territory and build a massive industrial complex. Lumber companies on the West Coast have bought hundreds of thousands of acres of Indian land in the last few years — purchases arranged through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Many of the resource exploitation projects underway in the Canadian north, like the huge James Bay hydroelectric project in Quebec, are being developed on land which still belongs to Indian and Eskimo people. Ecological devastation, accompanied by loss of community and an inability to maintain tribal ways, are the results of these land grabs by major corporations and governments. The fight to save their land and their right to use it, remains a fundamental part of the lives of Native Americans.

One of the most important current Indian battles surrounds the U.S. prosecution of the Wounded Knee liberators. Over three hundred defendants, including the leadership of AIM, are being charged with felonies. Trials are taking place throughout South Dakota and in Minnesota. A major political point at the trial, as at the Wounded Knee occupation, is that the government has broken

the 1868 Treaty with the Oglala people. The Oglalas rightfully demand that this treaty, which proclaims their sovereignty as a people, be respected and upheld. Support the Wounded Knee freedom fighters.

## THE CHICANO STRUGGLE

The Chicano movement grows out of the struggle of ten million oppressed people who live inside the U.S., mostly in the Southwest. Just as the Black nation has been denied its true history, official history has tried to deny the real accomplishments and irrepressible resistance of the Chicano people.

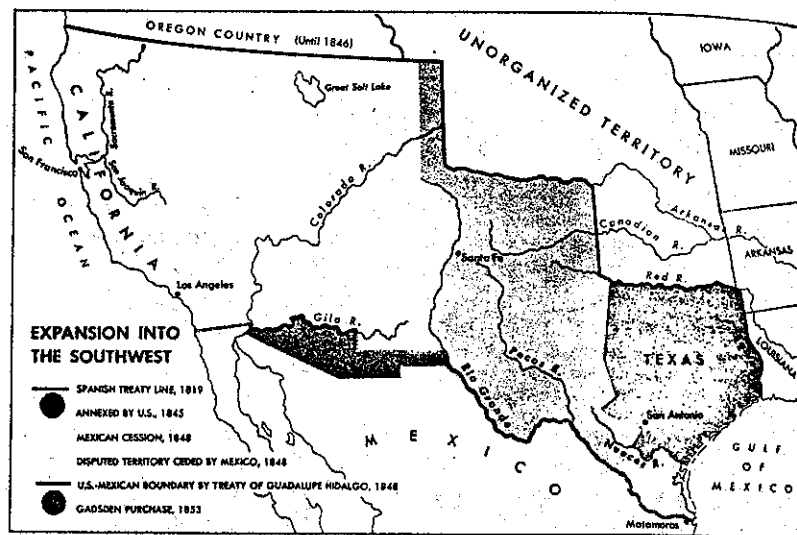
What's called the "Southwest of the U.S." is in reality "El Norte," the vast borderland of Mexico robbed in the Mexican-American War of 1848. The Mexican people, La Raza, are an indio-hispano people (mestizo). They have strong Indian roots reaching to the original inhabitants of the Americas. Legend has it that the Aztecs originated in this region, called Aztlan — the spiritual homeland of La Raza.

The struggle to reclaim Chicano land was dramatically renewed in 1967 by the Land Grant Movement in New Mexico. The attack on the Tierra Amarilla Courthouse in June 1967 was a guerilla attack against a domestic agency of colonialism. For many Anglos, this raid produced the first real consciousness of the Chicano people's historical and legal claim to the land of the Southwest.

This Anglo-occupied territory has been developed largely through the slave-like exploitation of Mexican Labor. Chicanos are forced into the most arduous and hazardous jobs at low wages but are fighting back. The dedicated struggle by the farmworkers to win union recognition is now threatened by the alliance between the Teamsters Union and the growers — carried out with violent attacks and sweetheart contracts. This move is a major attempt to defeat the UFWU and break its popular base. Chicana women have just won a hard fought two-year strike for union recognition against the Farah Clothing Company in Southern Texas.

Hundreds of thousands of Mexican citizens enter the U.S. illegally every year. They are hired for agricultural, industrial and service jobs at wages often below the U.S. minimum wage, without access to social services and welfare. Employers try to use immigrant workers to depress wages and break strikes of Chicano workers. The conditions that cause this immigration are a result of U.S. domination of Mexico's economy: U.S. companies inside Mexico pay workers \$2 to \$3 a day, reap up to 60 percent profit





on investments, leaving Mexico "underdeveloped." Unemployment in Mexico, by some estimates, is up to 48 percent. Resistance to U.S. imperialism in Mexico has intensified greatly in the past year — including a guerilla kidnapping of the U.S. Consul in Guadalajara, bombings of large U.S. corporations in Mexico, destruction of unsafe farm labor buses in Mexicali.

Inside the U.S., the Mexican immigrant workers are treated with racism and brutality. They suffer unsafe bus transport with frequent accidents and death, phony imprisonment resulting in coerced labor, and periodic attacks and roundups by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization service.

These roundups of "illegal" immigrants are a form of police terror against the entire Chicano community. For example, in the summer of 1973, 11,000 people were rounded-up within the Los Angeles area and deported. There is no judicial process for "aliens"; and in the barrio, brown skin is "probable cause" for harassment and arrest. There have been widespread community protests and demonstrations against these fascist measures.

The police occupy the barrio. In addition to general harassment, they attempt to terrorize the people with periodic murders of unarmed Chicanos. A related strategy for destruction is police-protected importation of drugs into the barrio. In response to police terror, there have been militant mobilizations of the people — youth organizations, community support for police victims,

concerted efforts to drive drug pushers out of the community. In 1970 and 1971, an underground Chicano group in Los Angeles carried out a series of guerilla bombings against school, police and corporate targets.

The oppressor systematically attacks the culture, language and history of the Chicano people. The concern for a truthful Chicano education for the children is a center of the struggle. There have been militant high school rebellions in Denver, Chicano school walkouts in L.A., fights for bilingual education and for Chicano history and culture throughout the Southwest. Pride in La Raza is strong. Chicano art and poetry are flourishing in the barrio.

