

CLASS WAR

For The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat

ISSUE 2

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UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT LAUNCHED!

On the weekend of March 30-April 1st, 1973, in Philadelphia's Temple University, an historic gathering of 500 workingclass organizers took place. This convention must be recognized by every would-be class-conscious worker or unemployed person, by every revolutionary tendency and organizer, as a turning point in the class struggle in this country. The crucial importance of this event is far greater than any immediate "factional" advantage gained by any specific left-wing group. This will become more and more obvious in the months and years ahead.

This gathering was the founding convention of the National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (N.U.W.R.O.), which, based initially on the militant core of organizers and most of the remaining active chapters of the old N.W.R.O. (see article in this issue) set out to struggle in the interests of the whole workingclass under the crisis conditions of the present-day Second World Depression.

The unity and solidarity of the convention, which brought together both a wide spectrum of left tendencies as well as a broad representation from different segments in the workingclass, was starkly contrasted with the unparalleled "united front" against this new movement, including the U.S. imperialist government police-agencies and the so-called "Communist Party U.S.A.". This open bloc between Nixon and Gus Hall, coming at a time when the C.P.U.S.A. had supposedly taken a new turn to the left, is only the domestic expression of the American-Russian Axis, the alliance of the two superpowers, which has been finally consolidated this past couple of years. The far-reaching economic and military agreements reached between Nixon and Brezhnev are the direct basis for the call by the C.P.U.S.A., together with Ed Schwartz, a former leader of the CIA-funded National Student Association, and other local Philadelphia reactionaries, for a picket line against the convention.

This vile move by the C.P.U.S.A. came as an anti-climax, since only thirty demoralized, mainly petty-bourgeoisie, actually showed up. However, since the formation of the Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O. in January of this year, a government-sponsored campaign of frame-ups, death threats, and harassment, including the FBI visiting the homes of six members of the Labor Committees, showed that the ruling-class was, and is, very uptight about this effort. The fact that the C.P.U.S.A. leadership at this time has chosen to openly ally with the U.S. imperialist government shows that the lines are being very sharply drawn in this period. Inside the C.P.U.S.A. this question is tearing the guts out of the organization, with more than 100 members of the Young Workers Liberation League, the C.P.U.S.A. youth group, signing a statement supporting the Philadelphia convention, and a number of Y.W.L.L.'ers present at the convention itself!

Who Was There?

The convention gathered the solid core of the old N.W.R.O., as well as various trade union groups and trade unionists, including the Eastern Farm Workers Association (which is officially affiliated with the N.U.W.R.O.), the rank-and-file caucus of local 829, U.A.W., Baltimore, Maryland, the teachers union in Philadelphia, which just concluded the longest teacher's strike in U.S. history, and the leader of the Jobs, Opportunity and Betterment (J.O.B.) caucus, local 647-U.A.W., Cincinnati, Ohio, a caucus which was initially all-black and nationalist in line, and which has now opened its ranks to white workers and abandoned nationalism. (The leader of J.O.B. and other members of the caucus, immediately after they began this new class level of organizing, came under severe attack by the government, including frame-ups, firings, and harassment.) Many other trade union locals, caucuses, and individual members were present or else sent telegrams greeting the convention. There were also delegated representatives from the National Caucus of Labor Committees, as well as the New American Movement, the I.N.W., Vanguard Newsletter, and Class War, which held a meeting ten days before the convention in New York City.

The convention founded a new organization, but it also set the beginning point for a new struggle, a new mass movement. The formal programmatic statements of this new organization, the N.U.W.R.O., are reformist. However, the content of the N.U.W.R.O., its implications and potential in this period of history are revolutionary. It is with this contradiction in mind, considering all the finer points of our political differences with the N.C.L.C., that Class War is joining with this movement and will commit itself to help build it in the future. We are not joining in the Coalition for Jobs and Services, and we are definitely not supporting the N.C.L.C. election campaign in New York City, as our policy will continue to be election boycott. However, the actual practice of the N.C.L.C. at the convention has convinced us that they are a principled tendency, that they promoted democratic procedures in the convention, and that they fully realize the crucial importance of this struggle of the unemployed aside from the factional advantage it may give them in relation to other tendencies.

The convention dealt directly with the most crucial problem facing the workingclass today. This is the "human recycling" drive, the combined attack of both "productivity" speed-up drives in every industry, down to the smallest office or workshop, and the "workfare" and numerous other slave-labor schemes, imposed mainly upon mainly upon the welfare population, but also aimed at returning veterans, prisoners, addicts and ex-addicts, students, the old, and even children. The specific nature of this recycling drive was pointed out in detail by numerous speakers, including welfare organ-

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izers, trade unionists, and especially, several people from the "south" (Black Belt nation) who clearly showed that the old-style trade union organizing in the south was, and has always been, obsolete in the face of the conditions of an almost unlimited supply of cheap labor. What has always been the weakness of the workers' struggles in the south, fighting over the small number of jobs by a desperate often "racially" divided mass of unorganized, often migratory working people without even, in many cases, the minimal welfare or relief available, was seen as the basis for the Nixon government's drive against the workingclass in the rest of the "U.S.A." That is, by literally working to death or exhaustion a sector of the workingclass and replacing these not by people receiving the same wages, but by desperate welfare recipients, doing literal slave-labor, that is, working not for wages, but to receive their welfare check, their barest amount of subsistence. The fascist nature of this drive was pointed out again and again in comparisons with the slave-labor system set up by Nazi Germany, where more than 15 million workers, including the majority of the Jewish populations of central Europe, were forced into slave-labor camps, not out of some type of "insanity," but as absolutely necessary to the entire Nazi economy, not only to work these people to death, but also to drive down the living standards of the entire working population of Europe, including Germany.

The character of the reports and discussion on these actual examples of recycling going on in many different areas was not a "gripe-session." Rather, the continual focus was on the strategy needed to defeat this ruling-class attack, coming as it does in the context of a world-wide crisis, a world depression. What was stressed was that the old ways of struggling, the localist, trade unionist, and reformist begging for crumbs was not only useless, but even dangerous to the interests of the entire workingclass. Only class-wide organizing, only the uniting of the widest sections of the entire workingclass around our common interests as a class can defeat the ruling-class and their government. Recycling, including both the speed-up for the employed, and the slave-labor for the unemployed counts on each and every division in the workingclass. Phase III and every other scheme of the Nixon government is based on the assumption that each and every section of the workingclass will fight every other section for jobs, for what little housing, schools, and other essential services remain, for rapidly diminishing crumbs. Thus, the fact that this convention was held at all, that the first steps toward unity of the employed and unemployed has been taken even if only by a few hundred organizers, is a real blow against the ruling class and they know it.

We will not try here to go into detail concerning the proceedings decisions of the convention, but rather, touch on some highlights which outline the most important features of this struggle and to clarify further why Class War supports it, why every revolutionary tendency must support it.

The way it was conducted:

The entire convention was conducted in a manner true to the principles of proletarian democracy. All political tendencies and individuals present were free to both distribute their literature and present their views before the entire assembly. Two democratic amendments were made to the constitution of the N.U.W.R.O. The first proposed by the I.W.W. and passed overwhelmingly, was that all delegates of the N.U.W.R.O. in its National Co-ordinating Committee be subject to recall at any time, either by their branch, or by the members of the entire organization. The second amendment was that any member of the organization be allowed to be present, although not with voting rights, at meetings of the N.C.C. or local and regional leadership bodies. This is in contradiction to the practices of the old N.U.W.R.O., the bureaucratism of most present-day trade unions. Class War supported these amendments. The entire meeting was characterized by a serious and honest political atmosphere. This is the exact opposite of the manipulated farces staged by the November 4th Coalition, such as their Workers' Conference, where persons from various tendencies, including Class War, were physically prevented from entering the meeting by the "defense squad." Also, the recent Guardian meeting, openly advertised as a forum, where members of the N.C.L.C., trying to put forward a statement during the discussion period, and in no way disruptively, as the Guardian report on the "forum" lyingly reports, were physically removed from the meeting after having the microphones shut off on them. Just like the old peace-movement circuses, with their Y.S.A. goon-squads and "peace marshalls"! Unable to engage in any kind of polemics, because of their completely shallow, superficial, and weak grasp of even the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Fosterite centrists of the Revolutionary Union, October League, etc. fall back on the C.P.U.S.A. revisionist and basically social-fascist tactics to shield their "raw recruits," most of them genuine revolutionary workers and students, from any contact with the "outside" political world.

To the contrary, the Philadelphia convention offered a real example of how a New Organ of Struggle, a "soviet," or revolutionary mass assembly would operate, and furthermore, on the basis of an even more fundamental resolution passed on April 1, the last day of the convention, expressed not only the form, but also the content of the crucially necessary New Organ of Struggle that must be built on the basis of the entire workingclass, across all lines of division.

That resolution was the unanimous vote, at 4:40 pm, to open the convention to others besides Welfare Rights organizers, since up to that point the delegated voting powers had existed only on the basis of the Committee to Rebuild N.U.W.R.O. This vote signified that what was being built was not an organization of welfare struggles as opposed to the struggle of the rest of the workingclass, but that N.U.W.R.O. was to be a workingclass organization based on work-

ingclass organizers, whatever their area of struggle. The unanimous vote was followed by a surge of joyous applause, the entire room applauding itself, a historic feeling filled the room—the hint of a real "soviet"—as we all looked around, seeing not the "other" sections of the workingclass, but ourselves, our common collective class-wide unity. The high point of the convention was reached at that point. At that moment, the first defeat for Nixon's Phase III strategy was realized, a battle-cry was sounded to the entire workingclass.

What this means is that a new center of struggle has been created, a new focal point of resistance against the growing fascism of the U.S. imperialist ruling-class. The N.U.W.R.O. will unite employed and unemployed workers, soldiers, prisoners, welfare recipients, addicts and ex-addicts, retired pensioners and students, in a workingclass united front around struggles of common interest.

This is not only in opposition to the old N.U.W.R.O. but also to some of the recent attempts to organize the unemployed, such as the Revolutionary Union's "Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee." The "high point" of this organization's recent efforts has been collecting 20,000 names for petitions supporting Bella Abzug's pathetically inadequate bill on unemployment payments! For the R.U. the unemployed are to be organized separately from the rest of the workingclass, only around their own specific issues, and crawling and begging to the capitalist politicians and political parties for rapidly disappearing crumbs! This, in the face of the second world depression!

Class War did not support all the decisions made by the convention, and we must point out what criticisms we have of the N.U.W.R.O. since we will struggle inside the organization on the basis of these criticisms at the same time helping to build it in every way possible.

Class War, the I.W.W., the Vanguard Newsletter, and some people from the New American Movement voted for a proposed amendment to the constitution, put forward by the Vanguard Newsletter, which was defeated. We strongly believe that this should have been passed and the fact that the Labor Committees voted overwhelmingly against it shows that the N.C.L.C. has strong right-opportunist tendencies, which violate their own advocated principles of class-wide unity, and express a potential weakness and even danger to the new organization.

If the N.U.W.R.O. does in fact unite with capitalist politicians, even minor ones, we shall remain in N.U.W.R.O. and support it, under protest, and we shall struggle to break from any such alliances or coalitions. The actual amendments were as follows:

"Members and representatives of the ruling-class—including their political representatives in the Democratic, Republican, Conservative, and Liberal and other such capitalist parties are to be denied membership in the N.U.W.R.O."

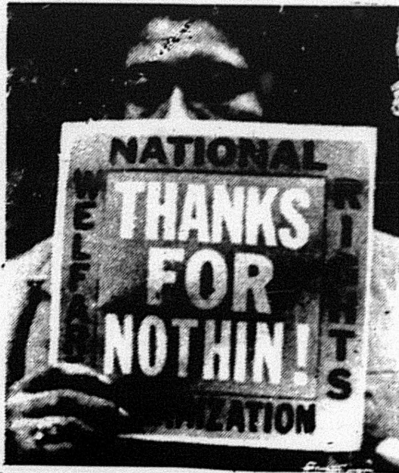
"In striving to achieve the unity of the working-class, the N.U.W.R.O. will promote united front relationships with other workingclass organizations. The N.U.W.R.O. or its representatives will not take part in "popular front" blocs with members and representatives of the ruling class in pursuit of its aims."

Class War did not vote in favor of the "Counter-resolution to Statement of Purpose and Bill of Rights" put forward by Vanguard Newsletter also, which was printed alongside and above two proposed amendments. This is because, although the basic strategy which was expressed in this counter-resolution, the "strategy of building a network of rank-and-file caucuses in the trade unions which will struggle to become the revolutionary leadership of the working class..." is precisely one of the now-obsolete, and even dangerously obsolete types of activity, which, in the present-day depression conditions, will not stand up to the capitalist-imperialist attacks.

The Spartacist League were present, sold literature, and spoke in the meetings, but did not join the N.U.W.R.O. The Spartacists chose to stand on the sidelines and not enter the new organization to fight inside it for their (incorrect) line. They did this claiming that the N.U.W.R.O. was the same as the old N.U.W.R.O., a claim which was completely disproved by the little band of fools assembled by the U.S. government and the C.P.U.S.A. outside the convention when it started. Interestingly enough, the statement they distributed addressed to the convention accused the Labor Committees of "Third Periodism." (See article this issue)

N.U.W.R.O. is not important in and of itself, rather it is important in that it set an example for all the working-class to see, and example of class-wide unity for our common interests, as opposed to every kind of trade union chauvinism, localism, and group-interest struggles. The most unfortunate aspect of the convention was the lack of attendance by Marxist-Leninist tendencies. These groups put themselves to shame by their absence and have seriously raised the question of their right to such claims as being the elements of a future "new communist party." For all their talk of the united front, they have even use as an excuse to not struggle for a party, they have refused to join the most important single united front effort anywhere in the so-called "U.S.A."

depression to the second world war). Millions of workers in many countries held mass assemblies and marches, many very violent, some carried out against official bans, fascist attacks, etc. We will immediately assign forces to fully investigate, analyse, and produce materials exposing the "protectionism" campaign in this country, and how to defeat it. We await your contact at the earliest moment. With Communist Greetings, Class War.



