



Revolutionary Cause

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

OCTOBER LEAGUE

HOW NOT TO BUILD A COMMUNIST PARTY

PART II

(All references to OL's Party Building Plan are taken from the November, 1975 issue of the CALL)

Party Building is a strategic and ongoing task which must be carried out until the final development of classless Communist society

Party building encompasses three basic periods (1) the pre-party period covers the time from the consolidation of revisionism in the CPUSA in the late 1950's until such time as the party is actually formed, (2) the period from the founding of the party until the armed seizure of state power by the proletariat, (3) the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism

The pre-party period is the period of "the formation of the vanguard (i.e., the party) of the proletariat, the period of "mustering the party's cadres" (Stalin) This period is that in which Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers become welded as one on the basis of unity on the party's program and general line

The pre-party period has three stages which correspond to the fundamental ideological, political and organizational tasks required to build a Bolshevik party. Stages, then are determined by the TASKS facing our movement at any particular time. For instance, during the first stage of the pre-party period, the mass movements and rebellions of the 1960's and early 1970's raised many questions squarely before the developing conscious element. What was the enemy we were fighting? Could we overcome this enemy peacefully? Who was to lead our revolution? Was the state an instrument of repression, or an instrument to solve the fundamental problems of the oppressed? These and other questions HAD TO BE ANSWERED if we were to have a foundation for our revolution. And these questions began to be answered by the developing communist forces as they studied and grasped the general Marxist theory of proletarian revolution which clearly identified our enemy as imperialism, and showed us that we needed a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the revolutionary working class' in armed overthrow of the bourgeois state and to establish workers' political power. During this first stage, breaking with bourgeois ideology, developing our ideological line and strengthening ourselves with proletarian ideology, the stand, method and viewpoint of the proletariat, was the key link to the forward development of our movement. Through the struggle against eclecticism, which sought to base our movement on

a scattering of disconnected and even exclusive ideologies, revisionism which sought to base our movement on the bourgeois stand, method and outlook covered over with Marxist phrases -- the developing communist movement developed a sound ideological basis for the new party they were constructing. We must point out that even though the development of the ideological line and breaking with bourgeois ideology was the key link in the first stage -- it was also necessary to carry out simultaneously our political and organizational tasks -- to work in the mass movements, and to build democratic-centralist organizations which could give a planned and conscious character to our work. At all times we must carry out ideological, political and organizational tasks - they are interrelated and to neglect one will doom our work to failure. However one always stands out as the key link, the seizing of which moves all of our other work forward

In summary then, the first stage saw the developing communist movement base itself solidly on the class stand, method and viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, reaffirm and uphold the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian theory of revolution. The revolutionary trend of the communist movement (although not clearly demarcated at that time) upheld Marxism in both word and deed. Time was to show that the opportunist trend of that movement was to make the ideological break in word only. Groups like the October League were to show through the development of their political line and practice that they still operated according to the stand, method and viewpoint of the bourgeoisie. These groups were to soon reveal the historically developed forms of opportunism "peculiar" to the United States: chauvinism, economism, pragmatism -- all reflective of the worship of spontaneity (the basis of all opportunism).

The early disunity of the movement was followed by the growth and development of such groups as the Revolutionary Union, the California Communist League, the October League, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Young Lords Party etc. The temporary unity of these groups was soon to give way to fierce struggle as the fight around the burning questions facing our movement developed. However the development of these groups as Marxist-Leninists did represent a leap in development from the earlier eclectic period.

The transition to the second stage of party building occurred about 1972-73 when the ideological break with the bourgeoisie and the revisionists had in the main been

made by the communist forces. the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles reaffirmed in theory and practice, and general unity on the ideological line achieved. The essential question which accelerated the forward motion and transition to the second stage was the question of party building. In the main, the party principle was upheld and the anarchists and liquidators who denied the necessity for a proletarian party were defeated. Struggle then unfolded around whether party building or building the mass movement was the CENTRAL TASK. This struggle and the growing unity that party building was indeed the central task gave rise to the necessity to develop the political line on party building so that it could guide our work within the factories, trade unions and national movements. As everything divides into two, the transition to this second stage also saw the development of revolutionary and opportunist wings in the communist movement. The struggle broke out on the National Liason Committee between the organizations which were to lead the two wings and crystallized on the national question and party building. On the one hand was the staunch representative of chauvinism and opportunism -- the Revolutionary Union. On the other, stood the organizations who upheld the line of revolutionary Marxism -- the Black Workers Congress and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization

As the ideological basis had been laid, in both theory and a practical sense for the development of the party, the revolutionary wing of the U.S. communist movement undertook to fulfill the tasks of the second stage -- the development of

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INTERNATIONAL WORKING

International Working Woman's Day (IWWD) has a history almost three-quarters of a century old. On March 8, 1908, the working women of New York City took to the streets to demand an end to their oppressive work conditions, an end to child labor, for the right to vote and the 8 hour working day. Their strength and militancy was so great that in 1910 their day of struggle was recognized as an international holiday. Today International Working Woman's Day is celebrated all over the world with militant demonstrations and this year many such rallies occurred in the United States as the working-class begins to reclaim its historic traditions -- to use them to intensify the struggle against the capitalist system which lays at the root of the oppression of working women and men. Of course the U.S. capitalists cannot ignore this holiday and tries to substitute the passive and harmless Mother's Day for it instead. And in the Soviet Union, the new capitalist class there has turned IWWD into a day "to give flowers to Mom" rather than call for the militant rallies and marches in solidarity with working people throughout the world -- marches which were typical of the era of Lenin and Stalin.

The Women's Question is a Class Question!

In the era when giant monopolies rule most of the world, women's oppression stems from the division of society into classes (as it did in earlier class societies). What this means today is that at the heart of the women's question is the fact that a handful of rich parasites own all the factories, land and tools of production in this country, while the rest of us are left at their mercy, able only to work for them if we want to stay alive. In their never-ending drive for profit the capitalists superexploit women on the job, or force them into the reserve army of the unemployed as a cheap labor source. These capitalists make enormous amounts of extra profits from the labor of women - the difference between the average weekly wage of women and men workers continues to increase - more extra money into the pockets of the rich. But the greatest evil of the rich in their treatment of women is their chaining women to the home. By confining them to the narrowness and drudgery of housework and child-raising the bourgeoisie hopes to keep women divided from the struggle of the working class for revolution.

The proletariat must fight to break down the ideological and political barriers which keep women out of the factories.

Finally, by keeping most women unemployed, the capitalists have a tool to keep the class divided. The capitalists use the reserve army of the unemployed to keep employed workers' wages down. They also have the reserve army to call out into production during "boom" periods and wartime. In order to justify this state of affairs, the capitalists use male supremacy (the ideology that women are inferior to men) to keep the class divided. The bourgeoisie spreads this poison in a variety of ways, including the degrading picture presented by the mass media, schools, and through its faithful servants within the working class: the labor bureaucracy

Women Hold Up Half The Sky!!

Women are an important part of the proletariat. Therefore the struggle for full equality for women takes on special significance. A successful socialist revolution cannot occur without the active support of working women. And the proletariat cannot win the support of the oppressed women without a consistent fight to eliminate the superexploitation of women, to raise the special demands of women, and to fight against every manifestation of male supremacist ideology. In doing this work we must show working women, that ultimately capitalism cannot solve the problem of their exploitation -- that only socialist revo-

contradiction, the focus of world struggle.

But there is another contradiction in the world that is rapidly developing. That between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As the world economic crisis intensifies, the U.S. and USSR step closer and closer towards a third world war as a "way out." Nose to nose, the U.S. and USSR confront each other for control of Portugal, Italy, Cyprus and the Middle East. Today in Angola the two superpowers have pumped in hundreds of millions of dollars and incited a civil war. In Angola and the rest of the world Soviet social-imperialism is more and more recognized as a plunderer of nations and peoples. It is the



lution, born out of revolutionary struggle, can emancipate women and lay the basis for their equality with men.

Women And The International Situation

The struggle of women is, of course, a part of a worldwide revolutionary struggle. The women and men of Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos showed us that the road to liberation from imperialism lies through armed revolution. The International Women's Year Conference held last year in Mexico City demonstrated that the women of the Third World are standing up in defense of their nations' rights - in opposition to the two plundering superpowers whose drive for profit knows no bounds. This contradiction between the Third World and imperialism and social-imperialism remains the principal

JSSR which is growing and hungering to take the place of the U.S. as the number one robber of the world. It is this "young blood" superpower that is the greatest menace to the people of Angola and to the people of the world.

How does this growing danger of war affect women? It concerns women and all workers who must fight, suffer and die in a new imperialist war. It means even greater exploitation on the job through speed-ups -- covered over with patriotic slogans about wartime production. It means further cutbacks in social services like day care, hot lunch programs for school children, special skill training for women, aid for the elderly, etc. And for what? So that the Rockefellers and those like him can keep their empires, their mansions, and their riches stolen from our labor. Along with all this, war brings

WOMEN'S DAY

with it the real danger of fascist dictatorship -- to keep us from wrenching power away from those who live off of our sweat -- who pit men against women, old against young, and working peoples against one another. To crush our resistance they move closer and closer to a police state -- witness Ford's proposal to Congress to "streamline" the intelligence apparatus, to give it more power!

However World War and Fascism are not inevitable. The masses of workers, oppressed nationalities and women can take to the streets to let the imperialists know that we refuse to go to war for Wall Street. We can make our voices heard -- in marches, demonstrations and strikes -- we can DEMAND Jobs, Not Imperialist War! In so doing we can learn the strength and organization that we possess, and we can make our struggle a part of the struggle against the source of exploitation, war and fascism -- capitalism!

Women And The Current Economic Crisis

Tied in with the question of war is the question of the current imperialist economic crisis -- what the capitalists call a "recession".

It is no "recession" when five major industries have cut back production significantly for two years. Construction, steel, auto, oil and aluminum have all lowered production and laid-off millions of workers between them. It is no "recession" when, under the Kennedy administration, the "acceptable" unemployment rate was 4% and for the Ford administration it is 8%. It is no "recession" when 100's of thousands of women are the first ones thrown out of work. We would call such a thing a crisis! And it is the lust for capitalist profit that has caused a crisis of overproduction (combined with shrinking markets overseas, as the people of the world throw off the yoke of exploitation by foreign moneybags)

This current crisis hits women in general, and national minority women in particular, very hard. Their unemployment rate doubles that of white males, and increasing unemployment forces many women onto welfare or into prostitution to survive. Political attacks also increase, such as the forced sterilizations of over 1/3 of the women of Puerto Rico -- a direct attack on the Puerto Rican struggle for independence.