At the height of the Vietnam War, Chicanos were hit by disproportionately high draft calls and casualty rates — coerced to fight against sisters and brothers in Vietnam. Resistance was high. The Chicano Moratorium became the leading antiwar force in Los Angeles. Their August 1970 demonstration drew 50,000 people who fought back militantly when the police attacked and killed three Chicanos. The oppression of Chicanos is deep and their resistance is extensive. Anglos have borrowed and benefitted from Chicano culture, skills, labor and struggles. The liberation struggle

of La Raza is critical to creating a humane society in the U.S. We have a responsibility and a human need to learn about and actively support the Chicano struggle for self-determination.

note: Read about the struggle of the Puerto Rican people on page 115

## THE RISING OF WOMEN

The women's movement is rooted in the common oppression of women. It is built on women's continuous resistance to sexism and is the granddaughter of the organized struggles of women 120 years ago. It is a popularly-based movement, imbued with a unique spirit and the fierce beauty of masses of women actively claiming our power and our futures. It contains the power to transform and become a leading force in our revolution.

### The Condition of Women

The subjugation of women is intrinsic to imperialism. Male supremacy is given concrete form in the family, in the work force, in the social institutions. Sexism is perpetuated and enforced by the culture and ideology of imperial society. So basic is the oppression of women to the functioning of this system that while many women can improve their circumstances within the system, we cannot win full collective liberation without overturning the entire structure of imperialism.

### Home and Family

The modern male-run nuclear family, when we tear away the veil of sentimentality, is the basic unit of capitalist society. Capitalism and the modern family matured together historically, feeding each other's development. In the family, women both reproduce the labor force and begin the socialization process of the new generation, which is essential to the productive system and the functioning of society. Women bear the major responsibility for the nurturing, health and education of families. These are treated like personal problems, yet they are necessary tasks, fulfilled at minimal cost and effort to the imperialists. Housework is hard work, done alone, but it is denied any social value and it is not paid for in any formal way. It is paid in barter: consumer comfort, a sense of economic security, status.

The individual capitalist family structure is a wasteful social



form, not healthy for children to grow up in, a trap for women. It is a sanctioned form for sexual exploitation and a hypocritical double standard. The family breeds competitiveness among us, allows no future to women with grown children, and demeans old women, separating them from the life of the community.

Yet in a hostile, competitive society such as this one, the family is for many Third World and poor people the only center of community, of collective survival, a refuge. Until other forms can grow and develop, the family will remain necessary as well as intolerable. There are many families, an increasing number, headed by women. The ability of single mothers to work and raise and care for children and maintain a household is a monument to women's strength and determination.

Women work both inside and outside the home. Having so many unemployed and underemployed women as a reserve of labor is a necessity to modern monopoly capital. Women are available to be exploited in case of war or some other change in the economic situation. Women are a comparatively skilled group, but because of the myth that most women who work are "secondary breadwinners" we work for lower pay and are neither organized nor trained.

Over 40 percent of the work force is women, and over 40 percent of women work. Women work mainly in service trades and clerical work, and those of us who work in production work mostly in semi-skilled jobs in textile, garment and culinary trades — the traditional work of women. Although getting out of the home gives women a place of socialized contact and some independence, it also compounds our oppression. Women's pay averages three-fifths that of men. Of the 34 million women in the work force, little more than four million are members of unions. Women workers who are organized are mostly in unions notorious for white male control. There are not maternity-leave benefits and no day-care facilities. The lowest paid workers in U.S. society are Black and Third World women.

### Government Policies

Women are oppressed and controlled by government agencies and are the immediate victims of economic crisis. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), for example, directly affects the lives of millions of women and their families. HEW is the largest domestic arm of the government, comparable in size and function only to the Defense Department. HEW is a classic institution of male supremacy, built on the oppression of women,

children and old people. It is typical of the male monopoly of power: Caspar Weinberger, known as Cap-the-Knife for his budget cuts, makes \$60,000 a year as head of HEW. He is a Nixon-man and a leech.

The brunt of HEW policies falls on women. Rockefeller and Reagan have been running model HEW programs to force as many people off welfare as possible, especially AFDC. Welfare amounts to government-enforced malnutrition: people are maintained below subsistence. Today 45% of all city families headed by women live in poverty — by official standards that means improperly nourished. Five million women in the U.S. are medically indigent, face undiagnosed and untreated illness. Threatened with losing the few crumbs of welfare, women are coerced, for economic and racist reasons, into sterilization programs. Last year, HEW financed between 100,000 and 200,000 sterilizations through medicaid and special family planning clinics. If you are Black or poor or old or a woman who is a head of a household, you are directly affected by HEW programs. They control your money and rob you of your dignity and your privacy as a condition of aid.

In certain ways, HEW is to poor women like the Bureau of Indian Affairs is to Native American people. It claims to be the giver of life's necessities — but under the guise of providing social services, it functions to control and contain us, as a safety valve against crisis and revolt. HEW is really the Department of Illness, Ignorance and Wretchedness.

### The Culture of Sexism

Sexism is enforced and perpetuated by the imperial culture. From birth, women are taught to think of ourselves as weak in body and mind, passive, second-rate, dependent objects. The organization of society teaches and reinforces the inferiority of women. Through schools we are channelled and directed to prepare for marriage and sex-segregated jobs, denied a full contribution. Later these same schools blame mothers for the "failure" of children to learn to read. The media portrays women as empty-headed, sexy and addicted consumers. Older women are shunted aside, doped, ridiculed and patronized — cut off from useful work and creativity.

We are taught that our biology is our destiny. We are conditioned to look and act within narrow confines to fulfill our primary role as sexual partners and reproducers. Distorted and competitive standards of beauty are the surface over a whole

system of sexual objectification. We live in an anti-life culture, where women are denied control of our bodies — where sexual repression and taboos go hand in hand with prostitution and sexual exploitation. Men are taught to use women.

The underside of this objectification is rape — a massive, brutal system of terror perpetrated on women by men. Most rapes are not reported so the statistics are far lower than the reality, but attacks on women constitute the fastest growing category of crime in the U.S. The paralyzing fear of rape and sexual abuse, fanned by media and police warnings, adds up to an unofficial curfew for women.

The oppression of women perverts the cultural values of the whole society. Men are alienated from children and from human emotion. Women are cut off from one another, threatened and competing. Sexism is a form of cultural conditioning, which enables the system to exploit everyone.

### The Women's Movement

The women's movement has reached into every home, awakening women's potential and challenging our subjugation. Its achievements are substantial:

*Reclaiming our heritage.* Women are reconstructing the buried truth about women, weaving together the real history of women's contributions, rebellions and defeats. We are tearing apart the lies of docility and placing ourselves back in history. Unearthing knowledge of the past has led to a rediscovery of witches and warriors, abolitionists and artists, ancient myths and common women, labor organizers and healers.