WELFARE RIGHTS STRUGGLE REVIEWED

The National Welfare Rights Organization (N.W.R.O.) has become the center of the most important class struggle in America today. With the Second World Depression already upon us the organization of the unemployed is absolutely crucial if the workingclass is to develop the strength in unity necessary to fight the state-monopoly-capitalists. In this period of general crisis, accentuated by its disastrous Viet Nam adventure, U.S. imperialism is desperate to salvage its economy from total collapse and can do so only by attacking the living standards of the entire workingclass. Ever higher rate of profits has become impossible in the shrinking world of the capitalist system. Small businesses and factories are being squeezed out of existence daily, throwing millions of workers out of employment. These workers have nowhere to turn except to unemployment relief and welfare. The capitalist class did not invent welfare out of philanthropy. They rely upon the manipulability of the unemployed in times of crisis, when they can be forced off the welfare rolls and into the factories to assume jobs at one-half the wages normally paid to unionized workers. The unemployed constitute a reserve army of the workingclass and whether they will be mobilized as a fighting detachment of the proletariat or merely become a super-exploited pool of cheap-labor which can be recruited to destroy the hard-won gains of the class struggle will depend on the organization of the unemployed. If we allow the bourgeoisie to organize the unemployed, they will be turned into an army of scabs. That is why the struggle inside the N.W.R.O., which hinges on the question of slave-labor (work-fare), is so urgently important that no worker, employed or unemployed, can fail to ignore it. The struggle against slave-labor, the wedge being used to divide the workingclass against itself, is the cause around which all workers can unite to defeat the depression policies of the Nixon government.

The old N.W.R.O., as we knew it, no longer exists. Government plans to turn the only nation-wide organization of the unemployed into a scab-herding agency have been smashed by the resistance of militant welfare organizers and their allies. These fighters could not be bought off by O.E.O. funds or intimidated by threats. The Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O. and its united front efforts to transform the N.W.R.O. into a real fighting organization of all the unemployed in alliance with employed and striking workers is the answer of the entire workingclass to Nixon's fascist Phase Three.

The N.W.R.O. came into being during 1966-67 out of a grass-roots movement of welfare recipients led by black women receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children relief. In order to cool out the rebellious atmosphere in the ghettos the liberal Kennedy-Johnson regimes tried combining repression with co-optation. The mechanism of co-optation took the form of the Organization for Economic Opportunity (O.E.O.), a funding operation designed to buy off leadership and create a new type of Uncle Tom, the poverty-plimp. The emergence of a welfare-rights movement in isolation from the natural allies of welfare recipients, the left-wing and labor movement, fit in perfectly with government plans to eventually use the welfare-dependent population as the means for lowering the living standards of the whole workingclass by forcing them to scab when the crisis called for drastically lowering wages. Dr. George Wiley, a petty-bourgeois element, had been grooming himself for just such a "golden opportunity" and stepped in to assume leadership of this new movement of the unemployed.

The N.W.R.O. took up the fight to ensure that all welfare recipients got all the benefits and money they were entitled to according to law. Tens of thousands, at times as many as 30-50,000, were attracted by promises of increased benefits for such the same reasons workers are impelled to join unions. When N.W.R.O. civil-rights-type protest tactics achieved a certain degree of success in winning demands, the government began dumping O.E.O. funds on the liberal-opportunist leadership, who, in exchange, eagerly went along with government "work-incentive" programs. Federal money was accepted on the reasoning that welfare organizers could make

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OUR LETTER TO C.R.N.W.O.

February 17, 1973

To: Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O.
792 Amsterdam Avenue
N.Y.C. 10025

Comrades,

The Class War tendency supports the efforts of your Committee to rebuild the N.W.R.O. as a mass organization of the unemployed, under-employed, and other workers to defeat the ruling class' policy of dividing the proletariat against itself. We have followed the developments of the split in the National Welfare Rights Organization as reported in the pages of New Solidarity and recognize the militant faction led by Jennette Washington as the left-wing representing the real interests of welfare recipients. Through the years we have observed the reactionary poverty-plimping role played by the Wiley-Sanders-Evans clique aided by the revisionist C.P.U.S.A. These anti-workingclass elements have now fully revealed themselves as agents of the U.S. government through their total co-operation with the scab-fare slave-labor programs imposed upon welfare recipients and in their destructive activity inside the N.W.R.O. In April, 1970, in the second issue of our publication Red Star, organ of the Red Women's Detachment, an organization of workingwomen composed mainly of welfare mothers, in an "Open Letter to Welfare Women" we declared, "We totally support our welfare comrades in their struggle but we have many objections to the way it's been handled. For many years we have been fooled and tricked by the phoney Welfare Rights groups completely controlled by the Communist Party revisionist clique such as N.W.R.O. Even though they have helped informing us of our 'rights,' they never tell us that we will never get what we want except by armed struggle followed by socialism. They just want us to be involved in the welfare struggle never concerning ourselves with other struggles, especially uniting with other proletarian working sisters."

We have always regarded welfare recipients as a revolutionary wing of the lumpen-proletariat, the unemployed section of the workingclass, and the most important ally of employed workers. The worker-lumpen alliance is a united front that can solidify the ranks of the workingclass and isolate the bribed labor aristocracy. The interests of the unemployed and welfare recipients in no way conflict with the long-term true interests of the proletariat which are, in fact, one and the same. Those "privileged" with steady jobs and "organized" in unions must unite under the same red banner with the unemployed.

Though we have many differences with the National Caucus of Labor Committees we see no reason for not uniting with them on a principled basis in defense of your struggle to create a mass organization of the unemployed to combat the government's attack upon the workingclass. U.S. imperialism is in a state of permanent general crisis that is deepening daily, and which the ruling class is incapable of solving. They have no recourse but to intensify the exploitation of the workingclass and to cut off the meagre crumbs that have been allowed to trickle down to the unemployed in the form of welfare. Unemployment is one of the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist economic system. There can never be full employment or productive jobs for everyone under capitalism-imperialism. Welfare recipients have been misled for years that by going along with job-training counter-insurgency programs adequate employment would be provided. In reality the jobs they promise do not exist and those that are to be had are those which other workers have lost. Thereby welfare victims are used as scabs at lower wages and the ruling class is able to use one sector of the workingclass against another. We fully endorse the strategy of the Committee to Rebuild the N.W.R.O. to forge the united front of the employed and unemployed to defeat the government's counter-revolutionary divide-and-conquer plans.

One of our differences with the N.C.L.C. is that we oppose the transitional programmatic approach which places un-attainable demands upon the imperialist state. We know that imperialism cannot provide jobs for all and guaranteed annual income and we do not advocate such illu-sory slogans. We recognize all so-called reforms as steps along the road of fascism. Reformist demands are a hindrance to the workingclass' struggle for the consciousness of its historic task in which its real interests lie—smashing the bourgeois state machinery and creating the new political power of the workingclass—the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., socialism. Only on this basis will we be able to carry out all our just demands of full productive employment, adequate housing, socialized child and health care, and end to the oppression of women, etc. Our tactics must be revolutionary and direct.

Despite our disagreements on tactical methods and opposing viewpoints on the history of the international communist movement, we view the National Caucus of Labor Committees as a legitimate and significant tendency in the

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use of government funds without themselves being used. These funds were designed to channel welfare recipients into job-training programs and off the welfare rolls and served the additional purpose of bribing the opportunistic elements into carrying out government policies.

When the big strike wave of 1969-70 broke out, these government-backed agents did everything in their power to prevent welfare fighters from linking up with strikers. They were not altogether successful, however, primarily due to the "organic" leaders such as Jennette Washington who indefatigably dedicated themselves to struggle, and thanks to the intervention of the left in the form of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, at that time a pro-workingclass tendency of S.D.S. The most class-conscious organizers could not be stopped from supporting strikes in coalition with the Labor Committees, unionists, and others.

The government began cutting off welfare by instituting the "flat grant" system and reducing incomes by ten percent. The incomes of welfare recipients were cut to the starvation point. At the same time checks were being cut, food prices, electric rates, and other expenses skyrocketed and rent control abolished. Most of the money going to welfare recipients goes straight into the pockets of the supermarket chains, Con Ed, and landlords. Thus, little or nothing is left for people to live on. N.W.R.O. old-style protest tactics became less and less effective against these attacks, and welfare recipients unable to win their demands when separated from their workingclass allies. The welfare fighters responded to the budget cuts with militant, often violent, demonstrations in the streets and in legislative offices. When school time approached and no money was provided for children's clothing, mothers organized political "steal-ins" and took what they needed. Many were arrested in the course of these struggles.

Then the O.E.O. began shutting off the money and the liberal rats began to abandon N.W.R.O. for more lucrative posts in the poverty program. The only genuine friends of welfare organizers that stuck out the squeeze and fought for a workable strategy in the face of bankrupt N.W.R.O. tactics was the N.Y. Labor Committees. The split in the organization, culminating in the wrecking activities and illegal expulsions of class-conscious organizers by G. Wiley, F. Evans and co., was based on the most important questions facing the N.W.R.O.: 1) whether welfare recipients should "go it alone" or unite with others in strike support organizing and 2) whether to oppose the W.I.N. and other government programs to force welfare recipients into jobs vacated by strikers and laid-off workers.

The government's attack on the workingclass required the conscription of welfare recipients into forced-work programs and training for which no jobs actually existed. In New York City thousands of municipal employees lost their union jobs and were replaced with welfare recipients at half the pay. In some cases, recipients were forced to work not even for wages but for their check alone! Recipients are being put to work in the welfare centers at the expense of social-workers and para-professionals. Industries are given tax deductions for hiring welfare recipients for reduced wages. With the Second World Depression already in its earliest stage, the interests of state-monopoly-capitalism force it to secure the highest rate of profit that can be extracted from all sectors of the workingclass.

The N.C.L.C. began supporting united front action with N.W.R.O. chapters in early 1969 and in many cases welfare organizers joined in strike support coalitions with the Labor Committees in order to link up with their allies. Despite the Wiley faction's refusal to endorse the April 15 Emergency Welfare Defense Conference in 1972, 150 organizers along with socialists, plus some trade unionists, launched the first real fight back against slave-labor in conjunction with support work for the New Jersey Pedders Strike. The government reacted to these developments by increasing intimidation in the form of various frame-up arrests of organizers, who were abandoned by their national organization. Government agent Faith Evans went on a dis-organizing campaign to destroy and isolate local chapters of the N.W.R.O.

Catherine Barksdale, New Jersey N.W.R.O. National Co-ordinating Committee member, illegally expelled by the Evans clique, has been framed by the state on the phoney charge of setting fire to her sister's house. These vicious tactics were employed after she had organized support for the national wildcat postal strike in 1970. In 1971 she was again busted on so-called "welfare fraud" charges.

In March, 1971, Loretta Johnson, Sec-Tres. of Richmond, Virginia W.R.O., and a N.C.C. member, was arrested on the trumped up charge of threatening to bomb city hall. What she has really been arrested for is organizing against budget cuts by running a pro-workingclass campaign for election to the city council. Only ill health from sickle cell anemia has prevented her from being sent to jail.

In another case, Mildred Prim, of the Buffalo Rights Action Group, a collaborator of Jennette Washington and the N.C.L.C., was busted in February, 1973, on phoney assault charges. Jennette Washington and Sylvia Burton and others have been receiving death threats and various other harassment urging them to discontinue their organizing. These and other forms of police and FBI intimidation are clear-cut evidence that the government's plans to force welfare recipients into scabberty have been threatened by the new strategy adopted by welfare rights organizers. Rather than scare away the organizers and their supporters, these attacks are being met with political resistance and a defense against these frame-up is being mobilized.

LETTER (CONTINUED)

workingclass movement. A real united front will never be built as long as groups harbor sectarian politics. The welfare rights struggle has always been a genuine mass revolutionary struggle of the most oppressed layers of the workingclass and one in which women play a leading role. All class-conscious workers and communists worthy of the name will come to your defense and support your efforts to build a new organization.

Please accept our proposal of support. We will publicize your struggles in our newspaper Class War and urge all tendencies in the workingclass movement to rouse themselves from their sectarian stupors, to shake off their labor-aristocrat mentalities, and support you in any way they can. If you have any suggestions as to how we can further concretize our political support for your work, though we are small in number and our tasks are mainly propagandistic and, at this time, limited to publishing a newspaper, we pledge to do everything we can.

Comradely yours,

CLASS WAR

At the July, 1972, N.W.R.O. Convention, Wiley, with the aid of the C.P.U.S.A., expelled the Labor Committees for presenting the only workable strategy for fighting slave-labor, a subject which Wiley and company did not even want to raise. Jennette Washington and the class-conscious organizers who supported her rallied behind the Labor Committees. Before long Washington herself was illegally expelled and for all intents and purposes the N.W.R.O. was dead.

On January 27, 1973, in Washington, D.C., the Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O. was founded out of the majority of East Coast W.R.O. chapters (Boston, Philadelphia, Connecticut, Upstate New York, New York City, Baltimore, and Washington D.C.) and their socialist and trade unionist allies. Their Statement of Purpose, which pledged to rebuild the N.W.R.O. as an organization of all the unemployed in alliance with employed workers included a call for united front efforts addressed to groups both left and liberal. A steering committee composed of 6 welfare organizers and 5 Labor Committees members was chosen and the newspaper "The Organizer" was launched. A special N.W.R.O. Convention was called for March 31 in Philadelphia. (See Convention Report on page one this issue Class War) A "Resolution on Government Organizing Against Welfare Recipients and Trade Unionists" circulated among unionists has been endorsed by hundreds of rank-and-file workers and minor officials, some of whom are experiencing the same-type government intimidation welfare recipients have met with for this organizing effort. All workers, employed and unemployed, should read and distribute The Organizer, available from 792 Amsterdam Avenue, N.Y.C. 10025.

The Response of the Left:

Throughout the country response to the Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O. has been enthusiastic. Groups and individuals from the oppressed and exploited sectors of the workingclass who are ready to fight the capitalist system are lining up behind the united front strategy of the Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O. The welfare organizers have been putting together surviving N.W.R.O. chapters and rallying many welfare fighters who were temporarily demoralized and disorganized as a result of the wrecking activities of Evans-Wiley. The welfare organizers, representing the permanently unemployed section of the workingclass whose struggle has been the motivating force of this movement, are transforming their old organization into a new organization by winning allies from among the chronically unemployed, under-employed, and unionists for whom no job is "steady" any longer. So far, the Eastern Farm Workers Association, which is organizing migrant workers who spend half their time slaving and otherwise half-existing on welfare, has endorsed the Convention of March 31. The Mississippi Poultry Workers Union has joined in support of the effort also. And the Mental Patients' Liberation Project, well aware of the half-paid and unpaid slavery that mental-hospital inmates are forced into, has also expressed support. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party is allied and is giving coverage in their newspaper, Claridad. Class War, on February 17, sent a letter of endorsement to the C.R.N.W.R.O. which is re-printed alongside this article.

