

# SEIZE THE TIME



Vol.2 No.3

October 1975

50¢/35¢



## Inside This Issue:

THE BLACK COLONY -  
A PROGRAM FOR LIBERATION part I  
NATIONAL LIBERATION WITHIN THE U.S.  
THE ECONOMICS OF IMPERIALISM WITHIN THE U.S.  
NATIVE AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY.  
CLASS STRUGGLE: WORKPLACE ORGANIZING.  
FROM THE SISTERS: A CRITIQUE OF THE WHITE  
WOMAN'S MOVEMENT.  
WORLD REVOLUTION: PORTUGAL, AN ANALYSIS.  
CULTURAL REVOLUTION: DIEGO RIVERA



# The Black Colony-A Program for Liberation

## PART 1

### INTRODUCTION

A hundred years ago, Black people were the victims of the "great betrayal." The dreams of freedom, equality and democracy that had been built up during the Reconstruction era were brutally shattered by the Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877. The rise of the KKK, the former slaveowners and the brutal repression of Black people was traded for the Northern ruling class's right to economically exploit the South. The first Centennial of the birth of the United States was celebrated by the rise of the KKK, the rise of the Northern imperialist ruling class, and a campaign of reenslavement and genocide against Black people.

Another hundred years have passed, and Amerika is preparing for the Bicentennial celebrations. The US has grown to be the most hated imperialist power in the history of the world. Black people within the US have struggled for the last twenty years to gain the same rights of democracy, equality and freedom we struggled hard for a hundred years ago. Over the past years, our struggle has more and more been identified with the anti-imperialist struggles of the world's colonized peoples. Malcolm X and Robert Williams brought our struggles to the attention of the freedom fighters of other lands. Since the early sixties, our struggle has grown and intensified under the leadership of individuals such as Malcolm X, Dr. King and organizations such as the old Black Panther Party, SNCC and ALSC.

The seventies saw broad retreat by our movement under the external pressure of intense governmental repression and the internal pressures of incorrect political lines, lack of understanding of organizational forms, lack of discipline and lack of principled unity. Black organizations folded or were severely crippled by the dual menaces of external attacks and internal weakness. Russian revolutionaries pointed out that the true test of a revolutionary organization is not how well it leads during periods of mass rebellions and revolutionary fervor, but how well it leads during the darkest periods when repression is most intense, mass support at its lowest ebb, and the balance of forces is such that the ruling class is clearly dominant. Vietnamese revolutionaries take this thought further by saying that revolutionaries recruited during the low ebb of revolution are generally more reliable than those recruited during high points because their commitment will be based less on emotionalism and more in firm beliefs of the justness of their struggle.

As 1976 approaches, mass struggle and resistance are on the rise. Urban rebellions are occurring in the ghettos of the towns and cities of the US. These spontaneous rebellions occur in response to depression level economic conditions, increased police and vigilante repression and massive governmental cutbacks in educational and social programs. Unemployment is over thirty percent in the inner city, inflation reduces worker's paychecks by up to twenty percent, while welfare cutbacks threaten disaster for many poverty stricken households. Vigilante activity is on the increase. Six counties in California are being terrorized by a massive white fascist militia. This militia has fired on and ran UFW organizers off ranches and fields. In a Florida county the militia rides in the sheriffs cars during patrol. In Wilmington Delaware a thirteen year old Black woman-child was shot in the back by a white property owner for allegedly picking a few peaches. She died.

The image of Black children being attacked by mobs of whites clearly shows the choices facing our people and activists. In 1975 we are under attack throughout the United States. Our children, men, women, workers and communities are under the most savage attack since the end of Reconstruction. Conditions are much worse than they were when the sixties rebellions were flaring across the map.

But conditions are different than they were during the sixties, the people learned through struggle both the joys and benefits of victory and the bitterness and heartbreaks of defeat. The struggles for human rights, community control, democracy in the workplace, Black Studies and support of African Liberation have taught us

much. We have learned the power, creativity and criticism of the masses in popular movements, broad coalitions such as ALSC, mass organization such as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and cadre organizations such as the Black Panther Party. We have learned the great dangers of trying to combine mass and cadre organizations, of not building strong mass bases, of unprincipled struggle, lax security and adventurism.

Now is the time for Black Revolutionaries to examine our history, sum up the experience of past twenty years of struggle in the US as it enters its third century. Strong leadership is necessary if Black people are to collectively heighten our struggle for freedom, self determination and democracy. As Mao stated many years ago, the three required tools for the liberation of a people are a strong national unified front and a people's revolutionary army both led by a strong revolutionary party. We feel that at this time the formation of a Black revolutionary cadre organization is absolutely necessary. Only such an organization can coordinate mass struggle, throughout the US. Only such an organization can coordinate and build different forms of struggle and lead Black people through times of rising revolution and strategic retreat. Such an organization would have the strength and experience to confront such difficult questions as combatting the attempted consolidation of fascism, making principled alliances with other revolutionary forces, seeking international support throughout the world for our struggle and combatting the fascist forces in the working class.



"They don't use the word violence until you're about to explode. When it comes time for a Black man to explode they call it violence. But white people can be exploding against black people all day long, and it's never called violence. I mean have some of you come to me and ask me and I for violence? I'm the victim of violence, and you're the victim of violence. But you've been so victimized by it that you can't recognize it for what it is today."

Malcolm X, Dec. 12, 1964

### A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PAST THIRTY YEARS

We understand that such an organization can only be built on principled unity, scientific analysis and a sound concrete program. We put forward our analysis and program for evaluation- discussion and struggle by our comrades in the movement.

Many activists have a poor understanding of the Black Liberation Struggle. This is because they refuse to take a historical materialist view. They do not understand the different class forces contending at each stage of Black history or the nationalist content of the various struggles. Many activists see only what they want and ignore the rest. This leads to narrow minded statements such as, "The Black Panther Party was the only correct revolutionary organization during the late sixties and early seventies," or that the Panthers were completely adventurist and reformist and did the movement more harm than good." Both views are wrong and have led to serious mistakes. We must view each movement, organization and individual dialectically (recognizing both the positive and negative) and make an honest evaluation from the stand point of looking at an entire situation, not just part of it.

One of the problems that many activists have is that they are familiar with only the past decade of our liberation struggle.

They take the decade of Malcolm X, urban rebellions and Panther Party in isolation without understanding the historical basis for this period. The militance of the sixties was based on massive economic and social changes that had occurred during and prior to World War II. The major change was the completion of the migration process and further urbanization of Blacks. The ship and airplane factories of the west coast brought further urbanization of Blacks. This final "great migration" led to the almost equal distribution of Blacks between the North and South. The main thrust of this migration was accompanied by a secondary movement of Black people into the Southern cities. This urbanization process would lead to the situation that by 1970, 84% of Black people would live in urban centers.

Secondly, Blacks, as a people, advanced economically during the second World War. Barron, in Demand for Black Labor states, "World War II marked the most dramatic improvement in economic status of Black people that has ever taken place in the urban industrial economy. The income of Black workers increased twice as fast as that of whites. Occupationally, Blacks bettered their positions in all of the preferred occupations. The biggest improvement was brought about by the migration from South to North (a net migration of 1,600,000 Blacks between 1940 and 1950.)" Barron continues, "The changes that took place in the economic deployment of Black labor in WWII were clearly an acceleration of developments that had been under way since WWI. In a process of transition, at a certain point the quantity of change becomes so great that the whole set of relationships assume an entirely different character." This change in improvement in economic status slowed during the post war years of the late forties and again surged during the Korean War. After the Korean War, Black people's conditions continually declined. In a period of 'no war' the US economy had no choice but to decline. In the following economic slowdown, the worst hurt were the Black workers. This decline in the economic life was heightened by major industries such as the packinghouse and steel industries moving to the South, Southwest and West. These industries were "running away" from powerful and substantially Black unions of the North. One of the most powerful was the United Packinghouse Workers based in Chicago. This union was mostly Black and very powerful. Black activists inside of this union, mostly middle level officials and shop stewards, waged a campaign to win Black control of the Union. The battles these activists waged over conditions in the plant, community issues and control for the union, fortold the latter massive battles between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers against the automotive industry, United Auto Workers and the united bourgeoisie of Detroit. As in Detroit, the union and the industry combined to attack the struggle of Black workers. Unlike the struggle in Detroit, the Packinghouse workers in Chicago were decisively defeated. The union officials were worried about future organizing drives by the Packinghouse workers and abandoned Chicago for the non-union havens of Omaha, Nebraska. The steel and auto industries would follow the packinghouse industries into the non-union South and West. Industries such as the electronics industry would take those "runaway shops" out of the country to the neo-colonies of Mexico, Phillipines, Taiwan, South Korea, etc.

Savage terror co-existed with the economic decline of Black people during the fifties. Lynchings were commonplace everywhere between Mississippi and Chicago (the lynchings of Black workers by white youths in Chicago during the fifties was put to a rapid halt as Black street gangs retaliated for the lynchings.) At the same time Black activists of the thirties and forties were under attack by the right wing forces of Joseph McCarthy and Richard Nixon. Repression had driven many activists underground or into 'retirement'. The unions were becoming more and more the props of capitalism. However, the dismalness of the early and middle fifties was soon to be broken. The anti-colonial struggles of Asia

Cont. Pg. 3

Cont. from Pg. 2

and Africa were beginning to stir Black people within the US. Events such as the Bandung Conference and the independence of Ghana did not go unnoticed. Closer to home, the 1954 decision of the US Supreme Court in favor of school desegregation was a strong signal of the coming civil rights movement. Less than a year after the decision, Rosa Parks sat in the bus that would spark the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the beginning of Dr. King's many campaigns. Many Southern Blacks felt that the decision would lead to instant desegregation. When it became obvious that desegregation would take place slowly and only under pressure, the mass movement of the civil rights era began.

The Civil Rights Movement must be seen as a progressive national movement in which different classes united and struggled against a colonizing power. Different classes had different goals and it was not until the struggle had been transformed from one of civil rights to one for human rights would the struggle begin to realize its revolutionary potential.

The Civil Rights Movement reached its height during the early sixties. The success of the tactic of direct action in Montgomery, Selma and other Southern cities gave fuel to the desires of the masses for equality. In this period, the Civil Rights Movement was truly a mass movement that embraced the Black people of the South. Workers marched, students attempted to integrate lunch counters, and the bourgeoisie provided leadership and reaped most of the benefits (open housing, better education for their sons and daughters, and some increase of job opportunities for trained professionals.)

However, by 1963, the Civil Rights Movement was in serious trouble. It became increasingly clear to the masses of Blacks that civil rights struggles would neither substantially alter their living conditions in the work place or the community or change the basic power relationships that had oppressed Black people during their entire history within the US. At the same time that the ineffectiveness of the Civil Rights Movement was becoming apparent to the Black masses, the concept of non-violence was being challenged. The scenes of Bull Connor's dogs and pigs attacking and brutalizing peaceful marchers in Birmingham, Alabama flashed across millions of TV sets and etched in the minds of the masses. Many began to argue that self-defense was both a basic human right and a basic human duty, especially since non-violent tactics were not bringing substantive changes to the lives of the masses.

The Civil Rights leaders recognized that they needed some action to galvanize the sagging movement. By 1963, demonstrations, marches, countless jailings and many deaths had changed the mood of many organizers. The March on Washington was originally conceived as a massive Black demonstration that would be aimed at shutting the capitol down until Blacks received true justice and equality. Obviously this was unacceptable to the ruling Democratic Party leadership. The sellout of the March by the Civil Rights leaders is well known. What was to be a massive, militant direct action was transformed by them into a picnic party. Dissenters such as SNCC's chair, John Lewis had their speeches censored. His speech denounced the Kennedy Civil Rights Bill which many recognized would go unenforced and bring no real changes. His speech said, in part, "In good consciousness, we cannot support the Administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little and too late. There's not one thing in that bill that will protect our people from police brutality... What is in the bill that will protect the homeless and starving people of this nation? What is there in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5.00 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year?" The civil rights movement began to lose even its white liberal support as it attempted to take the issue to the northern cities. Dr King remarked in 1966 that the racist violence he encountered in the working class neighborhoods of Chicago was worse than that he had encountered in Selma Alabama. The urban rebellions that started in 1964 put a finish to the civil rights movement. When the ruling class realized that civil rights leaders could not control the angry workers and youths of the Black inner cities, they concentrated on new strategies to contain the

new militant movement for national liberation and its new nationalist leaders.



MALCOM X, ROBERT WILLIAMS AND THE URBAN REBELLIONS

One of the first to highlight the new militancy of the Black movement was the former head of the Monroe, North Carolina NAACP chapter, Robert Williams. Recognizing the injustice of the court system he stated that "They (Blacks) must convict their attackers on the spot. They must meet violence with violence." Statements such as this and actions such as forming a Black branch of the National Rifle Association led to his suppression by the NAACP. When a white mob attacked a peaceful protest violently, many Blacks were beaten and jailed. An elderly white couple wandered into the Black community. Angry bloods seized them and threatened to hold them hostage until the arrested demonstrators were released. In the face of the threat of a massive police and vigilante invasion of the Black community, William's rifle group voted to get Williams out of the country. This decision probably prevented a massive slaughter. Williams was granted political asylum in Cuba and later resided in China.

In the North, Malcolm X was providing leadership to the militant masses of Harlem. After his break with Elijah Muhammed in March, 1964, Malcolm broadened his thinking with his discussions with other Black leaders, Muslim leaders in North Africa, and various African heads of state and representatives from the various liberation struggles. Recognized as the father of Black revolutionary nationalism, Malcolm X's lasting contribution to the Black Liberation Movement is the amazing content of his many speeches and interviews. In the final 52 weeks of his life, he laid the ideological basis for modern Black revolutionary struggle. First, he took the Black Liberation struggle out of the sphere of civil rights and into the sphere of human rights. In doing so he argued that the Black Liberation struggle was not an "internal problem" of the US but a viable part of the struggle of the peoples of the world for the basic human rights of freedom, equality and self-determination against "white world supremacy." He argued that our allies were the revolutionary peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Further, although there were progressive whites within the United States and we must unify our people and rely on our own efforts before we could build alliances with others. Malcolm pointed out that capitalism and racism were connected ("you can't be a capitalist and not a racist"); that capitalism was a decaying "vulturistic" economic system and that all progressive TW countries "had some type of socialism." Like other African revolutionaries such as Amilcar Cabral and Franz Fanon, Malcolm X understood the profound role of a people's culture in a national liberation struggle. He called on Black revolutionaries to launch a "cultural revolution to unbrainwash an entire people." He recognized that armed struggle would be a necessary component of our struggle and was attempting to build a Black United Front, the Organization of African and Afro-American Unity, when assassins' bullets cut him down. Malcolm died in February, 1967 as he was trying to implement organizationally his ideology. It would take organizations such as SNCC and the BPP to try to implement his ideology in practice.

The twin struggles of Black people in the urban centers and the Indochinese people battling US imperialism dominated the US from 1964 to 1972. Black activists in SNCC, the BPP and other organizations quickly drew parallels between the anti-colonial struggles in Vietnam and what many activists saw as the anti-colonial struggles of Black

people. The Civil Rights movement had given birth to a variety of middle-class student based organizations which became more nationalist as they saw the failure of the integration-oriented Civil Rights Movement. The defeat of the popularly based Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic Convention by the alliance of Hubert Humphery, Lyndon Johnson and John Stennis was the last straw for many of the SNCC activists. Activists realized that Black people lacked power, and that until we gained power there would be no meaningful social change. The Black Power Movement was, at first, essentially a reform movement. Black activists felt that, by mobilizing Black communities throughout the country, they could force the ruling class to be responsive to their needs. At this point it was accepted that one of the few powers that Black people had (and had demonstrated in Watts) was a great capability for violence. However, by 1966 it was clear that meaningful change would be impossible within the framework of the present social system. The twin pressures of masses of angry Blacks in the US and mounting defeats for US imperialism by the Vietnamese were driving the US social system to a massive internal crisis. It was obvious that the few crumbs that the various Federal poverty programs threw at Black people were no more significant than the earlier civil rights legislation. At the same time the state was using massive military repression in response to the urban rebellions and was using Black youth as cannon fodder in Indochina. Black organizations had a choice; either to take up Malcolm's challenge and join the struggle on the side of the anti-colonialist forces of the world, or to give in and accept a few reforms for a newly expanding Black elite. This was a classical choice facing the nationalists throughout the world: to either become bourgeois nationalists, and not threaten the status quo, be satisfied with some relative privileges for a 'native elite' and actively join in the oppression of the native masses; or to become one with the people and embrace the struggle of revolutionary peoples throughout the world. Dr. King, SNCC, CORE and all Black student organizations were faced with this choice. This question was most dramatically confronted on the issues of Vietnam and organizational relationships to the government. As early as 1966, SNCC came out in support of a Student for Democratic Society (SDS) anti-war demonstration. Their statement read, "Samuel Young (a SNCC activist) was murdered because US law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are being murdered because the US is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The US is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires." By 1967 Dr. King had come out completely against the war. He would eventually refer to the Vietnamese as "our Vietnamese brothers."

King's denunciation of the Vietnam war is one of the four factors which led to his assassination. The others were; that he was becoming an international spokesman for Blacks in America as Malcolm had been, he was attempting to build a massive coalition of poor Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans and whites, and he was beginning to shift his base to the working class, supporting such struggles as the Memphis garbage strike. FBI files show that he was about to become another Malcolm with an even wider mass base. As in Malcolm's case, the FBI felt that such a radical, charismatic leader must be eliminated.

CORE was considering an anti-war resolution at its convention in 1965 but it was tabled at the request of James Farmer. This was a significant setback. Leaders such as Farmer would eventually wind up in the Nixon Whitehouse.

The response by imperialism to the beginning stages of revolution by a colonized people is to militarily smash the peoples' movement while buying off a section of the native elite in order to give some appearance of relaxation of colonial relations. Robert Allen quotes Franz Fanon in description of this period of anti-colonial struggle, "Once the native masses begin picking up weapons, then the colonialists become loudest in their pleas for nonviolence. They assert that nonviolence is the only way to achieve social change, and they invite the native elites into their offices to discuss the situation. The colonial rulers are particularly fearful because blown-up bridges, ravaged farms, repressions and fighting

Cont. Pg. 10

# Native Sovereignty In North America

Editor's Note: This article was written by Native people in Canada. It is included here because much of the history and analysis is similar to that of Native people in America. The U.S. Department of the Interior also tries to divide Native people into "reservation", non-reservation, urban, terminated, etc. saying that one group has these "rights" and others don't.

\*\*\*\*\*

The Indian people at the turn of the 19th century were a part of a world process—the process of colonization by England, France, United States and Canada. Although this same process began much earlier in our history, it was at this time that the organized and open rebellion around the principles of national self-determination occurred. Our heroic ancestors (Louis Riel, Dumont, Geronimo, Sitting Bull and many more) fought long and hard against this colonialization. Their struggle was one of self-determination as an independent nation. Their struggles did not take place in isolation; everywhere throughout the world colonized people rose up in rebellion against the colonizers. At the time of the Riel Rebellion, the peoples of China rose up in a mighty storm against the colonizers, the peoples of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Brasil, the many nations of Africa, Asia and South America also rose against the colonizers. All were defeated, but as today is the witness of great changes in the world, the defeat was temporary. Today the United Nations Assembly is made up of countries barely a decade old, peoples formerly colonized, have gained national independence. This has had a profound impact on the world, each new victory for colonized peoples has served as an inspiration to other peoples still struggling. Further, the peoples of the world recognize that all colonized people have a common struggle, and they aid each other in the building of their nations. It is in this same context that we must view our struggle.

Our history has been one of colonization ever since the first settler came to this land. There is a peculiarity about our history of colonization in North America, however, and that is that we now constitute a minority living within the same geo-political boundaries as the mother country, and though we are generally excluded from the citizenship that other Canadians enjoy by virtue of their birth, we are kept dependent by "welfare statism". Further, the nationals of our nation are determined by a "legal" colonial status. Culturally, politically and socially and economically, the metis, Eskimo, Inuit, Treaty and Status Indians share a common history. We are divided by Canadian law only—which is of course not our law.

As a colonized people, though we are a minority vis-a-vis the settler population, we have a right to self-determination. And yet, we have no control over our lives, our children's schooling, what soever. This foreign government has kept us in a state of dependence and domination so complete that we are afraid to call ourselves a nation. We call ourselves societies, charitable organizations, associations, anything but a nation of peoples. We, as an internal colony, not only have no political, economic or social control over our lives—we don't even have land any longer. And we needn't feel that status and treaty Indians got a "better deal". At the

time of confederation and the institution of reservations, the native peoples of this land got one sixteenth the land per family that Canadian settlers got and that was before the mass expropriation of our lands by industrialists, railroad corporations and land speculators! We are all in the same boat. We need land. Land is the basis of any nation.