Economic insecurity at home, combined with the political and cultural breakdown which accompanies crisis, has led to increasing numbers of divorces -- more divorces than marriages every year. It is clear that it is not women, but capitalism, which causes these things -- and forces the effects onto women.

Women Answer With Struggle

It is a fact that oppression breeds resistance, and we therefore have seen an upsurge in the struggles of women workers. We have seen our Chicana sisters at the Farah Pants company stand up to Willie Farah's dogs and scabs to win the right to unionize. We have seen farmworker women stand up, alongside their class brothers, and fight

the police, the growers and the Teamster goons. And history will never forget our Black sisters at Oneita knitting mills who won their union in the Black Belt South. We have seen an upsurge in the movement of women from the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. They are beginning to join together with working class women in their common fight against imperialism.

One such struggle has been for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The ERA is a constitutional amendment that states "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or any state on account of sex." Initiated by petty-bourgeois groups like the National Organization of Women, the question of the ERA is now squarely before the working class. There have been mass marches and demonstrations in favor of the ERA in Atlanta, Chicago



and other cities.

Passage of the ERA would be a step towards legal equality for women. It would help promote equal pay for equal work, to end discriminatory hiring practices, and separate job categories for men and women. It would strike down the legal barriers to women's equality. We support the ERA not because it will grant genuine equality for women -- NO AMOUNT OF REFORMS UNDER CAPITALISM WILL DO THAT. But it is our duty to lead the fight for any reform which objectively can represent a step forward for the masses. Women lack equal rights -- that is a fact. It is our duty to fight for just that -- we must sum up all the partial demands of women and take them to a fundamental level. All the partial demands that women are fighting for can be summed up in the slogan -- Equal Rights for Women! so it is not a question of putting forward a long list of partial demands, but of linking those partial demands to their basic demands. To the extent that a revolutionary mass struggle is waged for

the passage of the ERA, to that extent will a "real" reform be won. If the ERA passes because of harmless resolutions, mere legislative pressure, humble petitions, then it will be a weak and harmless concession -- which the bourgeoisie will use to split the working class and to remove protective legislation for women (although they are not waiting for the ERA to begin this process). If, as communists, we correctly carry out our work, we will educate the masses in revolutionary struggle and force a genuine concession from the ruling class -- by mass actions linked with the struggle for socialism -- and we will show women in practice that the only salvation to the misery of capitalism is socialist revolution.

Our Tasks

To give leadership to the struggle for emancipation and for socialism it is essential that all communists and class conscious workers struggle to develop a correct and thorough line to guide our work. We must understand how the women question presents itself in our concrete conditions -- what is the direction of the struggle of women in our country. In particular must we understand how to conduct the struggle for democracy in the era of imperialism and the socialist revolution. We must learn how to link the partial demands of women to their basic demands for equality, and how to link that basic demand to the fight for socialism. In short we see the women question as an important arena for theoretical struggle and practical testing of line.

By participating actively in the struggles of the working class and national movements, we will be able to win over advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism -- those workers who determine the character of the movements that they lead -- who grasp Marxism-Leninism as their guide to action, who know that only socialism can answer the fundamental questions of the oppressed, those workers who stand as fully independent leaders of their movements. It is our duty to educate them in the spirit of devoted and determined struggle for the emancipation of women, to show them a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the women question, and on the basis of this knowledge being able to fight for the rights of women and to unite the working class in the process, for the struggle against capital. These advanced workers will be able to grasp Marxist-Leninist theory and to link it to the class conscious demands which we put forward -- such as the fight for the ERA, for an end to lay-offs, discrimination in hiring, etc. They will learn to take these demands into the class and the revolutionary class will become the leader, in fact, of the women's struggle as they take to the streets for their equality. By training these advanced workers in this way the communist movement will be able to give a planned conscious character to the spontaneous workers movement, making it the leader of the struggle of all the oppressed strata of the U.S. Only with this fusion of the communist and workers movement will we be able to move forward the struggle for the full emancipation of women. The struggle for socialism and workers political power!

REFORMISM OR REVOLUTION!

On January 16 and 17, in Alamosa high in the San Luis Valley of Southern Colorado, the Conferencia del Ultimo Paso Para Nuestra Liberacion was held. Called by a local United Mexican American Student organization, the purpose of the conference was to bring together the political activists in the Chicano national movement from throughout Colorado and New Mexico. The questions for discussion were dealing with the land and the peasant movement, "political party '76", the Chicano student movement, political prisoners, the federal grand jury, and others.

While these same questions had also been discussed in the '60's and '70's there were some very significant differences at this conference which crystallized important questions for communists in the national movements. In spite of a relative ebb, the struggle in the southwest has continued to bring new forces to the fore, the advanced, who accept socialism consciously, study the science of Marxism-Leninism, and devote themselves entirely to the education and organization of the working class and national movements. Present also were many intermediate elements who also "strive ardently for socialism", as well as a large number of lower stratum elements who themselves were open to socialist ideas. All who were present demanded direction from the communist and advanced forces, and it was this that was to determine the character of the Alamosa Conference.

The Tasks of Communists

In this article, we will lay out the main lessons we learned through our participation at this conference, lessons which we believe are of general applicability for communists in the United States.

We approached our participation at this conference with our central task of party building in mind, and the stage where political line is the key link to moving our work forward. When our two tactical tasks are to Unite Marxist-Leninists and Win Over the Advanced!!

Our first task then was to consolidate our cadre and the advanced with whom we work around how we were to carry out our central task within the national movement and particularly in struggle against opportunism. This also called for consolidating around our analysis of the national movement (see PALANTE, vol. 1, #'s 9 and 11, 1975. Also REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE, vol. 1, #2, 1976), the main danger in the national movement and the forms in which it appears, and how to link the partial demands of a national movement to the basic demands of that movement and to the struggle for Socialism. All of this training falls within the realm of propaganda as the chief form of activity.

However the task of training does not end here. It is also carried out in the course of implementing the political line, particularly in the struggle against opportunism. As we pointed out in the second issue of REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE (p. 11):

"In fact, a close examination of the recent Chicano movement

discloses that reformism and not narrow nationalism is the greater danger. This illustrates the danger of proceeding from formulas -- i.e., within every national movement, the greatest danger must always be narrow nationalism."

This position is a fundamental aspect of our analysis of the Chicano National Movement. Unless this is grasped - Communists, the advanced, and revolutionary nationalists - can make serious mistakes. We start from the stand of communists on the national question in the era of imperialism, i.e., that our point of departure in determining support for a national movement is its objective relation to imperialism. We support those national movements that weaken imperialism (Palestinians), and oppose those that serve to strengthen or preserve imperialism (Bangladesh).

We see that the Chicano national movement represents a revolutionary force, and that the basic demands of this movement cannot be attained without a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. This is what determines and demands, not only aid and support, but also revolutionary direction from communists. However, within this national movement there are many forces: revolutionary nationalists, cultural nationalists, Bundists (calling for a Chicano Communist Party), centrists and conciliationists ("there is only one superpower - the U.S.") revisionists and a few Trotskyites. By breaking down the various forces to their essence, we find two main trends -- reformism and revolution. By making such a breakdown we expose the chief exponents of reformism whether they mask themselves as super-revolutionary cultural nationalists, or "Marxists" (the OL). We draw the lines and arm the advanced (and the intermediate) on the basis of a revolutionary political line.

The Direction Of The Chicano Movement

Within the Chicano National Movement we see the main thrust of our work as the struggle to give that movement a consistently revolutionary direction on every question facing it. This means that we must link every partial demand to the basic demands of the movement. Although we haven't finished our work on the Chicano National Question, we have arrived at two basic demands thus far which are necessary whether we uphold the right to regional autonomy or to self-determination. These two basic demands are: (1) the demand for governmental unity of the southwest - the bringing into one governmental unit of all areas where Chicanos form a majority of the population. Such a continuity of territory exists from Southern Texas up to Southern Colorado and parts of Arizona and the state of New Mexico, (2) confiscation of all land and natural resources owned by the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation. This includes all the natural resources of the area, whether in the hands of the bourgeoisie directly, or in the hands of the bourgeois state.

Raising these two demands are consistent with our task of giving

the national movement a consistently revolutionary direction -- they lay out the basis for doing so. Without this direction the national movement gets bogged down in struggles for partial demands, struggles become localized and reformists can then use the cover of "community control" to keep the struggle on a reformist path. In fact this is the history of the movement during the late sixties and early seventies. The revolutionary nationalists, lacking revolutionary theory, were easy prey for the reformists (who covered themselves with militant-sounding rhetoric) and were never able to make a complete break with the reformists. By raising

The Ahora quartet



these two demands, every partial demand can then be seen as part of a common revolutionary front. These demands, and the struggles waged to achieve them give the national movement a revolutionary character, orientation and the basis for determining friends and enemies of this movement - based on the stand taken on these demands. While these are democratic demands, they are "achievable" only as a result of a revolution or a series of revolutionary struggles prior to the overthrow of U.S. imperialism. (On the question of "achievability", and for further clarity on the question of the struggle for democratic de-

SA CONFERENCE

mands and reforms in advanced capitalist countries in the era of imperialism, we recommend that comrades study the first three articles in Vol. 23 of Lenin's Collected Works).