In general, the left-wing has disgraced itself in the eyes of the workingclass by either ignoring the call for united front, or else, as is the case with the November 4th Coalition, reacting very hostilely. Why have the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the Revolutionary Union, October-League (M-L), and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, who make such a fetish out of the "United Front Against Imperialism" (which they have yet to build) been unable to recognize the curial importance of the struggle to build a national unemployed and welfare rights organization? On March 10, 1973, at their "Workers Conference" on the Lower Eastside these so-called anti-Imperialists displayed their trade-union chauvinist orientation when they excluded the welfare-rights organizers, who, with the N.C.L.C. came to the conference in good will and in a principled manner tried to put forward their proposal that the November 4th Coalition join in the united front with the Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O. and its support groups. For the best part of the day the November 4th clique would not even allow the welfare-rights organizers (black women) to enter the conference, maintaining a squadron of bully-boys on the steps of the school in which it was held to "guard" their sectarian gathering from the welfare organizers and other "outsiders" (Spartacist League, Vanguard Newsletter, Socialist Forum, Class War), while they sat around inside moaning

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WOMEN AND SOCIALISM IN THE D.P.R.K.

5

The women's liberation movement in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.) must be studied in the context of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution. The Korean people's resistance against first Japanese and then American imperialist aggression has succeeded in firmly establishing the people's democratic dictatorship in the northern half of the country because the Korean people rose up in a great People's War led by Kim Il Sung, founder of the Korean Workers Party. The history of the Korean women's movement belongs to the era of proletarian revolution and must be viewed as a component of the international workingwomen's revolutionary movement.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OF KANG BAN SOK

A summary of the women's liberation movement in Korea, which developed organically out of the national struggle, must begin with the revolutionary activities of Kang Ban Sok, who founded the Anti-Japanese Women's Association in 1928. Kang Ban Sok, the pioneer of the women's movement in Korea was born on April 21, 1892, into a poor but patriotic family. She engaged in agricultural labor from her earliest years and, unlike the bourgeois feminists of the capitalist countries, was well acquainted with hard work. At the age of 17, already a patriot and revolutionary-minded, she married Kim Hyong Jik, an anti-Japanese fighter. Motivated by her desire to serve the revolution she carried out the wifely and motherly responsibilities allotted to women in such a selfless manner that her husband was able to engage in revolutionary conspiratorial organization, enabling him to create the first underground anti-Japanese national association in Korea.

Until the arrest of Kim Hyong Jik, the father of Kim Il Sung, Kang Ban Sok fulfilled the unassuming role of wife of a revolutionary. In the actual work of the Korean National Association she played no small part. Thanks to her quick action she was able to hide all the secret documents of the organization when the Japanese police came to search after her husband's arrest. She was defiant of intimidation and, instead of shrinking from Japanese terror-tactics, she stepped forward in place of her husband, pledging to carry out his work and thus emerged as a revolutionary leader in her own right. Moreover, she was able to fulfill a task no Korean man, no matter how heroic, could ever fulfill—she created the first Korean women's organization, the Anti-Japanese Women's Association.

Kim Il Sung, influenced when very young by the teachings of his mother, began very early in his life to engage in revolutionary organizing. Kang Ban Sok always aided him and his comrades in whatever way possible, whole-heartedly sharing in his revolutionary activities. At one time she smuggled two pistols which she carried loaded between chunks of beef through the close surveillance of the Japanese police. When Kim Il Sung asked why they were loaded, she replied: "Why, I couldn't yield to them meekly could I? I thought I should make them pay for my blood. At most, two or three of them might have pounced on me, and so I thought I should finish them off." Such was her heroic spirit. She organized the Anti-Japanese Women's Association throughout the country and worked actively in the circle of communists led by Kim Il Sung. She also worked with the Saenal Juvenile Union and Anti-Imperialist Youth League organized by her son and distributed the newspaper "Saenal (New Day)". When her husband died she took over his work in the revolutionary training school where she taught reading and writing.

As her most important task she took on the organization of the women of Korea who were destined to play an important role in the liberation of their country. Once when Kim Il Sung was held political prisoner she personally mobilized all the women of the town of Antu and led them to confront the Japanese reactionaries, demanding his release. Many such stories are told in Korea today about the ceaseless revolutionary struggles of Kang Ban Sok, "Mother of Korea," who died of ill health on July 31, 1932. Today the Korean Democratic Women's Union, the continuator of the work of the Anti-Japanese Women's Association, conducts a campaign among its members to study and emulate the life of Kang Ban Sok to incorporate her fearless spirit into their work. The revolutionary women of the entire world, not only the women of Korea, owe a profound debt to Kang Ban Sok for her tireless activities in their behalf. She played an important role in rousing the women of Korea to liberate their country and themselves. Kang Ban Sok, we will never forget you!

SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Following the liberation of Korea from the yoke of Japanese imperialist occupation on August 15, 1945, the new Korea was established under the banner of the Workers Party of Korea as a Democratic People's Republic, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Korean people, forged like steel in the flames of national liberation war, set out to build a socialist society. Socialist construction called for the liberation of women, just as national liberation demanded the equal participation of women. According to the laws of revolution, women cannot liberate themselves apart from socialist revolution and socialist revolution can succeed only when women are free to engage in all spheres of social life uninhibited by Male Supremacy. To take part in the national liberation struggle to the fullest of their ability was the beginning of the Korean women's revolutionary struggle. Liberating the country was the first stage of the Korean revolution. The continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat created conditions under which the women could completely liberate themselves step by step with the total co-operation of the state and society. No socialist system can be built without providing the material basis for women's liberation, and socialism can only fulfill its historic purpose of laying the basis for Communism by providing conditions that eliminate household and child-care burdens for women. So one of the first tasks that faced the



KANG BAN SOK

Korean people's new democratic dictatorship was the re-constitution of the Women's Association on a new basis to carry out the tasks of women's liberation under the condition of socialism. It was the responsibility of the Workers Party of Korea to ensure that this work be carried on as swiftly as conditions allowed. Upon liberation, on November 18, 1945, the Korean Democratic Women's Union was founded personally by Kim Il Sung, the son of Kang Ban Sok. In 1946, the Law on the Equality of the Sexes was promulgated and has been continuously enforced ever since.

Only the socialist system can re-organize the productive forces in such a manner that all the people find socially useful employment. And only in the socialist system, under which the exploiting classes are suppressed, can the economy be organized according to plan and the standard of living of the working people be raised step by step and economic crises be eliminated. "The essential features and requirements of the basic law of socialism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques." (J.V. Stalin, Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.)

The socialist system is able to overcome and eliminate one of the gravest shortcomings of capitalism that throws huge masses of the workingclass into degradation and destitution—unemployment. To proletariat's Marxist-Leninist Party consciously guides the mobilization of all possible labor-power to participate in the gigantic tasks ahead. To accomplish socialist transformation in a country like Korea where industrially advanced means of production had to be newly build on a semi-feudal economic base, it would not do for 50% of the labor-power to be confined to the kitchen and household. The most important aspect of one's life in socialist society is that which is spent in productive labor. The socially necessary tasks of household maintenance and child-rearing which women have hitherto born individually and in isolation must now be socialized, collectivized. Only when the women are liberated from the burdens of housework are they able to take part in the life of society to the fullest and receive equal remuneration as men receive for their work. By 1971 in socialist Korea, womenpower accounted for 45.5% of the industrial and 60% of the agricultural workforce, indicating that the traditional barriers that prevent women from entering the labor force have been gradually dissolving.

In 1950 the U.S. imperialists, under the U.N. flag, launched a war of aggression against the young D.P.R.K. in an attempt to destroy the newly established socialist system. It was their long term strategy to subjugate Korea with the aid of the running dog comprador bourgeoisie and to turn Korea into a launching pad for war against the major socialist power in Asia, the People's Republic of China. Relying primarily upon their own efforts, i.e. putting into practice the JUCHE idea of Kim Il Sung, the Korean People's Army assisted by the Chinese People's Volunteers beat back the U.S. aggressors. The 1953 Armistice agreements divided Korea at the 38th parallel, but not before the U.S. had almost totally devastated the northern half of Korea by bombing. The U.S. imperialists declared that it would take over a hundred years for North Korea to recover from the effects of their wanton acts of destruction. Never to be defeated, the heroic Korean people, in a handful of years rebuilt anew Pyongyang, the capital city, even greater and more beautiful than before. The entire countryside and all the towns have been reconstructed and today there is no sign of the devastation wrought by the war of aggression. "The difficult and complex task of industrialization which took capitalist countries a full century and even a few centuries has been creditably accomplished in our country in 14 years." (Kim Il Sung, Report to 5th Party Congress) Korea is now the most industrially advanced of all the socialist countries.

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THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

By unfolding the technical revolution Korea has become, in the words of Kim Il Sung, a "socialist industrial state possessed of modern industry and developed agriculture." The process of socialist industrialization has depended upon producing the means of production, primarily machine-building or heavy industry, while at the same time developing light industry, such as the foodstuffs processing and manufacture of commodities. At the same time a rural technical revolution has progressed in the fields of irrigation, fertilization, with the total electrification of the countryside.

At the Fifth Congress of the Workers Party of Korea held in 1971, Kim Il Sung outlined the three major tasks of the technical revolution in the coming period. "...Distinctions between heavy and light labor still remain and heat affected labor and harmful labor have not been eliminated in our country. There is a big disparity between industrial and agricultural labor and the women who account for one half of the population have not yet been freed from household burdens completely.

"We should unfold an extensive technical innovation movement in industry and agriculture and all other branches of the national economy to narrow down the distinctions between heavy and light labor and between agricultural and industrial work to a considerable extent and free the women from the heavy burdens of household chores. These are precisely the three major tasks of the technical revolution we should fulfill in a few years ahead.... One of the important tasks we should fulfill is to carry out a technical revolution to deliver women from the burdens of kitchen and household work."

"Our Party has not only accomplished the social emancipation of the women but also made untiring efforts to provide better conditions for them to launch forth in wide realms of public life. Under the deep solicitude of the Party our women are now making positive contribution to the revolutionary struggle and constructive work as proud masters of the country.

"But still today our women have to devote much time to household work while they are engaged in public activities side by side with men. Accordingly, they are under the double burdens of public activities and domestic affairs. We should give profound concern to the technical revolution to extricate the women from household chores and further enhance their role in the revolution and construction.

"The most important task in lightening kitchen work of the women is to bring about a fresh innovation in the foodstuff industry. The processing of various kinds of subsidiary food should be extensively developed and the processing of staple food widely arranged so that all the foodstuffs may be processed by industrial methods and supplied for the women to prepare food shortly and easily at home.

"While developing the foodstuff industry, we must produce and supply a large quantity of domestic refrigerators, washing machines, electric cooking pots and various other kitchen utensils so that women need not spend much time in kitchen work and household chores.

"When all these tasks of the technical revolution are filled with success the entire working people of our country will be freed from toilsome labor-consuming and inefficient work and attain high labor productivity while doing their work safely and easily and their life will become more affluent." (Kim Il Sung)

There are two methods of combatting the unequal division of labor that cripples women's social life: (1) on the ideological front, the male supremacist thinking that says that women's place is in the home doing the chores and that women's work is women's problem. These concepts have rapidly declined in Korean society. Such backward ideas are bound to mangle on like a dying man but they can by no means prevail as before. But if this problem is fought out simply as an ideological problem or is regarded merely as a question of incorrect ideas, this unequal division of labor will never be overcome. That is one aspect of it, but unless the situation is attacked (2) at the material root, the ideological struggle that goes on to make people view housework and childrearing as social functions would be merely fighting the symptoms, not the material,



Refrigerators assembled by workers will greatly contribute to freeing women from heavy burdens of household chores

economic basis of unequal division of labor. The Korean people's revolutionary state, under the guidance of the Workers Party, is correctly handling the contradiction by creating the material conditions that allow women to dispose of their household and family burdens. Backward ideas in the minds of men, to whatever degree they might still exist, are not allowed to interfere with women's life as full citizens of a socialist society. In addition to providing modern appliances and household conveniences to lighten the labor of chores, the Koreans have undertaken the building of socialized services such as public kitchens attached to every factory where women work and an extensive system of creches and kindergartens.

In June 1958 a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party adopted a resolution calling for the construction of local industry "through a mass popular movement (to) mobilize all local potential power and material resources and build at least one local factory in every city or county" (Kim Il Sung). Thus, the even development of the national economy would be promoted and the contradiction between the city and the countryside in which the urban areas were dependent upon the rural areas for agricultural produce and the countryside totally reliant upon urban industry for commodities they could otherwise produce for themselves. Unless industry were decentralized the proletarianization of the peasantry would be slowed down and the socialist economic growth retarded to a snail's pace. The masses, particularly the women, responded well to this call and throughout the nation local factories of all types mushroomed. Today 2,000 local factories produce 50,000 varieties of goods.

Many women did not wait for the Party to find work for them but organized themselves displaying great initiative and determination to free themselves from the confinement of the household. As reported by a Chinese Journalists' Delegation that toured Korea from April-June, 1971: "18 housewives of Sariwon City determined to build a mill. They went everywhere to find bricks, tiles, and stone, and built the workshops themselves. Their first building leaned to one side, so they pulled it down and began again. They brought their children to the construction site and ate and slept there for several months, till they had built the workshops at last. They started out with 8 sewing machines and had looms which they brought from their homes and soon turned out their first products—hats and grass-cloth. Every year they have over-fulfilled their production plans, and today their mill is a modern state owned enterprise with over 200 workers. Seventy percent of these women in white handkerchiefs, skillfully tending machines, had been working in their homes until recently." (The Heroic Korean People, FLP, 1972)

The same delegation also reported on the leadership of women in the movement to localize industry in Changsong, Korea: "Six housewives in Changsong decided to set up a factory. Using available facilities, they installed two old-fashioned looms in one of their homes and began weaving. Output was low at the start, the six women producing only a few metres of cloth in a whole day but gradually they increased their output, then more women came in and the workshop proved inadequate. In July 1959, the women began building more workshops with their own hands. They vied with each other in digging earth, mixing mud, carrying stones in the heat of summer, and after a month's hard work, they had a new factory. Meantime, they opened up a field to grow raw materials and they did all the planting and reaping. Next they went to improve their technical equipment and soon they had practically mechanized the whole factory... The mill has now developed from two simple looms to a combined textile and garment works. Recalling its growth a woman in its leading body said proudly: "In the old days the Changsong people had to walk a long distance to buy an inch of cloth. Now our one plant can supply not only the needs of the whole county but also department stores in Singulgu and P'yongyang." (HKP)

In early 1970 the women of Sariwon City began building a flavor-essence factory which they completed all by themselves, including construction and installation of machinery. It was finished in time to present it as a gift at the Fifth Party Congress of the Workers Party of Korea. Today its annual output of flavor essence is 10 tons. The plant head, a woman of course, told the Chinese journalist delegation: "In the process of building a factory and in production, the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance is fostered, women are freed from household chores, the ranks of the workingclass cadres and technical personnel are trained in production." (HKP)



Workers of the June 1 Factory who carried out successfully their two-year assignments of the Six-Year Plan are fulfilling twice their daily assembling quotas in the production of electric appliances needed for machine tools



As part of the technical revolution a mass campaign has unfolded to enable every woman to master at least one technique (skill). The Democratic Women's Union organizes technical studies among women so that every woman will be equipped with technical knowledge at the level of a skilled worker. All women, even the aged, are assured of a general education and are able to acquire a technique or skill that will enable them to engage in productive labor outside the home. Thus, earning their own livelihood on the principle of equal pay for equal work, the women are no longer economically dependent on their husbands.