Before the government tells us of what rights we may struggle for, and we are referring to aboriginal title, treaty rights, etc., and who constitutes an Indian, (we mean the legal division between status, non-status, metis, treaty, Eskimo and Inuit,) we need to establish for ourselves that first, we are an historically colonized people and as such we have an inalienable right to independence as a nation and that this right is not negotiable, and secondly, that all rights proposed to us by the foreign government in Ottawa are abnegated by that singular right—the right to national self-determination.

With that in mind we need to establish our national boundaries. We need to determine the quantity of land that would allow us to be economically, socially and politically self-sufficient. Only national independence and the meeting of the land requirements of statehood will end the dependence that our people suffer from. Only complete control over our nation's natural resources and an end to the exploitation of our lands by foreign business will allow us to tap the creative power and ability of our own people.

NATIVE STUDY GROUP  
Vancouver, Canada

## CAMPAIGN FOR THE SURVIVAL OF AMERICAN INDIANS

We are sending you this information as the first step in a nation-wide campaign to expose U.S. aggression against Indian peoples on Indian land. The terror tactics of the BIA and FBI on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota are the most extreme examples of the organized attack on Indian people by the U.S. government that has followed the Occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. Another example from the Northwest is that the budget for enforcement of the illegal laws of Washington State on Indian fishing (a violation of the original treaty rights as upheld by the Bolt decision) has increased from \$5,000 in 1974 to \$904,000 for 1975. On August 18, federal and state marshalls with 200 armed police and a helicopter arrested 3 persons and confiscated 3 boats and eleven nets belonging to Native Americans at Frank's landing on the Nasqually Reservation.

The people of the U.S. rose in the late '60's to demand an end to the Vietnam War with a cry of "Bring the War Home". The U.S. government has done just that, against Indian people. We must again ask the U.S. people to raise their voices to stop the horror at Pine Ridge. We need your help to do this!

\*\*We must overcome a strict nation-wide news blackout to inform the people of this country. This article details only a few of the more recent incidents at Pine Ridge.

\*\*We must raise tremendous sums of money to cover printing and mailing costs to distribute this information on a wide-scale

basis.

We must do these things before we can begin to organize and mobilize people to stop the War.

Our immediate future plans include distribution of information and organizing for an initial anti-war demonstration on Oct. 14, Columbus Day, in as many cities as possible across the U.S. We are also considering further demonstrations and a trailing of the Bicentennial Wagon Train slated to arrive at Valley Forge on July 4, 1976, in an attempt to capture some of the press coverage this event is receiving and remind the U.S. people of what those wagon trains meant to Indian People.

SEND CONTRIBUTIONS AND WRITE FOR MORE DETAILS TO:

Survival of American Indians  
P.O. Box 719  
Tacoma, Washington 98401

OR

(206) 456-1375  
El Centro de la Raza  
2524 16th Avenue South  
Seattle, Washington 98144  
(206) 329-9442



On August 5, 1975, 150 people left Olympia, Washington on a 6-day march to Portland, Oregon to protest the campaign of war and aggression against the Indian people at Pine Ridge and Rosebud Indian reservations being waged by the U.S. government through its agencies, the BIA, FBI, and others.

Since January of this year there have been numerous murders on Indian lands in South Dakota. They have indiscriminately taken the lives of Indian men and women of all ages, and have included murderings of children and the elderly. We have been unable to find any valid investigation of any of these deaths, or of the conditions and government attitudes that led to them.

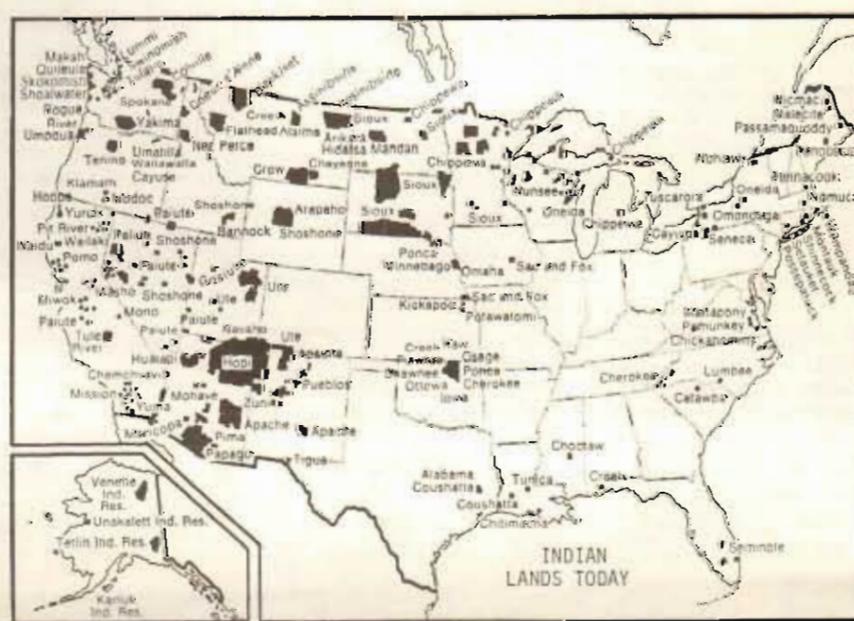
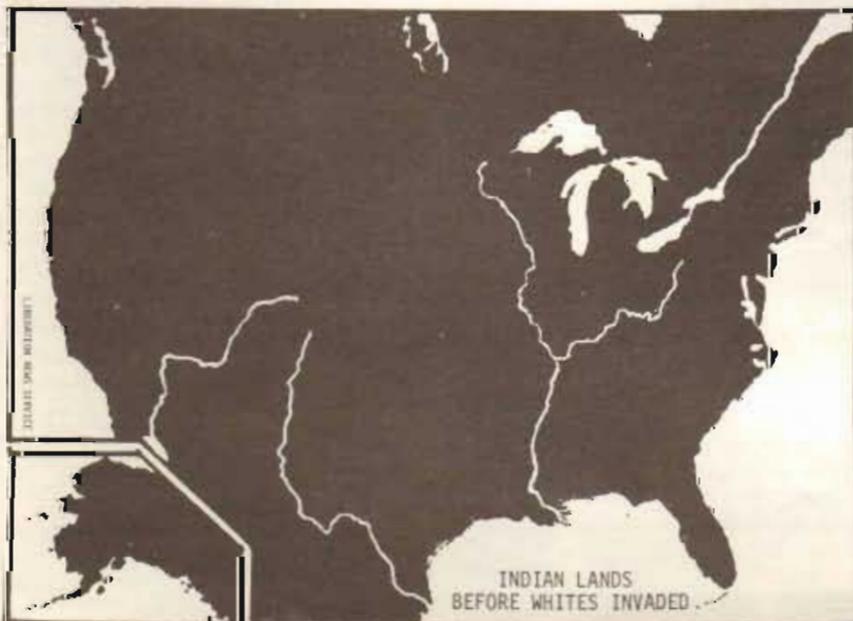
Living conditions and incidents of vigilante, goon squad, and police brutality are worse than they were at the outbreak of the 1973 battle at Wounded Knee. The Federal agencies charged with the responsibility of protecting Indian lives and treaty rights, the Aberdeen area office of the BIA in particular, are coordinating the inter-agency and military acts of aggression while effectively preventing this information from reaching the free press.

Several parallels to the South Dakota conditions, existing here in the northwest, bring concern that murders and aggression on the scale of South Dakota could focus next against northwest Indians. The Boldt decision has not solved all the northwest Indian fishing people's problems. Treaty-guaranteed fishing rights are still being violated, and the state's steadily increasing fisheries and game-law enforcement forces together with the growing hostility of non-Indian commercial and sports fishermen, leaves us in a potentially explosive situation here.

Approximately 250 people marched on the final day, August 11, as the march reached Holladay Park in Portland. At a press conference in the park Sid Mills read this statement written by Ida Stuntz (Killsright), whose husband Joe, was murdered by the FBI in South Dakota 2 months ago:

The Ida Stuntz (Killsright) family is demanding in the form of restitution for the murder of her husband, Joe Stuntz (Killsright), the amount or figure derived at the

continued on pg 6



# BEHIND THE LINES

## BOSTON

In Boston, 26,000 of the city's 94,000 pupils are being bused to desegregate 162 public schools. School attendance is up to 72%; last year the highest attendance was 65%. While attendance has grown, racist attacks have lessened. Whether this is due to the huge military presence in Boston, or to the organizing efforts of anti-racist forces in the white community will be clearer when the military forces leave.

As Louise Day Hicks has said, "Whatever is going to happen in Boston is going to set the tone for the forced-busing issue elsewhere." Racist forces around the country are turning to Boston for leadership. White revolutionary people are studying Boston to gain a better understanding of racism and the methods for organizing against racist mobilization. Whether or not they are successful, organizers working in Boston should summarize and analyze their practice making it widely available to organizers around the country. As the economic crisis heightens, overtly racist and fascist mobilizations such as Boston and Louisville will occur more frequently and more intensely. Obviously, the white movement must be prepared to deal with those situations if we ever hope to lead the white working class on to a socialist revolution.

Seize the Time has tried to learn what organizing is going on in the white communities in Boston. This article does not attempt to do a full analysis of the sit-

uation, as we don't have all the facts and the outcome of those organizing campaigns is not yet clear. However, because of the importance of the conditions in Boston, we will continue to investigate and pass on as much information as possible.

The broadest based anti-racist organization in Boston is "Greater Boston Tenants and Workers," which has been a primary organization behind building defense squads since April. These defense squads are mobilized through telephone trees when potential riots are developing. They have, on occasion, successfully stopped white mobs from attacking Black people. They have tried to place people in strategic positions; as school bus monitors, and as observers along bus routes and inside the schools. Although "Greater Boston Tenants and Workers" has found that they cannot do much organizing in those positions, they are important in that the people in them have gained a better understanding of the problems and the perspective of the white students and parents.

Another important development is the forming of anti-racism committees within existing organizations like the National Lawyers Guild and some Tenant's Unions. The situation in Boston has graphically brought home the importance of combatting racism in all areas of our practice.

One negative aspect of the organizing in Boston is sectarianism. The Progressive

Labor Party, which organized the Committee Against Racism, has taken some of the strongest, most militant stands in defense of busing. However, because of their own history of sectarianism and because of the political disagreements people have with Trotskyism, they have been unable, and unwilling to unite with the white left in Boston around militant-anti-racist practice. PLP is an important example, although not the only example, because of the possible repression the left in Boston, particularly the PLP, faces. In the face of that repression, it is particularly important that we clarify possible areas of unity.

While it is important to be honest and principled about our politics, we have to understand the difference between that and sectarianism. What is required is an assessment of what is primary in a given situation. In Boston, the mobilization of the fascists is primary - they are the main enemy. The response on the left should be a strong, anti-racist united front to stem the racist tide.

*Look, we in congress are all for real school integration but busing is an artificial means that doesn't solve the problem!*



*Also, redrawing of school boundary lines is phony and doesn't get at the problem!*



*And rezoning the suburbs is just another superficial gimmick that skirts the problem!*



*The problem is how to achieve real school integration in an orderly, natural fashion while keeping the races separate.*



### CONGRESSIONAL ATTEMPT TO LEGALIZE FASCISM

## STOP SB1!

Senate Bill 1 is a 753 page omnibus crime bill, that if passed would allow the police a free hand in impressing anyone who disagrees with the government. This bill would completely rewrite the U.S. crime code. The document is too extensive to review entirely, but here are some of its key points:

**ESPIONAGE:** Under the guise of "national security" the Official Secrets Act defines espionage as the knowing collection or communication of "national defense information" and would leave newspapers, reporters, and editors open to prosecution for the publication of an article the government did not like. This section of the bill goes on to broaden the definition of foreign power to include "any international organization" and thereby makes it a crime punishable by death for an American organization to communicate with its international counterparts. The final sections of the Official Secrets Act deal with disclosure and unlawful obtaining of classified information. Under its provisions, the publication of a document like the Pentagon Papers would be punishable by a fine of \$100,000 and seven years in jail.

**TREASON:** During the last ten years, the U.S. has technically not been at war; but under S.B. 1 those who called for victory to the Vietnamese could have been prosecuted as traitors, a crime punishable by death. SB 1 handles the crisis facing the power structure by criminalizing all opposition, by punishing anyone who "with intent to bring about the forcible overthrow or destruction of the government of the United States or of any state as speedily as circumstances permit", "incites others to engage in conduct which then or at some time in the future would facilitate the forcible overthrow of such government". The word "facilitate" is intentionally general and vague so that the slightest opposition to the state could be called treason.

**SABOTAGE:** Under the vague terms of this section, anti-Vietnam war demonstrators who

interfered with public transportation by their very numbers could have been prosecuted for sabotage, a major felony. Virtually every form of demonstration against the government would be classified as sabotage. The penalty? Life imprisonment. This section also attacks trade unions by making any form of picket line, sit-in, plant occupation, or demonstration a felony punishable by \$100,000 in fines and 15 years in jail. Section 1331 defines a riot as "tumultuous conduct" on the part of five or more people which "creates a hazardous or physically offensive condition" or which "obstructs a federal government function."

**CRIMINAL CONTEMPT:** In direct violation of the double jeopardy clause in the Fifth amendment, SB 1 would allow a judge to sentence a defendant to six months in jail for contempt of court and then charge the defendant with another federal offense for the same action. This measure could be used against political prisoners and workers striking in defiance of court injunctions.

**ENTRAPMENT:** Under this section SB 1 gives free license to such activities as the recently disclosed CIA domestic operations. This section makes entrapment impossible to prove. Agents of the government could proceed to infiltrate, disrupt, and openly provoke the labor and progressive movements and be guaranteed court approval and protection.

Anyone interested in cooperating to build a national movement against this fascist measure, please contact:

AD HOC COMMITTEE AGAINST REPRESSION  
P. O. BOX 40458  
San Francisco, CA 94140

# BREAK DE CHAINS



Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your iniquity and your love in revolution, Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people.

GEORGE JACKSON



## JOANN LITTLE FREED!

On August 15th, a jury of six whites and six blacks acquitted Joann Little of murder. Joann had been charged with the murder of Clarence Alligood, a white Beaufort County prison guard. Joann's response to the charge was that Alligood had tried to rape her, and that she had defended herself from the attack.

Joann's acquittal is a victory for all oppressed people. It is a victory which affirms the right of women to defend themselves from sexual assault. In particular, the victory is a blow against the racist oppression of Black women in the South.

Seize the Time wishes to convey our love and solidarity to Joann Little. Your victory is truly a people's victory. As you've said, "I've never been pessimistic about the power of the people...I know that if the people stood together, we could win."

## Yvonne Wanrow Wins Appeal

Yvonne Wanrow, divorced mother of three, is a Colville Indian, Lake Band, who lived and worked until recently, in Spokane, Washington. In 1972, a series of events led to her arrest and conviction for killing a man who attempted to molest her eight-year old son.

### THE CASE:

\* On August 11, 1972, William Wesler, armed with a knife, attempted to molest Wanrow's son Darren, and the ten-year old daughter of Shirley Hooper, Yvonne's babysitter.

\* After the incident, Hooper's seven-year old daughter, Mildred revealed that it had been Wesler who, several months earlier, had raped her and infected her with V.D.

\* The incidents were reported to the Spokane police who refused to do anything.

\* The night of August 11, the mothers stood guard over their children together. Wesler, drunk, burst into the house and headed toward one of the children. Yvonne screamed for help, and Wesler turned and lurched toward her. She shot him as he attacked her.

\* Yvonne immediately called the police to report the incident. She was not informed of her rights even though she underwent intensive questioning. The call was taped without her knowledge.

### THE TRIAL:

\* Denied a trial by her peers, Yvonne was tried by an all-white jury.

\* The judge refused to allow testimony to familiarize the all-white jury with Indian culture, and Yvonne's feelings about protecting her children.

\* The judge refused to allow evidence of Wesler's history as a child molester and rapist. He did not allow the child Wesler had raped to testify because it was "irrelevant".

\* The judge did, however, admit the illegal tape of Yvonne's call as evidence. The call was played twice before the jury.

\* On August 9, 1973, Yvonne Wanrow was convicted and sentenced to two concurrent 25 year prison terms, and one mandatory five year sentence (for use of a deadly weapon).

# S/Q SIX- TRIAL UPDATE

On Saturday, August 21, 1971, Soledad Brother George Jackson was shot to death by guards in the prison yard at San Quentin. The authorities said he was shot while trying to escape.

Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, John Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez, and Willie Tate are in the Adjustment Center (maximum security) at San Quentin in Marin County, California. They have been charged with conspiracy and murder in the deaths of three guards and two inmates at San Quentin on the day George Jackson died. They are also known as the San Quentin Six.

### TRIAL UPDATE:

Currently the prosecution is calling its witnesses. So far they have only called correctional officers, the sixth witness being Charles Breckenridge. The prosecution witnesses have been consistently inconsistent. Their testimony has been full of holes and hasn't held up under cross-examination from the defense.

A key development in the San Quentin Six trial has been Allen Mancino's refusal to testify as a prosecution witness. When Allen was a Soledad inmate, he was approached by Captain Charles Moody, and offered probation if he would murder George Jackson. Mancino turned down the offer. On August 21st, Mancino was one of the few white inmates in the yard where George Jackson was murdered. Allen was shot in the leg and left bleeding by the prison authorities.

Since the events of August 21st, Mancino has been constantly moved from one prison to another. From Carson City to Walla Walla, Mancino has been held incommunicado by California prison author-



DEFEND THE SQ 6

continued from pg. 4

ities. Finally, Allen Mancino was able to get in touch with his lawyer to issue a statement that said any testimony that authorities were attributing to him was false and had been beaten out of him.

Now the prosecution wants to call Mancino as a witness. Mancino has issued a statement saying he will not testify for the prosecution and that he will take the fifth amendment. Allen Mancino's refusal to testify for the prosecution puts his life in grave danger. His lawyer, Sally Soladay, has filed suit to get Mancino out of the hands of the California corrections system and into the custody of federal marshals. Currently, Allen is being held in Carson City.

People are urged to attend the San Quentin Six trial, which is held on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, 9:30 to 4:00, at the Marin County Courthouse.

FREE THE SAN QUENTIN SIX!  
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

## NATIVE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN

continued from page 4

cost of the United States Government to kill one Vietnamese soldier in Vietnam.

With the war having been brought home by the U.S. government against the Indians now and in particular Joe Stuntz, we demand that it be paid for Ida, her sons, Grey Horse and Richard promptly!

-Survival of American Indians Committee and supporters.

SOME OF THE RECENT INCIDENTS AT WOUNDED KNEE THAT HAVE HAPPENED IN CONNECTION AND FOLLOWING THE OCCUPATION IN 1973:

\*\*23 murders on the Pine Ridge reservation alone in 1974.

\*\*Some 47 rounds were shot into the houses of AIM supporters, many of which were filled with women and children during shooting sprees.

\*\*yet no one has been arrested in connection with any of these incidents, even though the assailants were identified.

\* a 2 year old boy's arm was shattered by bullet.

\*\*Jeannette Bissonette, mother of six, and witness to AIM leader Pedro Bissonette's killing by BIA was shot and killed.

\*\*Richard Wilson, tribal council president of the Oglala Sioux (a puppet body set up by the BIA) armed and uniformed 30 supporters with money from federal grants for a "highway safety program" and "tribal rangers".

\*\*After several incidents between this vigilante squad and AIM members with injuries and deaths on both sides, an AIM member was charged with murder. The AIM member, Jerry Bear Shield, was later shot in the throat and his friend killed. His main defense witness was killed with her 4 month old daughter and 4 year old Earl Janis.

\*\* no one was charged with the killing of AIM members, their supporters or the defense witnesses.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WOUNDED KNEE LEGAL DEFENSE-OFFENSE COMMITTEE TO ASSIST IN THE DEFENSE OF AIM MEMBERS FACING LEGAL CHARGES CAN BE SENT TO:

Wounded Knee Legal Defense-Offense Committee

P.O. Box 918

Wounded Knee, S.D.



YVONNE WANROW AND HER CHILDREN

\* Yvonne won her appeal for a new trial, which will begin in November of 1975.

### Yvonne Needs Our Support

As a mother, and as an Indian, Yvonne Wanrow protected her loved ones in the only way she could. We cannot sit quietly by and allow her to be unjustly imprisoned for defending her children.

Yvonne is working to prepare for her new trial. Money is desperately needed to prepare for legal expenses and living expenses. Contributions may be sent to Yvonne Wanrow's Legal Defense Fund, Seattle First National Bank, Spokane Branch, Acct.# 82172-115, Spokane, Washington, 99207.

Bay Area Yvonne Wanrow Defense Committee



# PORTUGAL : AN ANALYSIS

25 DE ABRIL 1974

The Portuguese revolution is a serious threat to US imperialism's present strategy for world domination. Before the popular uprising of April 1974 Portugal fulfilled the same role for US imperialism as Iran, Brazil, the Philippines, and South Africa. It was a sub-imperialist power furnishing its own exploited national resources to maintain a fascist dictatorship at home and opposing national liberation movements abroad.