"Political Party '76" Workshop

The workshop was lead by people with a long history of struggle in the national movement. In their presentations they outlined the history of the movement over the last 10 years and their participation in it. They characterized the spontaneous nature of the movement, its fundamentally positive character and its shortcomings. One of

sion were part of a group of individuals and collectives that were to later identify themselves as a group of independent Marxist-Leninists. Throughout the presentation and discussions that followed, the independents drew lines with the cultural nationalists. They upheld the general principles of Marxism-Leninism on such questions as the nature of imperialism, the necessity for violent revolution, the leading role of the working class, and the necessity of building a new communist party. The cultural nationalists were unable to provide any leadership. They put forward vague callings for developing "our own type of Chicano socialism, based on our own culture", etc., never being capable of spelling out what this meant. And even this position was forced out of them by direct questions. The independents as a result of their long history of honest struggle in the movement were able to win the confidence of the masses at the conference. The Chicanos at this conference, on the basis of line and practice, rejected cultural nationalism. The cultural nationalists, aware of their isolation, were finally forced to state, "We don't have anything against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought "

The independents, however, made a few errors. First, they did not analyze correctly what the main danger was. This became clear in their presentations and the struggles that took place. They zeroed in on cultural nationalism when it was clear that the people had rejected cultural nationalism. What the masses were demanding was concrete direction from the Communists on concrete questions facing the national movement -- questions such as the struggle for the land, the role of the Chicano student movement, etc. We are not criticizing the fact that they did not have positions on all these questions. As far as these comrades had grasped Marxism, they applied it in the struggle against opportunism. What we criticize is the error of analyzing cultural nationalism, and not reformism (even when it was covered with cultural nationalism), as the main danger.

The cultural nationalists were not capable of putting forward revolutionary solutions to the questions raised by the movement. They put forward almost exclusively electoral politics and revolutionary phrases - nothing more. Interestingly enough, the Independents, in their struggle against cultural nationalism, and the cultural nationalists, in their struggle against Marxism, both liquidated the national question.

ATM also made a serious error in this workshop. We saw that the national question was being liquidated, that there were no answers being given to concrete questions and that the lines were not being drawn with the cultural nationalists as regards their reformism. We took the floor and began by laying out that although ATM had not fully developed a position on the Chicano national question, that we had been able to develop our position on the two basic demands laid out above and the basis for them.

When we first laid this out no one understood what we were saying

and its no wonder. The CPUSA, CLP, RCP and the OL have all taken positions on the Chicano national question only to pigeon-hole them - failing to even attempt to give a revolutionary direction to the movement. The presentation we made was totally new to those present and we had to clarify our position several times before people began to understand and then support what we were putting forward.

Our error, however, was that in putting forward the two basic demands we dealt only with giving the national movement a revolutionary direction. This is an indispensable part of our work but not the only aspect. Especially when there are advanced elements to win over and intermediate elements who are demanding leadership from communists, it is inexcusable to make such an error and tail behind the political development of the movement. We failed to link the national movement to the struggle for socialism. This doesn't mean that we will always and everywhere raise the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It does mean that in our mass work we must constantly strive to link the national struggle to the struggle for socialism. The presentation we made, while correct, was incomplete - and there was little to distinguish us from revolutionary nationalists based on this alone. This error was criticized that night and rectified in practice the next day in the Land Workshop (about which we will talk more about later).

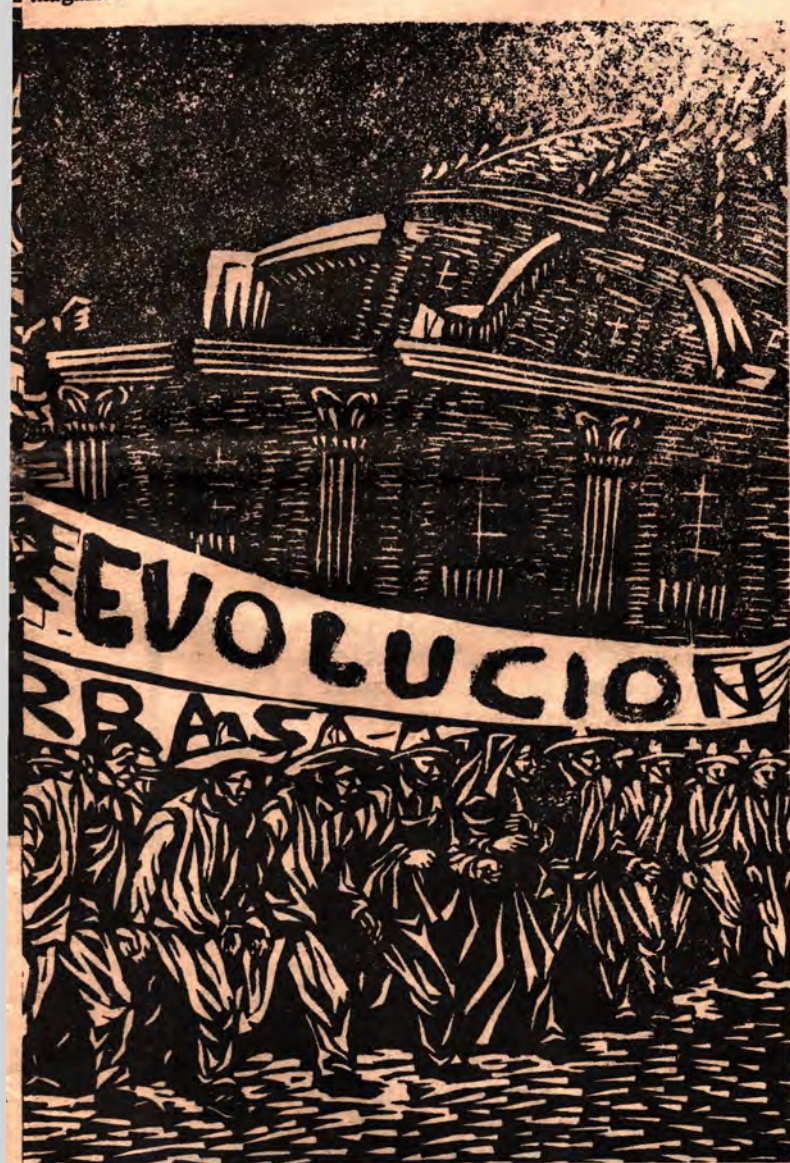
In the course of this struggle, the cultural nationalists put forward a resolution calling for the conference to "declare La Raza Unida Party a mass-revolutionary-national party". This unfolded a very significant struggle, particularly because it was put forward in opposition to the need to build a new communist party. The independents immediately spoke out against it. ATM also rose to speak against it, (but was not recognized by the chair). After discussion, and just when it appeared that a vote was to be taken, the OL did one of their famous numbers -- THEY WALKED OUT OF THE WORKSHOP!! Not only did they not even try to speak on a question of principle, they WALKED OUT!! We stopped one of them and told them that they should stay for the vote. The OL's response? "That's OK, we'll catch it in the general assembly." Today the OL says that ATM hid its politics at the conference. Except for the instance in the political party workshop, where we did not identify ourselves, we openly stated who we were, our positions on different questions and in fact the resolutions that we proposed won over the majority of the participants at the conference. The OL had many chances to put their line forward, especially since they do have a position on the Chicano national question, and refused to do so. It was the OL, who, characteristically, hid their politics.

The Land Workshop

In the 2nd issue of Revolutionary Cause we briefly outline the historic struggle of the Chicano peasantry to keep their land. This struggle continues today. It has

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magazine



these comrades, who is well known throughout Colorado and New Mexico for his role of leadership in the national movement, explained how, in the revolutionary struggle of which he was a part, the more advanced elements began to study the different theories of revolution and how they "came to grasp that the only science that could lead the liberation of Chicanos and the multi-national proletariat was the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought." This set the stage for the struggle that was to follow which found the cultural nationalists attacking Marxism.

The comrades leading the discus-



REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

Revolutionary Cause is published monthly by ATM. We encourage our readers to submit any comments or criticisms you have of the paper. Also, any letters or articles will be most welcome. Revolutionary Cause reserves the right to edit for

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Party building is the central task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists. The two main tactical tasks which must be conducted simultaneously to achieve material unity in the form of a new party are:

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Stalin 1879----1953

JOSEPH V STALIN - GREAT MARXIST-LENINIST!

The following tribute was written by an American seaman following Stalin's death in 1953

It is hard to believe that Joseph Stalin is dead.

The sad news of his passing is tempered with the knowledge of herculean tasks well done.

Here, vultures no end, making no pretense at concealing their jubilation, are circulating over the body of the fallen Giant. They reckon without their host, without the millions of class-conscious workers of all lands who regard Joseph Stalin as their greatest teacher and most loyal friend

We shall miss his familiar face, his calm, lucid and dispassionate analysis in times of crisis. But he has become too much a part of us, we can never be lost again.

Let us remember the vows he made at the tomb of Lenin, over and above his personal grief, vows which were fulfilled with honor. Let us renew our pledge to struggle for Peace and confound and defeat the enemy. Let us have recourse to his sparkling and immortal writings until the lessons are fully learned, lessons of the head and the heart - the great heart which literally burst with exertion in our behalf and is now forever stilled.

AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

The August Twenty-Ninth Movement is a multi-national communist organization formed in May of 1974. It takes its name from the great anti-imperialist march and demonstration which took place August 29, 1970 in the largest Chicano barrio in the United States -- the east side of Los Angeles, California. The demonstration was multi-national and mostly of working class origin. However the overwhelming number of demonstrators were from the Chicano oppressed nationality, and the event had a decidedly nationalist character -- i.e., protesting the use of Chicano youth as cannon fodder in the imperialist war in Viet Nam and protesting the lack of democratic rights for Chicano people. As such this event stands out as a shining symbol of the willingness of the people to struggle determinedly against their oppression and exploitation. Moreover it confirmed in the heat of storm and fire that the struggle of the oppressed nationalities is a component part of the world revolution. Our organization bases itself on the principles of proletarian rev-

olution as summed-up by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. We strive to achieve proletarian dictatorship, socialism and ultimately a classless communist society. This can only be achieved through forging the unity of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities of this country and the armed overthrow of the existing bourgeois state. This overthrow can only occur as a result of a long protracted struggle led by the proletariat under the banner of its vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party. The building of such a party is the central task of all communists and advanced workers of the United States. This has been our task since the treacherous betrayal of the working class by the revisionist "Communist" Party of the USA. This new party and socialist revolution in general cannot be achieved without a consistent relentless battle against any and every type of opportunism -- right opportunism and revisionism and left opportunism and trotskyism -- but most especially against the main danger world-wide and nation-

ally, revisionism and right opportunism. The "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union leads the revisionist parties, such as the "C" PUSA in promoting revisionism and counter-revolution. We stand together with all the world's peoples in recognizing the leading role of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Tse-Tung at its head, and the People's Republic of Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania and Chairman Enver Hoxha in the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. As part of this struggle we are duty-bound to uphold the right of nations to self-determination, and to give direct support to the national liberation struggles of the peoples against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. At the present time the storm center of this struggle is in the Third World. We pledge ourselves to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists to carry out our tasks and to fulfill our proletarian internationalist duty.