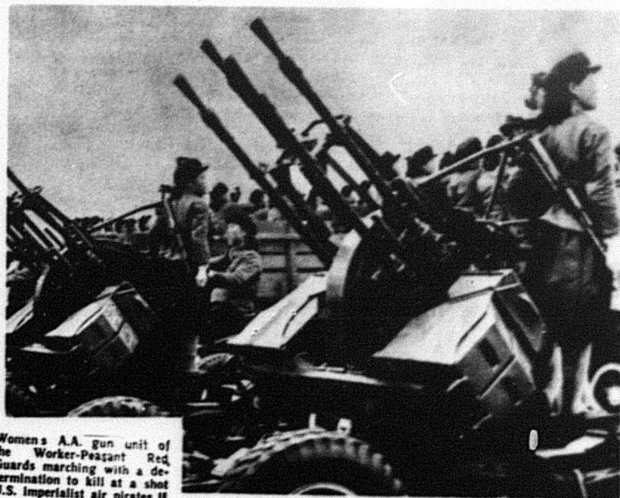
Under the socialist system the laboring people are no longer exploited. Work is not regarded as drudgery but is considered honorable activity. The alienation of modern wage slavery has been eliminated. Women workers are free to actively participate in the productive process and to improve efficiency by experimenting with new methods and improving machinery. All over the country women are in the vanguard of the collective technical innovation movement as model labor heroines, racing ahead at Chollima speed to fulfill and overfulfill the current Six-year Plan. Everywhere they are displaying the bold, creative genius of the proletariat.

KOREAN WOMEN DEFEND THEIR SOCIALIST SYSTEM

As a result of the U.S. war of aggression against the D.P.R.K. and the continual threats and provocations of the imperialists since that time, the Korean national economy has been forced to develop unevenly. Let us not forget the "EC-131" large-size spy plane and the Pueblo spy ship incidents, and, even though the Korean people dealt a heavy blow against U.S. imperialism's diabolical plans of subjugating their country, they did succeed in severing the southern half of Korea. In a desperate frenzy the U.S. imperialists wantonly bombed the D.P.R.K. in such heavy air assaults that not one building or factory was left standing and not one stock animal was left alive. In the face of their defeat the U.S. monsters exacted a heavy toll of the Korean homeland in vicious destructive raids that have only been matched by their desperate bombing of North Viet Nam. The U.S. imperialists predicted that the Korean people would not get back on their feet for another hundred years. Much to the imperialists' consternation, they have rebuilt their liberated country in 6-7 years.

In order to ensure the existence of the Korean socialist state, the Korean people have had to develop a tremendous national defense system and strongly promote defense industry above all. Without advanced national defense capacity the Korean people would be trampled upon again. At the Fifth Party Congress, Kim Il Sung explained the necessity for a strong national defense system: "Our national defense power has been gained at a very large and dear price. Frankly speaking our spending on national defense have been too heavy a burden for us in the light of the small size of the country and its population. Had even a part of the nation's defense spendings been diverted to economic construction, our national economy would have developed more rapidly and the living standard of our people have improved much more. But the situation never allowed us to do so. We could not throw to the winds the fundamental interests of the revolution to seek a temporary comfort nor did we want to become a stateless people again. We saw to it that much effort was directed to augmenting the defense power to perfect the defense of the fatherland even though it greatly impeded the economic development of the country and the betterment of the people's living." (Report)

Korean women played an active, militant role in the liberation of their country, performing many valourous deeds in the national resistance struggle. Today they are not only producers but also staunch defenders of their socialist system. The entire people are mobilized and very well prepared to beat back any aggressor who dares to intrude north of the 38th parallel. We can get some idea of the degree of military organization from the Chinese journalists who report "The Heroic Korean People" already cited from. This is what they saw throughout Korea: "Wide-awake armed women Red Guards stood sentry at the gate of each factory and workshop we visited in Huichon and Guson (far from the capital). In Gangsong, young women Red Guards do military drill for an hour or two after the days work, in all weathers...When we visited a training corps not far from Pyongyang on the morning of May 6, we were greeted by a com-



Women's A.A. gun unit of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards marching with a determination to kill at a shot U.S. imperialist air pirates if the enemy intrude

pany of women fighters full of go. They gave us a demonstration of A.A. machine-gun shooting...The women fighters live in strict soldier style, attend military and political classes, study the revolutionary practice and military thinking of Comrade Kim Il Sung, learn from the experience gained in the armed struggle against Japan and during the Fatherland Liberation War and study Korea's revolutionary tradition and the Party's policies...We saw former woman soldiers training young women A.A. gunners at a naval base on the eastern coast...We also saw the women's bayonet practice as they vented their hatred on Yankee dummies."

The women who acquitted themselves so well during the war of national liberation against Japan and again during the war against U.S. aggression and performed so many heroic deeds are very conscious of maintaining a high degree of revolutionary vigilance. Today they are well prepared to cope with a war. The Democratic Women's Union has instructed its members, "...never be captivated by the pacifistic mood and put up a powerful struggle against infiltration of the ideological war-phobe revisionism in our ranks. Women must apply themselves to learning production techniques and methods of management and operation and take an active part in the Worker-Peasant Red Guards so that they may take the place of men once a war breaks out, and run their factories and co-operative farms to ensure the war-time production and defend firmly their villages and working places. The Women's Union organizations must widely organize among the women the work of helping the People's Army and their families." (Kim Song Ae, Report on the Work of the C.C. to the 4th Congress of the K.D.W.U., 1971)

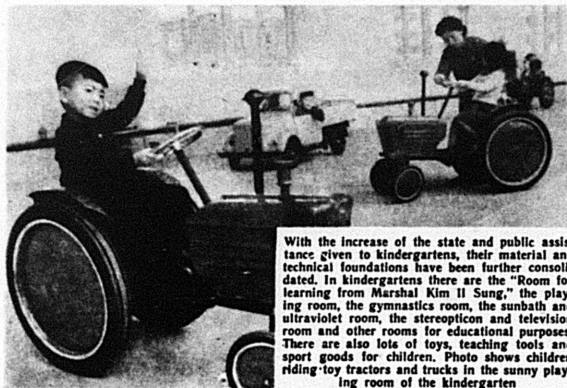
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

In Korea, the organ of people's revolutionary political power at the lowest levels are called the "people's committees" and at the highest level the Supreme People's Assembly, to which deputies are democratically elected. Women participate in the state power with full political rights to elect and be elected. Two years ago more than 36,900 women were deputies at all levels of the people's power organs throughout the country, announced Ryu Un Bo, vice-chairman of the C.C. of the Democratic Women's Union on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the historic Sex Equality Law. Like the other socialist states, the percentage of women is greater in the organs at the lower levels—in the factories, collective farms, and neighborhoods—than at the highest state and diplomatic level. There are currently 113 women deputies on the Supreme People's Assembly. This new quality of the still young socialist system, in which women take equal responsibility with men in running the state though not equal in number, is bound to transform itself into a greater quantitative representation of women on the leadership bodies in the gradual process of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Koreans refer to the process of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat as "workingclassization." Part of the workingclassization of all society is the revolutionization of the thinking of women, uprooting and supplanting the old out-moded ideas that still persist in people's minds, including the women's, and especially the older women who spent most of their lives in the old society. Ideas of women's inferiority, laziness in study, selfish isolation in the home and preference for the life of a housewife must be replaced with proletarian ideology.

Foodstuff processing factories, factory shops, laundries, rice-cooking kitchens and family restaurants have been built in every place where women work. Refrigerators and other household appliances are also being produced which greatly alleviate the daily household drudgery that falls upon women's shoulders. The solution to the problem of housework does not lie in motivating men to share the burdens "equally" with women. The enlightened and socialist-minded men will not need to be coaxed into sharing the chores that are considered women's work. And of course, the ideological struggle against the ingrained habits like women doing all the housework must not be abandoned, but the main solution to the problem lies in changing the material conditions that give rise to an unequal division of labor.

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With the increase of the state and public assistance given to kindergartens, their material and technical foundations have been further consolidated. In kindergartens there are the "Room for learning from Marshal Kim Il Sung," the playing room, the gymnastics room, the sunbath and ultraviolet room, the stereopticon and television room and other rooms for educational purposes. There are also lots of toys, teaching tools and sport goods for children. Photo shows children riding toy tractors and trucks in the sunny playing room of the kindergarten.

CHILDCARE AND FAMILY

All mothers receive 77 days paid maternity leave at the time of childbirth. For women with three or more children, the workday is shortened to 6 hours for 8 hours pay. Women, whose lives are so closely intertwined with that of their children, are taking a keen interest in bringing up their children in the new proletarian style. To a large extent the degree of their own class consciousness and desire to establish the socialist way of life determines how fast the education of their children will progress. Women must see the superiority of socialized childcare and volunteer their children to be brought up in the care of the state. This, in turn, enables women to get out of the home and broaden the horizon of their social life. The education of children of the creche and kindergarten age is still a matter of women's concern. The education of children is a social function of the state but children are primarily women's problem since it is they who bear them and to whom they are closely related in early life. So it is women themselves who are solving this great social question, thus liberating themselves from individualized childcare and educating their children to be continuators of the revolution. One hundred percent of nursery school teachers are women.

The Democratic Women's Union itself supervises the movement for the establishment and running of creches and kindergartens and manages children's education. In 1971, 2,500,000 children were being brought up in creches and kindergartens at public expense, and the goal is for all children to be brought up by the state. The Women's Union has organized over 93,000 "mothers schools" for the education of women to enable them to protect their health and to bring up their children healthily. The Women's Union organizations and women, upholding the policy advanced by the Leader, must take a more active part than others in building up maternity facilities and pediatric wards and intensify the organizational and political work to conduct this work in an all people movement." (Kim Song Ae)

Now a few words about the family in Korean society. The pre-revolutionary family in Korea was patriarchal and oppressive to women. In the past a woman so unfortunate as not to bear any children, or who did not produce a son, could be divorced by her husband in favor of another. The national oppression suffered by the Korean people at the hands of the Japanese combined with the class oppression of the peasantry by the rich landlords created conditions in the poor peasant family in which peasant women experienced a more genuine equality than the privileged wives of the landed gentry could hope to experience with their husbands who regarded them as sexual playthings and frivolous beings. This was an equality in hardship and labor and revolutionary struggle.

The Korean family today is truly monogamous in content, with freedom of marital choice assured to everyone. No woman can be coerced into marriage, divorced at a whim, or discriminated against if she chooses to remain single. For the first time, marriage is a truly democratic institution assuring equality for wives while still retaining its enlarged clannish character. Quite simply, Kim Il Sung defines the role of the family in Korean society: "A family is a cell of our society in which one's nearest kith and kin—parents, wife, and children, brothers and sisters—live together." (On the Work of the Women's Union) The family still has a role in Korean life and it is the revolutionized family which the state advocates. The people are often described as belonging to one big Red Family. Kim Il Sung's own family, which played a prominent role in the early stages of the Korean revolution, is put forward as the model of a revolutionary family. In Korean literature Kim Il Sung is often referred to in terms of grand eloquent endearment that bring to mind the dangers of cult-of-the-personality. We must be aware that the terms "Fatherly Leader, etc. are not meant in a patriarchal sense, because in fact, no patriarchal privilege exists. In Korea the family possesses a new content. There is a movement to revolutionize family relations and to rebuild all Korean society as one big Red Family without Male Supremacy.

The symbol of Korea today, advancing so swiftly along the road of socialist construction, is the mythical winged horse, Chollima, bearing on its back a man and woman. Never again will women be written out of Korean history for they have won their seat on the back of Chollima in the course of national liberation and socialist construction. There is no power strong enough, not even U.S. imperialism or modern revisionism, which can unhorse the Chollima heroines who fought side by side with their men and alongside each other as sister-comrades to overthrow imperialist domination and the old exploiting society.

KOREAN DEMOCRATIC WOMENS UNION

The Democratic Women's Union has played a leading role in elevating the status of women in Korean society. It conducts its work as a "transmission belt of the Party," a mass organization of the broad sections of women under the guidance of the Workers Party of Korea. The Democratic Women's Union belongs to the Women's International Democratic Federation, the revisionists' women's front, and, to this date, the Workers Party of Korea still officially recognizes the Soviet Union as socialist. When the struggles between two lines in the International Communist Movement broke out in the W.I.D.F. at the 1963 World Congress of Women, the Korean women's delegation blocked with the Viet Namese, Chinese, Albanian, and other Asian and African women in protest against the revisionist manipulations of the proceedings and was denied the right to fully express their viewpoint. Marxist-Leninists are confident that the Korean Workers Party and women, as well as the Viet Namese Workers Party and women, will soon break completely with the Soviet modern revisionists.

The basis for a total break with Soviet social-imperialism, the biggest revisionists in the history of the communist movement, must come about, as it inevitably will, as a result of the internal struggle between two lines in the Workers Party and Women's Union. From the latest documents of the Democratic Women's Union, the Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Fourth Congress of the Korean Democratic Women's Union by Kim Song Ae, we can observe this struggle as it is taking place. In part,

"In the past, the Women's Union was in an unsubstantial state; it existed only in name and had nothing particular to do. Its organizational system, too, was in such a state that there were only upper organs as a matter of form, with no lower organizations to speak of, and that even the existing Women's Union organizations, failing to conduct their activities independently, were dissolved in other social organizations to serve them. No small number of leading Women's Union functionaries were infected with revisionism and flunkism and did not faithfully execute the Party's lines and policies and carried on their work for appearance's sake, only attending internal conferences.