Portuguese troops fought in African colonies against FRELIMO in Mozambique MPLA/FNLA/UNITA in Angola, and PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau with US/Nato equipment and direction in the same manner as Iranian troops fight in Namibia against SWAPO and in Zimbabwe against ZANU. The ruling class fears the response of the American people and the ability of US military in a future commitment similar to Vietnam and consequently has given primary responsibility to sub-imperialist powers to be the cornerstones of counter-revolution throughout the world. One way the US does this is by giving massive amounts of military hardware in the guise of foreign aid to the sub-imperialist powers like Portugal. One of the crucial factors in this situation is the maintenance of fascist dictatorships within these countries in order to insure maximum US influence. This creates a situation where the military of the countries like Portugal finds itself in a double bind, fighting a war that is certainly not for the benefit of the colonized peoples, yet yields no visible results for the colonizing forces either: Portuguese troops return home to find massive police repression, rampant unemployment, inflation and a stagnant economy controlled by US and western European corporations.



## HISTORY OF THE MFA

This contradiction was the catalyst for the development of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), which in its brief history has overthrown a fascist regime, ended twenty years of colonial war for millions in Africa and restructured the economy of Portugal towards socialism. The MFA has been opposed from its inception by the imperialists through NATO, the CIA, the Catholic church, and the petit bourgeoisie of Portugal.

The origins of the MFA are in the African wars of national liberation. The leadership of the MFA, past and present, saw first hand the devastating effects of Portugal's subjugation. Antonio de Spínola, the comman-

# WORLD REVOLUTION



der of the Armed Forces under the fascist Caetano and president of the MFA between April and September 1974, served in Guinea-Bissau; Otelio Sarvia de Carvalho, the commander in chief of the Army, was the Portuguese governor of Guinea-Bissau. More importantly hundreds of thousands of enlisted men and women served in Africa in brutal senseless war that the majority of the military felt unnecessary and that civilian resisters in Portugal openly opposed through mass protest and guerilla action despite the harshness of fascist rule. When the soldiers returned home they found themselves in the role of those they had fought-oppressed by an insensitive regime that was clearly not operating in the interests of the masses of Portuguese people.

The anti-fascist resistance movement in Portugal was as old as fascism but due to the size and effectiveness of PIDE (the FBI of the fascists) it has been ruthlessly checked for 48 years. The twenty-two member central committee of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) spent a collective total of 308 years in PIDE prisons. Countless thousands were imprisoned and one out of every 400 Portuguese informed for the PIDE during the five decades of fascist rule. The only way for the resistance to seize power in 1974 was to have the only institution more powerful than the PIDE intervene—the Armed Forces.

continued on pg. 9

# PUERTO RICO

The following is reprinted from a special issue of *PUERTO RICO LIBRE!*, the bulletin of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee:

Because of a systematic information blockade maintained by the US government, few people in the United States are aware of the Puerto Rican people's long history of struggle for freedom and independence.

Began in the 19th century against Spanish colonial rule, the battle for independence has continued for more than a century, outlawed, militarily attacked, denied and subverted by imperial powers, yet always enduring and expressing through a variety of forms the existence of the Puerto Rican nation and its will to live.

Today the issue— independence or colonialism—is rapidly becoming a life or death question for an ever-widening number of Puerto Ricans. Low wages; high prices; living day-to-day off foodstamps and hand-outs; contamination of air, land, water; forced migration; massive sterilization; americanization of Puerto Rican language, culture, way of life: more and more Puerto Rican people are identifying these conditions with US colonialism, and coming to the conclusion that independence is necessary to survival.

The independence movement today reflects that broadness, that growing national feeling. It is a truly massive movement, including political parties, student federations for independence in universities and high schools, organizations of professional people, such as lawyers, who defend the independence struggle, artists, writers and musicians who express the history and culture of the Puerto Rican nation and pro-independence sentiment.

Mass movements against US expansion such as the superport and the copper mining plans bring more and more people into the ranks of independence fighters. Mass organizations describe colonial conditions in their platforms, such as the Puerto Rican Women's Federation, which sees the colonial society as one of the major exploiters of women.

Trade union organizations, such as the United Worker's Movement, struggle against

## History of the Puerto Rican Liberation Struggle

**1865:** The Republican Society of Cuba and Puerto Rico is created in New York, with a constitution that reads "only by the force of arms can we wrest from the... Spanish nation the right to manage our own affairs..." Its members include *Independientistas* exiled by the Spanish authorities from Cuba and Puerto Rico, such as Ramón Emeterio Betances, who has fought for the freedom of slaves in Puerto Rico and begun the movement for complete independence from Spain.

**1867:** Betances writes the "Ten Commandments of Man," which correspond in many ways to the U.S. Bill of Rights.

**September 23, 1868:** The town of Lares is seized by *independentista* revolutionaries and the Republic of Puerto Rico is proclaimed with its own flag and constitution. Although militarily a failure, the event is still celebrated today by Puerto Ricans as the birth of the Puerto Rican nation.

**1898:** When the U.S. troops invaded Puerto Rico on July 25, a group of Puerto Ricans in the Spanish Army refuse to surrender and flee to the mountains to begin guerilla operations against the invaders.

**1904:** The independence wing of the Union Party, (founded by Luis Muñoz Rivera, father of Luis Muñoz Marín) struggles in the House of Delegates, the only popularly elected legislature in the colonial system, for a plebiscite on Puerto Rico's status.

**March 12, 1916:** The House of Delegates approves by unanimous vote a memorandum opposing U.S. citizenship. Nevertheless, the Jones Act imposes U.S. Citizenship in 1917.

**1922:** The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party is founded, partially in response to the failure of the Unionists to wrest any concessions on independence from the U.S.

**1932:** After the introduction of a bill to downgrade the national flag to the status of a colonial banner, an outraged public marches on the capitol building and routs the Senate during its deliberations on the bill, which was quashed.

**1934:** A massive strike of sugar industry workers ousts the AFL

leadership and replaces them with a Nationalist Party labor formation.

**Feb. 24, 1935:** Police stop a car carrying Nationalist Party members outside the University of Puerto Rico. In the ensuing confrontation, known as the "Massacre of Río Piedras," four Nationalists and one policeman are killed, and forty people wounded.

**February, 1936:** A high police official, Colonel E. Francis Riggs, is assassinated. Two Nationalists picked up as suspects are murdered inside the police station.

**1936:** The leadership of the Nationalist Party, including its President, Pedro Albizu Campos, are arrested and jailed on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. Government by force and violence.

**March 21, 1937:** A Nationalist Party march and demonstration in Ponce, commemorating the freeing of the slaves in Puerto Rico in 1873 and demanding the release of the imprisoned Nationalist leadership, is fired on by police, killing 20 and wounding over 100.

**1943:** The Pro-Independence Congress forms, uniting pro-independence factions from different groups, parties, and labor organizations.

**1940, 1944:** The Popular Democratic Party, headed by Luis Muñoz Marín, is voted into power on an independence platform.

**1946:** The Puerto Rican Independence Party emerges from the Pro-Independence Congress in response to Muñoz Marín's renouncement of the demand for independence the year before, and his purging of the left wing from the PPD.

**1947:** The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico is recognized as a "non-governmental organization" with official observers having access to sessions of the U.N.



continued on pg 19

# MESSAGES TO THE PEOPLE



"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." Mao Tse Tung  
"Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses. Pay Attention to Methods of Work"

## POLITICS IN COMMAND

by the Weather Underground Organization

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

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

Without mass struggle there can be no revolution. Without armed struggle there can be no victory.

There are many on the left who self-righteously condemn all violence of revolutionaries. They are keeping their own hands clean by avoiding the full consequences of revolutionary ideas. For these people, the revolution will happen only *some day* and hopefully be made by somebody else. But power concedes nothing without a demand. Armed struggle is an extension of political struggle, just as war is politics with bloodshed. Under certain historical conditions political struggle leads necessarily to armed conflict. When a small ruling class maintains itself in power by force and violence, when the masses of people are forced to work and live in brutalized and violent conditions, political struggle both peaceful and violent is the inevitable result.

Violence is not a thing to want or a thing not to want. It cannot be called into being or wished out of existence. Violence is a monopoly of the U.S. state. It is woven into the very fabric of capitalism; in Rap Brown's words, "as American as cherry pie." U.S. official policy

is violent and brutal; the brutal imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam, the fascist coup in Chile, the colonial hold on Puerto Rico. Capitalism is a violent system having at its center the violent relationship of exploiter and exploited, worker and boss, a relationship of oppression and constant struggle. Under capitalism, armies of women are forced into prostitution, Black people's life expectancy is ten years less than that of white folks, old people are discarded after they've worked away the better part of their lives. The status quo is murder.

Fighting for the future will be painful, but in the long run it is the only thing that can end pain. As Jose Marti said of Cuba eighty years ago: "The island, like a resurrection, lifts herself in her agony, sees the mud which covers her and the bloody road leading to liberty and prefers the blood to the mud."

Reactionary capitalist violence is criminal; revolutionary violence will bring about the new society. Marxism-Leninism holds that "the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power." Marx considered violence as "the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one." The capitalist system of private property is protected forcibly by a group of violent, dangerous men. The development of mass revolutionary violence is essential to smash the state of the exploiters and to wrest power from the armed

defenders of imperialism.

Organized armed struggle shows people their great strength and potential for seizing and holding power and shows the weaknesses of the government, corporate capitalism, and the military. Armed struggle can inspire and organize, carry on the tradition of resistance and train fighters by fighting. The capacity to carry out successful armed struggle in harmony with political struggle must be built at every stage of the revolution and cannot be put off on the excuse that it is always premature. For the seizure of power from the imperialists, armed struggle will be decisive.

A generation of fighters was produced by the movements of the 1960s. Opposition to the violence of everyday life led to organized popular violence. The rebellions of urban Black communities were training grounds for revolution. Robert Williams, Rap Brown, Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party, forced the recognition of the necessity of violent revolution.

Resistance to the Viet Nam war included thousands of people who participated in militant protest, clandestine or armed actions against the warmakers, burning draft boards, destroying corporate and military files. Sabotage grew and spread thru the armed forces. Bombings of war-related targets were understood and welcomed and built the popular movement: the bombing of power lines into defense plants in Colorado in 1968 (an action for which Cameron Bishop is on trial now), the Sam Melville bombings in New York in 1969, the destruction of the Army Math Research Center in Madison in 1970, and the bombings of the Capital and the Pentagon by the Weather Underground Organization.

With the development of popular and guerrilla warfare against U.S. imperialism on three continents our movement could not hang back from armed struggle, nor could its leaders say "not us."

Revolutionary armed struggle is a fact of life in the US, conceived and carried out by a wide diversity of people and groups and organizations. This is a sign of maturity in our movement. Armed action is an integral part of the left, as varied and creative as the nations and peoples which exist inside the borders of the US. Although the guerrilla forces are decentralized and follow different and sometimes contradictory strategies, we are unified in our spirit of love for the people of the world, hatred of imperialism and determination to make revolution by every means necessary. There have been serious losses--comrades killed and imprisoned--but still the guerrilla community survives, grows and renews. We greet and support other revolutionary groups waging armed struggle and believe that the struggle over the strategy for revolution among these forces is a critical one.

### Politics in Command

Our job is not only to carry out action--that is comparatively simple. Our job is to succeed in making a revolution. The guerrillas, like all revolutionaries, bear the responsibility of developing full political strategy, and a mistake in military strategy can be deadly. The stakes are high, not only for the people and organizations carrying out military work, but for the course of the revolution. Ho Chi Minh said, "a military without politics is like a tree without roots--useless and dangerous." That is why we use the slogan "Politics in Command."

The critical task of all the diverse forces now engaging in some form of armed struggle in our country is to learn the laws of revolutionary warfare and apply them to the concrete conditions of the US today. We must learn from the revolutionary experiences of Viet Nam, Guinea-Bissau, Cuba, China, Russia. There is a tremendous literature to study such as The Military Art of People's War by Vo Nguyen Giap and Lenin's On Partisan Warfare. We also have a rich although hidden history of guerrilla warfare in our own land to draw upon: the resistance wars of the Native Americans, the underground railroad, John Brown's attempt to create a freed-slave army in the mountains of the border states, Emma Goldman and the anarchist fighters, the labor battles and Abraham Lincoln Brigade of the thirties, Tijerina in New Mexico. Most of all we must familiarize ourselves thoroughly with all aspects of the enemy's situation and all

aspects of our own; we must analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy's forces and of our own forces with ruthless honesty.

We are at an early stage of a protracted revolutionary war. We need strategy to last, to grow and organize for many years to come, a strategy to preserve and expand our forces, armed revolutionary forces and political movement; a strategy for study as well as training, tactical retreat as well as escalation. We evaluate action by analyzing the extent to which it reflects and builds organization, reflects accountability to a mass base, whether actions win people and encourage them to act or develop passivity among people. It's not a popularity question; at this point a comparatively small sector of the population actively supports armed struggle. Action which is advanced should pull forward the people's understanding of the enemy and people's willingness to fight. People, groups and organizations engaged in action must take all of these factors into account. This is the meaning of "Politics in Command."

Our goal is to build communist organization toward the stage where armed struggle becomes a mass phenomenon led by a Marxist-Leninist party; a revolutionary stage. Organization is the strongest resource of the people. Organization unites and builds, and means that each day's efforts add up. Organization is made up of individuals, but is bigger and longer lasting than any one individual. Individuals are precious, but organization is decisive. Only organization allows continuity of experience and leadership, and carries the deeds of the individual fighters beyond themselves into the future. Organization capable of waging full internal political struggle around direction, and capable of uniting in action directs people's energies like a spear. Only combative organization can resist infiltration and repression and combat the highly organized and trained forces of the state.

The strategic necessity for this period is to mobilize the oppressed and exploited people against US imperialism. Militarily this is the stage of armed propaganda; the test of action is primarily the ability to win the people. Because imperialism is in decline, whole sectors of the poor and working population can be won to a radical perspective. In Viet Nam the seeds of the liberation army were called armed propaganda units--Ho Chi Minh insisted on emphasizing the word propaganda. Viet Nam teaches that in revolutionary war firepower is only one factor, and not the key factor in determining who wins and who loses. Consciousness is decisive. At this point, timing is critical because timing helps make action comprehensible. Guerrillas must integrate armed struggle with mass political struggle thru precision and timing, to point out to the movement and to the people the strategic and political necessity for armed struggle and for revolution. In this stage armed action provides a consistency of militant opposition and action over time and is a beacon of hope to the hopeless.

The bombing of the State Department by the WUO in January 1975 is one example of effective integration of military and political struggle--millions of people opposed increasing aid to South Viet Nam and Cambodia, and thousands demonstrated in active opposition to US policy; the target and tactic and action were clear. The beauty of the SLA food distribution program a year ago was that it brought thousands of people into direct touch with the guerrilla struggle, served the people and both exposed the scale on which hunger exists in the US and pointed to the enemy who cause it. The active and aware support of thousands on the food lines was an enormous accomplishment. The attack by the Black Liberation Army on Manhattan district attorney Frank Hogan's armed guard in May 1971 was built on years of demonstrations and hatred against that corrupt tyrant who was responsible for the unjust imprisonment of thousands of Black people, and the action was widely understood. All these actions represent the effective combination of military and political struggles. Three Incorrect Strategies

There are three theories of guerrilla warfare which we reject as the path to revolution in the US: the war against fascism.

continued on pg. 9

Messages to the People cont. from pg. 8  
theory, the foco theory and the retribu-  
tion theory.

Terrible fascist conditions prevail for Third World peoples living in the US: intolerable prison life, Indian reservations, mass deportation for Mexicans, widespread sterilization without consent of Black and Third World women. Of these conditions of repression and subjugation there can be no doubt. But this is different from characterizing the present stage of the development of imperialism as a fascist system, and therefore the stage of the struggle as the war against facism. Any view of the power of the state as monolithic is wrong and self-defeating. The cracks within the system are also widening. It is our job to put pressure on the cracks, to make a class analysis of the forces in opposition to imperialism and to develop all of those forces on the appropriate level. Every means of struggle must be utilized. We have by no means reached the end of mass political struggle and public movements--not unless we declare it so, instead of mobilizing it. While the state is increasingly computerizing and centralizing its repressive apparatus, it is also subject to major setbacks which the left should be organizing and pushing. Watergate was one of these. Other factors hold back the full force of the state--mass consciousness of government illegality, suspicion of informers, the power of a strong non-collaboration stand in the face of grand juries.

Based on the war against fascism analysis of this period is a primarily military conception of the role of action; that the criterion of a good action is the damage it does to the state, the toll that can be taken, the felt blow. This is one aspect, but not primary. It becomes more significant as contention for power develops, but it is wrong to conclude that the revolution is contending for state power now.

The foco theory holds that a revolutionary group proves and establishes itself only through armed action, that action alone gives a group leadership in the movement--that is, action in command; the guerrilla foco is the little motor which sets in motion the big motor, the mass movement. That is, the existence of the guerrilla struggle in and of itself politicizes the masses. We reject this theory for the concrete conditions of the US today.

Revolutionary action inspires and helps mobilize the people but there is no magical relationship between guerrilla action in and of itself and successful revolution. Many factors are necessary: the people must be organized and prepared as well as inspired. These things do not happen by themselves. The moments when qualitative leaps of consciousness and leaps into mass action are taken are built on years of struggle and organizing. To survive the hunt of the repressive apparatus, the guerrillas must be protected by an organized and combative movement, by the political organization of the people, by mass political action. All of these forms help lay the basis for the eventual mobilization of the revolutionized people against the state--the armed struggle of the oppressed, people's war. The guerrilla groups have a critical role to play but the gun cannot lead. The gun is necessary, but its usefulness is only realized when politics are in command, when it is part of the correct revolutionary strategy.

Even a far higher level of military organization and action than any group in this country has yet achieved gives no automatic guarantee of sparking organized mass movement. The Tupamaros, whose brilliant actions over ten years almost paralyzed Uruguay, criticized their own overly military approach. The people remained unorganized spectators and supporters of the war of the guerrillas against the state, not full participants. The pro-imperialist bourgeoisie has been able to regain and consolidate their power, to institute a terrible dictatorship which the Tupas and the Uruguayan people continue to fight.

Armed action, even when it does not succeed, even if it is not part of an overall strategy, provides a revolutionary example for those who will come later, and enters into the heart of the people. This is true. Action is exemplary, and the beginnings of armed struggle are a challenge

to the comfortable left. It is a laying of self on the line for the struggle, and sparks the imaginations and courage of thousands of people. Fighters who have given their lives are much loved and live on. But this is not enough. Action must be planned to succeed: the object is to win. Revolutionary examples always have arisen and will always arise. They spring from the depths of the people's subjugation. But the task of the armed revolutionary organization at this point is to make a plan to help ensure the victory of the people in a long and costly war. The people need success, need victories, need power.

That is why the rationale of the exemplary foco is inadequate. Each action, each risk, must be taken for good reason. Guerrillas can seldom afford to go into battle which they know they will lose. This is an axiom of Vo Nguyen Giap. Of course this is never entirely within our own control. There are a hundred factors involved in every action--we can only take care of a certain number of them, and sometimes the enemy forces us to act. But choosing our own time and battlefield is one of the great strengths of the guerrillas. That is how we preserve and build our forces.

Finally we reject the conception that the role of the guerrilla force is to create chaos inside the belly of the beast, the oppressor nation, to bring about disorder through action. We are not pacifists. We know very well that life will be taken and lost in the process of revolution, and that the birth of the new society, like the birth of a new human being, is bloody and painful. But revolutionary violence must be specific, comprehensible to the people, and humane. The violence of the revolution must be clearly distinguishable to the oppressed and exploited people from the violence of capitalist society. People do not need us to be fearful, or to create chaos. Chaos prevails. Our task is to show the way out of the madness. All revolutionary communists love peace. We must win the trust of the people that the revolution represents a real alternative, a love of human life unlike the carelessness of life that characterizes imperialism.

That is the fault of the strategy of an eye for an eye in our country at this time: we can never match the violence of the enemy one for one, or avenge each death. We retaliate in order to educate people and to exact a price for imperial crimes, to sow unease, confusion, doubt and fear in the enemy camp. Our job is always to distinguish between the violence of the empire and the violence of the revolution. This will be true even when we are engaged in day to day warfare. This is also the only way to prevent the enemy from carrying out false murderous acts in the name of the guerrillas. In the mountains, when the Fidelista prisoners were being tortured and summarily executed by the dictatorship, Fidel's doctors healed the wounded enemy soldiers, disarmed them and set them free. Fidel taught the difference between the army of Batista and the army of the people.

We must never hesitate to fight, but we must never build any mystification around violence. We must be a force of armed militants, not militarists. Another important aspect of this is that revolutionaries have to tell the truth: we cannot make inflated claims about who we are and what we represent. We must win the trust of the people and this will only develop through our own consistency of practice over time.