*Breaking the chains of self-hatred, self-denial and despair.* Feminism entered women's lives like a whirlwind and a blessing. It threw lives into turmoil, marriages burst apart, long suppressed anger erupted in painful everyday confrontations with sexism. Women's consciousness was seized as the last hope for sanity. We took up the fight to define ourselves. We are giving birth to ourselves.

*Women liking women.* Women have found one another and that has made the biggest difference of all. We begin to learn from and teach each other, to build on the communality of our experience. Sisterhood does not always come easily and we learn to fight for it.

Relationships based on power preclude the realization of affection and intimacy; they drain our strength and are fought on uneven terms. Mutual and expressive sexuality is part of the human potential for liberation. This has become a striving and a

strength of the women's movement, in relationships between women and men, and in relationships between women.

Lesbianism has been an affirmation of unity and a challenge to the partnership of sexuality and domination. Women have opposed the dominant culture's treatment of homosexuals — people who are harassed and assaulted, denied employment and housing, raped and even murdered because they don't conform to standard sexual roles and morality. Not all gay culture transcends the sexism of U.S. life, but the independence of lesbian sisters and the attempts of gay people to live according to their own definitions represents an attack of sexist ideology which subjugates women. We support the right of all people to live according to their sexual preferences without discrimination or fear of reprisals.

*Women's Culture.* Women have traditionally been the guardians and transmitters of culture, and women's liberation has loosened an explosion of writing, music and art for, by and about women. Women's culture reflects and pulls forward our collective aspirations. The creation of women's alternative institutions — anti-sexist and pro-women — includes health clinics, day care centers, schools, newspapers, communities. We are trying to raise children without sex stereotypes, with new values; learning new skills; trying to deal with the problems of mental health, aging and mutual survival.

*Institutional Sexism.* Sexism is carried by and perpetuated by the culture and by individual men; these are often its most visible and blatant manifestations. But underlying sexist culture is the systematic institutionalization of male supremacy. The women's movement uncovered and began to oppose and attack the institutions which concretize sexism.

*Anti-sexist men.* Sexism, which denies the humanity of women, destroys the humanity of men. Men, too, are understanding that sexism makes them emotionally barren and culturally warped. In response to the challenge of women, many men have begun to make a commitment to struggle against sexism. These allies are a victory of the women's movement. They are an indication of the potential for further alliances with those in struggle and with oppressed people everywhere.

### Tasks for Revolutionary Women

At this point, there is no widely-felt organized force of revolutionary women: this has yet to be defined and built. This force is necessary to realize the full potential of the uprising of women, to carry it forward, to embody and fight for the collective interests of women.

We recognize the necessity of resisting and destroying the anti-women institutions of society. We recognize that sexism and imperialism are the enemy of all oppressed women, and that is our common ground. Our goal is the development of a feminism which genuinely determines, safeguards and defends the collective interests of women, and which points in the direction of revolution. We need to build a revolutionary feminism.

Women are not isolated from the clashes and contradictions in U.S. society. These are reflected in the contradictions holding back the development of a revolutionary women's politics. Class privilege, racism, liberalism and anti-militancy, if not met head on, will militate against the development of revolutionary feminism and defeat the struggle for the full freedom of women.

When the women's movement first began, its spontaneity and openness was a great strength. We now have to raise the political questions, struggle them out, and organize ourselves. Organization and leadership are major weapons of revolution. We cannot afford to give them away because of fear of elitism. Anti-elitism is destructive if its political content isn't left-wing. We need to study, to have ideological debate among women who work in many different facets of the struggle, create a new and comprehensive analysis of women in society and in revolution.

### Overcoming Class Privilege

"God almighty made women;  
the Rockefeller gang made ladies."

— Mother Jones

The women's movement grew up as a cross-class movement. The strength of this lies in our recognition of the commonality of women, exposing the shallowness of false middle-class consciousness, and making alliances widely against our real enemies.

Ruling-class women who are committed to their class interests are clearly enemies. They sustain and take part in the oppression of women around the world. They are collaborators. Unless they renounce their privileges and join the struggles they will always be the enemy.

Bourgeois feminism, in all its forms, has come to play a leading role in defining the voice of the women's movement. Bourgeois feminism — which is also feminism for white women — is the fight for individual solutions to the oppression of women, even though it may be cloaked in very radical language and the forms of liberation. Bourgeois feminism assumes that the advancement of individual women to positions of power in the society — on

corporate boards of directors, for example — is somehow a victory for women as a group. But career-making for some women is a fight for privilege, and turns into a fight for the protection of that privilege from poor and Third World women underneath. Often the "freedom" of upper class women is based on having a Black woman do her housework. Imperialism is an old master at encouraging the creation of a bought-off group to split, confuse and move against a people's movement. This is why the Ford Foundation, big industry, and the police forces and FBI are recruiting among women as well as investigating the women's movement.

We can build the women's movement among poor and working women. The women's movement of the last five years has touched the consciousness of millions of women and raised the possibilities of seizing control over our lives, which is the first step into revolution. In this period of growing social and economic dislocation, women are at the intersection of the crises and will fight to survive.

### Opposing Racism

"In the past, I don't care how poor this white woman was, in the South she still felt like she was more than us. In the North, I don't care how poor or rich this white woman has been, she still felt like she was more than us. But coming to the realization of the thing, her freedom is shackled in chains to mine, and she realized for the first time that she is not free until I am free."

— Fannie Lou Hamer

There is a tradition of white women siding with Black and Third World people, and a tradition also of turning against them. Women were the prime movers in the best work of Reconstruction, but in the betrayal and counterrevolution that followed, middle-class white women withdrew from full solidarity with the Black struggle and contributed to the overthrow and defeat of the Reconstruction movement. While Black men were lynched for even looking at a white woman, the rape of Black women by white men was institutionalized over hundreds of years. White women, raised on a pedestal, were dehumanized and desexed: we were used and complicit, as well as victims. These are historical realities which stand behind our dilemmas today.

The colonized status of Third World women is enforced by society on every level, even the level of self-conception. One of the most cynically destructive attacks is the infamous Moynihan Report, issued in 1965 for LBJ's Great Society. This doctrine says

that the Black family is pathological (sick) because of the strength of Black women; that black women are responsible for the position of Black men in society. These theories try to divide the Black community against itself and breed self-hatred among Black women. They have influenced the popular consciousness of a generation and have been roundly denounced by Black women.