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the party's program and general line As Comrade Mao teaches us "the building and Bolshevization of the Party have been closely linked with its political line" (Introducing the Communist, MSW, vol 2)

ATM holds that the key link to moving forward all of our work in the ideological, political and organizational spheres is the struggle to answer the questions posed by our revolution the national question, revolutionary strategy and tactics based on an analysis of the classes of our society, party building; the role of communists in the U.S. trade unions and the mass movements, etc In other words we must develop the general political line for our revolution. This line is developed through the ideological struggle with opportunism and through its testing in the course of leading the class in the political and economic struggles. Only in this process can we win the advanced to the side of communism The political line then is the practical linking of the communist movement with the labor movement. Furthermore the ideological and practical struggle against opportunism lays the basis for the unity of all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists -- unity built in the course of fighting to answer the fundamental questions of our socialist revolution, unity based on the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to our concrete conditions, unity tested in the practical struggles to lead the class and in opposition to opportunism. This does not mean that we negate the further development of our ideological tasks, and ideological line. The ideological line must be further developed in close connection with the political line for as Comrade Mao points out "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." If the ideological line is incorrect then the political line will be incorrect Thus in struggling against opportunism we must always get to the essence of an opportunist political line by pinpointing its social, ideological and philosophical roots. In this way we can strengthen ourselves to recognize and root out opportunist tendencies within our own ranks, which must inevitably manifest themselves as our struggle proceeds through its twists and turns

Political Line is Key Link For All Communists

Political line is the key link for the entire Communist movement and not for just certain organizations at certain times We do not deny that uneven development is a basic law of dialectics and that certain organizations and collectives developed faster than others Our organization is relatively young and did not grasp at the rational level that political line was the key link until 1975 However even our limited experience and study told us in 1972-73 that the lack of a political line held back our development and fostered small circle spirit -- hindering our participation in party building and carrying out the general tasks faced by the communist movement However to hold that political line becomes the key link when an organization finally grasps it is, in essence, an empiricist approach which will lead into the marsh of historical idealism and pragmatism -- it is reflective of detaching oneself from the whole and of bending history to fit one's own outlook alone It would be as if we said that political line became the key link in 1975 when we began to firmly grasp it, rather than in 1972-73 when it became the link which was moving forward all tasks We must resolutely oppose those organizations, such as the October League (and now Workers Viewpoint Organization) which analyze history and determine our tasks by summing up only their own development and generalizing from it.

Our Main Tactical Tasks

Up to the formation of our Party we see our main tactical tasks as
1. Uniting all Revolutionary Marxist Leninists on the political line;
2. Winning the advanced to communism

These tasks are interrelated and must be carried out simultaneously.

To carry out these tasks both Marxist-Leninists and advanced must struggle to develop our general political line and program. This struggle is both theoretical and practical. That is, we must develop our line in close connection with revolutionary practice, through the course of which we must make propaganda the chief form of our activity. This simply means that we arm the advanced with a sound theoretical understanding of the political line. This understanding enables them to give a planned conscious character to the struggles which they lead, and thus makes them

true political leaders of the masses So we can see that political line cannot be developed by Communists alone, but only in conjunction with the advanced In turn the correctness of this line will help to bring forward ever greater numbers of the advanced, who in turn enrich and develop it further.

Burning Questions

We must say a few words as to how we determine what questions must be developed as our general political line To determine these questions we must first study the history of revolutionary movements -- Marxism-Leninism This theory tells us that no revolution can be in isolation. Revolutions are part of a world wide phenomena which requires that revolutionaries of all countries understand the international situation. Secondly, the history of our country tells us that the national question is a burning question in the U.S. -- that it MUST be solved if we are to have revolution. History also shows us that no revolution can be successful if revolutionaries are not armed with an understanding of the motion of all the classes and strata of society -- to determine who are allies, and who are enemies. Our study and experience also show us that communists must grasp tightly the role they are to play in the mass movements and the trade unions -- to avoid getting swallowed up by reformism and trade unionism. The history of the development of modern revisionism tells us quite vividly that we must know the history, theory and practice of party building if we want to construct a party that will withstand the stress and storms of class struggle. Lastly, we must understand all of these questions in their interrelationship in order to develop a comprehensive strategy and tactical plan to guide our movement.

So we can see that it is history and the practical movement which places "burning" questions before us.

The last stage of party building will require the complete development of our organizational line and the fulfillment of general organizational tasks such as the development of a weekly newspaper, the building of a cadre school, the calling of the party congress, the coordination of all cell and fractional work, coordinating resources, etc In this last stage organization will be the key link to moving all of our work forward -- to the organizational formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

Comrades, the above represents our analysis of the development of the periods and stages of party building in the U.S. We lay them out in order to struggle in an open and aboveboard way for unity with all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. We feel that our line represents not only the analysis of ATM but also that of the revolutionary wing of our movement. We don't seek mechanical acceptance of our views but only a positive forward motion in the struggle for unity and in the struggle against opportunism, and the open and honest repudiation of errors of line and practice so that we can all learn from the lessons of class struggle

The October League Party Building "Plan"

In the November issue of the CALL the October League unveiled its plan to unite Marxist-Leninists to build the new party The OL said

ONWARD TO THE PARTY!
UNITE MARXIST-LENINISTS AND
WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

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O.L....

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1. "Party building has become a question of immediacy" and
2. "The present period calls for the actual organizational formation of the new party".

We would like to briefly analyze this plan so that the communist movement can draw the logical conclusions and see the dangers inherent in the OL's "call" to Marxist-Leninists. As this and future polemics will show, this plan is the logical culmination and outgrowth of the general right opportunist line of the October League.

We will organize our analysis by section, beginning with the introduction and going point by point through the "call".

Introduction

This section is a vague non-analysis of periods which states that the old period, from the late 1960's to the end of 1975, is over and that we are now in a new period in which we must immediately form the new party. This vague and diffuse analysis at best only "draws lines" with trends outside the par-

was not until about 1972-73, when political line became the key link, that the struggle was unfolded against the liquidationist Revolutionary Union, and the majority of the communist movement adopted party building as the central task. As to being "consistent and clear" on the central task, the OL has never IN PRACTICE upheld party building as the central task. Negating open and principled ideological struggle, tailing the mass movement, tailing trade unionists (whom they define as advanced) - the OL, in fact, upholds the line of "build the mass movement" and not that of building the party. Of course, like true opportunists, the OL would mouth phrases about party building if the "conditions, time and place" seemed to call for it. However a good example of HOW they carried out party building came in May Day forum held in 1974. This forum was held jointly with a collective which later became part of ATM. When a member of the October League was asked for their position on party building (this at the time of the National Continuations Committee motion), they answered that they could not discuss it - they were there (as communists?) to talk instead about May Day, the Dasco strike and workers unity(!). Party building here, economic strikes there - never shall they meet. This is the "consisten-

many in the movement began to grasp revolutionary theory, to become anti-revisionist (especially after seeing its treacherous role in the mass movements).

In their introduction the OL talks about the "left" and "right" who try and liquidate party building - failing to state who these mysterious liquidators are. Since the OL has always avoided open polemic, unless "attacked", we are left to guess who the culprits are. In fact, in this section the only organizations mentioned are the OL and the CPUSA. They also state that revisionism will "continue to be the main strategic enemy within the working class." This passing glimpse of a strategic plan and the direction of the main blow just happens to leave out reformist leaders, and the bribed trade union leaders - the social props of the bourgeoisie. The implications of this are that the OL will "move the trade unions to the left" by allying with reformist bureaucrats, who of course are not "revisionist". And of course the only revisionists are the CPUSA (as distinct from the "left" revisionist RCP).

Section B. "Conditions Exist"

The thrust of this section is to prove that the subjective condition necessary for the party's formation are now in line with objective conditions

The major points in this section are

1. From collectives in the old period, there now exist national organizations which represent a general trend.

2. That other(?) opportunist trends consolidated and have been driven out of the communist movement and that the fight against trotskyism, anarchism, syndicalism and ultra-leftism has set the ideological basis for the new party

3. That ultra-leftism for a long time posed the main danger in the communist movement and consolidated in the CL and the RU. The CLP has been exposed and has disappeared from view while the RCP is now revisionist in a "left" disguise.

4. A line of centrism is developing in regard to the Soviet Union and the split in the international communist movement - led by the Guardian.

5. Within the last three years an ideological leap has taken place and is one of the main reasons that the party can now be formed. Only pessimists will claim that the movement is not now ready for the organizational formation of the Party.

The first point sums up development from the standpoint of organization and not from the standpoint of ideological and political line. The OL reduces the political development to a question of quantitative development. Of course, if they are big, and can put out a weekly newspaper this will "prove" that they are the party. This opportunist approach also combines two into one and blurs the development and existence of two distinct ideological trends in the communist movement - a revolutionary wing and an opportunist wing - and tries to make it appear as if the OL represents the trend of Marxism, and the other trend consists only of "left" opportunists and "centrists". Right opportunism gets lost in the shuffle

The second point is merely further cover for OL's failure to fight against right opportunism (see RC #3). By zeroing in on the fight against the trotskyites and



Dorothy Healey, long-time leader of the CPUSA announces her resignation from the revisionist party along with Al Richmond, former editor of the People's World. Both belonged to a faction of the party which opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The CALL caption misses the main point: D. Healy was a leader of the party faction most anti-Stalin, anti-Lenin. She ended up being a mouthpiece for NAM (New American Movement) an anti-communist liberal, reform organization. ty building movement such as trotskyites, revisionists and anarchists -- trends rejected by revolutionary Marxism in the first stage of party building. What seems to be the thrust of the "old period", according to the OL was not carrying out the tasks put before us by the movement, but the growing ties of the communist movement to "the mass movement of workers and oppressed peoples", and struggle against revisionism. The OL fails to analyze the motion of the old period and what gave rise to the tasks of that period -- they merely assert, but do not explain. Their analysis also contains certain distortions. For example they state that, "from its very beginnings to the present time, this movement has viewed party building as central among its many tasks" and "the OL for one, has been consistent and clear in its stand on party building". In fact during the early 1960's the movement did not hold party building as the central task. The Communist League was probably the first grouping during the late 1960's to hold party building as the central task (albeit in an opportunist way). Other groups were to hold this line at a later time, but it

cy" of the OL. They remained "consistent" in May Day 1975, when they attacked advanced workers in the Bay area who had the "audacity" to want to put politics into May Day - the OL objected to mentioning the struggle against imperialism in the May Day leaflets. We will leave it to the reader to determine what type of "consistency" the OL is referring to.