We do not condemn violence that originates from the left, just as we do not condemn violence that originates from the working class. The oppressed peoples and the working class have a right and an obligation to develop armed struggle as a means to liberation.

It is a right wing error to argue that only legal forms of struggle are legitimate. For some, no level of mass struggle will justify armed struggle; these are naive and irresponsible people, never ready to raise the question of violence or of the need to fight and ultimately win state power. They play into the state's strategy to separate out the warriors from the other parts of the revolutionary movement. Guerrillas and the fighters who are in prison must be supported and struggled with, taught and learned from. Our revolution will need both open and clandestine movements, legal and illegal struggle, peaceful and armed struggle--and we will need harmony and organization among all levels of the struggle toward the goal of a revolutionized and fighting people. ☆ ☆

## Portugal continued from pg 7

On April 25, 1974 the long nightmare of Salazar/Caetano rule ended. In a well planned military operation first Lisbon and then all of Portugal was liberated: PIDE agents were arrested in mass, all political prisoners were released and all agencies of the old regime were occupied by the MFA. The fascists were caught completely off-guard and there was only minimal resistance. The MFA immediately abolished all repressive legislation that had outlawed political parties, trade unions, public demonstrations and popular control of media. The response of the Portuguese people was immediate and massive as they flooded the streets of every major city to greet the MFA.

The MFA had taken the lesson of Chile to heart. It knew that immediate transition into a bourgeois electoral system would mean little to a people conditioned by 48 years of fascism, and it would ultimately open the door for a return to neo-colonialism for Portugal. The MFA conditionally set up elections to gauge the political orientation of the population but it stipulated that the MFA would remain in power until 1980. The elections were set for April, 1975 and the MFA began the task of building Socialism in Portugal.

Learning from their comrades in PAIGC the MFA instituted "cultural dynamization" teams that travel to every village and town to interact with the workers and peasants, to spread a socialist perspective, and to develop cultural programs among a people deprived of them for so long.

The first president, Spínola, was in fact an anti-fascist capitalist who envisioned the development of a strong national bourgeoisie and who had many officers supporting his position in the general assembly of the MFA.

In September of 1974 Spínola alarmed with the increasing left development of the MFA, staged an abortive coup. When it failed he was ousted as president and the capitalists lost their firmest base within the armed forces.

### APRIL ELECTIONS

The April elections were a disappointment for the MFA and the Left as a whole.

The Popular Democratic Party (PDP) and the Democratic Social Center (CDS), both right-wing parties dominated by northern landowners, polled a third of the vote. The Socialist Party polled a third, and the Left received the remainder (the PCP garnered 12.5% and the other Left parties, too numerous to mention, got the balance).

The Socialist Party polled a 33% plurality in the April elections, but it disclosed in early September that the bulk of their financial backing comes from Social Democratic parties in power in west Germany, Austria, and Sweden even though such foreign backing is illegal in Portugal under the MFA.

### PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY

Such foreign backing is consistent with the Portuguese Socialist Party's brief history. The party was originally founded in April, 1973 at a resort hotel in West Germany. It gained a role in support of the MFA's anti-fascist coup a year later primarily through its ability to arrange for NATO non-intervention, again through West Germany. It is "Socialist" in name only, as it is dominated externally and internally by Social Democrats. The SP president is Mario Soares, an open supporter of US/West European monopoly capital.

### THE PCP

In contrast, the PCP was the only party on the Left to develop a mass base among the urban proletariat, the collectivized lower peasantry and the military. It did so by 40 years of underground resistance and organizing against the fascist regime. When the MFA originally turned to the PCP for help, it did so to develop the only existing reliable base in Portugal. Between January and September, 1975, the PCP played a highly visible role in the MFA with Vasco Gonçalves, a PCP member, as Premier. The MFA's programs have been endorsed most enthusiastically in the areas where the PCP is the strongest (the central urban areas including Lisbon and the rural South) and in many cases carried

continued on pg 15

BLACK COLONY

Cont. from Pg. 3

harshly disrupt the economy.' The native politicians unintentionally contribute to this unrest: 'The politicians who make speeches and write in the nationalist newspapers make the people dream dreams. They avoid the actual overthrowing of the state, but in fact they introduce into their readers' or hearers' consciousness the terrible ferment of subversion. When the native masses make their move and begin burning and destroying, then it must be admitted by all that the colonial society is in deep crisis. The authorities...take some spectacular measures. They arrest one or two leaders, they organize military parades. But these displays of force only serve to reinforce native aggressiveness. The repressions, far from calling a halt to the forward rush of national consciousness, urge it on. The nationalist politicians are surprised by the insurrections; they are overtaken by events. But the nationalist leaders move quickly to take advantage of the situation. They make militant statements and claim to be speaking in the name of the rebelling native masses. They contend that if sweeping reforms are made, than order can be restored. They may even demand an end to colonialism. The colonial power welcomes this opportunity to deal with 'reasonable' spokesmen. The colonists offer the nationalist leaders a share in power over the colony. They may even grant political independence to the colony, if pressure is great enough, and support those nationalist leaders who pledge that they will restore order and protect the economic interests of the colonists. In short, the imperialists' objective is for colonialism to be transformed into neo-colonialism and the nationalist native elites to cooperate with their former enemies in subduing and controlling the rebellious colony. The revolution, they hope, will be subverted and the native masses will thereby find themselves under the yoke of a new ruling class."

Within the US, organizations such as CORE and their leaders used the tide of rebellion of the late sixties to make arrangements with the corporate structure of the US and received millions of dollars of corporate and gov't money. This money was not used to benefit the masses but rather to further the careers of the new elite controllers. Politicians rode on the nationalist tide into elected office and, like Kenneth Gibson of Newark, exposed their true fascist faces. On college campuses smooth Black administrators rode on the student rebellions into administrative jobs. Often the same administrators who benefited most from the struggles of Black student unions would be the ones to authorize the presence of police during the next campus disturbance. On the other hand SNCC, Dr. King and many Black student organizations throughout the US firmly remained true to the masses of Black people and escalated the struggle during the late sixties.

By the late sixties the focus of Black struggle had shifted to the major urban centers of the North and West. The conditions in the city were extremely repressive. A massive police presence was the only barrier preventing open rebellion. From 1964 on this barrier proved insufficient. Unemployment was over 20% in most ghettos, and the gap between black and white incomes had been widening steadily since the Korean War. The police were (are) extraordinarily brutal and callous, while government officials ignored the hundreds of thousands of Black residents in their cities. The pressure was too great to contain, and spontaneous rebellions occurred in the major urban centers. The long hot summers of the '60's became the norm and were met by increasingly massive military response. At their height in 1967 and 68, every major urban center in the North but Oakland was occupied by National Guard or regular army troops. These rebellions reached their height in April '68, the week following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. 125 U.S. cities went up in flames as our people responded to the brutal murder of one of our most beloved leaders. This massive uprising of Blacks throughout the United States was one of the most awesome displays of the national political consciousness of Black people ever. Small groups of activists throughout the U.S. attempted to build a lasting revolutionary movement. Two of the best organized of these groups were activists who became the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe

- 1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community. We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.
2. We want full employment for our people. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the whole American community will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the bourgeoisie and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community. We believe that the time government has mislead us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Communists are now adding the loss in land for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Communists maintain an million Jews. The American must have taken part in the slaughter of seventy million Black people, therefore, we feel that this is a matter demand that we make.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings. We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our Black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives in their own communities, where government aid, can build and maintain decent housing for its people.
5. We want education for our people that prepares the free nature of the developed American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.

Black Panther Party Platform, Program, and Rules

- 6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service. We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world when like Black people, are being victimized in the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people. We believe that Black people should not be forced to live in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world when like Black people, are being victimized in the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails. We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.
9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their own race or people from their Black community, as defined by the Constitution of the United States. We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his own race. A year is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To us this jury will be judged to have a fair trial from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the 'average reasoning man' of the Black community.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in

THE BLACK PANTHERS SPEAK

which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.
While in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all we petition our state, that standing are more disposed to suffer, while such an oppressive, than to right themselves by abolishing the form to which they are accustomed, that when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, compels a change to reform these, we shall absolutely demand, it is their right, at a time such, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Most activists are familiar with the outlines of the history, politics and program of the Black Panther Party. The Panthers started in Oakland, California by organizing around the issue of police brutality against Black people. From the first issue of the party paper, "THE BLACK PANTHER" (April 67), the right to self-defense was militantly upheld. Bold actions such as Panthers taking weapons into the state capitol at Sacramento underlined this basic principle. This concern for defense by the Party was underlined by the Panthers' original name, "the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense". Many Blacks, especially street youth, were attracted to the Party because of its stand on self-defense. Malcolm X and Robert Williams were both able to attract followers precisely because Blacks no longer believed in being brutalized without fighting back. The Sacramento action in particular gained them nationwide attention and recognition among Black activists.

However, Party members recognized the need for a broader program. By 1967 the Panthers began to develop a more comprehensive ideology and political program. The 1966 Ten Point Program (see box this page) represented a broad minimum program for struggle. This program captured the imagination of the masses in that it spoke to issues ranging from Black people's lack of political power to concrete problems such as decent housing, jobs and education. Some critics accused the program of being reformist. What must be understood, however, is that this program could not be fulfilled under U.S. capitalism. During 67 and 68, the Party was concentrating on a variety of issues such as rent eviction, welfare, public education and putting up stop lights in the Black community. By 1968 the Panther Party considered itself an anti-capitalist, pro-socialist vanguard revolutionary party. Significantly, it was the first Black nationalist organization that considered itself to be Marxist-Leninist. Inside the party's newspapers, articles such as "Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" were trying to apply Mao's ideology to the concrete conditions and problems facing the Panthers. The Party expanded to major urban centers such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Omaha, Cleveland, etc.

Unfortunately the Party never had the opportunity to consolidate organizationally. By 1969 most of its nationwide leadership was dead, in jail or exiled. In 1969 twenty-eight Panthers were murdered by the police. The murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark stated this year which also saw most major Panther offices raided by the police. Consequently much of the Party's resources and energy was directed at freeing its leadership and other cadre. Relatively open membership policies had allowed large numbers of police agents to infiltrate the party and caused immense difficulties. From New York to Los Angeles, high ranking party members were discovered to be police agents. By the 70's membership was closed and massive purges took place to rid the party of all but the most dedicated. The National Committee to Com-

bat Fascism was set up as an intermediate organization to evaluate potential cadre before they actually became members. NCCF members were expected to know and implement the Panther Party's program and follow Party rules. Mass work continued through the "Breakfast for Children" and other programs. But by 1971 the external pressure of the government combined with severe internal weaknesses such as hero worship, lack of political education at the cadre level and lack of organizational discipline and adherence to democratic centralism led to a split among the leadership and in the organization. This split effectively ended the Black Panther Party's role as a country-wide organization.

Both the success and failure of the Black Panther Party are rooted in the Party's ideology. Their analysis stated that Black people within the United States were a colonized nation and that Black people must wage a war of national liberation to be free. The Panthers believed that the capitalist system was the basis for the oppression and racism that we faced and that only a socialist solution was possible. The party characterized their ideology as being revolutionary nationalist, and at the same time embraced dialectical and historical materialism and studied revolutionary thinkers from throughout the world. Malcolm X (they considered themselves the successors of Malcolm X), Frantz Fanon and Chairman Mao had exceptional influence on the development of the Panther ideology. Strategically they saw their role as organizing Black people into a revolutionary force and making whatever alliances as necessary for the destruction of U.S. imperialism. The Panthers provided leadership for much of the left. Whenever possible, they sent speakers to anti-war rallies, demonstrations, etc. Bobby Seale was arrested in Chicago (Chicago 8 Conspiracy) for this type of work. In several cities, the Panthers were the core of alliances that included other Third World people and progressive whites. On the question of whether Black people should secede (separate) from the U.S., the Panther Party took the position that this was a question for the masses. They called for a U.N.-supervised plebiscite of Black people to determine our future. They saw the "lumpen" or street youth as being the most progressive force in the Black nation.

Black people supported the Black Panther Party because of its program, its nationalism, the mass base of many of its cadre and its dynamic leadership. Many polls taken in the late sixties showed that the great majority of Black people supported the program and policies of the Party. It is clear that the people's support of the Black Panther Party grew out of their love for an organization which repeatedly would fight by any means necessary for the masses of Black people. Panthers participated and led battles for Black workers in Chicago, stoplights for children in California, for Black Studies throughout the country, etc. It is also clear that the Panthers stand on self-de-

# ☆ National Liberation Struggles within the U.S. ☆

The key to understanding the relationship between class and national struggles within the U.S. is recognizing that the U.S. is an empire - the highest stage of capitalism. It cannot be treated like a self-contained capitalist society where all the owners of the factories and rulers of the government and workers in the factories and fields all share the same language and religion, the same overthrow feudal past, etc. The United States never was this "pure" capitalist state. Therefore, the struggle to overthrow capitalism here has never been and will never be simple 'class' struggle.

The focus of this issue is national liberation struggles within the U.S. Because they take place within the "legal" boundaries of the government of the U.S., many revolutionaries try to deny the national aspect of these struggles. They put class and national struggles in contradiction and imply that "class struggle" is good while "national struggle" is an unfortunate byproduct of the mental stress suffered by non-white people under capitalism. So some Third World revolutionaries react to this racism by denying any class content to national struggle.

The first error is much more dangerous. It strengthens racism among white workers and revolutionaries by hiding itself in "Marxist" words. It persists for a long time because it's in tune with the present social order. It even provides an explanation for the "misbehavior" of Third World people - they are petty-bourgeois nationalists.

Although serious, blind nationalism is much less likely to persist. It cannot provide an explanation for the betrayal of politicians, agents and businessmen of that people except to say they are the tools of the white man - which in itself recognizes a separate class of people who are against the interests of the whole nation. Also, it is extremely rare that such agents work against their nation solely on belief. Even those who are not in direct pay, are well off in relationship to the rest of their people. This is often so obvious that the Third World brother or sister on the street can immediately tell, "he's working for the Man," - an accurate class analysis.

## THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Capitalism in America was built squarely on the oppression of whole nations and peoples. Study History! The American colonies began as part of the British empire. It enslaved millions of Africans to produce sugar cane, tobacco and later cotton-all cash crops. The need to import slaves and finished goods and export cash crops built the North into a trade and later an industrial center. In order to get more land, the U.S. government broke every treaty it made with Native Americans recognizing their sovereignty and began a program of genocide against them. Its imperialist expansion brought it into conflict with the declining Spanish empire. After the Spanish-American war, the U.S. annexed Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Coups by American sugar plantation owners in Hawaii and American slaveowners in Texas brought those territories into the Empire. Wars against newly independent Mexico annexed huge territories in the Southwest. Even the "Louisiana" (lands between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River), Alaska and Florida purchases were deals by the Napoleonic French, Czarist Russian and Spanish empires to raise money and avoid wars with the expanding U.S. empire. None had the consent or knowledge of the Native peoples.

To finish the Western expansion, railroad, plantation and mine-owners needed workers to do dangerous work at pay scales far lower than free white citizens were willing to take. Slavery had been abolished, and anyway, Black sharecroppers were central to southern agricultural. Labor recruiters turned to Asia, populous, semi-colonial and close to the western coast. Language and cultural differences, restrictive laws, long contracts and white racism kept Asian workers isolated and their wages depressed. Dangerous work, white riots and lynch mobs, and starvation wages killed many of them.

War, genocide, the incorporation of huge territories under US sovereignty, the super-exploitation of non-white peoples -

all these imperialistic acts took place within the presentday boundaries of the U.S. The struggle against imperialism, for national liberation also takes place within these borders.

## THIRD WORLD WORKERS LEAD BOTH CLASS AND NATIONAL STRUGGLES

Furthermore, because Third World people are oppressed as nations and workers within the U.S. and because the great majority of Third World nations are working class, many major class struggles have been led by Third World workers in concert with struggles against national oppression. Seize The Time has published a 3-part article (Vol. 2, nos. 1, 2 and 3) on the involvement of Black workers in both class and national struggles. The conclusion of this article is that both class and national struggles have been most progressive and successful when consciously waged simultaneously. The struggles of farm laborers, the Farah strikers and Mexicano workers without papers lead to a similar conclusion for Chicano people. The AIM takeover of industrial plants on native reservations shows how the question of sovereignty (national control) for workers of an oppressed people is class struggle.

These concepts are not new concepts. In fact, they are central to the development of scientific socialism as a working tool for social revolution. Lenin and Marx both place national liberation struggles against imperialism in the forefront of the struggle for socialist revolution:

"The proletariat of the oppressor nations must not confine themselves to general, stereotyped phrases against annexation and in favour of the equality of nations in general, such as any pacifist bourgeois will repeat. The proletariat cannot remain silent on the question of the frontiers of a state founded on national oppression, a question so "unpleasant" for the imperialist bourgeoisie. The proletariat must struggle against the enforced retention of oppressed nations within the bounds of the given state, which means that they must fight for the right to self-determination. The proletariat must demand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by "their own" nation." -from "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination" by V. I. Lenin, 1916.

In fact, Marx goes so far as to say that the working class of an empire cannot seize state power until they themselves struggle for the liberation of the nations held captive by the empire:

"Quite apart from all phrases about 'international' or 'humane' justice for Ireland-which are taken for granted in the International Council-it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connexion with Ireland. And this is my fullest conviction, and for reasons which in part I can not tell the English workers themselves. For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the New York Tribune (an American paper). Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland." (Marx's emphasis).

-Marx, 1869, for the International.

## THE NEED FOR WHITE WORKERS TO SUPPORT NATIONAL STRUGGLE AS PART OF CLASS STRUGGLE

The same case can be made for the U.S. The racism of white workers is a key element in upholding the empire. The fight against racism will be key to the liberation of white workers, as well as Third World people within the U.S.

In the white movement there is a great cry, "But you have to organize white workers around their own interests!" That is where we must grapple with the question of ideology. According to bourgeois ideology, it is in the interests of white workers to attack Black workers. Acting as cannon fodder for the imperialists in their attacks on internal colonies is the only way we will maintain our position of relative privilege.

But a dialectical analysis of that position leads us to the understanding that relative privilege (white skin privilege) actually weakens us as a class. What will strengthen us is unity with the masses of the internal colonies which can only come about

through our support for the right of self-determination of those colonies. So we must combat bourgeois ideology which leads white workers to reactionary positions, with the ideology of internationalism. The first step towards building proletarian internationalism is refusing to fight for white skin privilege and the rejection of racist ideology. To settle for anything less, under the guise of organizing white workers around their "own interests", is nothing but economism.

Economism is nothing new. In 1862-65 Marx, along with others, organized the textile workers in England to support abolition. The short term, economic interests of the workers would have been best served by supporting the South, sending them ships to break through the North's blockade in order to bring cotton to English factories. At that point, over half their looms lay idle because cotton was scarce. Those workers understood, however, that their real interests, their liberation as a class, was tied to the liberation of the slaves.

Right now, the clearest example of racism in the white working class is in Boston. There is also a clear task for white organizers in Boston. On the job, in schools, for community organizing, the strategy for this period must be:

1. organize the most progressive white people to fight the racist attacks against the Black community, and
2. build support among middle elements for Black people's right to education. This must be done in order to
3. neutralize the backward, fascist elements (ROAR).

## THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

We have shown how the U.S. is an empire economically and politically, and the relationship of class and national struggles. The US has also culturally oppressed Third World people within its borders in the same way "classical" empires oppressed the cultural life of their subject nations.

Language is a clear example of this attack. Language is the means of passing a people's cultural heritage, history and values. In this age, language includes access to the printed form (literature, books, magazines and newspapers) and broadcast media (radio and television). The U.S. has repressed Third World people's languages in traditional colonial ways through military force and restrictive laws and in more sophisticated neo-colonial ways like advertising money and federal grants.

In slave times, speaking their own languages and practicing their own religions were death penalty offenses for Africans forced into slavery. Treaties that the US signed with Mexico recognizing the equal status of Spanish in the western territories were broken - no ballots or official government documents are printed in Spanish, police in Latino neighborhoods rarely can speak the language, and civil servant tests are not offered in Spanish as well. During World War II Japanese language schools, newspapers and churches were closed by the US government. On the West Coast it sent all Japanese people to "Relocation Centers" (concentration camps). Italian and German nationals were not treated like this.

Until the rise of Third World struggles in the 60's and 70's, the U.S. government had not consented to spending tax money on helping people understand and transmit their own languages. Only after years of struggle by Chicanos and Asian people have public schools in the southwest and west coast begun bi-lingual programs. The right to speak Spanish has been a rallying point for the Chicano people. Spanish ties them, not only to Mexico and all Latin America, but also to their historical development as a people.

There are no public schools that teach Native Americans to speak their tribal languages. In fact, for a long time Native children were sent away to government boarding schools to be "Americanized" and break them away from their language, religion, culture and family.