Third World women are organizing, in school struggles, union struggles, welfare struggles — many in a national liberation context. Many Third World women define their enemy as imperialism. They lead in welfare and prison movements. They have much to teach us about who our enemy is, international sisterhood, and how to strengthen a people to fight.

Racism is used against women, a form of counterinsurgency to divide us, the velvet glove and the iron fist. By exploiting our concern for our families, the state convinces many white women that our main enemy is Third World people. This is particularly powerful when our children are used as a weapon. Women's fears are created and manipulated; real fear of rape is turned into fear of Third World men by the press and the police; in truth, most white women victims of rape are raped by white men.

Anti-sexist work is not necessarily anti-racist, or anti-imperialist. Some women argue that we have always fought for other people, now women are fighting our own battles. Let us extend our sisterhood to the 100,000 women in Thieu's prisons, to the women in Palestinian refugee camps, to the dispossessed women in Puerto Rico, and to the women in prison here. Let us encourage the women who work against the Indochina War. Let us not justify complacency in the name of women.

### Militancy

Our movement will be self-defeating if we reject militancy as "male" and "macho." This detracts from the resistance of our sisters in the past, denied the necessarily violent nature of the struggle, and is blind to the courage of the wars for national liberation being waged against the U.S. The status quo of acceptance of imperialism means acceptance of unprecedented violence.

There is a particular importance in women learning to fight. For us — much the same as for women who join liberation struggles in Third World countries — actually confronting the enemy and fighting in demonstrations, acts of resistance or armed attacks is a tearing off of the veil, a rejection of the passivity and acceptance for which we are bred. Women fighters are frightening apparitions to the enemy and examples for us.

Women play a particular role in the armed struggle which guerillas cannot well afford to ignore. Women are fierce fighters, out of our righteous anger at oppression; but we also have to work hard to learn necessary skills not naturally taught us. Women are careful fighters, and understand the need to rid our fighting of ego; we also cannot let this strength turn into conservatism. Women unite and center the revolutionary community, mobilize the comrades to fight. This necessarily involves grasping the tools of ideology and political struggle.

### Insurgent Institutions

In building alternative institutions for women, we must not deceive ourselves into thinking that our clinics or schools have solved the problem of health care and education for the mass of women. We must be aware of who they serve and who they don't. Alternative institutions must also become insurgent bases for a fight against the mass social institutions, on behalf of women at the mercy of hospital emergency rooms, public housing, food stamp lines, and public schools.

Without power, reforms can be turned into weapons against us. Reforms which were fought for every inch of the way — such as public schools, birth control, social security and trade unions — become their opposite in the hands of the ruling class. We must make sure our victories are not at the expense of our sisters. Women have fought for abortion reform, a tremendous victory, but we have to fight to exercise control over the burgeoning abortion business and find ways to make sure that poor women can take advantage of this victory. Women have struggled long for safe effective birth control, but we do not have control of our reproduction. Poor and Third World women are routinely used for medical experimentation and profit, subject to forced sterilization and unsafe "family planning." We have the obligation to fight to stop the wholesale genocidal use of sterilization and population control against the women of Latin America.

It is only the reforms which we have fought for that make our lies bearable; survival struggles about conditions of work, welfare, life, health can weaken the enemy, expose his tricks, and win something real for us all. Together these elements make up a good program of struggle.

But imperialism will never, ever, free all women. Sexism will not be destroyed until imperialism is overthrown. It is in the collective interests of women to do this and take full part in building a socialist revolution. We need power. Socialist revolution lays the



foundation for the liberation of women and begins dismantling the tenacious institutions of sexism. The revolutionary movement, on its part, must embrace and support the rising of women. There must be a solid and irrevocable commitment made to women's liberation. A revolution is not a moment in time. Old ideas reassert themselves and have to be fought against. Revolution is a continuing process.

## THE YOUTH REBELLION

The revolutionary youth movement is a proud and beautiful thing. It has made a significant contribution to revolutionizing this society. The student movement engendered militancy and daring at an early stage of struggle and has greater promise still.

Control of the cultural apparatus and value system is an essential aspect of securing the home base for a world empire. Therefore, struggles which expose, break down and liberate people from this social structure are very important and form a front line of the cultural revolution.