"...In order to make the Women's Union a working, living organization, a revolutionary organization with strong militancy, we re-organized its organizational system on revolutionary lines as befits the political organization of workingwomen in a socialist society, readjusted its ranks and laid a well-regulated system of the Union work from the Central Committee to primary organizations. And we newly created the principle slogan, flag, and badge of the Women's Union, issued the Union membership cards to the entire Union membership and established strict system and discipline in all fields of the Union's organizational work including affiliation and procedure of transfer. As a result, the Women's Union has come to develop into a monolithic revolutionary organization guided by the principle of democratic centralism and carries out its revolutionary tasks more satisfactorily.

"The basic duty of the Women's Union is to educate all the women of our country in a revolutionary way to rally them firmly around the Party and the Leader and organize and mobilize them energetically to the revolutionary struggle and constructive work. We corrected the wrong tendency to regard the Women's Union as an organization of cultural enlightenment, put main emphasis on the political and ideological education of the women in the work of the Women's Union and carried on intensive ideological education in various forms and methods suitable to the specific features of the working women in socialist society.

"Especially, after the historic 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, the struggle for establishing the unitary ideological system of the Party was waged more powerfully in the Women's Union, and a radical change took place in the work of the Women's Union.

"...Once, the revisionist elements manoeuvred viciously to spread Confucian, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies among the women. The revisionist elements preached the corrupt feudal Confucian morality, such as manifested in "A wise mother and good wife" and "Wives should follow husbands" and spread the ideas of indolence and depravity and the American way of life among the women. By so doing they tried to make our women into spiritless beings who would serve only their husbands at home as in old times and, furthermore, to paralyse their revolutionary consciousness and demoralize and degrade them and thus alienate them from the Party and the Leader. But the Women's Union and the women who are always faithful to the Leader smashed in good time the vicious machinations of the revisionist elements. Through the deep-going ideological struggle against the revisionist elements and the ideological virus spread by them, we thoroughly prevented the infiltration among the women of all un-sound ideological trends such as the feudal Confucian ideas, bourgeois ideology and revisionist ideas and firmly defended the purity of the Women's Union in thought and will.

"...During the period under review, in order to revolutionize and workingclassize women the Women's Union established its system of organizational life and waged a virgorous struggle to strengthen the revolutionary organizational life among the women. In the past, the Women's Union did not have regular meetings and there was no system of reviewing the Union life. During the period under review, the Women's Union straightened out such a grave situation being created in the organizational life of the Union, establishing the strict system of conducting the Union meetings and the review of the Union life regularly in the Women's Union at all levels, and saw that all the Union members should always receive assignments from their organizations and strive for their implementation. Thus, we helped the women always to live and temper themselves politically under the guidance and control of the Women's Union organizations.

"While intensifying the revolutionary organizational life among the women, we paid a deep concern to the work of inducing all women to learn from Mrs. Kang Ban Sok, an outstanding pioneer of the Korean women's movement and an ardent female revolutionary. We set up well-furnished mothers' schools in the primary organizations of the Women's Union and carried on systematic education on the revolutionary traditions among the women with the mothers' schools as the bases and gave wide publicity to the brilliant life and revolutionary activities of Mrs. Kang Ban Sok through various forms of training courses and lecture meetings. Particularly, the Women's Union organizations vigorously conducted among the women a drive for reading 100 times the book 'Let Us Learn from Mrs. Kang Ban Sok, thus enabling all the women to copy the ardent revolutionary spirit of Mrs. Kang Ban Sok and her noble character.

"It was very important in revolutionizing and workingclassing women to root out individualism and selfishness still remaining in them. In the past, not a few women were infected with selfish ideas which were manifested in placing the interests of individuals and their own families above those of society and collective and merely seeking a comfortable family life in utter indifference to the revolutionary work; they were in such a backward state as to be contented with attending on their husbands and rearing children at home. We could not bring up women into real revolutionaries without thoroughly uprooting the survivals of such obsolete ideologies found in them.

"In order to root out individualism and selfishness persisting in the women, the Women's Union organizations set the communist pattern among them and generalized it widely, while waging a vigorous ideological struggle against the survivals of obsolete ideologies. In this way, we saw to it that women should arm themselves with the collectivist spirit of placing the interests of society and collective above their personal interests and valuing the general economic life of the country more than their family life.

"...The Women's Union functionaries must study and study hard to become the genuine revolutionary soldiers of the Leader and creditably carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned to them. The Women's Union workers must under any circumstances study more than two hours every day and participate without exception in the process of collective studies organized by the Party and Women's Union organizations. In this way, all the Women's Union functionaries must study and get acquainted with the Leader's teachings and the Party's policies in wider and deeper dimensions, acquire a deep knowledge on political, economic, cultural, military, and all other spheres and be proficient in the work assigned to them.

"The Women's Union organizations must strictly establish a trait of studying among the cadres, thoroughly guide and supervise their studies and fight sharply against the practice of neglecting studies. Saturday study circles and lecture meetings for cadres should be normally organized and undertaken on a high level, and all the Women's Union functionaries must, without exception, take part in the one-month training course conducted on a Party-wide scale.

"We must send those among the Women's Union cadres who have not undergone systematic education to training institutions of all levels for re-education. We must also establish a proper system of individual education for cadres under which cadres at upper units educate their subordinates at lower units, who, in their turn, educate their subordinates at yet lower units and thus all cadres educate others while getting themselves educated at all times.

"Object lessons and education through practice are one of the important methods of improving the qualifications of the cadres. While educating and training the functionaries assiduously through practical work, we must acquaint them with the methods of work one by one by creating an example and organizing widely the methodological lectures for its generalization.

"The organizational life of the Women's Union constitutes one of the most important means of increasing its fighting capacity and revolutionizing and workingclassing the women. Only by deepening the organizational life of the Union can the Women's Union organiz-



Delegates having a conversation at a foyer

ations become active and live ones, carrying out successfully the revolutionary tasks facing them and train the women politically and ideologically. To tighten the organizational life of the Union is, after all, the master key and starting point in solving all the problems concerning the work of the Women's Union.

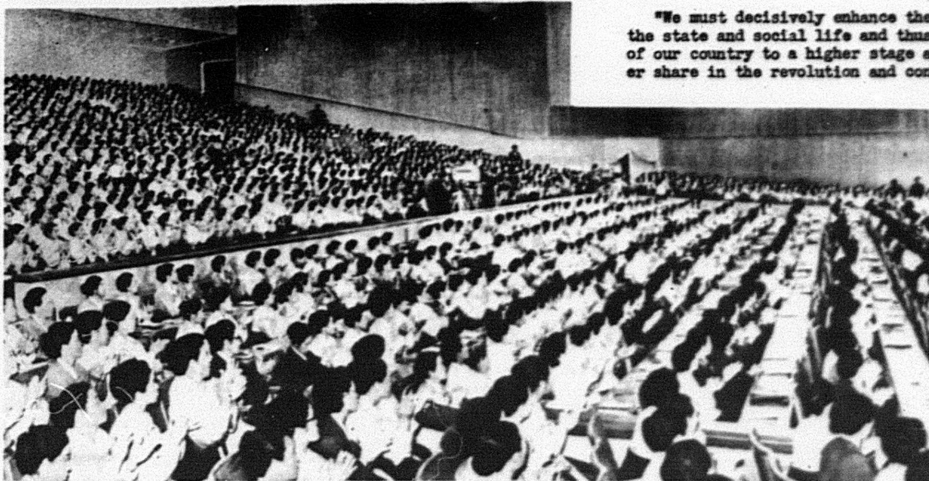
"...What is most important of all in strengthening the organizational life of the Women's Union is to increase among its members a sense of honor in leading it. The organizational life of the Women's Union is the political life and revolutionary activities of the Women's Union members. The Women's Union members participate in the socio-political life and continue their political life through the organizational life of the Women's Union. The Women's Union organizations are called upon to bring home to the Women's Union members that the organizational life of the Union is just the political activities and political life, so that each of them may bear deep in mind a sense of pride and honour in being a member of the Women's Union organization founded by the respected and beloved Leader and participate consciously in the organizational life of the Union. The Women's Union members must set store by the political life like the Women's Association members who were true to the revolutionary organizational life in the period of the Anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and must strive hard to participate faithfully in the organizational life of the Union according to the norm of the Women's Union life.

"...The practice of criticism, however, is now very much weakened in the organizational life of the Women's Union. So small number of women are reluctant to accept criticism and afraid of offering it on others. To dislike criticism and fear to offer criticism is the expression of petty-bourgeois ideology. We must do away with such wrong ideological viewpoint on criticism and see that the organizational life of the Women's Union should be led in an atmosphere of strong criticism.

"...The women's movement is not one estranged from the social life but it forms a link in the general social movement. Therefore, the work of the Women's Union and all the activities of women must be linked up with the general social life and directed to the development of the general social movement. Our aim of strengthening the inner work of the Union is, after all, to push ahead with our revolutionary struggle and construction work more vigorously by enhancing the role of the women in the state and social life.

"In the past period the role of the women in the state and social life has risen markedly but it still falls far short of the Party's demand. Not a few women are still kept homebound and even the women who have entered the public life cannot work as well as men. At present the sphere of women's activity is not so broad, well-known public figures are small in number among our women and there are not many women masters and doctors.

"We must decisively enhance the role of women in all spheres of the state and social life and thus develop the women's movement of our country to a higher stage and help women to fulfill a larger share in the revolution and construction." (Kim Song Ae)



The attendants of the Congress



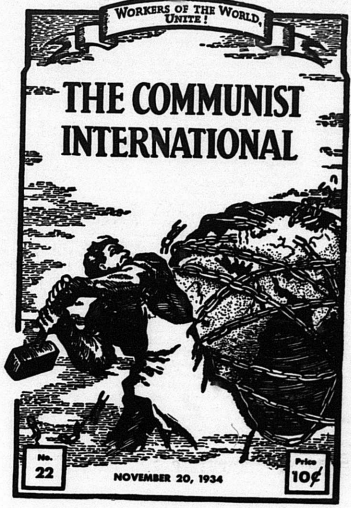
Comrade Kim Song Ae making the report on the work of the Central Committee to the Fourth Congress of the KDWU

STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO LINES - THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

PART THREE

1. WHAT IS THE THIRD PERIOD ?

As the Second World Depression breaks upon us, the workingclass movement finds renewed interest in studying the experience of the first world depression, beginning with the "great crash" in 1929. What is really under discussion here is in fact the Third Period. The Third Period, generally understood as running between the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928 and the Seventh World Congress in 1935, is actually extended up to the breaking out of the second imperialist world war and the subsequent anti-fascist war, and in Asia, the beginning of the epoch of people's wars of national liberation, continuing up to the present day. We cite a basic writing of this period, produced under the supervision, and used by the sections of the Comintern to clarify what we mean by the Third Period:



"The years since the imperialist war fall into three periods. The first postwar years 1918-21 were a period of the sharp disintegration of the entire capitalist system and of fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, going over in a number of countries to open civil wars. As a result of the destruction caused by the war, the tremendous losses in life and material values, the economic ruin reached unparalleled proportions. All the contradictions of capitalism were brought to a point. The dissatisfaction of the masses, who found themselves stranded in the same old misery, was tremendous. The Central European countries flared in the fires of civil war. A Soviet republic was set up in Hungary in 1919, lasting several months, and one in Bavaria held out several weeks. In 1920-21 a deep economic crisis gripped the capitalist countries causing the contradictions to become even more acute.

"Soviet Russia during these years was repelling the attacks of the united forces of the Russian whiteguards and the international bourgeoisie. The Civil War ended in the victory and consolidation of the Soviet power, all attempts at intervention set with defeat at the hands of the iron force of the invincible proletarian revolution. The Communist International - the military staff of the world revolution - was established. For the first time in many capitalist countries, Communist parties arose, which unfurled the flag of revolutionary socialism which had been stamped into the dust and steeped in blood by the traitors to socialism from the Second International.

"With the help of the traitorous Social-Democracy, the bourgeoisie succeeded in repelling the attacks of the revolutionary proletariat and breaking down its resistance in a number of countries. In 1923 the German bourgeoisie succeeded in again inflicting defeat on the revolutionary proletariat in that country. In that year the German bourgeoisie, on the one hand, in the victory of the Soviet power in the USSR and, on the other hand, in the temporary defeat of the West European proletariat.

"After inflicting defeat on the working class, the West European bourgeoisie took the offensive. Thus, the second period began - the period of the gradual advent of partial stabilization in capitalist countries. A certain amount of 'reconstruction' necessitated by the havoc left by the World War, took place in the capitalist camp. On the other hand, this period was a period of the rapid reconstruction of the national economy of the USSR and of the most vital successes of socialist construction...

"...Partial stabilization of capitalism could only be temporary, tottering, rotten. It could only succeed in deadening the effect of some of the contradictions of contemporary capitalism for a very short time indeed, as it is absolutely unable to solve these contradictions. On the contrary, these contradictions have made themselves felt more and more sharply from year to year...

"...Together with the temporary stabilization of capitalism, the reconstruction of the economy of the Soviet Union forged ahead with giant strides; the deep wounds inflicted on the economy of the country by the imperialist war and the civil war that followed were healed in a comparatively short time, independently and without recourse to any outside aid. The consolidation and growth of the power of the Soviet Union deepened the general crisis of capitalism and render it more acute.

"The colonial countries, exploited by the imperialists, rise in a struggle against their exploiters. The revolution in China, regardless of temporary setbacks, does not let the imperialists rest. The revolutionary movement in India and other colonies of British and French capital continue to grow. The contradictions between the imperialist countries increase and become sharper. The transformation of the world's economic centre to America, the transformation of the USA into a world exploiter, greater sharpening the relations between the American and the European, primarily the British, bourgeoisie...

"The third period of the postwar general crisis of capitalism arrives. This period is characterized by the sharpening of the basic contradictions of contemporary capitalism... The third period in the development of the general crisis of capitalism is the period of the shattering of the partial and temporary stabilization of capitalism under the circumstances of the world economic crisis that began in 1929 and shook the entire economy of the capitalist countries to its very foundations, the end of capitalist stabilization, finally arrives...

"...Even at the time of partial stabilization, the CPSU and the Comintern foresaw the inevitability of the advent of a new crisis. They based themselves on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist analysis of the inner contradictions which inevitably develop in modern capitalism. In his report to the 15th Congress of the CPSU in December 1927, Stalin emphasized that "From stabilization is born the growing crisis of capitalism."

(from "Political Economy" by A. Leontiev, Indian ed.)