Another distortion by the OL is that "it was primarily in struggle against the forces of modern revisionism that the young communist movement was born (our emphasis - ATM). Those stubborn things called facts are the kernel of the dialectical materialist method - the OL is "consistent" in avoiding this method and disregarding the facts. In actuality many of the forces in the communist movement were born out of the struggles of the revolutionary national movements or out of the anti-war and student movements of the 60's. Most had never even heard of revisionism or knew what it was when they began participating in these spontaneous movements. It was only after struggling in these movements, that the question of revisionism confronted us. In struggling to answer the questions which the movement placed before us

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anarchists, who are not even part of the party building movement, OL tries to build a case for their line that "ultra-leftism" has been the main danger in the Communist movement

As far as setting the ideological basis for the party - a failure to fight right opportunism inevitably leads to right opportunism in both theory and practice. The only ideological basis that the OL has established, as their line and practice ("bring in the national guard") show, is a bourgeois one. They lead the opportunist trend represented by themselves, the Guardian, the PSP and others.

The third point emphasizes how ultra-leftism has always been the main danger, particularly the CL and the RU. We ask, since when are trotskyites such as the CL a part of the anti-revisionist communist movement? Why don't we include PLP, the SWP and the Spartacist League and say "look at all the ultra-leftism"? And of course calling the RCP "left" revisionists is only a sophistic trick called for by the complete transparency of RCP's revisionist line. Calling it "left" of course, blurs the fundamental unity of principle between the OL and the RU. As for saying that the CLP has disappeared from view - if the voluntarist OL would get their heads out of the marsh and into the class struggle they would see that CLP is building a base among the proletariat in Detroit, San Diego and parts of the Southwest - how their poison is being spread in the labor and national movements. The CLP will not "disappear from view" nor be wished out of existence by the OL, but must be defeated through struggle in the real world.

The fourth point says that "centrism" and "rightism" are on the rise led by the Guardian and certain unnamed independents and collectives. Of course, what the OL is doing here is insinuating that anyone who opposes their hegemonic scheme for party building is "centrist", "rightist", or "anti-party". Nowhere does the OL analyze what gives rise to centrism and "rightism" in the United States, they only make general assertions without even attempting to show HOW and WHY they reached their conclusions. For instance, they attribute the "ideological leap" taken by the communist movement in the last 3 years to the OL's struggle against "ultra-leftism". Except for one polemic against the Communist League, (done long after polemics had been raised against CL by others), the OL has never waged a consistent struggle against "ultra-leftism". For years they have held that BWC, PRRWO and ATM were "ultra-left". Where then is the open polemic with these organizations? We request that our readers compare the polemics against the CL by the old BWC and the OL to see just WHO was fighting against ultra-leftism. The only ideological leap we have seen from the OL in the last three years is into consolidated right opportunism -- reflected by their party building call. As for the "pessimists" like the ATM, PRRWO, the Revolutionary Workers League and others who have grown up in the struggle against opportunism; we are undoubtedly trying "to hold the movement back" from uniting with the right opportunism of the OL.

While the OL asserts that the subjective conditions are now ready for the building of the party, they ignore(?) the question of programme and line - the prerequisite of any communist party. "Ideological leaps" alone are not enough, what is needed are the guiding line, program and policies - developed by correctly applying theory to our conditions, integrating it with practice and taking our general experience (as opposed to the experience of any one organization) to the level of theory. So we can see that it is more than "leaps" which are required to form a party. Of course, the OL is prepared to casually skip over this necessary step in the absence of which the OL is perfectly willing to substitute its line and program for the line and program of the party. Why struggle -- the OL has already done the work for us (in fact, the OL chairman told us as much in one of our meetings with him. When we mentioned the necessity to struggle out the line and program of the party he replied, "Our line has been out there for 5 years." That, of course, is the problem).

Section C The Fight Back

The major points in this section are



William Z. Foster led the struggle against Earl Browder's attempt to destroy the Party.

The OL takes a completely uncritical look at Foster -- CPUSA's architect of the revisionist "Anti-Monopoly Coalition".

1. Marxist-Leninists are playing a stronger role in mobilizing and influencing many "class conscious workers" and oppressed minority fighters to fight back against the crisis - this growth exposes the anti-(OL) party forces as defeatist and anti-worker elements. The independents and narrow nationalists are increasingly uniting to oppose party building while becoming increasingly isolated from the mainstream of the revolutionary struggle.
2. Organizational growth and ties to the masses indicate our ability to move into the organizational building of the party. The OL is opposed to the formation of new independent Marxist-Leninist groupings built on national lines.
3. Organizational growth can be seen in the increased publication of Marxist-Leninist literature. Conditions now exist to publish a weekly party newspaper, which will strike a blow at the RCP. The main feature of the movement is sharp internal and external ideological struggle.
4. We must unite with great speed and oppose "academic revolutionaries" who want to redefine differences and draw further lines of demarcation outside the new party, as

this will lead to "disaster". Trends have already been demarcated - a Marxist-Leninist trend in opposition to right and "left" opportunist organizational trends.

In conclusion OL determines that the above points make organization the key link.

Point one is notable for its omission of the names of the "anti-party" and "anti-worker" forces who are becoming isolated from the revolutionary movement. Why do they make this omission? Because the anti-party and anti-worker forces are all those who oppose OL's line or their hegemonic and opportunist party building scheme, such as the PRRWO, RWL, ATM, WVO, IWK, MLOC, etc., etc. This begins to leave the OL very lonely and isolated as more and more people discover who is really "anti-party" and pro-opportunist. Of course, the OL is again "consistent" by refusing to name the narrow nationalists and independents who oppose them. The narrow nationalists (a cute, chauvinist term borrowed from their ideological cousins of the RCP) just couldn't happen to represent RWL, PRRWO and ATM could they now? Or is a coincidence that these organizations in, or in motion towards, the revolutionary wing of our movement, are mostly oppressed nationalities - developed out of the nat-

ional movements? And all are resolutely anti-(OL) party.

Point two makes organization, or the body count, the key to party building, while the secondary stuff such as program, strategy, tactics and line unity will be taken care of later on, (like it was "taken care of later on" by the CL and RU). What the OL is saying is that they have recruited enough people to "flesh out" their "party". By "ties to the masses" they definitely do NOT mean the uniting of the advanced workers with communism. OL requires only that "advanced workers" be "open to socialism" as opposed to Marxism-Leninism which teaches us that the advanced "accept socialism consciously" and, as Lenin said, "determine the character of the mass movement". A little bit of a difference we think. To us, ties with the masses means winning over, in the course of struggle, the finest representatives of the class, those who are ready to sacrifice their whole lives to give political (and not just trade unionist) leadership to the masses; those who represent the most advanced ideas and aspirations of the masses, and not just their immediate concerns. Or perhaps by "ties to the masses" the OL is re-

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ferring to their "Fight Back" campaign, which makes it a point to avoid any mention of the necessity for socialist revolution (as opposed to only mentioning socialism) Such ties to the masses have already been made by the reformist leaders and trade union leaders, and con-men politicians like Fred Harris who also want the masses to "Fight Back".

As for opposing the development of organizations built along "national lines", it has always been the duty of all communists to oppose national exclusiveness in principle. We must always and everywhere stand for the multinational unity of the working class, including organizational unity. However, the OL in the past was content to tail the incorrect nationalist tendencies of some forces. They did this, not out of a sense of proletarian internationalism, but to co-opt these organizations and to give the appearance of being multinational. Of course, like everything else proletarian internationalism is determined by one's actual practice, and as we laid out in the last issue of the paper - OL has revealed its true colors in the Gregg Jones Defense Committee which is defending a black worker accused of murder. OL DROPPED OUT of this committee when it refused to endorse the Fight Back Conference. (we also refer comrades to the Alamosa article in this issue for more on OL's "internationalism")

Point three only confirms what we suspected earlier - that the OL wants to build its party on the basis of organization alone. If they can put out a weekly paper - does this not "prove" the correctness of their line? Why, even the RCP can't put out a weekly newspaper. However we are confident that class conscious workers will see through this maneuver and go against the opportunist tide which the OL is attempting to whip up. We call on all comrades to learn from our past error when we failed to take a strong proletarian stand and capitulated to the opportunism of CL's party building scheme. Don't repeat our error comrades, stand up to opportunism. Remember, line is key - as comrade Chou En-lai once said, "With the correct political line, one can have no soldiers and one will get soldiers. One can have no political power, and one will obtain political power."

In point four the OL gives everyone a directive to unite "with great speed" and to struggle against the academics who have the audacity to want to draw lines with opportunism, and to develop a political line and program before we have the party. The OL sternly warns us in a fatherly-chauvinist manner that if their directive isn't carried out this will "lead to disaster". They want to scare us into uniting by waving the very real danger of war and fascism in front of our faces. But it is this very danger which requires a true vanguard party, a party free from opportunism and loyal to Marxism-Leninism. ONLY such a party can turn imperialist war into revolutionary civil war and fascism into the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leave it to opportunists to turn things upside down using patronizing melodramatics at that.

The OL ends this section by telling us that it is fruitless to redefine anything, that trends have already shown themselves - the "left" opportunist trend of the

RCP(?) and the CLP, and the right opportunist trend of ??? And of course the Marxist-Leninist trend is represented by the OL - who want the NATIONAL GUARD to protect Blacks in Boston, who solve the women's question through court suits such as at General Motors in Fremont, California, who tail behind Cesar Chavez on the question of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, failing to show that this board represents the bourgeoisie and not the interests of the working class, who told CLUW members in Oakland that they could fight the international trade union bureaucrats by writing letters to them. We think it's becoming clear just what "trend" the OL represents.