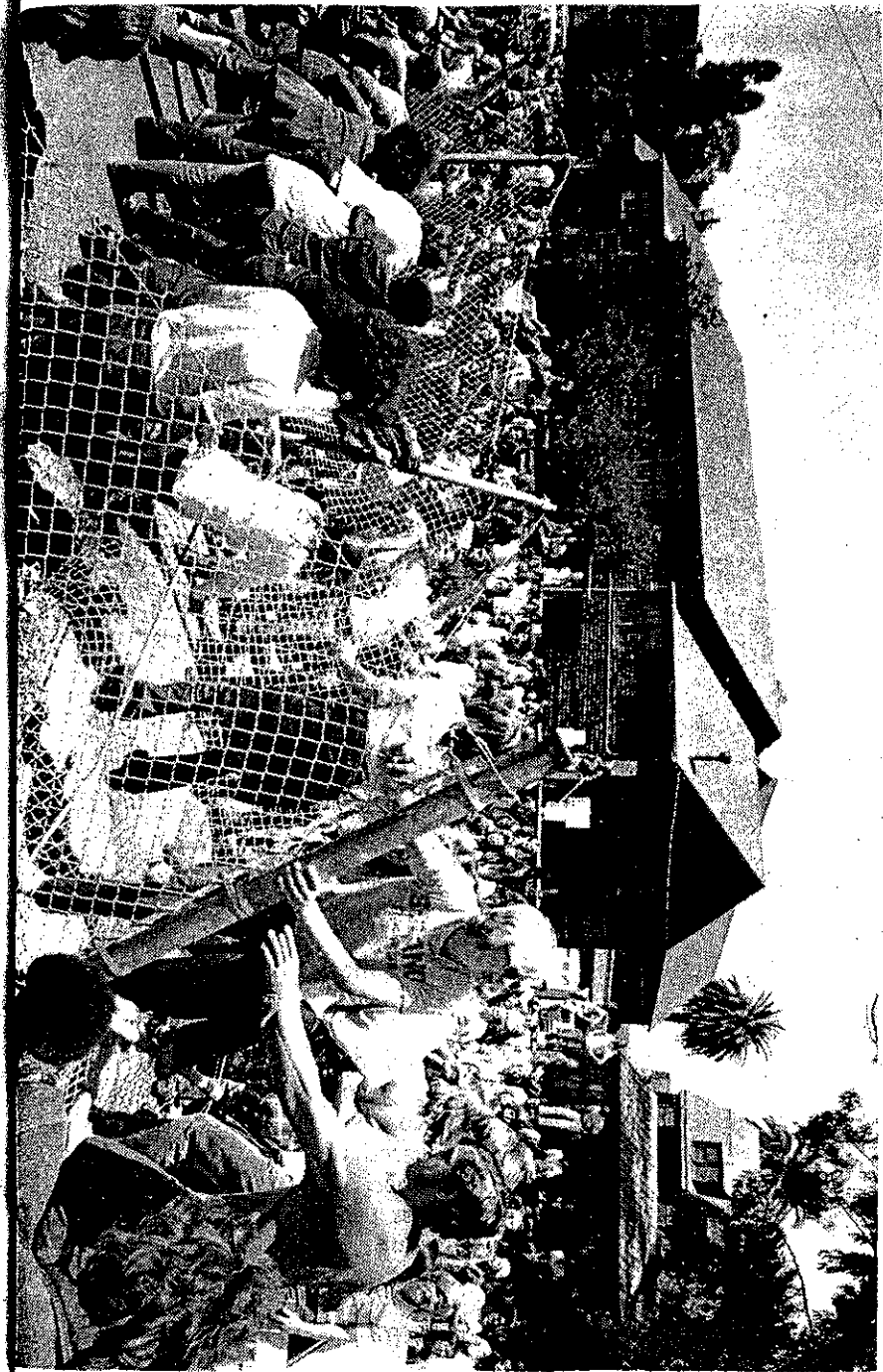
The cultural rebellion of youth has been a significant assault on the controls of empire. At its best it actively carried the people of the U.S. into supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle for liberation and opposing the war, and it has provided an arena of struggle against racism where victories have been won. It produced a movement committed to communal and collective life-styles, sexual liberation and anti-materialist values.

### Youth Culture

The Revolutionary youth movement grew out of the contradictions within the oppressor nation society. It grew up at a unique moment: the height of affluence.

Modern U.S. society, organized for the business of imperialism, is a place where young people face particular oppression. Schools, the family, the media all attempt to socialize us into a competitive, acquisitive, individualized system. The end result is intended to be competitive sexual roles, marriage, and alienating, humiliating work as functionaries for imperialism.

In U.S. society, life is alienating. Sexuality is stripped of its expressive and loving qualities, and institutionalized in marriage, prostitution or pornography. Sexuality is denied its human content, and is offered for sale. Art, too, is a commodity, something to be bought and sold. So are games and sports — no longer human exercises for the fun and development of people, but big business,



packaged and programmed. The alienation of life is an ongoing explosive condition of our times.

Youth oppression is organized and institutionalized. Young people are channeled and coerced in schools; misled, miseducated, misused. Schools have become alien from the real process of learning about the world or how to use things. Schools are often huge minimum security prisons where we are held and controlled for large parts of our lives. In schools we are taught to respect arbitrary authority, to follow orders, and to compete with sisters and brothers. The education industry plays the additional role of keeping huge numbers of young people out of the shrinking job market, thereby propping up the faltering system. Schools in many ways are the work places of youth.

Youth are rebellious against meaningless work and face the problems of less skill and seniority, lower pay scales, dirtier work. Unemployment and underemployment are massive among youth; young people are used as a reserve pool of low-skilled labor.

Police, the courts, and prisons are increasingly geared to control of the young. Out of work, out of luck, we are more likely to be involved in minor crime. The prison population is increasingly a young population.

A large segment of youth has rejected the traditional values of society and has struck off in search of a better way, a more fulfilling life, more humane and dignified social relations. Young people have become committed to collective work styles, to communities where work and life are integrated, where respect for community and culture and environment are priorities. We are learning to be open to other people's cultures and have borrowed from the music, stories and ways of other peoples to enrich our own.

The youth movement did not materialize out of thin air but in response to imperialism. It united around and gathered momentum in the fight against the war in Vietnam. It declined when the troop withdrawals and the end of the draft removed the most compelling elements bringing young people into struggle. The killings at Jackson State and Kent State during the protests against the invasion of Cambodia scared many people who had never experienced the wrath of imperialism so directly. People were confronted with the ruthlessness and arbitrariness of repression.

The culture produced a group of people, nomads, communal, semi-hustlers, sharing a certain sense of being alien to and in opposition to the U.S. imperial way of life. At the same time, this culture benefited from the affluence of empire, and some part

removed itself from engaging against the perpetrators of empire by escaping from the institutions of society.

The cities are the front line in many ways, but the importance of work done in rural areas should not be underestimated. Potential exists for organizing among the rural poor. Unity can be built with Native Americans, Southern Blacks, Appalachians, the rural Chicano and poor white population for the redress of the oldest and some of the cruelest crimes of imperialism.

One edge of youth culture consisted of politically active people: organizers, embattled artists, people's musicians, free schoolers, mothers and fathers and children of communal families. What has happened to this large grouping of people as the fat of affluence has dissolved over the last three years?

Some have become small business men, and have taken on the material characteristics of their parent's generation. But most have gone to work, or are on welfare, or are even maintaining a rural subsistence through small farming or crafts. Many live at the edge of getting by — women alone with small children, people eking out a living in groups. To the extent that communities survive among this group of people, they are real bases for organizers, not necessarily revolutionary, but open. This group of people constitutes a de classe sector — increasingly proletarianized — whose experience in political work or in organizing alternatives can be a valuable contribution to our movement.

There are serious weaknesses in youth culture. It is imbued with the sexist values of the dominant culture that bore it. It mainly looks to male heroes for models. It has failed to genuinely meet women's needs or to make a wholehearted commitment to fighting sexism.

Sometimes trying to build cultural alternatives has become a substitute for struggle, or has collapsed into hip capitalism. "Do your own thing" — at first an advocacy to add your own unique contribution to the community effort, has become a slogan for individualism, splitting apart, and undermining the Solidarity that has been built.