Repression of national language is not limited to speaking languages other than English. The Black colony and Hawaii have distinctive English dialects, using different vocabularies, grammar and voice tones than "standard" English. Sometimes they are incomprehensible to whites. People aspiring

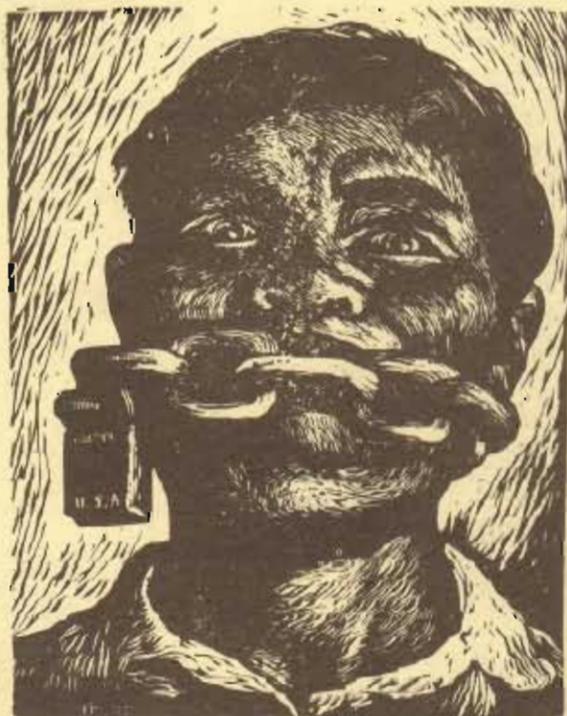
from Page A

to white middle class status look down on speaking their own dialects. Good jobs were and are hard to get if you can't sound white. Third World comedians make fun of politicians and preachers who try to sound white. The youth embrace the language of the ghetto, the street, the people, as a way to rebel against white schools and standards of conduct.

Even when a Third World people struggles for democratic equality, the U.S. government has turned some concessions into another means of control. In Black high schools in the South, the book "Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880" by W.E.B. DuBois was standard reading, until integration.

U.S. imperialism also attacks other aspects of Third World people's national cultures. For a long time standards of beauty for all non-white people were defined by how close a person could get to looking white. Black people tried to straighten their hair and lighten their skin. Asians and Latinos tried to peroxide their hair. Tourism and anthropologists treat some Third World communities as quaint or primitive. In San Francisco and New York City Chinatowns, behind the facade of curio shops and restaurants are sweatshops, crowded tenements, drugs and gang wars. Redevelopment virtually destroyed J-town in San Francisco as a place where people could live in order to make it a tourist attraction. Tour agencies arrange trips through reservations to see real live Indians - who as a people have the lowest life expectancy, the highest unemployment, the most dependency on government welfare, etc. in the U.S.

The broadcast media has been an important tool in cultural imperialism. Everything from the first feature length movie, "The Birth of a Nation" a racist view of U.S. history, to Charlie Chan, Tonto and Superfly is part of the oppression. The shuffling fool and the whiteman's sidekick have given way to the drug-pushing gangster and the minority cop who earns white people's respect by dying at the end of the movie. Radios and record companies are typically owned by white capitalists (including Adolf Coors and William Buckley). The few Third World owned radio stations or newspapers are severely limited by lack of advertising support, despite having large potential audiences. There are no Third World owned businesses that can pay out advertising dollars like GMC, American Tobacco or Exxon.



## LIBERTAD DE EXPRESION

### CULTURAL RESISTANCE AS PART OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

In the U.S. the cultural nationalism expressed by the slogans "Black is Beautiful", "La Raza Primera" has been generally positive in the over-all struggle against imperialism. It is negative only when revolutionaries try to say culture is not part of the struggle or the only form of struggle.

Cultural nationalism is recognized as an important step to national liberation - by Amilcar Cabral, the slain leader of Guine Bissau's liberation front, by Frantz Fanon, who took part in the Algerian struggle for independence and by the Chinese and Vietnamese parties and national fronts. In fact, the

role of culture in winning national liberation has been one of the outstanding contributions of Third World national liberation struggles to the body of scientific socialist revolutionary theory.

Cabral sums up the role of culture in national liberation by saying;

"A people who free themselves from foreign domination will be free culturally only if, without complexes and without underestimating the importance of positive accretions from the oppressor and other cultures, they return to the upward path of their own culture, which is nourished by the living reality of its environment, and which negates both harmful influences and any kind of subjection to foreign culture. Thus, it may be seen that if imperialist domination has the vital need to practice cultural oppression, national liberation is necessarily an act of culture."

### CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND THE WHITE WORKING CLASS

At the same time it attacks Third World people, the culture of imperialism corrupts the white working class. The culture of imperialism is not just white American culture - it is primarily a bourgeois culture. So the white working class, as a class, is denied any culture. The imperialists have stolen working class culture, history and heroes and replaced them with bourgeois culture and national chauvinism. We are supposed to identify with a mythical middle class, that has no historical roots or scientific relationship to economic production. What the middle class (or silent majority) concept does accurately portray is the position of white workers, as a whole, to the internal colonies.

The practice of genocide and rape is an example of how the ideology of imperialism affects white workers as well as being important tools in oppressing internal colonies.

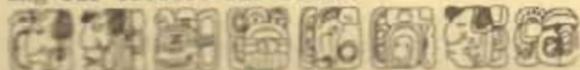
In 1866 there were 2 to 3 Black men killed each day in Mississippi alone. In 1973, 53 Black people, many of them under 20 years old, were killed by police in New York City alone. Over 1/3 of the women in Puerto Rico have been sterilized. The life expectancy of Native Americans on reservations is 43 years. In all the internal colonies, drugs (including alcohol) continue to be a major tool of genocide as well as economic exploitation.

Rape is used against both men and women in the internal colonies. It has been used as a counterinsurgency tactic to intimidate and degrade the internal colony. Rape also strengthens the supremacy of white men. Rarely has a white man been jailed for raping a Third World woman.

Rape of white women by Third World men is another matter. There are currently 37 Black men in the state of Louisiana facing life sentences for raping white women. The publicity such rape cases receive attempts to divert white women's anger against sexism towards Third World men. Punishments for rape against white women are used, not to discourage rape, but to strengthen the colonial relationship between the colonies and white people.

Under imperialism white people are encouraged to participate in the subjugation of Third World peoples. White people themselves do not face national subjugation, genocide, etc. This is a relative privilege under imperialism. DuBois sums up what that relationship does to white culture and its values: "How extraordinary, and what a tribute to ignorance and religious hypocrisy, is the fact that in the minds of most people, even those of liberals, only murder makes men. The slave pleaded, he was humble; he protected the women of the South, and the world ignored him. The slave killed white men; and behold, he was a man!"

The relative privilege of white workers does not include control of our own lives, including culture. So long as we maintain that position of privilege we will not control our own lives. Our culture will remain "middle class" culture, which is basically a culture of bourgeois aspiration, unless white revolutionaries can begin a process of cultural as well as economic and political revolution. The liberation of production leading to liberation of culture and ideology is dialectical in that we will not be able to carry out a socialist revolution without, in the process of struggle, remolding our culture and ideas.



### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONAL STRUGGLES

The culture and struggles of different Third World people have often deeply influenced each other within the U.S. This side of U.S. history, even world history, has been ignored very often. Many times, if the history or present situation of a Third World people is examined, it is done only in relationship to Europe or white America. In school a history course is better than average if it teaches us the impact of the Spanish invasion on the Americas, the resistance of Native Americans to white settlers/U.S. calvary, the uprisings of Black slaves, the false promises and outright kidnapping by railroad and plantation labor recruiters that brought Asian peoples here.

Yet there is much more to the history of Third World people here than their relationship to European invasion and white America. For example, the Inca, Mayan and Aztec Indian civilizations influence Chicanos here. Black runaway slaves often made alliances with Native Americans, among them the Seminoles who were never militarily defeated by the U.S. government. The labor struggles in agricultural fields involved and still involves many nationalities, mostly Latino and Asian on the West Coast, Latino and Black on the east coast and south. Relationships between these nationalities were and still are often crucial to the success or failure of a struggle.



The impact of struggles in the Third World itself cannot be ignored either. The liberation of Haiti (the early 1800's) inspired Black slaves in America to revolt. The liberation of Cuba and the spirit of Che not only affected Latin America but also La Raza in America.

Revolutionaries (and not just white ones) also have often neglected the relationship between Third World peoples and their histories, struggles and present situations.

This neglect is dangerous in two ways. First, because Third World people are under great pressure by the empire's super-exploitation and repression, they often lash out at the nearest target, rather than carefully dismantling the problem and creating the solution. If organizers have not done their job and don't anticipate this situation, the American way of life is to blame your problems on another nationality, the nearest one to your own step on the social ladder. So gangs of Black and Chicano youths kills each other in Los Angeles, Hawaiians resent Japanese school teachers, and Samoans and Mexicanos are hired as strike breakers against UFW.

This kind of conflict has been and still is encouraged by capitalists to destroy unity and hold back struggle. What's more, it is a mass question; it affects every revolutionaries' work whether that person organizes in the prisons, the community, the military or the workplace. You can not have solid unity with someone on the picketline if when you go home you find out his brother shot your cousin.

Secondly, certain problems of sovereignty and control must be anticipated by organizers. Various peoples within the U.S. may decide to secede (separate) or stay within a union, but maintaining certain powers governing internal affairs (regional autonomy). In some places many Third World people of one nationality live with smaller numbers of another Third World people. For instance, many areas of the Southwest are inhabited by both Chicanos and Native Americans. Native Americans have demanded sovereignty over all lands originally recognized as "Indian territories" and reservations in treaties signed by the U.S. government. These include hunting rights, control of natural resources and the right to try non-Indians who commit offenses against Indians on reservation land in Native courts. Yet

Cont. to page D

# ★ The Economics of Imperialism and Internal Colonies ★

Lenin and Cabral have taught us that the key feature of imperialism is the fact that the exploitation of nations by nations assumes equal importance with the exploitation of workers by capitalists. Another way to say this is that imperialism is the historical product of the expansion of capitalism and the colonial expansion of European nations (and Japan). The simultaneous expansion of these two systems of exploitation has divided the world into oppressed and oppressor nations. This article explores the economic basis of relations between these types of nations.

As the US pushed its way into the economic activities of its new colonies (late 1900's) it created a series of one crop or two crop economies. Sugar in Cuba and Hawaii, fruit from the Phillipines, and so on. This specialization was forced on these countries because it meant that fruit for instance, could be produced very cheaply, relative to production costs in the US factories which were priced so that "native" producers could not compete and were driven out of business. This meant that there were no alternate jobs, for workers of the oppressed nation. They were forced to accept work on the terms of the US firms (eg. United Fruit) or starve. Also, the US-controlled governments helped out by requiring peasants to spend at least a part of their time earning wages. This was usually accomplished by imposing a tax payable only in cash which most peasants could only obtain by leaving their village.

When these low cost wage goods (fruit, coffee, other food and fiber) arrived in the US they allowed US capitalists to make super profits, i.e., profits greater than normal. These profits have several different sources but one of the most important has been the fact that cheap wage goods allows an increase of exploitation within the oppressor nation. That is, with the cheaper wage goods, wages could also be pushed down without leaving US workers any worse off, there by increasing profitability. What actually happened was that wages fell less than the prices of wage goods so that the benefits of imperialism were shared by both workers and capitalists. This is part of the objective basis for cooperation of all classes in the oppressor nation against the oppressed nation.

At the same time, the subjective doctrines of imperialism, racism, sexism and national chauvinism were put forward to deal with the resistance to US imperialism. "Natives" were presented as backward, ignorant, exceedingly sexual and wicked in other ways. Imperialism was thus "justified" as being humanitarian. These same ideas were applied in dealing with the Black, Chicano and Native American nations within the US. The workers of these nations were in the same objective position as workers from external colonies like Puerto Rico and Hawaii. That is, they were concentrated in agriculture and mining, paid very low wages and given only the hardest and most dangerous jobs.

Racism, sexism and chauvinism make up the other part of the package with which US workers were "bribed" by imperialism. The real differences between jobs held by workers of the white nation and those of the oppressed nations were the basis on which the working class was divided by imperialism. The super profits made possible by exploitation of oppressed nations created higher wages for white workers; these higher wages were in turn justified by racism.

Another source of super profits are the different rates of exploitation between the oppressed and oppressor nations. This is easiest to see in the case of, say, an oil refinery in Puerto Rico identical with one in the US. Even though output and productivity are essentially the same, hours of work are longer and wages lower in the Puerto Rican plant than in the one inside the US. Thus profits are higher in the oppressed nation because exploitation of workers is greater than in the US.

But situations like the one above are rare. Much more typical is the situation where US workers are more productive than workers in other nations because they work in more advanced plants.

Conditions of employment within the oppressed nations are usually backward, using little machinery and with low productivity. This means that the rate of exploitation is low and profits high in these production processes. The rate of exploitation is a technical measure for the division of working time between reproducing a value that pays for the worker's wage on the one hand and producing value for the capitalists' profit on the other hand. In cane-cutting, for example, the only tool is a knife so that the worker has to spend a lot of time cutting enough to pay for her wages. In contrast, workers in the oppressor nation have access to machinery and training to increase their output. This means that only a small part of their working day is necessary to reproduce the value of their wages. This is true even though the wage is relatively high in the oppressor nation and relatively low in the oppressed nation. Even though workers in the oppressed nation are forced to work very long hours to raise the rate of exploitation, they do not produce as much profit individually as a worker in the more advanced production set-up. Nonetheless, the rate of profit is higher in the oppressed nation. This is true because there is no need to advance huge sums of capital on machines as there is with advanced technology. This is another source of the superprofits with which the capitalists of the oppressor nation can bribe the workers of that nation.



As capitalism has continued to spread throughout the world another pattern has also developed. This is the creation of an industrial sector within the oppressed nation! Using low-wage workers for higher profits, these sectors are usually isolated from the rest of the more traditional sector of the economy. But in some rare cases the nation itself becomes an industrial, as well as an oppressor nation, eg. Brasil. The wages in these industries are low relative to the US or Europe but high relative to traditional jobs. These jobs are usually filled by workers from the oppressed nation or by the beginnings of a labor aristocracy within the oppressed nation. These workers are provided technical training by the capitalists or government, while ideological training is provided in part by the labor lieutenants of the oppressor nation.

In the internal colonies this development takes a parallel form of moving black and Chicano workers out of agriculture and into the modern industrial sector. This is brought about by the application of machinery and modern methods to the production of crops and minerals, making large numbers of workers idle. These workers turn to the towns and cities in search of work. Capitalists frequently take advantage of their desperation by hiring them to replace striking or relatively high paid white workers. An important difference between internal and external colonies is that in external colonies, industrialization created a labor aristocracy with a material interest in imperialism but no stake in the ideological part of the bribe, ie, conviction of her/his own racial or national inferiority to the white national. But in internal colonies neither part of the bribe can be offered. The good jobs are jealously guarded by the white aristocrats of labor, and racial and national chauvinism is quite strong.

Because of this there is no sector of the oppressed nation working class which can be counted on as allies by the capitalists of the oppressor nation. This is one of the objective reasons for the leadership position of this section of workers, in the struggle against capitalism. A similar situation exists with regard to the creation of capitalists within the oppressed nation. With an internal colony the capitalists of the oppressor nation regard all economic activity as "theirs" and have the economic, political and military clout to make it so. This has been decreasingly true for external colonies, however, in the era of the decline of imperialism. Thus the Black, Chicano and Native American revolutions have fewer bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements in leadership positions than has been true in external colonies.

Oppressed nations also provide a market for commodities from the oppressor nation. These are heavily biased in favor of ruling class purchases, either as individuals, eg., autos and refrigerators; or as a class, eg., weapons, schools, ports. The production of these commodities provides employment and income for workers of the oppressing nation, which increases the material stake of the working class of that nation in the continued exploitation of other nations.

In 1892, Engels wrote about the relationship between the material bribe and workers' consciousness:

"The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had at least, a temporary share now and then.

Cont. to page 10



Cont. from Page 2

some of these lands are within the Mexican territories annexed by the U.S. after the Mexican-American War and are recognized as part of 'Aztlán' by Chicanos in the U.S. The La Raza Unida Party has been organizing the Chicano majority within some townships to gain control of local government.

The urban centers of America also show this pattern. One of the largest centers of Black population culturally, numerically and politically is in New York City. But there is also a large Puerto Rican and Latino community (besides a more distinct Chinese/Asian community) in the city as well.

Organizers should anticipate these questions of sovereignty, autonomy and control. They should be able to intelligently guide discussions and lay-out the alternatives to progressive people who want to know, "what will it be like, after the revolution?" We all want to make sure that "after the revolution" won't be just a different order of national oppression and disrespect for people's dignity.

The other side of the coin to neglecting the relationships between Third World peoples and their struggles is encouraging solidarity between Third World peoples and their struggles. This is beneficial on the level of our peoples' daily lives. Our youth will be fighting the real enemy, not each other. This is beneficial for community political actions. Instead of fighting over "all the N.Y.C. grants going to the whatevers", people can organize jointly against police brutality and harassment. This is beneficial at the workplace since many problems arising from racial discrimination, etc. are similar. No longer will "divide and conquer" tactics by bosses work. This is beneficial for political education because if we look to the histories and resistance movements of their colonized people, we can anticipate the tactics and strategies of the empire, of our own success and failure.

The United Nations is an example of how a whole situation is turned around once Third World people, formerly colonized, start relating to each other in solidarity instead of separately confronting the dominating western powers. The White House moans about the "tyranny of the majority" while the press in Third World countries portrays the U.S. as a big, fat bullyboy wailing because all the other almond-eyed, thick-lipped children of the world now are playing with the ball. The success at the U.N. was not won just by cooperating within this single organization. Its groundwork was laid over the past two decades with the organization of political, economic and cultural alliances and co-operation - the Bandung Conference of Non-aligned States (1956 and Algiers 1974), the various producers' organizations (OPEC, coffee, bauxite), the Asia-Africa-Latin America sports and writers' organizations. It was highlighted with various kinds of aid given to one Third World country by another formerly colonized country - the Tanzam railway between Tanzania and Zambia was built with the aid of the People's Republic of China to overcome the economic and financial blockade of Rhodesia and the World Bank. The recognition of Guinea Bissau, the PLO and FRELIMO, etc. as members or observers of the U.N. were due to the solidarity of Third World peoples.

Once again the successes of Third World countries abroad hold great inspiration for Third World people here. They serve to show us that we can maintain the independence of decision and action that our various movements need, while co-operating on various levels to win greater success. They also serve to show us that our cooperation must be organized and on many levels. In our situation we must consider it in mass struggles (redevelopment, employment, education, etc.) and encourage friendly relationships between our peoples on a daily basis. We must also consider cooperation in terms of informational networks. Information is power. Knowledge of events is key to understanding and mastering a situation. The empire's control of information and its technology (radio, TV newspapers, etc.) will be impossible to break without cooperation. Also some nationalities are concentrated only in certain parts of the U.S., yet will need news of what's happening on the other coast.

Lastly we must consider cooperation between cadre-type organizations. There are obvious benefits like joint demonstrations, boycotts, picketing, etc. Revolutionaries should be careful not to dogmatically decide

what form their peoples' struggle will take (secession, autonomy, within a worker's state, etc.) However they can cooperate on other long range strategies like working out campaigns to win certain rights or recognition and building trust among our peoples that a just society with equality for



Cont. from Page C

And that is the reason why, since the dying out of Owenism, there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly the English working-class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally --the privileged and leading minority not excepted--on a level with its fellow-workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England."

This really insightful passage by Engels proved almost immediately to be true. Socialism in many different varieties did indeed return to England and prospered there until World War One.

But what is left out of the picture is the nonmaterial, i.e., the ideological component of the imperialist bribe. White-skin privileges have played a key role in blocking the development of working class awareness.

Even more striking is the similarity between the situation of the English workers in the 1890s and the US workers in the 1970s. In both cases, the capitalists of the respective nations were in process of losing hegemony. In both cases the workers of the respective nations were beginning to understand the nature of the system which exploited them. (Now as then, whether the workers of the oppressor nation can increase their understanding tent necessary for their freedom depends crucially on whether they are taught to fight against all forms of exploitation.) This must include national as well as wage exploitation.

The US has enjoyed an industrial monopoly in the capitalist world since WWII, because that war physically destroyed factories, roads, railroads, ports, vehicles and large parts of the work force in all other industrial nations. Competition from other countries has increasingly been important since the 1960s. Also many new nations are industrializing, eg, Brazil, Taiwan, Israel. This means that the tendency to overproduce is accelerating. At the same time that this is happening, countries like Iran, Jamaica, Libya and others are finding that the competition of the industrial countries presents them with an opportunity to assert their interests and increase their share of the pie. Each of these developments reduces the share of the world-wide surplus value which comes under the control of US capitalists. In this situation, wage exploitation will increasingly be relied on by those capitalists to replace the surplus value which they used to get from oppressed nations.

all the different nationalities is possible.