Section D. Principles of Unity

1. The OL begins by stating that the dictatorship, and not socialism is our strategic objective. They say that the dictatorship represents the transitional stage between capitalism and communism and is based on the anti-imperialist struggle.

2. This point deals with party organization and explains how there must be discipline, democratic-centralism, one center, unity of action and unity of will, carry out the mass line and have secret work play the leading role (like it did at their Third Congress, whose documents were in the Congressional Record before the ink was even dry on them).

3. This vaguely runs down the international situation, and says that a united front against the two superpowers must be built, and that we must expose detente, oppose revisionism, support liberation struggles, etc.

4. This point deals with the national question, independence for Puerto Rico, full democratic rights for national minorities and non-citizens. It states that the national movements are the main strategic ally of the working class.

5. This point calls the United Front against Imperialism the vehicle for overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. It includes all that can be united to oppose the reactionary policies of the giant monopolies (sic!), and the core of this United Front is the alliance of the labor and national movements. It calls for no united action with the revisionists.

6. Calls for party unity based on the proletarian approach to the struggle for the emancipation of women, that the women's question is, in essence a class question and that we must oppose male chauvinism and feminism, while fighting for women's democratic rights.

7. Within the labor movement we must work within the trade unions and organize the unorganized, build nuclei and carry out exposures to expel the labor aristocrats and revisionists from union leadership and replace them with revolutionary leadership.

This section concludes that the Marxist-Leninist trend has already developed enough programmatic unity to serve as the basis for organizational unity. At the same time, these points draw a line with the revisionists, centrists and ultra-leftists.

Point one fails to mention socialism. It not only contains this little "ommission" but also substitutes "anti-imperialism" for socialist revolution. We must be absolutely clear -- our struggle in the United States is for socialism, not for some form of new democracy. Again the OL is showing their "con-

sistency". Their leadership once told us that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be based upon the United Front. Since their united front, in practice, includes social props like Cesar Chavez and the Chicano and Black bourgeoisie, we have to wonder what kind of dictatorship of the proletariat the OL is talking about. And why is our struggle only against the policies of the "giant monopolies" instead of the entire capitalist class? Could we have here a call for an "anti-monopoly coalition"? We know of only one group which, heretofore has openly called for such a strategy -- the CPUSA. (We must be fair and mention that the RCP also talks of failing to expropriate the so-called non-monopoly bourgeoisie as a means of isolating the monopolies "to the extreme". We refer comrades to the

DETROIT COLLECTIVE

The Detroit Collective, a Marxist-Leninist collective, has reached political and organizational unity with the October League (Marxist-Leninist). Unity was reached after many months of study and struggle. There are several things that helped us reach this decision. First, the recent developments within the anti-revisionist movement which have led to more clarity on the danger of centrism and conciliationism to revisionism. Our Guardian struggle was directly affected by the OL. Clearly on these questions we feel that this has been a turning point within the anti-revisionist movement, in that it laid bare the nature of the right danger on many important questions, especially on social-imperialism, the national

Now as it enters its fourth year of publication, The Call is preparing itself to come out weekly. This effort is planned to coincide with the actual organizational work to form the party officially. The weekly publication of The Call will mark a major leap forward for the U.S. communist movement and will reflect the qualitative development of our movement organizationally, ideologically and in its mass work. Many people have asked us, "Why is it so important for The Call to come out weekly?"

like the Guardian. This is a paper that has been existence first in the hands of the Communist Party, for a while then, and presently running behind a centrist line. The newspaper is 21,000. This month, The Call surpassed our previous record. We must remember of course that the Guardian is still a monthly. That means for every one of our four or five, filled with slanders of Marxism-Leninism, we have one filled with slanders of Marxism-Leninism. That means for every one of our four or five, filled with slanders of Marxism-Leninism, we have one filled with slanders of Marxism-Leninism. That means for every one of our four or five, filled with slanders of Marxism-Leninism, we have one filled with slanders of Marxism-Leninism.

GUARDIAN COVERS UP REAL CHARACTER OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

CALL EDITORIAL

NO 'UNITED ACTION'

WITH REVISIONISTS

October League Responds to the Guardian

STRENGTHEN YOUR

STAND AGAINST

REVISIONISM

RCP program).

In point five, the OL talks about the alliance and merger of the proletariat with the national movements. We have seen what this means in practice (we refer comrades to the Alamosa article in this issue), as the OL told the Chicano movement to forget the struggle for regional autonomy while capitalism rules ("we must recognize our limitations"), and to fight for the list of reforms offered by the OL. This is more than merger, comrades, it is the liquidation of the national question by the social-chauvinist OL Communists effect the "merger" of the labor and national movements, by helping the proletariat to play the leading role in the national movements, to give it a revolutionary direction by putting forward the basic demands of those movements in a revolutionary way. In this manner we lay the basis for the voluntary union and merger of the labor and national movements.

Rather than repudiating their former view that the United Front was a strategy for revolution, the OL chooses instead, to call it the "vehicle" for revolution. This clever bit of sophistry cannot disguise the fact that the OL does not see the united front as part of the socialist revolution, but only as part of the struggle to "overthrow imperialism," (the policies of the giant monopolies) Of course only idealists would expect

clarity and firmness of principle from opportunists, so it is not surprising that the OL would change "strategy" to "vehicle" while maintaining the essence of their reformist line (oppose the "policies of the giant monopolies").

The rest of the principles of unity which purport to unite us into a Party are equally as loose and general as those we have looked at thus far. We agree with the OL that these vaguely Marxist formulations are "enough to draw a line of separation from the Opportunists". All revolutionary Marxists should easily be able to effect a "separation" from the OL.

Section E. Communists Unite!

The main points of this section are

- 1 The principles are not meant to be a party program but Marxist-Leninists should unite with them anyway
- 2 After meetings and discussion, the new party should be established with a temporary leading body to establish democratic-centralism, survey the organizational forces in the party and prepare for the first party congress to be held one year after the party is formed. A newspaper is to be established under central leadership which appoints the editorial board and will be the main way to get out the party's line and program. Until the first Congress the newspaper will serve as the focal point for ideological struggle and determine how events are to be analyzed and what theoretical works are to be published.
- 3 The main thrust of the mass work will be to build a fighting revolutionary response to the capitalist crisis. In order to do this mass organizations must be built to fight for "Jobs or Income Now", a united front struggle against the imperialist "policies" (sic!) of war (!), fascism, and national oppression (!)
4. The OL asks what makes their program for party building "different" from the RU and CL? They answer that they are building a party based on Marxism-Leninism, and not a chauvinist, reformist, and opportunist trend and that political line is decisive. While CL and RU built their parties based on their isolation from the masses and the genuine communist forces, this isn't the case with the OL, who fought neotrotskyist attempts of RU and CL.
5. The OL's style of work is not sectarian, splittest, or that of wreckers, but is aboveboard and principled, and based on principled struggle and patient work. We must now shift our emphasis to the actual organizational work of party construction.

An analysis of the first point reveals the truth of the statement that the program is truly a minimal basis for unity, so minimal in fact that it could only stitch together a united front coalition to keep out trots and out-front revisionist. It certainly is not the basis of unity required to build a party.

The second point exposes OL's hegemonic designs by calling for organizations to liquidate and take leadership from a "temporary" leading body. Of course since the OL is the biggest organization around, and since it puts out so many thousand papers a month and has a journal, and since it has a large distribution apparatus it would only be "consistent" for the OL to have the majority on the body. Of course political line is "decisive" but size and numbers count too, you see. Of course, this whole arrangement is only "temporary" until the party

congress of a year later, by which time we will have been able to some how thrash out the party's line and program. But of course in spite of this lack of line and program our leading body will somehow direct common work for the entire communist movement. Very profound indeed!

The third points tells us to make the "main thrust" of our work, NOT the struggle for socialism, but the "Fight Back" against those nasty policies of the giant monopolies. Or we can confine our struggle to Jobs or Income Now, rather than showing the proletariat that capitalism can never fulfill such a demand, that only socialism can do so.

In the fourth point the OL tells us that their party program is different than CL's and RU's, after they just got through explaining that this was not intended to be a party program. More "consistency". As far as OL not being isolated from the communist movement, we predict that the "anti-(OL)party forces" will continue to increase as the truth and strength of Marxism-Leninism continues to be grasped by the advanced throughout the country (a fact confirmed through conversations we had with comrades from around the country at OL's Fight Back Conference).

As far as the OL never being sectarian we refer comrades to the example of the Gregg Jones Defense Committee which we cited earlier. In a future article detailing our practice with OL, we will go into more detail on this point, as well as examining their claim to patient and principled work. We point to the example of the Guardian to rebut OL's claim not to wreck or split. While essentially united, both politically and organizationally, for years, the OL did not hesitate to use the Guardian to get out the OL line and to build itself up, while carefully hiding whatever differences they might have had. Then when they felt "strong enough" they did not hesitate to split the Guardian all over the country.

Right Opportunism is Still the Main Danger

While the OL, by seeing organization as the key link, may seem to be skipping over the present stage of party building - a "left" deviation - they are in fact only finally consolidating a complete and thoroughly developed right opportunist line and program. As our future polemics will show this opportunism extends from party building to the national question, to work in the trade unions, to strategy and tactics and to questions of organization. It is this general content which we must expose, which reveals their essence, and which shows us that right opportunism remains the main danger to our revolution.

Comrades, it is our duty to oppose the October League motion, just as it was out duty (in which we failed) to go against the opportunist CL tide. Don't worry about "being left out", of not being part of the "party". A party is built in the struggle against just such opportunism as is represented by OL. Our task then is to intensify the struggle against all forms of right and "left" opportunism, in order to hammer out the party's basic program and line, to fuse ourselves tightly with the working class movement through our ties with its advanced representatives. Most importantly we must resolutely struggle to unmask the OL and expose its right opportunist essence which has crystallized in the form of its hegemonic plan for building a menshevik party.

AND SEATTLE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE UNITY STATEMENTS

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The Seattle Organizing Committee for a New Party (M.L.) is proud to announce our merger with the October League. Feeling that building a new party is a matter of principle immediacy, the Organizing Committee has struggled against the main deviations on the questions of principle which crop up in Seattle just as they do in the rest of the country. The Committee has had to guard against dogmatism and its twin brother, right opportunism. Since the beginning, in its attempt to build principled unity, the Committee has welcomed the ideological integrity of the October League, particularly its struggle against the left opportunism of some groups which sound very revolutionary, but practice national chauvinism, male chauvinism, dual unionism, and tend toward social-fascism.