In many ways, the culture has withdrawn to rest on its privileges, dissociating from active opposition to racism and from active identification with Black and Third World people. A flippancy toward consciousness-expanding drugs is separated from the whole picture of deathly and pacifying drugs pumped into insurgent communities. The problems of heroin, methadone, alcohol and pills has not been dealt with. Although young people experience police oppression, day-to-day police



power directed against Black and Third World people is not combatted. Rarely do alternative institutions organize to meet the needs of the Black community, Third World children, the old.

The best of the culture is realized through the process of struggle itself — this is what creates unity of opposition, builds anti-racism, breathes life into the sense of community and makes our communities insurgent.

Revolutionaries must embrace the explosive content of the profound alienation young people experience in U.S. society, and struggle with and change its accommodations to imperialism. It is our view that the youth movement is a force that has and will continue to affect the consciousness of the working class and the society as a whole. We must approach the youth movement with a consciousness of the great contributions made by students, GIs and other young people in the anti-imperialist struggles of a decade.

### The Armed Forces

The army is one of the central oppressive institutions of youth. Young men are forced into the armed forces because of lack of education and employment opportunities. Once in the army, we are faced with the crudest and most direct forms of discipline and class oppression.

The rebellion in the armed forces comes from the same causes that have led young Third World people and white youth to rebel in other institutions of U.S. society. GIs have raised deep questions about the rights of rulers to rule, of the armed forces to command, of the supposed right to torture and kill women, children and men in Vietnam. The realities of fighting such a vengeful yet totally unjust war as the war in Vietnam broke down many institutional and cultural forms that have kept the armed forces together as a so-called "proud fighting unit."

There has been GI rebellion within the armed forces during every war of expansion, but the defeat of U.S. forces in Vietnam combined with the growing Black rebellion at home accelerated the opposition into a full crisis.

The justification for war grew thin; no one wanted to die in this war. We refused to fight and burned our draft cards, left the country, and demonstrated against the war. Instead of going on patrol, many units would head out a few hundred yards and sack out for the night. A generalized alienation from military discipline developed. Imperialism needs willing fighters, but fewer and fewer could be found.

The resistance and solidarity of Black GIs set the terms of the

struggle and galvanized others. In the racist army, Third World soldiers made up 45 percent of the combat casualties. Slogans of resistance developed: "No Vietcong ever called me nigger"; "Don't fight overseas for what you don't have at home."

Attacks on the brass, subversion of the military machinery, and open confrontation spread among GIs. On occasion, whole units refused to carry out orders — both in Vietnam and in the U.S. at the Democratic National Convention in 1968. Thousands of young people who became the dedicated enemies of imperialism were trained in weaponry and combat. Veterans who came back to the U.S. organized against the war and led a national campaign against war crimes. One of the most dramatic moments in the anti-war movement was in April 1971, when the Vietnam Veterans Against the War threw away their war medals at the White House.

Veterans face chronic unemployment, inadequate medical treatment, unjust benefit payments and drug addiction at home. Vets are plagued by an oppressive discharge system which codes young men according to the recommendations of the ruling brass. This system creates a blacklist on the labor market against many returning veterans, especially those who didn't toe the line.

The revolt in the army is anti-imperialist class struggle on the highest level, led by Third World GIs but with many white working-class people involved. This revolt involves cultural insubordination, political education, direct action and mass participation in armed resistance and sabotage. As a result we have arrived at a new political situation: the ruling class can no longer confidently depend on the armed forces to do the dirty work of empire in all parts of the world.



## VI. AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY

This is a call to organize the people and to act. We must now apply our analysis to our particular situation, mobilize the masses and fight. Our goal for this period is to help build a mass anti-imperialist movement and to build the armed struggle, the guerrilla forces. Legal and clandestine struggle are both necessary: agitation and attack, peaceful methods and violent methods, sometimes organizing the people step-by-step, and sometimes taking a leap through action to a new level. Mass work and armed struggle are united in revolution: each needs to support and affirm and complement the other. These are different fronts, interdependent and allied against the common enemy.

Aboveground and underground, we face the same political questions: Who do we organize? How do we bring our politics to life in practice? How do we sustain the struggle?

Our enemy is U.S. imperialism, the enemy of all humankind. Our goal is to attack imperialism's ability to exploit and wage war against all oppressed peoples. Our final goal is the complete destruction of imperialism, the seizure of the means of production and the building of socialism. To create the conditions in which we can take the offensive, destroy the old system and build a new life, we must weaken and at least partly destroy the empire. The weakest points of empire lie in its control of the colonies, and this is why Third World liberation is leading the struggle against imperialism.

We need organization. Activists are searching for direction — some common ideas, strategy, and practice to unite around. It is frustrating and crippling to individual revolutionaries and groups to have no unified impact on history as it is being made. We all feel the need to work as part of a whole, larger than ourselves, to see our individual contributions add up to something meaningful. Organization unites, gives direction and breadth to particular political work. Activists and militants want to build something bigger, where activity leads to shared results, where masses of people can organize their strength. Anti-imperialist organization is what is needed.

We believe that communist-minded organizers can take the initiative now and lead. Move from small to large. Practice and hard work, boldness and a willingness to intervene in every struggle, big or little. There is room for lots of creativity in application and choice of work. Go to the people. Organize and

mobilize. Build the struggle. Read and study. Carry your books. There is no substitute for practice in determining the revolutionary path. Conditions are developing more rapidly than is easily realized. This is not yet a program; rather, it is an ideological foundation and the tools for building agitational work.

## GO TO THE PEOPLE

The U.S. people entered the 70s weary of war, skeptical of government leaders, uncertain about the future. Masses of people have been torn away from imperial mythology, from the standard of male supremacy, from allegiance to the state. In search of more drastic solutions to the current social dislocations, people open to the possibility of revolutionary consciousness. The 70s bring inflation, recession, unemployment, the chance of war, and crisis after crisis in the lives of millions here. We can foresee a time of food riots, unemployment councils, tenants' anti-eviction associations, neighborhood groups, antiwar organizations. The left must organize itself to understand the continuous crises of our time and mobilize the discontent into a force for freedom.

Organize poor and working people. Go to the neighborhoods, the schools, the social institutions, the work places. Agitate. Create struggle, Link up the issues that describe the system. Tell the truth.

We believe that radical teachers should work in schools in working class neighborhoods, in community or junior colleges. Radicalize other teachers, organize the parents, teach and encourage your students. Health workers can choose hospitals and clinics in poor communities. Cultural activists, street players, artists, writers should propagandize and relate to poor and working people. Community-controlled and counter-institutions should be made into insurgent bases.