## CONCLUSION

The struggle against national oppression, for national liberation, is very much alive today in America. As little as the bourgeois media reports them, the rebellions in Detroit against the killing of a Black youth by a white tavern-owner (in spite of a neo-colonial Black mayor), in Riverside against the police murder and harassment of Chicanos, the self-defense of AIM people at Pine Ridge against the FBI and BIA, in Black sections of Ohio, Delaware and Boston against general conditions, high unemployment and discrimination all indicate the vigor of national struggles. At the same time, class struggles are a rising, although not yet dominant, aspect of the present crisis of U.S. imperialism. Massive unemployment rallies, wildcats by coalminers over grievances, more numerous and militant strikes, all support this analysis.

Revolutionaries should at this time try to consciously link these struggles in the eyes of the Third World and white poor and working people of the U.S., by encouraging relations between Third World movements and organizations, encouraging the understanding and support of national struggles among white workers and encouraging anti-imperialism among all people. Then we can all wipe this plague of imperialism and national oppression against humanity off the face of the earth.

"In wars of national liberation, patriotism (nationalism) is applied internationalism."  
-from "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", Mao 1938.

This shows us another difference between internal and external colonies. External colonies benefit from the renewal of imperialist competition, since a larger share of the value produced in that colony is kept there as a result of the new situation. Internal colonies on the other hand are squeezed tighter and tighter to help offset the loss. The workers of those nations will be subjected to all of the attempts of the capitalists to solve their crisis, eg, speedup, wage-cuts, and layoffs.

Such capitalist crises make obvious a very important fact which has been true all along. This is the fact that since all power in a capitalist system is in the hands of the capitalist class, workers will be used in whatever way is necessary. The only way to stop this is to eliminate capitalist production. But this can only be done by a working class which is united in its opposition to capitalism. (And the only possible basis for such unity is that the workers of the oppressor nation join in the struggle for national liberation being waged by the oppressed nation.)

## PROTEST RUNAWAY FOOD PRICES AND UNEMPLOYMENT



GRAPHIC FROM A LEAFLET PASSED OUT FOR  
**AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY**  
May 26, 1973

Cont. from pg 10

termination won broad support among the people. Black or any oppressed people have had a profound sense of powerlessness. It has been shown in Cuba, Mozambique, Vietnam and China that when an oppressed people learn of their power, their oppression will end. "Power to the People" has been the cry of the oppressed masses since ancient times. The Panthers succeeded in making concrete Malcolm's cry for self-determination and SNCC's cry for Black Power. Their policy of self-determination, their nationalist orientation and their program for self-defense must be seen as the basis for their wide support. Unlike many cultural nationalist groups (who believed that liberation would come through returning to our African cultural heritage) the masses were attracted to the Panther Program because it was concrete, spoke to their day-to-day needs, and was backed up in action.

Organizationally one of their strongest weapons was the Party newspaper "The Black Panther". Tens of thousands of copies were distributed to major urban centers across the U.S. It broke down "local mentality" and isolation and gave a sense of continuity to Black struggle besides explaining Party programs and policies.

Yet by 1971, the Party's base had been eroded among the people, and the Party was no longer strong enough to survive repeated internal and external attacks. It is now clear that their weakness flowed from ideological mistakes and a severe lack of understanding of a vanguard revolutionary party's nature and function. Their main mistake was relying on the lumpen as the main force for Black revolution. The Party lumped those who were unemployed or underemployed with the parasites such as pimps and pushers who prey on the rest of the community. The un- and underemployed (the reserve unemployed army of labor) are used by the capitalists during times of expansion and are the first fired in times of economic slowdown. This group of people is part of the Black working class and often is the largest sector of our people. This group is the most oppressed and has least to risk by revolution. The pimps and pushers on the other hand (the classic lumpen proletariat) prey on our people, especially the youth and women. They occupy the same role as the most reactionary Black bourgeoisie in the sense that they make their living by exploiting us. Some of the lumpen can be converted to revolution, but as comrades from Congo, Brassaville state, "they are some of our best fighters, but more police agents are recruited from this sector than any other." By confusing the two groups, the party on one hand did not focus most of their mass work on the largest class of Black people - the workers, and on the other hand, allowed many who had the worst tendencies of the lumpen to join the party. Virtually all of the exposed agents inside of the Panther Party came from the lumpen class. At the same time, the large numbers of lumpen cadre sometimes gave the Panthers a "gangster" image in the eyes of many Black workers. The reliance on the lumpen led to another grave mistake - that of not relying on the masses. This problem was recognized in '68 (see "Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" BLACK PANTHER SPEAKS), but was never thoroughly dealt with. The lumpen ideas of ultra-militarism and elitism led to such Panther tactics as the Panther Uniform (leather, beret, etc.) that tended to separate Party members from the people. In many situations cadre actions were taken without either mobilizing the masses for actions or thoroughly explaining actions to the masses. One of the criticisms that repeatedly came from Panther leadership was that the chapters and membership were not taking mass propaganda seriously enough.

As serious as the above problems were, they might have been overcome if the Panther Party had been organizationally sound. Many of the same problems (lumpen, ideology, ultra-militarism, etc.) are common to young revolutionary organizations. The Chinese Communist Party had constant problems with 'warlordism'. But the party had severe organizational weaknesses which meant it would not survive the other problems. In its early period it had nearly open membership which meant that besides lumpen ideology, many members had bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideologies. Secondly, many chapters did not function as de-



FRED HAMPTON OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
SPEAKING AT CHICAGO RALLY OCTOBER '69

mocratic centralist organizations and had low levels of political education and discipline. Thirdly, there was a strong tendency towards hero worship. Newton, Seale, Cleaver, etc. were seen as being perfect. Consequently when they made serious errors, they were not challenged until too late. We have seen how too much media exposure can lead to the corruption and isolation of nationalist leaders. Both the Chicano and Native American movements have had this problem. Often it has led to the problems of 'jefa-ism' (bossism) and weakness of collective leadership. Also there was not a conscientious attempt to develop strong middle and local leadership to coordinate between the center and local chapters. Under the pressure of intense internal fighting and massive external attack, many chapters folded. After the split (the split will be discussed in Part II), only the strongest chapters on both coasts survived in any manner. Since there were antagonistic contradictions between the two sets of chapters centered in New York and Oakland, the Black Panther Party ceased to exist as a country-wide organization.

Much of the Panther's organizational problems were due to the lack of understanding the nature of a scientific revolutionary party. Revolutionaries throughout the world have learned bitter lessons concerning this type of organization. First it must be realized that any revolutionary party which represents the wishes of an oppressed people or class (and the Panthers did represent the wishes of the Black masses) will be under intense and constant attack by the state. The Vietnamese, Chinese and Russian Communist Parties all suffered immense losses at different stages of struggle. The two factors that would ensure success was mobilizing and relying on the masses for protection, and absolute political clarity and discipline internally. Only if the masses are willing to hide, shelter and feed an outlawed organization can it survive police and military attacks by the state. Only if the cadre are absolutely clear on the goals, policy and line of their party can they have the discipline to make the necessary sacrifices and the ability to lead the masses and party in times of constant attack. Consequently a Party must:

- \*secure and maintain a strong foothold among the masses,
- \*screen and test applicants to insure a sound understanding of Party line and absolute commitment to hard struggle, and
- \*continually raise the level of political education of its cadre and leadership to ensure the smooth operation of democratic centralism.

Failure to build an organization of this type from the beginning and relying on the lumpen as the main revolutionary force were the twin mistakes that ultimately led



to the collapse of the Panther Party.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers had its roots in the work of Black Detroit activists during the mid-sixties. Many of the activists who would later form the leadership of the League worked on a local paper called "THE INNER CITY VOICE". Many I.C.V. activists had been doing in-plant organizing at several of the giant auto factories of the Detroit area. Eventually organizing was focused on the big Dodge plant located in the Detroit suburb of Hamtramk. The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) was started in the spring of 1968. The in-plant work focused heavily on safety conditions in the plants, democracy within the United Auto Workers union (UAW), and anti-racism work. Outside of the plant, local community issues, high school organizing and campus organizing at Wayne State (where the League would eventually control the school newspaper for a year) were done. In addition, the League had a bookstore that provided revolutionary writings from throughout the world in the heart of Detroit's Black community.

DRUM chapters rapidly spread. There was ELRUM (Eldon Avenue Revolutionary Movement), UPRUM (United Parcel) and HRUM (health workers). The League of Revolutionary Black Workers was the organization of RUM chapters into a single cohesive organization. As RUM chapters spread and the League gained strength in the Black community, the bourgeoisie of Detroit closed ranks and attempted to destroy the League. At Wayne State, the media, Zionists and the University fought a year-long battle to wrest the Wayne State newspaper from League leadership. In the UAW, goons, corrupt election procedures and the Hamtramk police department blunted DRUM's drive to put the UAW local under rank and file control. Various League members were arrested and faced long court trials. The media, UAW, and the Auto Industry jointly labelled the League as a threat that must be destroyed at all costs. At the Eldon Avenue Plant, a number of ELRUM cadre were thrown out for leading a wildcat strike protesting deadly physical conditions. These attacks eventually led to a weakening of RUM strength inside the plants. At the same time, contradictions appeared inside the leadership between those who wanted more attention focused on the weakening plant work and those who wanted to focus on community organizing, propaganda work and expanding the League nationwide. By 1971 this contradiction split the League. As with the Panthers, "two line struggle" shattered the organization so badly that it no longer was effective.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers shared the same organizational problems that led to the demise of the Panther Party. As with the Panthers, there was general confusion as to the differences between a mass organization and a revolutionary cadre organization. Like the Panther Party, the League often tried to fulfill both functions. The core leadership considered itself Marxist-Leninist and functioned on a basis of democratic centralism; the rest of the organization did not function on that basis. When serious differences appeared in the core, the rest of the organization did not have sufficient political education or practice to struggle in a principled manner. Instead many cadre were confused and dropped out. Some cadre at the leadership level went with the newly formed Black Workers' Congress. Others, mostly those in the plants, would join the Communist League later. But the majority did neither and dropped out. Consequently a mass-supported Black revolutionary organization was no longer

# CLASS STRUGGLE



campaign we should keep this goal fixed in mind. Otherwise we will build the wrong kind of organization or no organization at all.

In every campaign, an organization is a tool for rallying an advanced group to take leadership, for raising the level of the middle elements and drawing them into the struggle, and for winning over or isolating the backward elements.

We should always seek to raise mass organization to a revolutionary level of consciousness and struggle; stopping short of this will only legitimize and strengthen the system. On the other hand, it is also necessary to involve broad numbers of people in any struggle, and to begin from a place which is understood by the people being organized. This contradiction can undermine an organizing campaign if it is not properly handled. An organization can be on such a high political level as to exclude building a broad mass movement; or it can be on such a low level as to never realize its

We must be very careful to select issues and to define them in such a way as to move things forward. The main pitfalls are 1) concentrating on economic issues- "pork chop unionism"- which builds on the selfishness and individualism we need to root out, and 2) fighting for reforms which in the end only serve to legitimize the system we are attacking.

To avoid these pitfalls we must translate even the most economic of issues into questions of dignity and justice, of basic rights, of racism and sexism, of workers' control over the nature of the work or the product. Connections should always be made with the basic political issues which confront us, such as the pervasiveness and destructiveness of imperialism.

We can focus on demands which are not reforms but are steps in creating a situation of dual power based in the workplace. Very important are those struggles which take away from a supervisor the power to make decisions about who does what, who

## NOTES ON LABOR ORGANIZING

Most of our lives are spent working. Perhaps the worst part of our jobs is that in the face of meaningless or destructive work, low pay, racism, sexism, harassment, favoritism, weak unions, or no union at all, we seem to have no power to do anything about it. No strength to fight back. No control of our work and our lives. Whether we work for public or private employers, we are made tools, robots, interchangeable parts of a machine that is bigger than any of us. It is a machine which seems to grind on with or without us - generally over us - in the service of those who run the U.S. empire for fun and profit.

But people together, organized, can successfully challenge this machine. Organizations of workers, rooted in the workplaces and the unions, are the firm foundations of a revolutionary movement. The revolutionary movement gives us the power to fight back. It humanizes the workplace.

We must emphasize that more than practical or technical questions are involved here. Organizing ourselves as workers means dealing with some of the most fundamental problems in the US today. It means being concerned not with just our own personal skins, but with our co-workers, with the nature and quality of the goods and services we produce, with the nature and practices of the corporation or government where we work, and with the relationship of our jobs to society in general.

We come face to face with some of the basic political challenges of our revolution. Third World organizers are faced with the job of tapping the power of their national movement, while allying as effectively as possible with progressive people of other nationalities, including white workers. In order to make such an alliance possible white organizers have the task of building an anti-racist front among white workers. Women have the role of mobilizing the tremendous power of women workers to break the special chains that bind them, and men must fight to develop the anti-sexist potential of male workers into a significant force.

Except in a very disorganized and spontaneous manner we have not yet learned how to base militant direct action in the workplace to build a fighting force which can win.

Finally, we face the need to develop ourselves as organizers capable of pulling together and leading a strong mass movement. To do this, we need to grasp the strategy and the tactics of labor organizing.

### TACTICS OF LABOR ORGANIZING

When discussing tactics of mass organizing, it is useful to consider three concepts: 1. organization as a goal,

2. the key issue,

3. conducting the campaign.

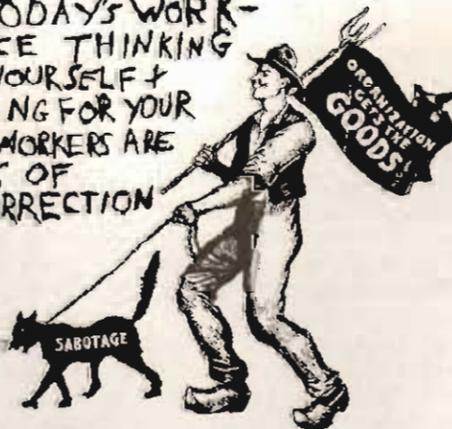
#### 1. Organization as a Goal

Working people have no power when they are disorganized. In general, the job of the labor organizer is to build organizations of workers' power. It is easy to forget this when we are caught up in day to day struggles. Before launching any campaign we should define clearly what sort of organization we strive to build in the struggle, and how it can be built. During the

revolutionary potential. Careful selection of issues, and skillful organizing can bring a broad mass organization to a revolutionary stance. The same issue, treated differently, could leave workers fighting against or could unite them in a fight against management.

A combination of different levels of mass organization can help avoid dead ends, but there are no pat rules for the kind of organization needed in every situation. Different needs and different conditions dictate different organizational goals. In a completely unorganized workplace, for example, step one may be to organize a campaign around an issue that will build to an in-plant organizing committee for a unionizing campaign. Or where safety conditions are poor, a safety committee may be most effective in rallying people. Where there are many Black or Raza or Asian workers, a national form of organization or caucus is usually the first priority for TW organizers.

**IN TODAY'S WORK-PLACE THINKING FOR YOURSELF + CARING FOR YOUR CO-WORKERS ARE ACTS OF INSURRECTION**



When any of these organizations are national in form (for example, an organization of Black workers), they can lend additional force to the struggle. This is the power of national aspirations and solidarity. Such groups provide the basis for TW working people playing a major role in organizing revolutionary fronts among all the progressive people of their nationality. Independent groups can be the basis for an alliance of different nationalities around common aims, providing the autonomy is respected and racism is combatted.

Women's organizations, both caucuses and separate organizations, are necessary to defeat sexism, to develop women's leadership, and to achieve the potential power of the women's movement among workers. Since the problems of working class women are the problems of all workers, alliances with male-dominated organizations are necessary. They can only be built, however, as women develop their leadership and as men take a lead in combatting sexism in their own ranks.

#### 2. The Key Issue

Of course, we don't build a mass organization by issuing calls for it to appear. The organization and consciousness of workers is developed by struggles around issues, in which they attempt to exercise and extend that power. While many issues will come up day by day which must be used to help pull together and educate people, an effective organizing campaign requires the identification of one or a few key issues to focus on.

works overtime, who gets the training, etc. But our demands should go yet farther to questions about the nature and purpose of the entire system. For example, health care workers may demand changes in their work which would improve patient care, particularly for groups such as women, aged, third world peoples, and the poor in general. This struggle can build beyond the workplace, ally with the community and publically call into question who controls health care, what their objectives are, and what alternatives are possible. The potential of such demands in challenging the basic system is reflected in the fact that collective bargaining law outlaws negotiations on the "merits, necessity, or organization" of any work.

Examples of identifying the key issue to achieve an organizational goal are: an effort to take control of a workers' credit union by a management-oriented board, by focusing on the issue of the board's discriminatory use of loan funds during a recent strike; a campaign to build a safety enforcement committee, on the issue of an industrial injury sustained by a co-worker; a campaign to form a caucus to struggle for power in a Central Labor Council, on the issue of the leadership colluding with management by persuading workers to cross picket lines in a strike; a campaign to get rid of a sexist supervisor on the issue of a damning incident; a campaign to organize a TW workers defense committee on the issue of racist firings; a campaign to organize a women workers' committee, on the issue of management's appointing an "affirmative action council" to advise management and represent the workers.

#### 3. Conducting the Campaign

A campaign must be planned in advance. Before attempting to devise a strategy, we must thoroughly research and understand the situation we are dealing with. It's especially important for us to learn from the experience of past struggles.

Information monopolized in this society creates a basis of power for people in certain positions, like management and union officials. Workers are kept in the dark as to what's in the contract, what the law says, what goes on in negotiations, and so on. Constant and avid research and education are necessary to take power, and to learn about the different forces which can be called upon or which may move against the workers.

As a basis for workplace organizing these are the primary legal resources:

1. The law. This includes most importantly the collective bargaining law which covers the specific group of workers with rules for the conduct of representation elections, decertification of unions, negotiations, and protections for engaging in union activity. Also the state or federal Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) and the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA).
2. The contract. This is basic. Know it by heart.
3. The union bylaws. Any internal union struggle requires familiarity with both local and international bylaws.

## What's Behind the Public Worker Strike Wave?

New York City cops riot on the Brooklyn Bridge, stopping traffic and slashing tires... firemen hit the bricks in Berkeley and stop all Teamster drivers attempting to enter the entire city...fifty thousand tons of garbage rot in the streets of New York as 10,600 sanitation workers strike not for pay but for jobs...90,000 workers strike the State of Pennsylvania...; what's behind these recent explosions of public employee militancy?

### Public Sector Expands

In the last fifteen years one out of every three new jobs has been in the public sector. If we include companies contracting with the government, one out of six workers in the U.S. now works for government. There are now 15 million government workers in the U.S. The City of New York alone has 336,000 employees. Local government is more often than not the largest employer within its own boundaries. Union membership in the U.S. as a whole would be shrinking rather than growing today but for the unionizing campaigns now under way in the public sector.

### Fiscal Crisis Hits the Public Sector

Two factors have created a crunch on public worker payrolls. The first is a general tendency in an advanced monopoly capitalist society which has been called "the fiscal crisis of the state". In a book by that name, political economist James O'Connor explains how the increasing socialization of the costs of production (such as Ford's 100 billion dollar public financing corporation to build nuclear plants), and the increasing dependence of monopoly companies on the state for subsidy in one form or another (tax breaks, loan guarantees, etc), combined with the skyrocketing cost of controlling and pacifying the poor and the spiraling cost of defending U.S. imperial interests at home and overseas, add up to a massive fiscal crunch on public budgets at all levels.

The second factor is the reduction in tax revenues due to the recent recession, the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930's. Combined these two factors mean deficits in the budgets of local, state, and federal government. In New York City, for example, the 1975-76 budget deficit is \$641 million.

Something's got to give. Because of the priorities of those in command, the two areas cut are labor costs and services to the poor. For public workers this adds up to even fewer resources to serve the public, speed-up, layoffs, and pay increases far behind the cost of living.

### Public Sector Militancy

This situation is reflected in rising public sector militancy. There have been 264 public worker strikes, for example, in the State of Pennsylvania alone in the last four years. Increasingly June 30, the end of the fiscal year, has become a date for a massive strike movement across the U.S. among public workers. The spirit and militancy of today's public worker movement



often evokes the mass power and consciousness of the great CIO battles of the 30's, especially in the minds of those older workers who lived through those times.