To further define the precise question put forward before the workers of all countries by the first world depression, and that, raised again today in the second world depression, we ask the readers to bear with us as we cite yet another series of quotations from the much-neglected, but extremely important Third Period writing, "Fascism and Social Revolution" by R. Palme Dutt, originally published in 1934, with the sub-heading "A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay".

"In order to get closer to the true character of Fascism, it is necessary to go deeper, to see Fascism in relation to the whole character of modern social development, of which Fascism is an expression and reflection, and above all to get

THE COMMUNIST



Demonstrate February 26th

THIRD PERIOD

down to the basic movement and driving forces of economy and technique, of which the social and political forms, including Fascism, are only the reflection.

"Such an examination will reveal beyond dispute that the modern development of technique and productive powers had reached a point at which the existing capitalist forms are more and more incompatible with the further development of production and utilization of technique. There is war between them, increasingly violent and open since 1914, and entering into a new and extreme stage in the world economic crisis and its outcome. This basic conflict underlies all the social and political problems of the present period, and in particular the advance of capitalism to Fascist forms.

"Only two paths are in fact open before present society at the existing stage.

One is to endeavor to maintain at all costs the existing class domination at the expense of the requirements of productive development as well as at the expense of all human cultural values. This means in practice to strangle the powers of production, to retard technical development, to destroy material and human forces, to crush the development of ideas and thought, and to concentrate the entire society on organization for war, leading in turn to still greater destruction and decay. This is the path of Fascism, the path to which the bourgeoisie in all the modern countries where it rules is increasingly turning, the path of human decay.

The other alternative is to organize the new productive forces as social forces, as the common wealth of the entire existing society for the rapid and enormous raising of the material basis of society, the destruction of poverty, ignorance and disease and of class and national separations, the animated carrying forward of science and culture, and the organization of the world communist society in which all human

beings will for the first time be able to reach full stature and play their part in the collective development of the future humanity. This is the path of Communism, the path to which the working masses are the living representatives of the productive forces and whose victory over capitalist class domination can alone achieve the realization of this path, and which opens up unmeasured possibilities for the future development of the human race."

Thus, we see that the Third Period is directly relevant to the general crisis we are in today, like the thirties, the twenties signal the beginning of a period of extreme decay in all the capitalist countries, where the basic productive forces of society, especially the working population itself, are being purposely destroyed by the ruling-class and their state machinery, in one way or another. Most of the cities are rotting to the core, while billions are either speculated away into heaps of paper "values" or shot away to the moon, or burned away in millions of tons of bombs and military equipment splashed in Indochina. Now, the basic defeat of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam, and the rise to immense importance of the People's Republic of China, on the basis of the great internal unity and energy developed in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, shatters the entire postwar arrangement between the US imperialists and the rest of the capitalist world. They must rearm the working populations of their "own" countries, the last remaining major source of wealth besides the colonially-oppressed nations and peoples, which are more and more standing up guns in hand against the imperialists, fascists, and comprador big bourgeoisie.

The fact that the Comintern in the Third Period accumulated the most useful experience, both positive and negative, for our struggle today, summarized in the official documents of the Comintern and its parties, and by prominent Comintern writers, such as Leontiev and R.P. Dutt, among others, has escaped the attention of most of the would-be anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist forces today. Nevertheless, the Comintern's formulations of the Third Period, most sharply expressed in the Programme drafted in the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928, the first and only program adopted by the Communist International, a document of equal importance to the period as the Communist Manifesto was to the time of Marx and Engels, have not escaped the attention of the modern revisionists, Trotskyites, Centrists, and various other political tendencies that have arisen in this period.

Basing ourselves on Chairman Mao's dictum that "to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing," we offer now a series of "criticisms" and discussions of the Third Period, hoping that this also will arouse the attention of the Marxist-Leninist Communist tendencies to its importance. Following this we will make our own assessment of the Third Period and its implications for today in relation to the most important overall problems we face in this country.

2. HOW THE REVISIONISTS VIEW THE THIRD PERIOD

The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists have made their own assessment of the Third Period, and like the Trotskyites, they too see "ultra-leftism" and "sectarianism" and sweeping from every pore of the Comintern from the Sixth World Congress and on for at least half a decade. Although the struggle of the Communist International against Trotskyism was of particular importance in the Third Period, the Soviet revisionists look to the Trotskyites today for ideological "ammunition" to attack the Third Period, its progress, strategy, and tactics.

The most important single example of this is the "Outline History of the Communist International" published in Moscow 1970, prepared under the direct supervision of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique's so-called "Institute of Marxist-Leninism" and published in a number of languages for use in the Soviet revisionist-dominated "communist parties". This book mixes in a certain amount of genuinely revolutionary quotations with a great deal of vile slanders against Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, as well as their revisionist, liquidationist reactionary criticisms, called "re-evaluations" of the most important practical and theoretical experience of the Comintern.

In a section called "Problems of United-Front tactics in 1927-1928", they open their series of attacks against the Third Period line with an attack on the Comintern line and general slogan of "class against class":

"...the accelerated rate of progress of socialist construction in the USSR, the growing militancy and improved organization of the labour movement in the capitalist countries, the heightening of inter-imperialist antagonisms created among some Communist a climate of opinion which tended to regard the temporary stabilization of capitalism as having outlived itself; they believed that the end would come at any moment, that this would signify the complete collapse of the whole capitalist system and that the conditions for the rapid speeding up of the revolutionary process were already ripe. In these circumstances many revisionists considered that the national bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries and semi-colonies, the national bourgeoisie in the colonies and semi-colonies. This tendency found expression in definite modifications of the Comintern's policy towards Social-Democracy... Thus, a new tactic was gradually evolved in the Comintern, which

subsequently became known officially as the "class-versus-class" tactic. The new tactic emerging from the sharpened class struggle was aimed at counteracting the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeois parties, and stepping up the fight against the Social-Democrat policy of compromise by the creation of a united front of the working class. The "class-versus-class" tactic was designed, as the Communists believed, to strengthen the class-consciousness of the proletariat, make it still more independent of the bourgeoisie and more fighting-fit..."

Isn't it amazing how the revisionists write off the very fundamentals of Marxism, the class struggle itself, as merely some "tactic" the Comintern mistakenly adopted, and they do not hesitate to say that this "tactic", in their opinion, "failed":

"...The sectarianism displayed during the practical application of the "class-versus-class" tactic led, not to united action between Communists and socialists, but to more strained relations with the members of the Social-Democratic organizations. The Social-Democratic parties were regarded as "bourgeois labor parties" or "third parties of the bourgeoisie"...It made it impossible for Communists to vote for candidates of the Social-Democratic and radical parties or form electioneering blocs with them..."

Here the revisionists let the cat out of the bag. What is at stake in their eyes is not that "sectarian tactic" the class struggle, but rather their wretched allotment of parliamentary cretinisms, especially their current phase of alliances with pro-American "socialists", as in France with the "common program", etc.. But they are not simply attacking a tactic, but the basic analysis, the fundamental assumptions on which it is based, particularly, in the case of the Third Period, the Comintern's estimation of the extreme severity of the general crisis, the revolutionary potentials offered by it. Referring to the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International) held in March-April 1931, the revisionists attack Stalin's evaluation of the depression crisis, and the conclusions that were reached from it, without however even mentioning Stalin's name!

"Taking into account only the feeling among the advanced workers and not that of the masses at large, the Comintern and the communist parties believed on insufficient grounds that the working people were less interested in upholding bourgeois-democratic freedoms and would soon take up a stand in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat...The Communists were led to believe by these exaggerated appraisals that the crisis and fascistization in the capitalist countries on the one hand, and the successes of socialism in the Soviet Union on the other, were impelling the working class towards a determined struggle against all forms of capitalist dictatorship, including bourgeois democracy. The Eleventh Plenum linked the struggle of the revolutionary workers for their economic demands and rights against the attacks of reaction and fascism with the task of preparing directly for the socialist revolution.

"Recognition of the need for a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat distinguished every Communist and true revolutionary from the reformists and conciliators. However, the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which held true as the ultimate aim of the workers' struggle, did not meet the very complex and contradictory situation which had arisen during those years in the capitalist world. ...The decisions of the 11th Plenum of the ECCI stated that the entire development of Social-Democracy "is an uninterrupted process of evolution towards fascism". This line was an obstacle in the way of rallying all the anti-fascist forces..."

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution, become, like "class-against-class", merely a "sectarian slogan" which must be dropped--this is not merely a "re-evaluation" of history, but is in fact the orders given by Moscow to every single so-called "communist party" in the world today. We can hardly be surprised that the Soviet revisionists also take issue with the Comintern Third Period line against social-fascism:

"Feelings ran very high among the revolutionary workers following the shooting down of the May Day demonstration in Berlin in 1929 by order of the Social-Democratic President of the City Police, Zoergiebel. Such actions were qualified by the Communists as social-fascism...The social-fascism formula prevented the Communists from taking timely notice of the fact that with the onset of fascism, the Social-Democrats, with the exception of their Right leaders and Right-wing groups, were capable of taking part in the anti-fascist struggle. The social-fascism formula also gave the enemies of the Communists grounds for accusing the communist parties of applying this term to the millions of the rank-and-file of the Social-Democratic parties."

Of course, the Comintern, through the Third Period policy of the "united front from below" and the Red Front (mutual military defense against fascist attacks), always made a distinction between the leadership of the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions, and their rank-and-file. Even when the so-called "socialists" are shooting you down in the street, you are supposed to continue considering them "comrades" in the class struggle! This same logic arises today, as, from India to Italy, the Moscow-line "communist parties" unite with the bourgeois governments against the class struggles of the proletariat, take up the fascist "Zero growth" ideology, and even join the fascist police in murdering the genuine Communists, whom they designate as "extremists", "ultra-



THE
THIRD
PERIOD
IS
THE
PERIOD
OF
THE
FIRST
WORLD
DEPRESSION.



leftists" and "anarchists". Today, they have become the social-fascists, just as their ideological leaders in the Kremlin are social-imperialists, 'socialist' in name, imperialist in fact. The dislike the revisionist historians bear towards what they describe as the "social-fascism formula" is echoed today in the centrist vacillations of the Fosterites, especially the Guardian, which refuse to directly state the facts as they stand--that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, that the Russian imperialist ruling-class is united in a superpower-Axis with U.S. imperialism.

3. OTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THE THIRD PERIOD

The November-December 1972 issue of *Radical America*, dedicated to "Workers' Struggles in the 1930's", mentions the Third Period in the first article entitled "Working Class Militancy in a Depression". Although the article, and the general tendency of the publication and group centered around *Radical America*, can be best described as New Left "workerists", they grudgingly give some credit to the Communist Party in the Third Period, although they look at the question in isolation from the world situation as a whole, socialist construction in the USSR, etc.:

"In the militant Third Period (1928-1934), the Party established dual unions and tried to organize unskilled workers ignored by the AFL in heavy industries like auto and steel and in extractive industries like coal mining and cotton production. They stressed radical politics and inter-racial tactics even in repressive states like Kentucky, Alabama, and California... The ideological aspects of the CP "line" in the Third Period might have been too sectarian or ultra-left for Kentucky miners, Alabama sharecroppers, and California migrants, but many of these workers responded to the Communists' recruiting efforts, even though the recruits worked through dual unions. CP unions failed in the Third Period not merely because their organizers were too sectarian, as the liberals suggest, but because they encountered severe repression and depended too much on outside leadership..."

Aside from their error in completely separating the CP practice of the Third Period from the CP "line", in identifying so-called "outside leadership" as a mistake of the CP at that time, they show how little they have learned from what they call "radical history"!

It is not the "outsiders" but rather the "isolators" who were the main weakness in the class struggles in the Third Period, just as is the case in the present-day second world depression! The central organizing force and cadre-training school which the Communist Party represented at that time, though not without faults, both theoretical and practical, was the determining factor in the building of a mass movement of the unemployed, and the uniting of that movement with the wave of factory-occupations and mass strikes beginning in 1934. Simply arising spontaneously and locally, and rejecting any "outside leadership", as *Radical America* suggests, would have doomed the mass unemployed struggles and strike wave of the thirties to isolation and defeat. As it was, the workers, employed and unemployed, in the depression in this country, were more advanced than their would-be "ideologists" of the New Left, and eagerly developed not only nation-wide, but also international demonstrations and mass actions, and growing numbers of workingclass organizers, the advanced workers, came to accept, not only the "outside leadership" of the Communist Party, but that of the Communist International



This same question has been noticed by the National Caucus of Labor Committees, who, although maintaining the Luxemburgist opposition to the need for a party, correctly uphold the policy of class-wide organizing, and have also been brought to some reluctant praise for the Comintern line in the Third Period, in their article "How the San Francisco Mass Strike Was Prepared" in the Jan. 15, 1973 issue of *New Solidarity*:

"The Third Period was characterized by the refusal of all the world's Communist Parties to work with any trade-union or left group for common defense of the working-class—even against Nazism. Their policy was to withdraw from all existing trade unions and to try to form their own Communist unions and unemployed councils. In the USA these groups were affiliated with the "Trade Union Unity League" (TUUL). By pursuing this sectarian policy the Communist Party can be credited with allowing the rise of fascism in Germany which led to the destruction of both trade unions and the Communist Party itself at the hands of the fascist butchers."

Here, the Labor Committees is simply in error. Although it is true that large numbers of communists were expelled from the Social-Democratic trade unions during the Third Period, the stated policy of the Comintern was to both develop the Red mass organizations (Red trade unions, unemployed councils, Red Front, etc.) and organize revolutionary opposition in the reformist trade unions, Social-Democratic youth leagues, etc. In the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPUSA, published in the October, 1931 issue of *The Communist*, it states:

"The work of building the revolutionary unions and the creation of revolutionary oppositions in the reformist unions remains the central task in the accomplishment of which only the first beginnings have been made. In view of the ferment within the reformist unions, the work of building oppositions must now be energetically and systematically taken in hand. Not only must oppositions be created in mass reformist unions in which no parallel revolutionary unions exist, but also in reformist unions such as in needle trades, textile and mining, where the masses are under the leadership of the reactionary officials... The C.C. stresses the necessity for the most energetic and systematic revival of work in the reformist unions, the conditions for which are constantly broadening as a result of the growing struggles. The Party must more systematically counteract the policy of the bureaucrats of heading struggles in order to head them and more carefully expose the strike-breaking policy of the reformist leaders, particularly the left reformists, socialists, "left" phrasemongers and the Mustelites. ..."