Organize among youth. Organize among women. Communists should play a big role in these movements, these popular upheavals which spawned us. This is our strength. Revolutionize existing projects and movements, analyze real situations, intervene with a revolutionary anti-imperialist perspective.

Organize to survive. Support the people's right to food, adequate shelter and decent health care. Oppose HEW attacks on women and the poor. Fight to live.

Impeach Nixon and jail him for his major crimes. He is one of the top criminals of the century, a warmaker, a lifetaker. His isolation and exposed condition is the mirror-image of U.S. defeat in Vietnam. Nixon merits the people's justice.



## POLITICS IN COMMAND

There are a thousand threads of forward motion in the social explosion of our times. A thousand threads to untangle and engage. Find a way for everyone to fight the enemy. Unite the anti-imperialists. There are some politics that are necessary for successful activity: things to carry with us in our work.

### Internationalism

Revolutionaries are internationalists. Our job is to build international class consciousness, to make connections among people. A good program must synthesize — not separate — the struggles of Third World peoples with our own: to uncover the relationship between Watergate and the Vietnam War, to nourish our identification with the struggle of Cuban women rather than our distinctness, to find the commonality between the white worker and the unemployed Puerto Rican. A good program mobilizes and teaches.

The rulers scapegoat Third World peoples for the failures of the system. They say: "The American people are being deprived of their right to oil by the Arabs;" "Welfare mothers, not the defense budget, are responsible for higher taxes;" "Chilean socialism stole our copper mines;" "Generous foreign aid programs are the cause of higher food prices." We cannot allow the maintenance of a pacified sector of privileged workers here; rather we can find ways to identify our interests with the interests of all oppressed people everywhere and sharpen the class struggle.

Liberal, anti-internationalist slogans have been put forth throughout the history of our movement: "You can only organize people around their own self-interest." "Don't fight other people's battles." "Support for Third World struggles is 'guilt' politics." These slogans encourage the belief that oppression is individual and must not be fought by small groups distinct from and against other groups. These slogans assume that the individualism, narrowness and fear that are a major part of the socializing process here should be accepted by movement programs. They emphasize competition, a short-term sense of the struggle, and feed racism and all kinds of chauvinism. We think that organizers should oppose the liberal slogans with the communist slogan: "Fight U.S. imperialism, the common enemy."

How to move?

— Oppose nuclear war and U.S. threat of nuclear war. Defeat nuclear sabre-rattling.

— Oppose imperialist war and aggression wherever it occurs. Oppose U.S. armed intervention. Defend Indochina from future attacks. Get the U.S. out of the Mideast. Independence for Puerto Rico.

— Also, watch for the quiet but sinister ways warfare is waged on sisters and brothers in the Third World. Expose and oppose AID programs, cultural and economic penetration, the multinational corporations, population control. Don't let them sneak around.

— Oppose racism in practice. Racism is the main and most consistent weapon for holding back the revolutionary struggle. Skin color will be a brand to turn proletarians against one another until this brand is decisively rejected by white folks. The oppressed nation of Black people is the leading anti-imperialist force in our country. No doubt about it. History, continuity, militancy — even in hard times. Black and other Third World leadership has, in recent years, been the most internationalist and the most militant. Racism cuts us up, cuts us off from this leadership. All vestiges of racist thinking or action among revolutionaries must be attacked in the most forthright manner. No quarter can be given to racism in our relations with the people we are organizing. We must learn how to reject and expose the racism without rejecting the person. Represent solidarity with Third World people whenever possible.

— Win a base of support for prison struggles and oppose attacks by the state on Third World revolutionaries. The greater the resistance by the people, the more widespread and successful, the greater will be the repression from the state. We can prepare for future repression by planning the next stage of advance and attack. Today people are confronted by prisons, courts, military injustice and racism, police brutality, spying on and controlling of civilian life, the terror of rape, discrimination, channeling and brainwashing. Does this constitute fascism or a threat of fascism? Again the main thing is the distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations. Third World people have been living under fascist conditions for generations; at the same time, the majority population feels it has some democratic rights worth defending. These contradictory perceptions reveal something that is true: fascism in the oppressor nation is the application here of the colonial policies of empire. It is selective and partial. It has always been applied to Native Americans, Black people, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, the oppressed generally as well as those who unite with the oppressed — radicals, reds.



Fascism in this country is not a challenge to those in power by some more reactionary gang on the outside. Fascism is perpetrated on Third World people from the seats of power: the Pentagon, the Congress, the White House, the Supreme Court. In these places liberal and fascist tendencies compete, but they also connive and conspire. Our strategy must be unity against existing fascism for the liberation of all oppressed people. Imprisoned fighters face the brunt of fascist repression and are a center of our struggle. A solid bridge of communications, news, politics and support sustain sisters and brothers under brutal isolation and torture, makes a difference in the treatment of political prisoners and their chances of release. Connections maximize the impact of prison politics as an essential and leading part of our movement. Support Ruchell Magee. Defend the Attica brothers.

— Like Dr. DuBois said, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." It's our view that white revolutionaries should look toward building principled alliances, coalitions and working relationships with Third World people when possible. Support for self-determination can't be an excuse for failure to engage with Third World revolutionaries in day-to-day work. A new practice should develop in which we learn from, struggle with, but don't prejudge or attempt to direct Third World freedom fighters. Full understanding and support for self determination is the basis for this kind of getting together. Win an understanding of the right of oppressed peoples to determine their own destinies.

— Read Black and Third World publications. Understand the richness of the movements, the current debates, the direction and growth of struggles. Study Malcolm and George Jackson. Learn from the great teachers.

### Women and Revolution

The women's movement has changed the consciousness of millions of women, and the crises of U.S. society are creating resistance and revolutionaries among women every day. This is a good time to do a lot of organizing among women, to bring the full scope of anti-imperialist and revolutionary politics into women's lives. Storm the institutions which oppress women. Direct our force against the men who control these institutions

— Support Assata Shakur, Marilyn Buck, Lolita Lebron and other women in prison. Demonstrate to free our sisters in the Saigon jails.

— It is our view that women working in revolutionary organizations with men should organize themselves into women's groups,

sections, brigades, caucuses to build our solidarity, to oppose sexism, to reach out, involve, organize among women and to strive together for the full liberation of women.