"On to the Party, Build the Weekly Call"
by Mike Klonsky

ALAMOSA...

been a bloody struggle, one where the oppressor nation has used everything from judicial fraud to open terrorism to drive the campesinos off the land. The campesinos have responded with many forms of struggle, from guerilla warfare to the armed uprisings of the '60's. Even today, it is a very common occurrence for campesinos to take up arms to defend their land.

In this workshop the struggle between reform and revolution was crystallized immediately as the campesinos made presentations, some representing reformist views, and some, revolutionary views. During the discussion that followed, the experience of the Chinese and Vietnamese peasantry were given as examples to learn from as to which road the struggle of the campesinos should take. Throughout the conference ATM and friends of ATM continued to put forward our line. The ATM line was clearly presented.

First, the struggle of the land was presented as a part of the overall struggles against national oppression, as a part of the two basic demands

The revolutionary demand for governmental unity was distinguished from the reformist demand



for "community control" The question of land was shown as part of the demand for expropriation of the capitalist class of the oppressor nation in the southwest, and their bourgeois state. It was then pointed out how the struggle must be revolutionary, and that the enemy was not white people but imperialism-- who is the target of the revolutionary struggle. We pointed out that the majority of Chicanos are part of the working class and that this was the class that would lead the revolutionary struggle of Chicanos, and also its relationship to the multinational proletariat of which it is a part, and that the struggle of Chicanos is a part of the struggle for socialism. In short, comrades, this is how we see the linking of partial demands to the basic demands of the national movement, and the national movement to the struggle for socialism. In such a presentation we give the national movement a revolutionary direction and we do not liquidate the national question nor the struggle for socialism, but rather, show their interrelationship. It was pointed out that all these questions merited more discussion and the two basic demands were put forward in the form of a resolution.

Immediately the struggle broke out. Those who opposed the resolu-

tion can be broken down to: (1) the open reformists, (2) the sham "Marxists" (the October League), and (3) those who were not clear on our position (a very small number) It is important to make such distinctions and not lump everyone together. For example, after the workshop we met with people who voted against our resolution because of unclarity, and we were able to win them over to our position. There were many attempts to get the resolution watered down or withdrawn but this only encouraged more struggle. It was during this struggle and ONLY here, in opposition to this resolution, that the OL spoke out and put forward their line. Their position went like this (this is almost verbatim):

"We agree (with the reformists) that the resolution is too narrow (sic!) and that it should be broadened out. First of all we have to understand that we have certain limitations under capitalism and that the solution to this question can only come about under socialism. In the meantime we want to propose the following demands...."

This was followed by OL's shopping list which they call "Program of Democratic Demands For The Chicano People" (e.g., "Drugs Out of the Barrio") (c.f., Class Struggle, #2, p.44)

OL -- IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM

We do not intend to go into a complete criticism of OL's position on the Chicano National Question here, that will follow in subsequent issues of Revolutionary Cause. But we will expose OL's opportunist position here briefly.

The questions raised by the OL are:

1. The question of "achievability",
2. The question of partial demands
3. The national question as an internal state question,
4. The national movement and the struggle for socialism.

Our contention is that the OL's line is thoroughly opportunist. That it fosters reformist illusions liquidates the national question, strengthens the hand of the bourgeoisie, destroys the interests of chicanos and the world revolutionary movement, that it breaks the link between the national movement and the struggle for socialism -- in short that they are what Lenin termed Imperialist Economists

Now we shall prove it.

1. The question of "achievability". The OL calls for recognizing our "limitations under capitalism". They approach the question as true imperialist economists. In dealing with the question of "achievability" in regard to self-determination (this applies also to regional autonomy, OL's slogan for the Chicano national movement) in the era of imperialism, Lenin states:

".. the assertion is incomplete and inaccurate. This is because not only the right of nations to self-determination, but all the fundamental demands of political democracy are only partially 'practicable' under imperialism, and then in a distorted form and by way of exception (for example, the secession of Norway from Sweden in 1905). The demand for the immediate liberation of the colonies that is put forward by all revolutionary Social-Democrats is also 'impracticable' under capitalism without a series of revolutions. But from this it does not by any means follow that Social-Democracy should reject the immediate and most determined struggle for all these demands -- such a rejection would only play into the hands of the bourgeoisie and reaction -- but, on the contrary, it follows that these demands must be formulated and put through in a revolutionary and not a reformist manner, going beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality, breaking them down, going beyond speeches in parliament and verbal protests, and drawing the masses into decisive action, extending and intensifying the struggle for every fundamental democratic demand up to a direct proletarian onslaught on the bourgeoisie, i.e., up to the socialist revolution that expropriates the bourgeoisie. The socialist revolution may flare up not only through some big strike, street demonstration or hunger riot or a military insurrection or colonial revolt, but also as a result of a political crisis such as the Dreyfus case or the Zabern incident, or in connection with a referendum on the secession of an oppressed nation, etc.

Increased national oppression under imperialism does not mean that Social-Democracy should reject what the bourgeoisie calls the 'utopian' struggle for the freedom of nations to secede, but, on the contrary, it should make greater use of the conflicts that arise in this sphere, too as grounds for mass action and for revolutionary attacks on the bourgeoisie" (LWC, vol 22, pp. 145-146)

But this did not convince Pyatakov or Bukharin (nor has it convinced the OL) and so Lenin again wrote a series of articles dealing with this question, (the first three articles in volume 23 of his collected works):

"That is the 'crux' of his misadventures he cannot solve the problem of how to link the advent of imperialism with the struggle for reforms and democracy -- just as the Economists of blessed memory could not link the advent of capitalism with the struggle for democracy" (LCW, vol 23, p 15)

"The opponents of self-determination are hopelessly confused in their references to its being 'unachievable'." (ibid., p. 17)

"The independence Norway 'achieved' in 1905 was only political. It could not affect its economic dependence nor was this the intention. That is exactly the point made in our theses. We indicated that self-determination concerns only politics, and it would therefore be wrong to raise the question of its economic achievement." (op cit., p.48)

The two basic demands raised by ATM are democratic demands achievable under imperialism. If the OL feels that they are unachievable (see "Islands of Socialism" section on page 43, Class Struggle #2) they should then lay out why the Comintern was wrong in making these two demands part of the three basic demands for the National Movement in the Black Belt South (the third demand was self-determination - 1930 resolution). The demand for governmental unity is a democratic demand. The demand for expropriation too is a democratic demand. Today countries throughout the Third World are expropriating the enterprises of multinational corporations, not because they are socialist countries, for in fact they have capitalist regimes, but because this is a fundamental democratic right. But the OL cannot support such demands, not only because they are social-chauvinist, but also because they are reformists, militant reformists, but reformists nonetheless. The "achievability" of these demands presupposes "That the demands be formulated and put through in a revolutionary and not a reformist manner, going beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality, breaking them down, going beyond speeches, in parliament and verbal protests, and drawing the masses into decisive action,..."

HORRORS! This might lead to revolution!

So we find on the one side the national movement in the struggle against national oppression, and revolutionary direction being given by communists; and on the other side, the armed violence of the bourgeois state trying to suppress the movement and alongside it their social props, the OL, demanding that we come to our senses and recognize our "limitations" under capitalism.

2. The Struggle for Partial Demands.

We layed out above how we linked partial demands to the basic slogans of the national movement and to the struggle for socialism. The OL does the opposite. First, they liquidate the basis for giving the partial demands a revolutionary direction by rejecting the two basic demands. Then they claim that the question must await resolution until after the socialist revolution. In the meantime the OL's shopping list of reforms can be struggled for "militantly" (read militant reformism) and that somewhere, someday, as a result of militant economism they will be linked to socialism.

The CI, in 1930, condemned this

petty-bourgeois reformist approach to the Afro-American movement:

"One should not venture to draw up a complete program of some kind, or a system of 'positive partial demands' Such programs on the part of petty-bourgeois politicians should be exposed as attempts to divert the masses from the necessary hard struggles by fostering reformist and democratic illusions among them. Every positive partial demand which might crop up is to be considered from the viewpoint of whether it is in keeping with our revolutionary fundamental slogans (governmental unity, expropriation, self-determination -- ATM) or whether it is of a reformist or reactionary tendency. Every kind of national oppression which arouses the indignation of the Negro masses can be used as a suitable point of departure for the development of partial struggles, during which the abolition of such oppressions, as well as their prevention through revolutionary struggle against the ruling exploiting dictatorship (of the oppressor nation - ATM) must be demanded." (1930 CI resolution on the Negro Question in the U.S.)

Now then, where do we find the OL? Precisely what the CI condemns is what the OL upholds -- militantly, of course. The CI correctly characterizes this as the politics of "petty-bourgeois politicians", "fostering reformist and democratic illusions" (just like calling for the national guard to "protect" the Afro-Americans in Boston -- a consistently reformist line!), and of course "reactionary".

3 The National Question as an Internal State Question.

Unlike the RCP, the OL is not so bold as to claim that the national question is an internal state question. The OL hides essentially the same position by reminding us to "recognize our limitations under capitalism" - i.e., the rule of the U.S. bourgeois state. More than this we must stop dreaming up schemes about "islands of socialism" (a strawman), drop any revolutionary demands from the struggle of the national movement (too narrow!), take up only the "shopping list" program of OL, tell the national movement that regional autonomy must await socialist revolution -- and here it is -- nowhere is the national movement in practice or program shown to be a part of the world revolutionary movement. The CI, instructing the CPUSA in the 1930 resolution, pointed out:

"Communists must fight in the forefront of the national liberation movement and must do their utmost for the progress of this mass movement and its revolutionization."

The OL, on the other hand, calls for "recognizing our limitations under capitalism." What we wish to point out here is (1) the tasks of communists in a national movement, and (2) that the national movement is part of a world revolutionary front against imperialism and social-imperialism. That is what makes it a component part of the U.S. socialist revolution. The OL claims to see this, but in practice it calls for "recognizing our limitations." We see this movement

as part of a world revolutionary front and that one way in which we support the struggles of oppressed peoples and nations around the world is by intensifying the struggle against imperialism in the national movement, by doing our "utmost for the progress of this mass movement and its revolutionization", not by "recognizing our limitations."