The Program of the Comintern drafted in the 1928 Sixth World Congress puts forth an identical perspective. In fact, the weakness of the CPUSA was that many communist organizers remained tied to the reformist trade unions, and not enough forces, not enough initiative was directed to building the parallel revolutionary mass organizations. In the Third Period, and today, vast masses of workers, especially the unemployed, unskilled, and unorganized workers, rejected by the labor-aristocracy and their chauvinist trade unionism, must be organized by the Communists, even if a party has not yet been built, in new-type organs of class struggle. However, although despairing of the Comintern Third Period line in Germany, the Labor Committees take a different attitude when it comes to this country:

"Yet in the U.S. the Third Period was to have an entirely different effect, for two interconnected reasons. The fact that basic industry was not organized in the U.S. meant that it was every-man-for-himself in the face of wage cuts and unemployment. The working class could not offer any effective resistance to capitalist collapse, making it unnecessary for the bourgeoisie to fund a fascist movement.

"More importantly, the industrial working class had not been organized. This meant that its key potential organizers were not wedded to the A.F.L. and were in the main much more open to class organizing. Consequently the CP's slogan of the United Front From Below was not totally disastrous. Further, since the united front from below stressed unity of the employed and unemployed, it actually corresponded (accidentally) to approximation of the necessary tasks revolutionaries had to carry out between the years 1928-1932. The Third Period prepared vanguard class organizers for united front struggles, and it was this process that was the key to allowing a sustained offensive to arise in 1934..."

(S.F. Mass Strike)

One of the purposes of this article in *Class War* on the Third Period is to show that it was not "accidental" that the Third Period line of the Comintern was correct, and furthermore, that this line, and the period itself in which it was formulated, and tested out, is most relevant to the class war today.

The Labor Committees embraced the theories of Rosa Luxemburg after breaking from the Socialist Workers' Party in the late 1950's, with some of their leading cadre passing through Progressive Labor and S.D.S., including the 1968 Columbia Strike, in which they played the leading role, seeking to build wide-based united fronts around the initial student struggle. Although they generally uphold the "orthodox" trotskyite version of the historical experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, they are forced to make certain programmatic, strategical, and tactical breaks from trotskyism in this period, if for no other reason than to develop beyond being just another byzantine trotskyite sect, or as their own members derisively describe it, just another flea in the "flea market". Thus their hesitant, but respectful attitude towards the Third Period, at least as it was applied in this country. They have also picked up their own version of the Third Period line against social-fascism—the Labor Committees uses the term "proto-fascism" to describe those tendencies, often would-be leftists, who are playing the very same role that the Comintern ascribed to the Social-Democracy in the Third Period.

It is appropriate that any discussion by *Class War* on the Third Period should raise the question of Luxemburgism, which in this country, is not only represented by the Labor Committees, but by at least two other political tendencies at this time. (Both the Root-and-Branch and Internationalism group identify with Luxemburgism, as they distinguish from Marxism-Leninism, trotskyism, etc.) In this respect we wish to cite from an article entitled "In the Footsteps of Lenin", originally published in *Exaviva*, Jan. 21, 1931, and subsequently reprinted in many Comintern publications, including the April, 1931 issue of *The Communist*:

"The special characteristic of this new stage, of this upsurge of activity on the part of the working class, is the ever more complete union of the two streams of the movement, that of the employed and that of the unemployed workers. This fact has, up to the present, received too little consideration by the Communist Parties. However, it is one of the most important developments in the class struggle at the present historical stage. It is not a matter merely of drawing the unemployed into economic struggles, but of uprooting one of the principal pillars of social democracy, i.e. the slobbish disdain felt by the organized, skilled, reformist workers for the unemployed "lumpen" proletariat. This complete (in an historical sense) union of the two streams of the working class movement is a consequence of the crisis. The economic crisis undermined the basis of a considerable portion of the organized skilled workers, who have thus lost the stability of their position.

"It is an entirely new phenomenon that in times of economic struggles the unemployed workers fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers on strike. It is an indisputable historical fact that in Germany there were no unemployed acting as strike breakers in the recent important economic struggles. However, it must be noted that the situation is far less favorable with regard to the mobilization of the employed workers for a struggle on behalf of the demands of the unemployed. Last year the March sixth (International Unemployment Day) campaign showed this very clearly. It must be stated that the Communist Parties are far from having clearly grasped the significance of this problem and the necessity of broadening the united front from below.

"The very conduct of a strike in the present period bears a qualitatively different character from that in the previous period. The active participation of the unemployed, the wives of the workers, the active sympathy of the petty-bourgeois elements in town and country (the shopkeepers, tradesmen, and poor peasants) gives the strike struggle in the present period—as, for instance, in the strike of the 140,000 metal workers in Berlin,—the character of a "general peoples movement which transmits to the proletariat the whole force of its indignation against the regime." (Lenin)

(Continued p. 14)

"Therefore, the problem of the political mass strike stands forth as the central tactical link, which according to Lenin, is simultaneously the expression of and the condition for the development of the proletarian struggle into a "general people's movement." In July, 1929, the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. advocated the political mass strike as the most important tactical problem of the Third Period...

"...An abstract and purely schematic portrayal of the process of development of the mass strike would be very dangerous. The denial of the fact that an economic crisis is developing into a political crisis inevitably leads to a failure to understand the place of the political mass strike in the class struggle at the present stage. On the other hand, an over-estimation of the rate of development often subjects the Communist Parties to another danger, namely, that of regarding the political mass strike as the only or chief form of the class struggle at all times. Such errors have already been made in a number of Communist Parties. The danger from this error lies in the fact that it results in ignoring, on one hand, the significance of the armed uprising, which is the final and decidedly most important stage of the revolutionary class struggle, and, on the other hand, the significance of the mass economic struggles at the initial stage in the development of the political mass strike itself.

"These are the errors pointed out by Lenin in his struggle against the Mensheviks and also in his polemic against Rosa Luxemburg." (emphasis in the original)

This relates directly to the errors of the Labor Committees, and the other Luxemburgists as well. Although correctly grasping the need for class-wide united fronts, new organs of struggle, they consider the proletarian party and the proletarian state, particularly its essential component, the proletarian armed forces, to be, at best, a "by-product" of the mass strike process. The Labor Committees are prepared to lead a class-for-itself up to a certain point, and then, refusing to recognize the limitations of the mass-strike process itself, would be shattered against the tanks, guns, and steel-helmets of the armed bourgeois state. Their various statements about taking power in five or six years, winning over the bank officials, and "emergency reconstruction" without a single reference to the need to destroy the main component of bourgeois state power, their army, police, and special counter-revolutionary armed detachments and fascist "cadres", are completely absurd in the face of the reality of class war today. The tragic death of Rosa Luxemburg herself, because the German workingclass was not prepared enough for armed struggle to take power, is the clearest refutation of their approach to the question of State and Revolution.

4. FROM "DUAL UNIONISM" TO PROTECTIONISM

Unfortunately, most revolutionary tendencies have not yet advanced beyond the most narrow trade unionist perspectives for organizing. What few attempts at Third Period-type "parallel" organizing are developed are soon abandoned, in search of "greener pastures", usually in the form of "rank-and-file caucuses" and even minor posts within one or another of the "liberal" trade unions like 1199, District 65, or the SSEU. This shift is accompanied by tailing the most backwards aspects of today's reactionary trade unionism, including putting down "welfare bums", national-chauvinist protectionism, and warning against the bogeyman of "dual unionism".

An example of this is the experience of the Young Lords Party, which changed its name to the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Organization (PRRWO). While still known as the Y.L.P. they ambitiously set out to organize a whole series of mass organizations, including the Women's Union, Workers' Federation, Lumpen Organization, and 165th Infantry (a veterans group), as well as bringing under their leadership the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement (HRUM), Puerto Rican Student Union. Then they declared the formation of "people's councils" with a higher, more centralized expression in the form of a "people's assembly". Besides all of this, there were the C.D.C.'s (Committees for the Defense of the Community) not to mention the Young Lords Party itself. When most of the above groups collapsed, so also collapsed the illusion of building a separate Puerto Rican party, although not the illusion of a continued separate Puerto Rican organization.

However, as the PRRWO has committed itself verbally, in any case, to an eventual "multi-national" proletarian party, what we wish to take issue with here is not their errors on the National-Colonial Question, but, specifically, their flight, from a policy of trying to build too many, inherently divisive, mass organizations, to the other extreme, abandoning any attempts at organizing new mass formations, and instead, immersing themselves in the trade unions.

In the Oct. 25, 1972 issue of *Palante* (which is itself now defunct) the PRRWO announced the dissolution of HRUM in an article entitled "HRUM--the error of dual unionism":

"We saw the need to establish an organization of workers to unite and fight for more than 'bread and butter' issues. We wanted to determine priorities of health care and call for unity between workers and patients to unmask the inadequate money-making industry of Health so we formed HRUM.

"We started trying to recruit the more advanced union members into HRUM. We now recognize this as our first mistake. As a reaction to the union leadership we failed to see the needs of the rank and file. We were setting up dual unionism by

creating another organization when one already existed that the mass of workers related to. We were one-sided and did not recognize the fact that unions are the only recognized bargaining agents for the workers... We will struggle to build 'Rank and File' leadership for our unions. We will struggle against our old dual unionist ideas that only served to weaken the already established unions the workers have fought hard to build."

Accepting this outlook, so similar to the various trotskyite groups, the PRRWO thus prepares its own dissolution, since it has little hope of competing with the revisionist-trotskyite-syndicalist blocs of trade union "caucuses". The development of the PRRWO reflects the larger development of most of the New Left, including those twin centrist excretions from pre-PL SDS, the Revolutionary Union and the October League. All of this tendency places itself in the same relation to the workingclass as the Economists that Lenin attacked in "What Is To Be Done?".

They tail the trade unions, not only in organizational questions, but also, in terms of capitulating to even the pro-imperialist impulses of the trade union bureaucracy. Less than a month after the announcement of the dissolution of HRUM, the front-page of *Palante* featured the headline "Stop the Runaway Shops!" together with a photograph of the "masses" holding "Save American Jobs" placards! This was in support of the Nov. 16, 1972 rally called by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), as part of the ILGWU's protectionism campaign, in line with the Nixon gov't and its overall Phase I, Phase II, Phase III strategy. This rally, called nation-wide, falsely described as part of the "struggle against unemployment" is actually part of the ruling-class attack against the overall living standards of the entire workingclass. The ILGWU leadership, rotten swine that they are, are trying to get their "own" workers ready to accept massive wage-cuts, speed-up and lay-offs, and all on the excuse of protectionism, of stopping "runaway shops" of stopping unemployment! The November 16th rally was in specific support of the Burke-Hartke protectionist bill, which aims to unite the workers of this country with the imperialist government and ruling-class, against our brothers and sisters, the working people of other countries.

This vicious national-chauvinist con-game is deliberately designed to entrap in this period, not only the more privileged, skilled, and older workers, but also the unorganized, semi-employed, and unemployed, in the conditions of a depression, approaching a state of bitter desperation. The protectionism, even under "left" banners is part of the growing fascism, since it cultivates the most openly reactionary sentiments under its banner of "national interests", sentiments which have found their expression in this country in numerous "know-nothing", anti-"alien" scapegoat-hunting lynch-mobs, which, arising in a time of crisis, have drawn into their ranks numerous confused, demoralized, and desperate workers. To support this reactionary protectionism in any way is tantamount to treason to the interests of the workingclass in all countries, including in this country, and to give it a "left" cover is even worse.

5. ORGANS OF CLASS WAR IN THE THIRD PERIOD

In the Third Period, the Comintern carried out the policy of building new revolutionary mass organizations, like the Comintern itself, along international lines. Thus there existed the "Profintern" (Red International of Labor Unions), the "Krestintern" (Revolutionary Peasants' International), International Red Aid, a world-wide network of mutual support and legal defense, as well as the Young Communist International. The various sections of these international bodies were developed, not as ends in themselves, but, in terms of the long-term strategy of the Comintern, as preparation for the development of higher, class-wide organs of struggle, organizing and mobilizing and arming the united workingclass for the smashing of the bourgeois state and the taking of power. The concept of the Soviets, the new organs of struggle, so ignored by all the centrist economist, and opportunist trends, is clearly outlined in the fundamental Third Period document, the 1928 Programme of the Communist International, under the section, "The Fundamental Tasks of Communist Strategy and Tactics":

"When the revolutionary tide is rising, when the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat and the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois State. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.) and by organizing mass action, upon which all branches of the Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the State power of the bourgeoisie. . . . An absolutely essential condition precedent for this form of action is the organization of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (Councils of Workers' Deputies, Soldiers' Councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy. In passing over to new and more radical slogans, the Parties must be guided by the fundamental role of the political tactics of Leninism, which call for ability to lead the masses to revolutionary positions in such a manner that

(Continued on p. 15)

the masses may, by their own experience, convince themselves of the correctness of the Party line."

In the Third Period, as revisionists of all stripes bewail, the Comintern saw the possibility for a revolutionary offensive, for a class-against-class struggle for power. However, they did not expect the various revolutionary parallel organizations, or even the Soviets, as sufficient for carrying through the class struggle to its bitter end. Besides the Party of the proletariat, which stands at the head of the entire revolutionary movement, one other essential factor was taken into account in the Third Period, a factor which is missing from the outlook of the Luxemburgists in particular, as we have pointed out.

That factor is the revolutionary-military tasks of the period of general crisis of imperialism. Since the Third Period is not only the time of the first world depression, but also the period of the rise of Fascism in a number of capitalist countries, the question of the revolutionary-military organization, strategy, and tactics of the proletariat are of primary importance.

Aside from the better-known international bodies directed by the Communist International in the Third Period, there also existed a world-wide network of Comintern revolutionary-military cadres, gathering intelligence, instructing and training, organizing the Red Front para-military organizations, and in China, Spain, and many other countries, shedding their blood in the just revolutionary wars of the proletariat and oppressed nations and peoples. Even in this country, there existed in the Third Period a "Red Front Fighters' League", with its own publications, training camps and special activities. In those capitalist countries where the Fascists came to power, or militarily occupied in the world war, the veterans of the Red Front organizations of the Third Period provided the core of the anti-fascist armed resistance.