### Strategic Factors

These are some strategic factors in public sector organizing:

- 1) High concentration of oppressed peoples in lower paying blue collar and clerical jobs.
- 2) High concentration of women in low paying clerical jobs.
- 3) Unionization is just beginning for public workers. The bureaucracy has not yet become as entrenched as it is in the private monopoly sector. Though most still cannot be trusted, they are not as reactionary as private monopoly sector and craft union officials. Strikes are still illegal in 48 out of 50 states for these unions, yet they strike anyway. To date only 2.5 million out of 15 million public workers are unionized.
- 4) They provide services directly to the urban poor. Since they are often drawn from the same population, and because of a tradition of public service which many public sector workers sincerely hold, the quality of services is an important question to them. For example, class sizes for teachers, patient care for health workers, caseload for social workers, etc.
- 5) Since any struggle throws them into direct conflict with the state and all of its repressive resources, they are in a good position to easily grasp the nature of the state as an instrument of class rule.
- 6) What they do directly or indirectly affects all workers and poor people as recipients of their services. Many other unions intersect their work, leading to a mutual interest in honoring picket lines and consolidating power in general.
- 7) The concentration of all kinds of workers - blue collar, clerical, technical, "professional", health care, service, etc-generates an advanced industrial-type consciousness which surpasses traditional industrial unionism in its scope and should really be called class-wide consciousness.
- 8) In times of economic crisis it is the state which provides emergency employment-such as the Public Employment Program (PEP) and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). These workers are now being unionized. Their equivalents back in the 1930's, the old CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) and WPA (WORK PROJECTS Ad-

## How Do We Organize in the Public Sector?

ministration), on the other hand, were never unionized.

9) Management is generally an inept, inefficient, arrogant bureaucracy - quite vulnerable to organizing.

### Strategic Principles for Public Sector

#### Organizing

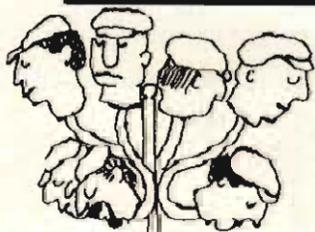
These are some general principles for public sector organizing:

- 1) Ally with recipients of services around quality of services and budgetary priorities.
- 2) Ally with working taxpayers around tax inequity, big business boondoggles, high salaries for management and management inefficiency and corruption.
- 3) Ally with the unemployed by fighting for jobs.
- 4) Build alliance of different nationalities both on the job and in the community by attacking racism and national oppression.
- 5) Build alliance between sexes, which are usually concentrated in different jobs and work areas, by fighting sexism and by women developing their leadership.
- 6) Women must lead women; TW workers must lead TW workers.
- 7) Do not focus on economic issues primarily.
- 8) Battle to democratize the workplace to seize management power. This has very heavy implications.
- 9) Run candidates for office. Workers quickly learn the difference between a two-faced liberal opportunist politician and an ally by their deeds.
- 10) Build agency wide "industrial unions" or coalitions or joint councils.
- 11) Ally with progressive forces in the rest of the labor movement to overturn reactionary leadership in the labor movement, for example in central labor bodies.

### Conclusion

All these mass struggles lead nowhere unless placed in the context of a general working class movement for political power. Public workers are perhaps in an ideal position today to make breakthroughs in organizing a rebirth of socialist consciousness among U.S. workers.

As U.S. workers once again adopt a socialist stance, the question of taking state or political power becomes a real and practical problem. In this period it is necessary to draw clear lines between the state as it now exists, an instrument of bourgeois rule, exploitation, and imperialism, external and internal; and the socialist state, an instrument of working class rule, opposed to imperialism and exploitation in all forms. Public workers are especially capable of developing this critique, as they learn about the real roles of the agencies which employ them and begin to devise and fight for concrete alternatives.



### Labor Organizing cont.

In today's workplace, thinking for yourself and caring about your co-workers are acts of insurrection.

But equally as important as these legal resources is the wealth of information that workers have through direct experience. The history and experience of past struggles combined with the knowledge of what goes on day to day in the workplace amount to an intelligence within a mass workers' group far superior to that of management.

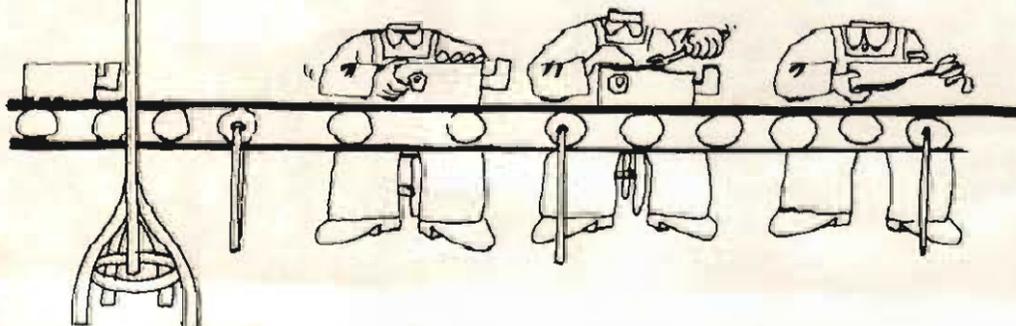
To build a successful campaign we must accurately assess the forces for and against the workers: allies who can be relied upon (other people of the same nationality in the community or the community in general, or workers of another nationality,

work area, or union), allies who cannot be relied upon (perhaps the union leadership, certain groups of workers, certain community organizations), the forces of the enemy, that is, management's strength and its forces among other workers, in the union leadership, and in the police, the courts, among politicians, etc. Weigh the resulting power relationships and adjust strategy and goals accordingly.

Both issues and tactics should be selected with this principle of guerilla warfare in mind: By choosing when, where, how, and for what we fight, a small and weak force can defeat a large and powerful one by a protracted process of concentrating its strengths on the enemy's weaknesses.

Tactics should involve as many people as possible in doing something together. Beginnings can be as simple as a survey, a petition campaign, or the election of representatives. The key is that mass organization needs action to survive and grow, for the people involved to learn and dev-

continued on next page





elop politically. When people do something together, no matter how small or easy, and a victory is won, then a higher degree of unity and self-confidence is forged to support the next tactic on a higher level.

In general a tactic should be as militant as the workers participating are prepared for, without being self-defeating. (Do not lead a group to break the law when they can be identified. Turn the cars over when no one is around). Once a struggle reaches a certain stage (for some workers this is all the time) it is to our advantage to promote direct action. Sabotage, and other forms of clandestine action, including inflicting personal damage upon the enemy, are often necessary ingredients in a mass struggle. But they are not a substitute for broad mass activity- they must be a broad mass activity. Efforts in this direction, in varying degrees of organization, form the seeds for a "workers' militia" in a given workplace. There is certainly also a role for a military underground, integrated into the mass movement. It could enforce the people's demands. Many workers are grateful when they receive clandestine assistance in their struggle.

Organizers will find that in the course of struggle events occur which change the character and direction of events. New ideas will surface and unexpected confrontations will happen. Someone will come up with a wildly imaginative and effective tactic, or management will make a mistake, over-react, make a threat they can't back up or a statement that damns them. Good organizers will have the flexibility to ad lib, to react fast and to exploit these events to the fullest.

Generally a campaign will build in momentum until a peak is reached, then it will begin to decline. All campaigns should be brought to a conclusion. They should not "just fade away". Whether a campaign ends in victory or in defeat there should be a time for summing up the lessons of the struggle, and a period for consolidation of the victories or salvaging the remnants before beginning again the research and discussion of the next campaign. In building organization this is a critical time, since during the campaign many new people may be mobilized and educated, and their participation must be consolidated organizationally in order to continue. We are forced to develop new capabilities to meet the needs of the struggle. These too will slip away if they are not consolidated organizationally and ed again.

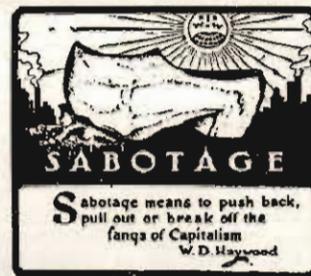
Among the campaigns possible in a workplace, the unionization drive is an important and frequently occurring one. So here are some helpful suggestions on how to wage this kind of struggle.

Whether workers are trying to decertify a current union\* or bring in a new union or both, they face a petition campaign to get an election, earning at least 30% of the workers' signatures and defining a bargaining unit, on behalf of some organization; followed by an election campaign in which some organization or "no organization" must win a majority of the workers' votes. If the petition campaign wins more than 50%, then the election is usually not required. Legal assistance is advisable to insure that all these efforts are not shot down by some technicality.

In conducting the campaign, the following points are important to keep in mind:

- 1) Form an inplant committee before beginning to gather signatures or contacting a union. The committee should include potential leaders from all shifts and work areas.
- 2) Keep the campaign underground - out of management's sight- as long as possible, so that when it surfaces it will have the strength to survive.
- 3) If possible, do the whole campaign as an independent organization. This places the workplace organization in a position of strength when and if a decision is made to affiliate with another union or an international union.
- 4) In selecting a union to work with or affiliate, research and compare the different unions available. Read sample contracts, and learn about their internal situation through workers they represent. Study the bylaws.
5. Negotiating for affiliation- Unions will wine and dine and flatter the leadership when discussing affiliation. Insist on local autonomy, the right to elect officers and delegates, to control the finances and keep as much of the dues as possible, to negotiate and ratify the contract. A good approach is to negotiate with several unions at the same time and make them bid against one another in terms of favorable affiliation conditions.
6. Expect both cooptation(sudden pay raises, promotions for leaders, etc) and repression (firings, threats, etc) from management.

\*It is often difficult to decertify an AFL-CIO union because according to Article 20 of the AFL-CIO constitution no other AFL-CIO union can ever come in to replace the decertified union, or participate in the decertification.



#### NATIONALISM, INTERNATIONALISM, AND THE WORKPLACE

Workplace organizers must deal with the interplay of two facts: 1. Class struggle between workers and the bourgeoisie is the fundamental contradiction and the basis of revolutionary change in the US; 2. National movements of the internal colonies are the leading force in class struggle at this time.

These two principles are not in contradiction. National struggle is the leading form but clearly not the only form of class struggle in the US. It is complementary to a necessary movement among white workers against the cultural, economic, and political relations of imperialism in the community and in the workplace.

In general it can be said that if an international group of workers are engaged in a given struggle in which the leadership does not include strong participation from the oppressed nationality or nationalities, significant mass power is still untapped.

TW organizers find strong allies among their own people in the community. This is part of the construction of the united national front for liberation, which if not under working class leadership will instead be a united national front for reform and career advancement for the national petty bourgeoisie. The national front cannot be pulled together by a "multinational" organization, though allies must be developed among white workers.

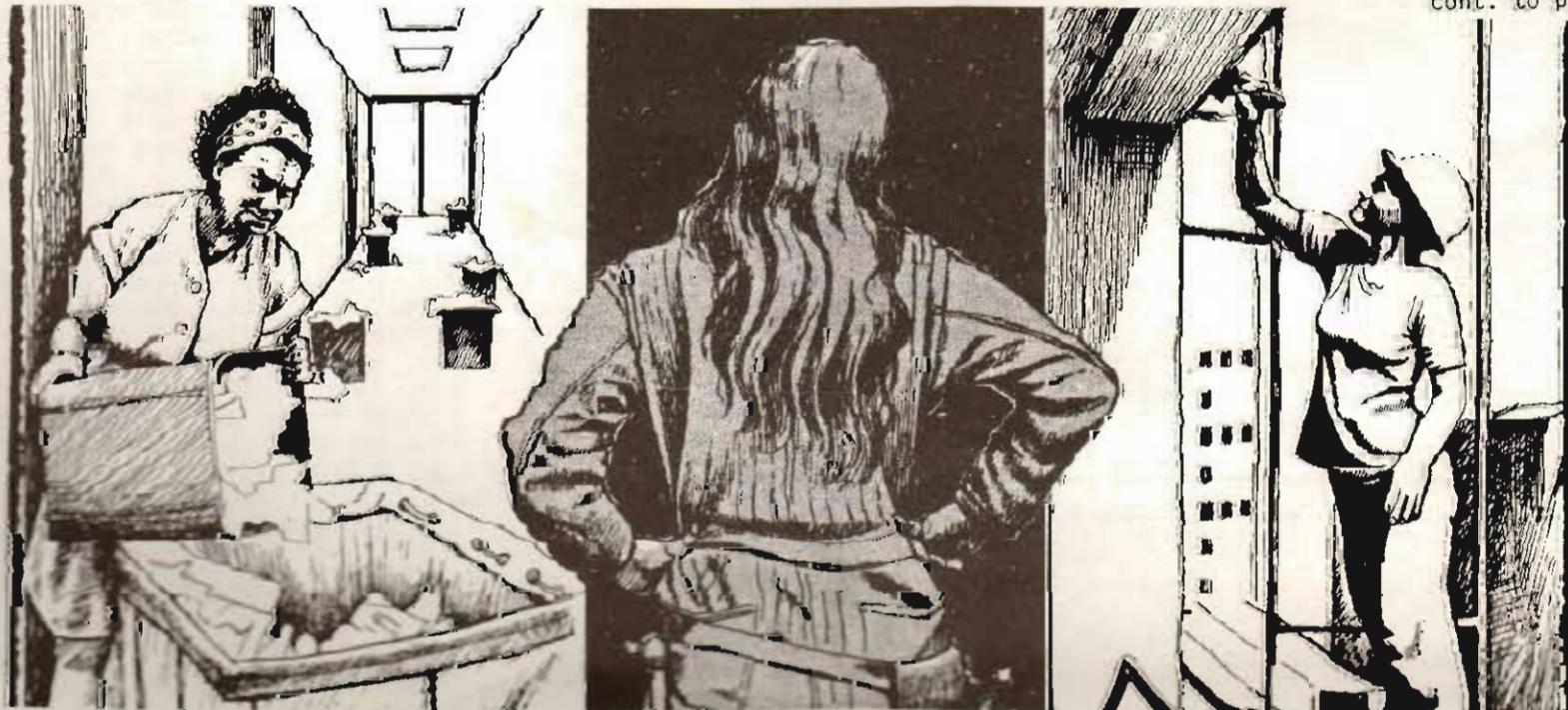
Where workers of several nationalities are concentrated & organizers of each nationality are working, the basis exists for developing a revolutionary alliance. If successfully organized, that alliance is a powerful form for mass struggle in the workplace. It unifies the strength of all workers, while preserving the power of the autonomous national movement. The structure and development of such an alliance can be seen in an "ideal" strategy for building it.

1. Autonomous campaign by TW workers which builds a workers' group and links up with community forces in the community to develop a formal or informal national front.
2. Simultaneous anti-racist campaign by white activists- for example, getting the union to take an anti-racist stand on an issue.
3. Common campaign around a single issue in an alliance formation.

The Revolutionary Union Movements (RUM) were revolutionary Black workers' organizations based in the auto plants of Detroit in the late 60's and the Early 70's. They were shaped by the militancy of the Great Detroit Rebellion of 1967, and united in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The struggles they led against the UAW leadership and the companies and courts were a high point in the black workers' struggle.

Though based at the point of production, the League was very active in the Detroit

cont. to pg. 15



community. Among such work was the one year of control of the South End University student newspaper, which under their leadership became a revolutionary working class black-oriented community newspaper, as they reasoned, "the schools belong to the people, they should serve the people." Other community organizing included a campaign to involve all progressive people in the community in seizing electoral control of the school board.

The RUM movement proved the power of the national form of organization and struggle. By the leadership the League provided in student and community movements, it demonstrated the manner in which a revolutionary workers' organization plays a central role in building a revolutionary united front. The RUM organization were outstanding examples of the intermediate level mass group based in the workplace.

The League was generally unsuccessful in building an alliance with white workers in the plants. Anti-white attitudes of some League supporters turned off some of the potential support among white workers and some older black workers. But it was the racism of the white workers and the general failure of white activists to organize white workers against racism which was the main cause of this problem. (The main reason for the decline of the League, however, was not "ultranationalism" or white chauvinism but organizational weaknesses arising from the absence of cadre organization.)



A DRUM-led demonstration at the UAW convention, November 1969.

**CADRE ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPING MASS LEADERSHIP**

The decline of DRUM and ELRUM is only one example of a broader decline which has befallen many militant and progressive workers' organizations, from the CIO unions of the 30's to present-day caucuses and workers' groups. Suffering from a failure to continually develop more leaders from the rank and file, lacking in political clarity and discipline, countless organizations have fallen apart or become empty, bureaucratic shells and/or management tools for coopting and controlling workers.

The missing element is a revolutionary cadre organization- an organization of organizers with clear politics, which works and studies in a democratic and participatory yet centralized and disciplined manner, which is armed with the tools of dialect-

ical materialist analysis and the method of criticism/self-criticism, learning from its own mistakes. In the 1930's it was just such an organization- the old Communist Party- that did the organizing which built the CIO, the great industrial unions. Without such a backbone the movement is spontaneous and weak, new organizers and leaders are not developed and trained, and political mistakes are made which turn the struggle away from the drive for national liberation, the destruction of imperialism, and working class power. The decline and death of militancy and socialist ideals in the CIO during the 1940's is related directly to the withdrawal of the old Communist Party from effective trade union work as part of a deal with Roosevelt, as it became a party of ineffective reform instead of revolutionary action.

In a situation of struggle the most successful organizer doesn't run the meeting but sits in the corner and perhaps occasionally makes a comment or answers a question; hopefully says nothing. The whole idea of organizing is helping people to do things for themselves. The job of the organizer is to develop more organizers. This way our strength multiplies. Key principles are 1) sharing responsibility 2) encouraging people to follow through on their ideas, and 3) giving people open credit for good ideas and good work. It is a sorry tribute to our individualism that most organizers take on all responsibility (and thus all power and all "recognition") for themselves, making it hard for more leadership to emerge. Poor organizers intimidate, even if they inspire confidence (or more often dependence) in themselves; good organizers inspire self-confidence in the people they organize.

Detroit *Inner City Voice*,  
October 1970

If we can grasp the dialectical relationship between mass and cadre organization, then mass organizing campaigns can also build structures of organizers- potential cadre- rooted in the rank and file. One danger is the tendency to subordinate mass organizations to the cadre organization, using them as tools of sectarianism. Cadre organizations must work to build democratic mass organizations with a real base and a vigorous internal life. (We urge our readers to carefully study the article COLLECTIVES AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS in the last issue of STT, Volume 2, No.2.)

**CONCLUSION**  
The underlying theme of this article is that there are no pat rules or easy formulas for labor organizing. Too often people substitute a dogmatic theoretical approach to mass organizing for the flexibility and self-reliance which are required. This cuts people off from the wealth of lessons to be learned from practice. Even among revolutionaries who are situated in a strategic location for mass organizing, there is often a very limited grasp of how to do effective work. While we believe that the concepts sketched here will be useful in developing these skills, becoming competent organizers requires actual practice, applying self-criticism, self-reliance, and learning from the people.

STT

**Portugal** continued from pg 9

further than the MFA and the PCP envisioned by workers seizing the means of production immediately.

But now under pressure of an economic crisis similar to Chile's in 1973, brought about by restrictions on Portugal's changing economy by monopoly capitalists through trade and credit embargoes, and a political crisis provoked by US-backed anti-Communists, the MFA has turned on its only reliable base in the working class by structuring a government on the basis of the April elections. This act is the crucial factor in the current situation and the key is the role played by left forces opposed to the PCP. The alignment of those forces signaled not only the demise of the PCP but of the extra-parliamentary left as a whole.

**ROOTS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION**

In order to analyze this situation, the summer campaign of the Socialist Party (SP), and, coincidentally, of the fascists, must be analyzed. This calculated program of terror has received much coverage by the bourgeois media. It is a blatant example of counter-revolutionary violence in the name of "democracy."

The Socialists began their campaign in July when they and the Popular Democratic Party (PDP) of prosperous northern landowners left the civilian/MFA coalition government charging that Goncalves and the PCP were attempting to impose a "Communist dictatorship." The real issue was the workers seizure of the Socialist owned Republica newspaper, the Catholic owned Radio Renascenca, the nationalizations of the banks and landholdings in excess of 1,500 acres and most threatening- the MFA proposal for direct popular democracy that would have forced the parties to compete for popular support on the basis of their actual programs rather than their anti-communist or ultra-left rhetoric.

The popular seizure of the Republica was a major rallying point in the gathering of momentum for the Rightist drive. In July, 140 workers seized control of their paper. Out of a total workforce of 180, 90 were PCP members and 50 were not (the remaining 40 who did not participate were Socialist/PDP). The action was part of a drive for immediate worker control of the means of production, which was spontaneous and not directed by the MFA or any party.

The seizure of Republica, the MFA economic programs, the Socialists pulling out of the coalition government and the disunity of the left opened the door for counter-revolution. Tens of thousands of small landowners (the middle and upper peasantry), agitated by Catholic priests' stories that Goncalves wanted to nationalize their 10 acre plots, confirmed in their anxiety by their Bishop's assurances that the PCP were the enemies of the Church, Christ, and Democracy, and manipulated by outright fascist elements and the CIA/NATO intelligence network, joined in a massive reign of terror in the North against the PCP. (Prior to the revolution the Church owned 40% of all land in Portugal). In six weeks more than 50 PCP offices were attacked and burned, books and records destroyed, and individual PCP members stoned in the streets- all in the name of Democratic moderation.