The social-chauvinist stance of the OL betrays the fundamental interests of the Chicano masses and all oppressed nationalities. It betrays the struggle of the proletariat for socialism by spreading chauvinist and reformist ideas and propping up the imperialists. And it betrays the world revolutionary movement. The struggles of the world's peoples support each other and social-chauvinists who call for "recognizing our limitations" render support only to the imperialists. Or perhaps the OL should have called on the heroic peoples of Indo-China to "recognize their limitations" in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Political Line IS The Key Link!

The conference brought out many



lessons for communists, particularly in this stage of party building where political line is the key link! It confirmed the correctness of the line of the revolutionary wing in carrying out our two tactical tasks - uniting genuine Marxist-Leninists and winning over the Advanced, and of propaganda as the chief form of activity. It confirmed also the correctness of ATM's line, as far as it is developed, on the tasks of communists in the national movement.

The Alamosa Conference brought together many new forces from the national movement in the southwest. This came out clearly when a comrade from Colorado, speaking in behalf of the Independent Marxist-Leninists, gave a presentation in the final general assembly and stated:

"Brothers and sisters, the history of the world revolutionary movement has taught us that the only ideology that can lead to the liberation of oppressed peoples and the emancipation of the working class, is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought!"

As the comrade was finishing this statement, hundreds of Chicanos jumped to their feet in a standing ovation! Only the few die-hard cultural nationalists refused to stand and stared open-mouthed in disbelief

IN COMMEMORATION OF



**"We're tired
of toil
for naught"**



Harriet Tubman



**Depression -
strikes and struggles**

In Lawrence Mass. in 1912 over 20,000 workers of many nationalities over half women and children went on strike. They struck successfully for ten weeks despite intimidation and brutality against long hours insufficient wages and speed up. These children are not on holiday but are workers on strike.

And if we want to speak seriously of the can only come about by uniting with the struggle with the struggle of the oppressed peoples of common enemy who daily tries to grind us down question on International Women's Day -- because the oppressed in our country -- a fighting all working women and men of the United States



It is clear that if we are going to win as a struggle against the cause of their oppression of parasites own and control the land, factor value in this country. Owning these things against people who use them who exploit them the people. They do this in many ways -- most that peoples of color, the oppressed national fore be treated worse than the rest of the people. So we get the picture that "women should remain women are objects of pleasure" and so on. As situation gets more desperate so do their most degrading and disgusting fashion -- with their sterilization programs and all the rest women against the rich ruling class. Until we shall see our sisters put to the torch of capitalism this system to destroy its roots and to build working people control the factories, mines and masters of their own land -- where the working state. Where the working men and women plan of the great majority of producers. Where the desire to exploit and oppress others. We are a society where men and women hold up the sky oppression and the oppression of women.

Give us bread, but give us roses

Let us dedicate ourselves today in memory of the world, to fight to end our oppression to build which alone can lead us to victory and freedom.

Let our Battle Cry be --

**Women at
Little Steel
stand up**

The women's ILGWU grew to five times its former size. The CIO broke away from the AFL in 1935. It organized working women, skilled and unskilled in unprecedented numbers on an industry wide basis. Women were still at the bottom of the heap, with minority women at the bottom of the bottom. All during the depression women were urged to stay home and leave what few jobs there were to men. Once again, women and minority workers were forced into poorer paying jobs as a reserve labor force. This economic status was justified on the basis that women were less entitled than men to good jobs, decent pay and the right to organize.



Little Steel Strike—Women Join the Fight—The victorious Flint sit-down inspired other industrial workers to organize unions and the steel workers took up the struggle in 1937. As at Flint the strikers' wives fought at their husbands' sides. Police are supposed to protect the innocent right? But it was courageous women like these who soon found out they had to take the law into their own hands to fight off police attacks on picketers and back their husbands just demands for better conditions in the deadly steel mills.



**New sources of
wage slaves**



Women in the Fur and Leather Workers Union Protest Post war high prices to their jobs and war production decreased. bosses thought it would be women and minority workers. But workers united to fight back. Like the 1926, 1927 and 1938. As part of the post war drive to increase wages, winning wage increases to meet food prices which had doubled in 7 years.

JOBS NOT 1
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EN COMEMORACION DEL DIA

IN COMMEMORATION OF

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN



Harriet Tubman



Si se puede - It



Chicano farmworker unionize. The women taken the lead in organizing the boycott. Many cities to organize Gallo wine

uggles

In Lawrence Mass in 1912 over 20 000 workers of many nationalities over half women and children went on strike They struck successfully for ten weeks despite intimidation and brutality against long hours insufficient wages and speed up These children are not on holiday but are workers on strike



And if we want to speak seriously of the emancipation of women we must realize that it can only come about by uniting with the struggle of Black people in the U S , by uniting with the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the U S and the entire world against the common enemy who daily tries to grind us down That is why it is important to raise this question on International Women's Day -- because it is the key to the emancipation of all the oppressed in our country -- a fighting alliance of the national movements and the working women and men of the United States

It is clear that if we are going to win emancipation for women it can only come about as a struggle against the cause of their oppression That cause is the fact that a handful of parasites own and control the land, factories, mines and all other things of productive value in this country Owning these things gives them control over the people who work in them -- who HAVE to work in them in order to live But people have a tendency to fight against people who use them who exploit them So the owners must divide us, must divide the people They do this in many ways -- most notably through the spread of the outlook that peoples of color, the oppressed nationalities and women are inferior and should therefore be treated worse than the rest of the people (who only face "normal" exploitation) So we get the picture that "women should remain in the home" "women shouldn't be working", women are objects of pleasure" and so on And of course as their economic and political situation gets more desperate so do their methods of dividing us -- portraying women in the most degrading and disgusting fashion -- with their pornography their sexist advertising, their sterilization programs and all the rest So it is not women against men, but men and women against the rich ruling class Until we take what is rightfully ours from their clutches we shall have women's oppression we shall have the poison of male supremacy we shall see our sisters put to the torch of capitalist greed! It is up to us to fight against this system to destroy its roots, and to build in its place a socialist system where the working people control the factories mines and mills Where the working people are the masters of their own land -- where the working people control their own state a socialist state Where the working men and women plan and run their socialist society for the benefit of the great majority of producers Where the only people who are oppressed are those who desire to exploit and oppress others We are fighting for just such a socialist society -- a society where men and women hold up the sky together and build a world free of war, national oppression and the oppression of women

Let us dedicate ourselves today in memory of the valiant women fighters of the whole world, to fight to end our oppression to build the new to forge the unity of the peoples which alone can lead us to victory and freedom

Let our Battle Cry be --

JOB'S NOT IMPERIALIST WAR!!!

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN!!!

FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES!!!

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION !!!

Joanne Little [center] in Raleigh N C with supporters



As witness to the real position and especially Black women, the case of Joanne Little--a Black woman locked up in prison, who was charged with murder because of herself against a rapist guard. Look closely, we find nothing in this Black people were brought in chains They were brought to this country as slaves AND THEY TRIED--they made cotton, the main product of America--and they did it with blood

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New sources of wage slaves

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Women in the Fur and Leather Workers Union Protest Post war high Prices Job and Wage Cuts--As veterans returned to their jobs and war production decreased bosses thought it would be easy to cut overtime and eventually lay off the women and minority workers. But workers united to fight back like these Fur and Leather workers who went on strike in 1926 1927 and 1938 As part of the post war drive to increase wages women manned picket lines month after month winning wage increases to meet food prices which had doubled in 7 years

Women struggle on m



N COMEMORACION DEL DIA

INTERNACIONAL DE LAS

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY



emancipation of women we must realize that it is the Black people in the U.S. by uniting the U.S. and the entire world against the... That is why it is important to raise this... it is the key to the emancipation of all... and the

emancipation for women it can only come about... That cause is the fact that a handful... s, mines and all other things of productive... es them control over the people who work in... ve. But people have a tendency to fight... So the owners must divide us, must divide... notably through the spread of the outlook... ies and women are inferior and should there-... (who only face "normal" exploitation)... in the home" "women shouldn't be working",... of course as their economic and political... ds of dividing us -- portraying women in the... their pornography, their sexist advertising... So it is not women against men, but men and... take what is rightfully ours from their... shall have the poison of male supremacy we... list greed! It is up to us to fight against... an its place a socialist system where the... mills. Where the working people are the... people control their own state a socialist... l run their socialist society for the benefit... only people who are oppressed are those who... ighting for just such a socialist society --... ogether and build a world free of war, national

of the valiant women fighters of the whole... the new to forge the unity of the peoples

PERIALIST WAR!!!
S FOR WOMEN!!!
ATIC RIGHTS FOR ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES!!!
NATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION !!!

Si se puede - It can be done!



Chicano farmworkers have been leading the struggle to unionize. The women who have worked in the fields have taken the lead in the fields on picket lines and in organizing the boycott. Hundreds of UFWU members went to many cities to organize the boycott of grapes, lettuce and Gallo wine.

Joanne Little (center) in Raleigh N.C. with supporters



As witness to the real position of Black people, and especially Black women, we can look to the case of Joann Little--a Black working woman locked up in prison, who was forced to defend herself against a rapist guard and WHO WAS CHARGED WITH MURDER because of it. But if we look closely, we find nothing strange about this. Black people were brought to this country in chains. They were brought to this country as slaves AND THEY BUILT THIS COUNTRY--they made cotton, the mainstay of colonial America--and they did it with their sweat and blood.



Sixty percent of all Native American families live below the federal poverty level. Male unemployment among Native Americans is triple and sometimes five or six times higher than for whites. Women are forced to take low paying service or industrial jobs--when they can get work at all.

No more broken treaties



Women struggle on many fronts



Job and Wage Cuts--As veterans returned... easy to cut overtime and eventually lay off the... Fur and Leather workers who went on strike in... men manned picket lines month after month.



Throughout the world women have risen up to take a vital role in the struggles to liberate their nations. They are working to build new societies that recognize the real equality of women and men. Women arise awake march let your echoing footsteps be heard from ocean to ocean and across the seven seas.

INTERNACIONAL DE LAS MUJERES