The Comintern produced special literature dealing with the tasks of revolutionary-military activity. In a manual published in the Third Period called "Armed Insurrection", for which Ho Chi Minh contributed a section on "Military work among the peasants", the Comintern put forth guidelines for revolutionary-military tasks before the actual insurrectionary assault against the state:

"As a result of various specific features discussed below and which distinguish it from the ordinary tactics of regular armies, the tactics of insurrection and street fighting (all insurrections in towns take the form of street fighting) is extremely complicated. Its study requires prolonged effort and perseverance. Thus a revolutionary party which remains Marxist through and through—i.e. which treats insurrection as an art, and propagates the idea of armed uprising in the working class—must confront in practice the question of how to train the cadres of the future insurrection, and must resolve it in one way or another. Every proletarian party must set about resolving this question without waiting for an immediately revolutionary situation (when it will be too late); it must do so independently of the current political situation. The problem, despite its apparent difficulty, is not an insoluble one. Side by side with the study of Marxism-Leninism, the Party leadership must organize the study of military science, with particular emphasis on the lessons of past insurrections—especially those of Russia, Germany, and China. This study can take place in communist circles and Party schools (legal, semi-legal, or illegal depending on circumstances); by recording the lessons of proletarian armed struggle in the Party's publications; by studying military science in practice (sending comrades into the army); by creating legal or illegal military organizations ('Red Front' in Germany, 'Revolutionary Ex-servicemen's Association' in France).

"A knowledge of theory is naturally not enough to form tried military leaders for the red guard detachments. However, it is a precondition for doing so, and should under no circumstances be neglected.

"The great semi-military organizations of the proletariat (like the Red Front and the Revolutionary Ex-servicemen's Association) play an immense role in forming the military cadres of the future insurrection, and providing the proletarian masses with training in military science. These organizations can in no sense be identified with the red guard; they are not instruments of direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their basic purpose, as we have shown in the preceding chapter, is to mobilize the proletariat and educate it in the spirit of class struggle, and to wage a political struggle against the military organizations of the bourgeoisie. But, in addition, they allow tens of thousands of proletarians to obtain a military training, and a preparation for civil war. As the combat organizations of proletarian self-defence, these groupings are simultaneously champions of the idea of civil war and a powerful means for propagating this idea throughout the working class."

And, in the Appendix to this valuable book, which has been reprinted recently (St. Martin's Press, 1970, hardcover, \$7.95) the pre-insurrectionary tasks are once again raised, (leading us to look once more, closely, at the most recent experience of the ghetto uprisings, May 1968 General Strike in France, and armed struggle in Northern Ireland,) in a way that makes clearer what is missing from the whole approach of the Luxemburgists and others:

"The military plans for the insurrection must indeed be worked out in the closest secrecy; but as far as its political side and the preparation of the masses for armed

struggle are concerned, it is necessary for the broad masses of the proletariat to be consulted. The indispensable precondition for success is the dissemination of the idea of armed insurrection among the masses. The mass of ordinary workers must know how events are developing; what the ever more frequent armed demonstrations and political mass strikes mean; and in what consist the duties incumbent on every worker in the event of combat between the armed forces of the revolution and those of the ruling class."

To put forward the concept of Soviets, new organs of struggle, or class-wide united fronts, as the Labor Committees calls them, while at the same time ignoring in this period the revolutionary-military question and its necessary tasks, is not only a failure to learn from the overall historical experience of proletarian revolutions, but also a failure to learn from the most recent experience of class war in this country. So much of the movement has been jumping back on forth on this question, from pacifism to suicidal adventurism, that the question itself has become obscured, robbed of its necessarily political content. We hope that a closer study of this question in the context of the Third Period will help to restore the correct theory and practice of the revolutionary-military aspect of Marxism-Leninism.

Space in this issue of *Class War* does not permit the publication of the complete article on the Third Period. However, the second part of the article, including sections on the Third Period and the Chinese Revolution, Germany, the struggle against Trotskyism and Bukharinism, the National-Colonial Question in this country, Fascism and Social-Fascism, etc. will appear in our next issue.

and groaning about how few workers were in attendance. This coalition is a good example of what a united front should not be: unprincipled unity of politically bankrupt tendencies for the purpose of calling meetings and demonstrations from which all who are not part of the coalition must be excluded.

The *Guardian* "independent radical newsweekly", which refuses to even recognize, nevermind oppose, soviet social-imperialism though they are great "friends" of People's China, is providing the stage from which these self-annointed Marxist-Leninists and "Third World" workers utter forth their platitudes. The *Guardian's* role as the pseudo-anti-revisionist front for the C.P.U.S.A. is now painfully obvious. We are all aware of how uptight the C.P.U.S.A. is about the National Caucus of Labor Committees, which has become a threat to the internal tranquility of the C.P. The N.C.L.C. are certainly more dangerous to the modern revisionists than the imbeciles of the Revolutionary Union, etc. The C.P. is now in the midst of a grave crisis because many of its rank-and-file, especially among its Young Workers Liberation League "youth" want to support the Committee to Rebuild N.W.R.O. The C.P. aided in the expulsion of the Labor Committees at the last N.W.R.O. Convention and not long ago resorted to such desperate measures and physically assaulting N.C.L.C. members.

At the March 23 *Guardian* "Forum" on Party-Building the *Guardian* editors refused to allow Labor Committee members to propose united front support for the struggle to rebuild N.W.R.O. Plainly, the *Guardian* is afraid that what is happening inside the C.P.U.S.A. and its youth group will occur inside the ranks of the "Marxist-Leninist" groups it shelters under its benevolent wings. That is, they are afraid that once the membership of these anti-theoretical sects learn about the struggle to build a fighting organization of the unemployed a real united front will develop from "below" and they will have to enter into polemics with such politically sophisticated workers as these black women welfare organizers and deal with Labor Committees and Class War politics. Politically, the *Guardian* is incapable of any kind of principled struggle because it would reveal its utter bankruptcy and disconnection from any kind of genuine mass movement. Besides publishing total lies in their opportunist rag concerning the proceedings of the Workers Conference unemployed workshop to which a "quota" of welfare organizers and Labor Committees members were finally, after much protest, allowed to enter, the *Guardian* has refused to mention one word about the serious class-wide organizing the C.R.N.W.R.O. has carried out, despite the fact that organizers from the Committee visited their offices to request coverage and a letter to the editors was submitted to inform *Guardian* readers of these important developments.

As part of the campaign to build the March 31 Convention, *Class War* sponsored a public meeting on March 20, which was attended by some 24 persons, at which representatives from *Class War* and the National Caucus of Labor Committees spoke, followed by discussion. This meeting was one of many which have been organized to call upon all workingclass people—employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized—to join in the united front effort to build a new type of class organization to take up new forms of struggle in a period of crisis when the bourgeoisie can no longer rule in the old way and we can no longer struggle in the old way. A follow-up meeting reporting on the work of the Convention will be planned.

(Many serious and irreconcilable political differences exist between *Class War* and the National Caucus of Labor Committees, on tactical questions such as whether or not to participate in elections, the Party, the national-colonial, military and other strategic questions. The practical basis of our unity is common recognition of the Second World Depression and the necessity for organizing the unemployed and the need for soviets, i.e., new organs of struggle. We will polemicalize within the context of the united front. See article on Third Period.)

The PROLETARIAN CORRESPONDENCE

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

UNDER THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION

FEB. 25, 1973

No. 5

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES
ACROSS THE WORLD

Central Committee of the Workers' Communist Committee

The present task imposed on our Committee is to establish the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world. Our Committee considers that it is essential that the proletariat destroys to pieces the existing bourgeois state's structure, seize all powers by the force of active armed organizations under which a great majority of workers collect, and that it enforceably upsets the existing bourgeois property system. So long as the proletariat is satisfied with the parliament, even if the proletariat (overthrows) the existing power in alliance with other classes, (it) can not only establish (its) dictatorship, nor can (it) perform the social revolution for (the) disappearance of classes. In performing such a task, our Committee supports all revolutionary risings that the proletariat of any nation conducts against the bourgeoisie, landowner class in power. Our Committee supports any risings for liberation from tyrants, oppressors and aggressors, even if they (have) no directly socialistic features. Our Committee always stresses to the proletariat that (its) national struggles should be deeply connected with (the) common interests of all proletarians in the world.

Our Committee supports democratic struggles of the proletariat and people as the condition leading to the proletarian dictatorship, and guide the proletariat to struggle as a vanguard of other oppressed classes.

Our Committee is prepared to unite with any factions who fight in the interests of international revolutionary struggles and to go ahead with common struggles.

The first activity as the revolutionary party for liberation movements of the world's proletarians started with the "Communist League" in which Marx and Engels participated. In the course of the struggles from the 1st International to the 3rd International organized under the leadership of Russian Bolsheviks, political parties for the workingclass were founded in every country and, as a result, the struggles for proletarian liberation made a great stride. But the advance was made through the very hard struggles against the opportunistic tides, such as Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Ramsay MacDonald, Albert Thomas, etc. who were well-known leaders of the 2nd International. All of them fell into chauvinism in the first imperialist world war and betrayed proletarian internationalism in conspiracy with the labor aristocrats bribed by (the) capitalists. But the 3rd International collapsed in 1943 in the midst of the second imperialist world war. The International, which should have been a fortress for struggling in the international proletarian interests without regards to proletariat's nationality, voluntarily dissolved with excuse that it would fight against fascism in the most efficient way. The commencement of the robbery war by the fascists of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and the commencement of the anti-fascist war with democracy in disguise by Great Britain, the United States and France—the imperialist World War fell almost all people of the whole world into unprecedented disasters and mobilized ten millions of workers and people to the battlefields and produced vast numbers of the dead and the wounded.

When international struggles by the proletariat (were) decisively required, the 3rd International in its dissolution declared that it behaved as a faithful follower of the allied nations' imperialist rulers that advocated the "Sacred War for freedom and democracy."

Most of (the) communist parties in all the countries that joined the 3rd International today are emerging as protectors of their own narrow national interests. In addition, the C.P.S.U. and its follower "communist parties" and "workers' parties" have been casting cold water on revolutionary risings by oppressed workers and peoples in every part of the world, and finding their prime interests in collaboration with U.S. imperialism. They insist that the disappearance of classes is feasible in one nation and the thrust into "communist society is near at hand. And also they conceal all contradictions among classes in their own nations and profane communism and preach harmony among classes in the name of "peace and security of the world." Those people are clearly hostile to the proletariat and must be fell down.

In Japan, the Communist League was organized in 1958 through off-shoot struggles inside the C.P. of Japan which had been once the Japanese branch of the 3rd International. Afterwards, the League decomposed in the early part of 1960's. It was, however, re-organized in 1966. The birth of our Committee was September 1968 through off-shoot struggles inside the re-organized Communist League.

Today, J.C.P. openly denies the dictatorship of the proletariat and purifies itself toward a protector of the bourgeois parliamentarism, while strengthening its chauvinistic hostility to Korean

and Chinese people in Japan and behaving as a "Party of the Japanese nation(race)" which helps the Japanese imperialists aggress into Asia. Thus, by denying the proletarian dictatorship, this party fell into opportunism, revisionism and social-chauvinism. Such conversion can be seen commonly in the other principal imperialist countries too. We need to fight out against these "communist parties."

Our Committee's numbers are mostly from Japanese workers and people. But the first duty of our Committee is to fight in the common interests of workers in all countries. Because our Committee considers that the disappearance of classes and communism cannot be realized without forming the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world, recognizing the freedom of sepeation as a national state and fighting against national discrimination so as to harmonize all various nationalities, and eventually establishing the single proletarian republic in the world. The contentment by the C.P.S.U. of (an) "all people's state" and "accomplishment of the first stage of communism" is only the demagogy of the petty-bourgeois class who is eager to take the exclusive position(of) bureaucrats and protect their egotistic interests.

In the 1951 Korean war, the Chinese people organized its militia to fight against the U.S. imperialist troops, and helped the revolutionary war by the Korean people. Also Cuban people who achieved the revolution offered its generous aid to the Latin American revolutionary armed forces, in face of the counter-revolutionary siege by U.S. imperialism. In response to the revolutionary war by the southern Vietnamese, the northern Vietnamese are not only fighting against U.S. imperialism, but also are building the strong front for the oppressed people across the entire Indochina peninsula under the direct solidarity with the revolutionary war by Cambodian people and Laotian people.

We believe that such struggles are contributing to internationalism. We struggle for the purpose of developing further the proletarian international struggles and of shattering the imperialists' international counter-revolutionary manoeuvres and falling down the bourgeoisie and landowners class in power. In order to further strengthen and expand the revolutionary wars in all parts which are now beginning, we consider it necessary to do joint activities. However humble such activity may be, if we correct each other's possible mistakes with mutual confidence and sincere criticism based on the proletariat's interests in the world, and overcome each other's limitations the last victory shall be in our hands!

To: Workers' Communist Committee
Dotoh-Sha Publishing Office
Shiraishi Building 2-11-2 IKEBUKURO
Toshima-Ku
Tokyo, Japan

April 3, 1973

Dear Comrades,

Class War warily welcomes your statement, "For Advancement of International Revolutionary Struggles Across the World" by the Central Committee of the Workers' Communist Committee in "the Proletarian Correspondence" No. 5. We are reprinting this statement, together with this letter, in which we wish to propose two immediate beginning-points for what you propose in your statement:

1. We propose that we mutually open the pages of our publications to each other, contributing articles to each other's papers on the program, strategy, and tactics we must develop on a world-wide basis, since only internationally-united struggles can be effective in today's general crisis throughout the imperialist and imperialist-dominated sectors of the world. We should aim at eventually combining our efforts, together with other proletarian-revolutionary tendencies in other countries, in regular publication of an International Organ of mutual-criticism, discussion, and polemics amongst our common revolutionary tendency.

2. In terms of joint activity, we propose at this time the building of a united front of the workers of Japan and the workers in this country, employed and unemployed, against the vicious world-wide campaign of "protectionism" and national-chauvinism. This campaign is an attack against the workers of all the capitalist-imperialist countries and the toiling peoples of the oppressed nations as well. The bourgeoisie in every country, especially the imperialist nations, is saying: "Your enemy is the 'foreign' workers, your friend is the ruling-class in 'your own' country, and you must accept speed-up and productivity drives, wage-cuts and wrecking of even essential services, and even slave labor in the 'national interest.'" This filth is peddled everywhere under the banners of trade union chauvinism, national chauvinism, racism, and great-power arrogance, making the workers of other countries, including their immediate representatives in the form of the immigrant, minority, and oppressed nationality workers, the scapegoat for the horrible conditions the entire working-class is being thrown into under the conditions of a depression.

This joint campaign against "protectionism" in every capitalist-imperialist country must also involve revolutionary forces in other countries, and must eventually aim at joint international actions, including rallies, days of protest.

The precedent for this kind of campaign is set by the International Unemployment Days called by the Communist International in the Third Period (basically covering the period from the first world

(Continued on p. 2)