— Sexism within the culture of the revolutionary movement denies the full contribution of women and distorts political direction. We need an anti-sexist revolution in our country to create the basis for a new society which genuinely empowers women. The revolution must be fought for women as well as by women.

— Sexism manifests itself in relationships among people, and must be fought on this level too. Men must make a continuing commitment to understanding and changing sexist ways. Criticism and self-criticism are our tools for this struggle: fanshen, the turning over, transformation.

### Militancy

A movement has no reason to exist if it doesn't fight. The system needs to be overthrown; revolutionaries must prepare for that necessity at all points along the way. Revolutionary movements must be contending for power, planning how to contend for power, or recovering from setbacks suffered in contending for power. Certainly every movement must learn to fight correctly, sometimes retreating, sometimes advancing. But fighting the enemy must be its reason for being. We build a fighting movement.

Militancy stirs the imagination and raises the vision of victory. Militancy in a street demonstration, in a courtroom, in a rally, in a prison takeover, is recognized and respected as an uncompromising statement. It is a confrontation with the opposing system. Involving people in militant action trains and teaches. It is both an example and a strategy. Militant action is related to the understanding that the struggle is not merely for separate issues but is ultimately for power — necessarily including armed struggle to defeat the oppressive forces of state. To leave people unprepared to fight the state is to seriously mislead about the inevitable nature of what lies ahead.

Some on the left dissociate mass struggle from revolutionary violence and condemn any act of public militancy or armed struggle as adventurist. This is characteristic of oppressor-nation movements where violence is raised to a question of abstract principle, and the illusion is fostered that imperialism will decay peacefully: "Violence turns people off," "It's too early," "Violence only brings down repression."

— The movement should argue for and explain armed action, to develop parallel strategies, to openly support the thrust and political content of revolutionary armed actions, to claim and spread the message of struggle, to help create the "sea" for the guerrillas to swim in. Don't talk to the FBI. Resist grand jury probes of revolutionary struggles. Laying the basis for armed struggle is also the responsibility of mass organizers.

— From the very beginning of guerrilla action, mass armed capability develops. Its spontaneity will be slowly transformed into the energy of a popular armed force.

— Many levels of clandestine propaganda action can be carried out which spread the consciousness of action and give people a way to learn. Spray-painting, rip-offs of corporate files, blood on the murderers. We have done these types of actions ourselves, including stinkbombing a Rockefeller appearance in N.Y.C. and doing the same to the mouthpieces of the Chile junta when they travelled in the U.S. after the murder of Allende. Build a people's militia.

— A successful movement needs to keep part of its organizations away from the eyes of the state. This should be part of the practice of every revolutionary. The survival and continuity of the revolutionary movement, of the activists and the supporters over a long period of time, depends on having networks and resources not exposed to the computer patterns, electronic surveillance and infiltration of the repressive apparatus. The continued existence of underground organizations show this can be done.

— Building a capacity to survive over time is no substitute for militancy now in our daily work. An uncompromising, confrontational approach to political work is the best way to inspire the people, build organization, and learn to fight.

## REVOLUTION

This is a deathly culture. It beats its children and discards its old people, imprisons its rebels and drinks itself to death. It breeds and educates us to be socially irresponsible, arrogant, ignorant and anti-political. We are the most technologically advanced people in the world and the most politically and socially backward.

The quality of life of a Chinese peasant is better than ours. The Chinese have free and adequate health care, a meaningful political education, productive work, a place to live, something to eat and a sense of her or himself as part of a whole people's shared historical purpose. We may eat more and have more access to more gadgets, but we are constantly driven by competition, insecurity, uncer-

tainty and fear. Work is wasteful and meaningless and other people are frightening and hateful. This is no way to live.

Anti-imperialism is our cultural revolution. We must rescue ourselves from the consequences of being the base area for imperialism — the base area for war, piracy, rape and murder. In this reclamation process, we come to a better understanding of our history and ourselves. This is not for a small group but for millions of people. Much has happened in the world and in the U.S. to move this process along. Few people really believe anymore in the great civilizing leadership role of the U.S. Few still think that capitalism is the best of all possible ways to meet the economic needs of the world's peoples, or that Black and Third World people are sub-human labor material destined to support the more worthwhile activities of white supermen. Few really believe that men will go on indefinitely monopolizing power in a supremacist anti-woman society. Stated simply, our strategy is to base ourselves on the trends of change, to revolutionize and push them on, and to intervene in everything.

Where do the U.S. people look to learn about social relations and consciousness, struggle and purpose? A decade of resistance in Vietnam demonstrated to highly "developed" Westerners that we have everything to learn from "underdeveloped" peoples. The revolutionary struggle is the social form which will deal with the crisis of imperialism in decline. We learn from Third World people who resist U.S. tyranny, with a unity born in a sense of collective power and purpose. We learn from our own history and examples of courage, struggle and communality which are here for us to search out and celebrate.

Our movements must discard the baggage of the oppressor society and become new women and new men, as Che taught. All forms of racism, class prejudice, and male chauvinism must be torn out by the roots. For us, proletarianization means recognizing the urgency of revolution as the only solution to our own problems and the survival of all oppressed people. It means commitment, casting our lot with the collective interest and discarding the privileges of empire. It means recognizing that revolution is a lifetime of fighting and transformation, a risky business and ultimately a decisive struggle against the forces of death.

Proletarianization is a process that is necessarily on-going. Breaking through to a higher level of engagement and commitment in 1968 is no guarantee that that level will be sustained in 1974. Standing still over time is sliding back. Commitment and engagement must be continually renewed.

We create the seeds of the new society in the struggle for the destruction of the empire. For our generation that has meant the birth of communalism and collective work in the most individualist, competitive society in the world. Revolution is the midwife bringing the new society into being from the old.

The culture of our communities, the people we try to become, are forged in the process of revolutionary war — the struggle for liberation. We are called on to commit ourselves to this struggle, and time is pressing. People are already dying. Lives are wasted and worn. Life itself depends on our ability to deal a swift death blow to the monster.

.....



The wheel of law turns  
without pause.

After the rain, good weather.  
In the wink of an eye

The universe throws off  
its muddy clothes

For ten thousand miles  
the landscape

spreads out like a beautiful brocade.  
Light breezes, smiling flowers.

High in the trees, amongst  
the sparkling leaves

all the birds sing at once.

People and animals rise-up reborn.

What could be more natural?

After sorrow, comes happiness.

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These books have been a good part of the background and basis of study for writing this paper:

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