At no point did the Socialist Party oppose, or even disassociate itself from this rightwing violence. Rather, the Socialists used it to convince their own members and "moderates" nationwide that the PCP was finished in the North, and that the only way to placate the violent right was to remove Goncalves from government. In this way, the Socialists were able to split the MFA, particularly nine prominent officers in the revolutionary council, against the government, and, eventually use the threat of a military coup as their hole card to oust PCP member Goncalves as premier and later to block his appointment as armed forces chief of staff.

This maneuvering was hardly surprising given the origins of the Socialist party and its social base, but what was demoralizing was the role of the left who opposed the PCP on the basis of its "revisionism" (revisionism in this case cont. on p. 17)

# FROM THE SISTERS



Sisters:

This section of the paper is open to contributions of women throughout the revolutionary movement. Please send us articles, poems, graphics or stories you would like to see printed and we will do our best to get them in.

If we are to be fighters, we must develop theoretical weapons!

## A CRITIQUE of the White Women's Movement

From Vietnam to Detroit, the liberation movement of Third World peoples have given rise to the formation and development of the white revolutionary movement. The period of the 1960's marked a beginning of the end to US imperialism. Oppressed people were rising again in an open way inside the US. It was at this time that white women began to once again question our position in society.

The present-day white women's movement has its roots in student organizations like SDS. The male chauvinism of men inside these organizations and the lack of program which spoke to women's needs made it impossible for women to function solely in mixed organizations.

Women's consciousness around the necessity to develop our own leadership and around sexism was very undeveloped. We weren't sure what the relationship of women's oppression was to the rest of the struggle. Some of us were unclear about the nature of our oppression as women. However, it was very clear that women could not deal with these questions inside the mixed movement. As a result, women began to meet in separate groups.

One common form that our separate groups took was of consciousness raising (cr) groups. CR groups were a way for each woman to discuss and share her feelings and problems with other women. For many of us, CR groups provided the basis from which we began to break down our isolation from each other. Once we were able to get past the isolation we began to see that our feelings of alienation, self-hate, insecurity and guilt didn't come from within. We found out that other women shared the same problems and feelings. We became able to transform our feelings into an objective understanding of women's oppression. We were rising up and beginning to realize the role sexism plays as an ideological prop in a system of world-wide exploitation. The root of our alienations was coming to light. In all of the above respects, CR groups were a source of strength and sisterhood.

However, a tendency of CR groups was to view the personal aspects of our oppression as primary. As a result, there was no class analysis of women's oppression and happy Rockefeller's and Betty Ford's were lumped into the same category as welfare mothers.

This mistake was made because of the petit-bourgeois class composition of the white women's movement. Historically this class has been able to make choices about their lives. The material realities of life like food, S, housing, education, jobs are areas which petit-bourgeois classes have been able to control comfortably. With the material necessities amply taken care of, these individuals have been able to leisurely analyze their feelings and actions as well as question the existence

## Working Women: a Mighty Army



WASHING DISHES... CLEVELAND, OHIO

DIGGING TURNIPS... FAYETTE COUNTY, TENN.

MAKING SHOES... WELDONVILLE, OHIO/LMS

and development of humanity.

For Third World and white working class women, the choice of putting our feelings primary does not exist. These women have a multitude of survival questions to deal with like children, how the rent's gonna get paid, violent confrontations with men, etc, etc. It comes down to a matter of survival. Because the white women's movement was not struggling to put the personal aspects of women's oppression into a class perspective the movement did not address the needs of women oppressed by nation and class.

As we saw the need to develop other forms of work besides CR groups many different areas and types of practice surfaced. Many women began to organize women's studies programs and alternative institutions and lifestyles. Others participated in bourgeois feminist groups like N.O.W. Others saw men as the primary enemy, while others became involved in the white anti-imperialist (a/i) movement.

Those of us who became involved with the white a/i movement were trying to follow the example given to us by our Vietnamese sisters: that the liberation of women can only be achieved through the struggle for total liberation of all oppressed people.

We organized against the war, struggled for day care centers, organized on the job and fought on the streets. We realized that our Third World sisters fight for liberation of their nations is the primary aspect of their struggle for liberation as women. We saw in practice that the demand for the right to abortion was racist if it wasn't accompanied with a demand to stop forced sterilizations of Third World women. We found that to struggle against sexism wasn't enough. We realized that we had to struggle against imperialism and racism as well.

From our experience, the white women's movement sees the need to make a revolution. We know that our oppression, although particular, has to be dealt with in the context of fighting US imperialism at home and abroad. We also understand that we need theory to consciously guide our work.

### SOCIALISM FEMINISM

Socialism feminism (s/f) is an attempt to clarify our ideology and to bring a class analysis to our movement. At the Socialist Feminist Conference (held in July 1975) many different applications and definitions of s/f were put forward.

In a paper entitled Lesbianism and Socialist Feminism a call for the development of a synthesis of socialist and feminist theory was made because:

"Socialist theory has never developed an adequate theory of sex oppression, largely because it is a body of thought which does not deal with sex and sexuality. In the Marxist map of the social world, human beings are distinguished as workers, capitalists or peasants; not as men and women, not as gay or straight. It is difficult to extract an analysis of sex oppression from a theory which does not recognize sex as a significant factor in human social life. Feminism, on the other hand, has specifically addressed itself to the place of sex and sexuality in human life, and is developing a critique of human sexual arrangements. It is foolish and unnecessary to turn only to Marxism for a theory and justification

which it cannot and need not provide. We can struggle against sexism whether or not it is the direct result of capitalism and imperialism.

But just as Marxism does not provide a complete map of the social universe, neither does feminism. It is as foolish to argue that the relationship between men and women is the source of all oppression as it is to claim that the relationship between capitalism and labor is the cause of all aspects of human discontent. ... We need a movement which recognizes and fights to abolish all of the sources of human degradation, be they racism, sexism, capitalism, imperialism, or fascism. We need a movement which will articulate socialist politics within the women's movement, feminist politics within the left."

(p.1)

Barbara Ehrenreich's speech Socialist/Feminism and Revolution, also given at the conference, tries to put s/f in the framework of a class analysis. She explains that "the agent of revolution is not a group defined by race or sex or sexual preference, but a group defined ultimately by its relationship to the system of production---that is a class." (p. 3) In her speech she tries to define s/f as a theory for organizing women not only around sexism but class as well.

She believes that North American working class consciousness has been destroyed in the 20th century by two major developments. They are:

1. racism
2. the atomization of the working class.

(by this she means the physical dispersion of the working class through suburbanization and the destruction of all working class communities and the growing privatization of working class life, which is shifting away from the workplace and community to the home and family. Since women have traditionally been assigned the responsibility of maintaining the home she feels we can't look at the atomization of the working class without running into the sexual division of labor. From this analysis she draws the conclusion that the main task "is not party building or united front building but class building-- finding the programs and the actions and the ways of working which help to bring together the working class as a revolutionary class." (p.4)

### CRITICISM OF SOCIALIST/FEMINISM

The main strength of both s/f presentations is that they represent a move by the white women's toward Marxism-Leninism and developing a class analysis.

The main weakness of both is their dogmatic interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. This error leads them to many confused strategies for work inside the white women's movement. Both presentations, because they aren't self-reliantly using dialectical materialist thought to assess the concrete conditions we face, fail to come to the conclusion that anti imperialism is the strategy for revolution inside the US.

### ON STRATEGY

Dialectical materialism is the method of thought from which Marxism-Leninism was derived. It is a method which teaches us to look at the world in terms of opposing forces (contradictions), and gives us the theory to guide revolutionary practice.

## From the Sisters cont. from p. 16

Marx, Lenin, Mao, and Cabral have been some of the people who have used the concepts of dialectical materialism to develop the ideology of revolution which we call Marxism-Leninism. Their writings are not blueprints or "social maps" for the US revolution, but are part of the history of revolution we must study in an effort to learn from other comrades who have waged revolution. Attempts to find the "answers" for our struggle from these books can only result in dogma. This tendency exists not only in the theories of s/l, but in the mixed a/i movement as well.

Just as Mao and Cabral had to grapple with their own specific situations, so must the white anti imperialist movement. In making an analysis of the world we have found that the contradiction between oppressed nations and oppressor nations both internally and externally to the US is the primary characteristic of US imperialism. It is also the leading aspect of the class contradiction at this time.

An understanding of this leads us to put forward anti imperialism as the strategy for revolution. The white women's movement is no exception to this strategy.

We've seen through practice that only organizing around wage exploitation leads to economism. Organizing only around women's oppression leads to reformism and economism.

The clearest example of this is the relationship of the abolitionist and suffrage movements in the 1800-1900's. Women took the lead in the fight against slavery before and during the Civil War. Female Anti-Slavery Societies were formed in the North, recruiting for the Underground Railroad and convincing their sisters of the need to fight slavery. Harriett Beecher Stowe was instrumental in convincing the workers in England to support the North and abolition during the Civil War. After the War, white Northern schoolteachers set up thousands of schools in the South. Those schools meant more than free education for the first time in the history of the South. According to DuBois, "the result was one of the most astonishing successes in new and sudden human contacts. We must also remember that the population of the sixties was divided into church congregations and the great majority of these...were represented directly or indirectly in the South, after the War, by one of their members who reported the work that she (and it was usually she) was doing with colored people. This work, to an unusual degree, was so successful and so helpful that her words carried widespread conviction." - Black Reconstruction, pg. 190

Through their participation in the abolition movement, petit bourgeois white women developed a strong consciousness of the need to fight for their own liberation. They joined with the working women, who had come to that same understanding through labor struggles in the early 1800's.

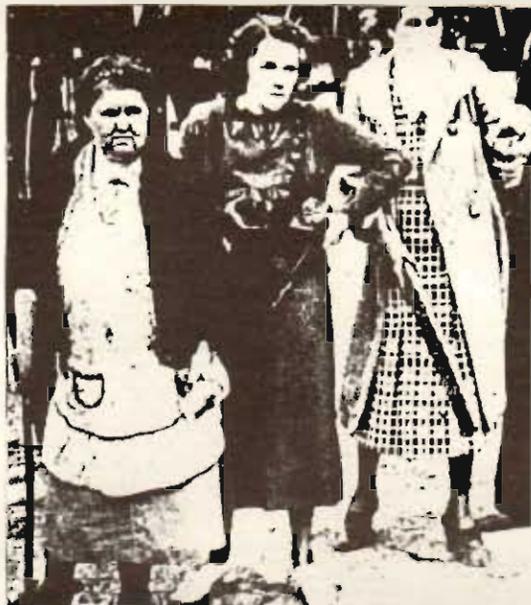
In 1920, white women won their struggle for suffrage. However, women were "granted" this right, in large part to maintain a white majority. The petit bourgeois leadership of the suffrage movement campaigned openly on that platform. In 1903, a Women's Suffrage Convention decided that states would make the policies on membership, insuring segregation, at least in the South.

Because the oppression of women does cut across class lines our strategy has to have a firm class analysis. The key aspect of our class analysis must be the relationship of oppressed and oppressor nations. Without this foundation, our movement will be racist and economist.

### STRATEGY TO TACTICS

Deciding that anti imperialism is our strategy is obviously no end in itself. Whole new sets of questions and problems come up in the course of practice. Key problems seem to be:

- 1) how do we develop an anti-imperialist women's program?
- 2) what are the organizational forms necessary for implementation of this program?
- 3) what is the relationship between the women's movement and the white anti imperialist movement?



"LITTLE STEEL" STRIKE... WOMEN STAND UP.

Firstly, the women writing this article have no absolute answers to these questions. We are struggling in our practice to develop the answers. The following is part of that struggle.

#### 1) Program:

An a/i women's program should have a clear class analysis. We need to understand what forces of women are moving and in what ways they are moving. Our program must be one which speaks to the most oppressed women. It has to address itself to issues like day care, welfare struggles, organizing the unorganized, fighting for quality education for all people, mobilizing against racism, and supporting national liberation struggles inside and outside of the US.

Many questions confront us in this work. Questions like how do we struggle effectively against cutbacks and for day care without falling into reformist practice still have to be answered

#### 2) Organizational form:

The white women's movement needs many different forms of organization. Inside the white women's movement we need to develop strong mass organizations similar to the women's unions of Vietnam. One of the main tasks of these unions has to be the development of women's leadership for the revolutionary movement.

We need women's caucuses inside mixed organizations. Women's collectives are also very necessary forms of cadre organization.

We have yet to develop most of these organizational forms. Many of the stumbling blocks we face spring from our lack of ideological clarity and solid class analysis.

#### 3) Relationship of women's movement to the whole anti imperialist movement:

We need a strong women's movement that will allow women to develop new roles and identities for ourselves. Because of our unique position in society we have a vital role to play in leading the revolution and in developing the future society. We know through practice that we can't "wait until after the revolution" to deal with sexism. The struggles against sexism and racism are key parts of the struggle to develop a new understanding of what it means to be human. This struggle has to be part of any serious attempt to seize state power.

On the other hand, we recognize that together, women and men, have the responsibility to destroy the beast. Women must struggle in the same organizations as men. We must take the lead in all areas of practice and struggle that the a/i movement is engaged in. Our contributions and leadership are invaluable.

The development of a strong women's movement and the development of good fighting anti imperialist organizations that have strong participation and leadership from women are complimentary tasks. Both need to happen.

Inside mixed organizations each area of work needs specific focus that speaks directly to women. Daycare and welfare organizing (traditionally seen as women's organizing issues) need to be seen in the context of an overall revolutionary front consisting of all forms of our work. Inside mixed organizations, women, through

through separate groups, caucuses, and collectives need to take the lead in developing the day-to-day strategy for this work. Men also need to be involved. Dealing with sexism should mean more than just accepting criticism around it. Men need to take an active, supportive role in organizing against women's oppression, and a leading role in fighting sexism among other men, particularly among white working class men.

In each area that we are involved, we have to develop programs that speak to the specific oppression of women. Whether it be day care or organizing support for political prisoners, we must struggle to understand that all our work is part of a revolutionary thrust aimed at plugging US imperialism full of holes.

From the sisters,  
white staff- SEIZE THE TIME

### \* PORTUGAL cont. from p 15

being a refusal to denounce the Soviet Union as imperialist). During this blatant class war against the PCP the MRPP issued statements of solidarity with the town of Falamico on August 5 saying that they "expressed their congratulations on the destruction of PCP headquarters there". The right was able to use the issue of Soviet social imperialism as a cover for class war and blatant fascism and these left parties opposed to the PCP (there are 25 to the left of the CP) took the bait.

Only the Union for Popular Democracy (UDP) defended the seizure of the Republica by the workers and the programs that the PCP was being attacked for even though they had a firm stand against social imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

The Socialist Party's anti-communist coalition with the Catholic hierarchy, northern landowners, neo-fascists, and eventually the parties to the left of the Communist Party, consolidated its political power by blocking the appointment of former premier Vasco Goncalves as armed forces chief of staff. Goncalves resigned as premier on August 29 under a compromise agreement reached during a 48 hour meeting with top political and military leaders. He was replaced by vice admiral Jose de Azevedo and was to assume control of the chiefs of staff of the various military services. The Socialist Party opposed any retention of power by Goncalves in its drive to smash the PCP, and maneuvered Socialist-aligned generals to threaten a military coup. By September 4 the Army and Air Force assemblies had voted their support for the opposition of their respective chiefs of staff to Goncalves appointment. In addition Major Ernesto Melo Etunes, a rightist who has been reinstated in the revolutionary council of the Armed Forces Movement, has been able to gather a power base that many observers feel will be used to promote a Chilean style coup with right forces who have used the issue of Social Fascism as a cover for attacks upon the MFA and the revolution itself.

The anti-Communist victories climaxed more than two months of the Socialist party campaign backed by Catholic mob violence and repeated threats of a coup to oust Goncalves and destroy the PCP. It signals an abrupt change to the right for Portugal into a partisan electoral "democracy" dominated by the urban petit bourgeoisie and middle peasants and the Catholic hierarchy all urging moderation in support of US and Western European monopoly capital and NATO.

#### PRESENT GOVERNMENT

The current government structure is a reflection of the MFA's desire to continue its control of the economy, but with "popular" support. The current government will implement the financial and social programs of the MFA (which were drafted by Goncalves before his ouster) but with a definite trend towards moderation. The popular seizures of the means of production in certain areas, like the Republica, and the rural south, are to be overturned. Such "moderation" means that the left must analyze its future relationship with the MFA. Continued participation by progressive forces is imperative within the MFA to insure continued economic restructuring but it means doing so from a position of relative weakness. There is also

continued on pg 19

The Diego Rivera murals are printed as historically important documents but also in the hope that graphic artists today complete his portrait of America to include the events since 1934—the internment of Japanese, the atom bomb, Detroit rebellion, the Attica massacre, Chicano Moratorium, war against the Panthers, assassination of George Jackson, and the battles of Wounded Knee would all be proper subjects. Entries to fill out the series with the missing panels should be submitted to SEIZE THE TIME in time for the BICENTENNIAL year so we can put out the true history. Contact MURALS, SEIZE THE TIME.

continued from pg. 11  
doing work in Detroit.

Ideologically, the League was on firmer ground than the Panther Party was. From the beginning, the League activists saw the Black working class as the most powerful and reliable class. The League's mass line shunned leather jackets, uniforms and other badges that would tend to separate the cadre from the people. Instead of relying on chancey media campaigns for exposure, they relied on careful day-to-day work in the plant and community. The League's film, "Finally Got the News" is a carefully thought out piece of Black working class propaganda, (our experience is that Black workers appreciate this film more than any other film we show at workplaces and in the community. The "Murder of Fred Hampton" is a close second.) The League had a mass working class approach to work that gained it some support that the Black Panther Party was never able to consistently mobilize. On the other hand, activists within the League were guilty of localism and often did not realize that conditions inside Detroit were not typical elsewhere. In many Black communities the un- and under-employed are a much greater and significant force than point of production workers. The League was foggy on its approach to the over-all strategy of Black liberation within the U.S. Strong analysis calling for either a national liberation approach to revolution or an international (multi-national) socialist revolution approach was never clearly put forward. The League definitely saw the need for organizing around nationality (race) at the present, but was never clear as the Panther Party as to what lay down the road. This ideological confusion was apparent at the time of the split as various League members joined a variety of different revolutionary organizations -- many of which later split themselves.

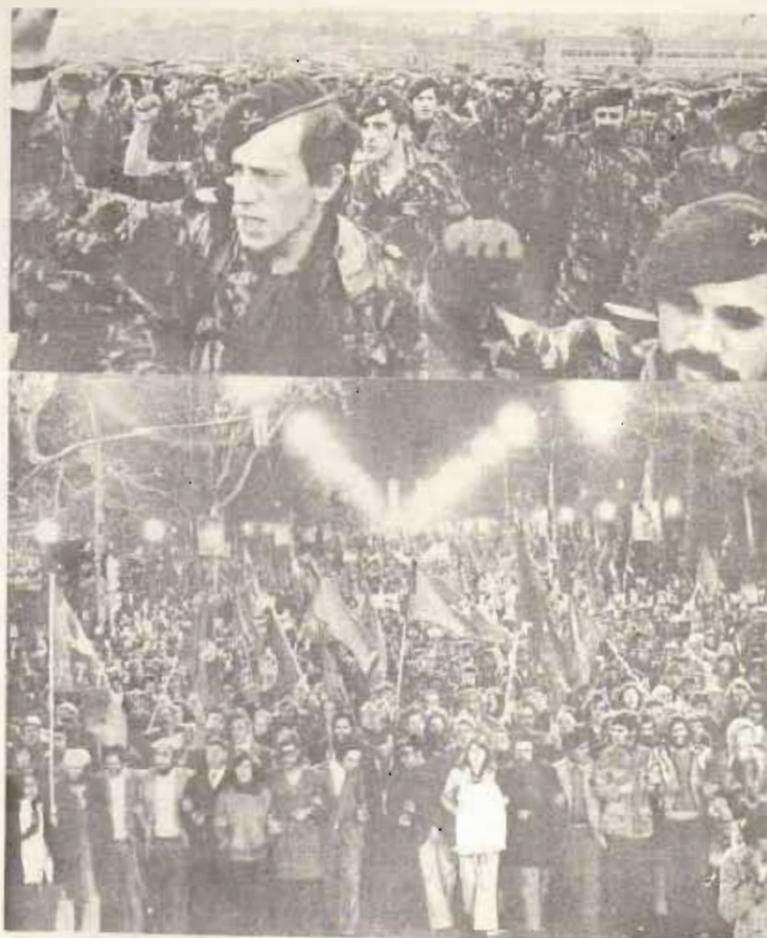
Both the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers had their roots in work done during the middle sixties and ended in the middle of 1971. We have much to learn from the Panther Party on the strategy of Black revolution, the strength of a country-wide fighting cadre organization and the role of a nation-wide newspaper. From the League we can learn much concerning correct class line, style of work and the strength of point of production organizing. From both we can learn the dangers of not understanding different organizational forms, having thorough political education at all levels, and the need for strong democratic centralism and clear and correct political line.

In the second part of this article we will offer our analysis of:

- the last four years,
- a class analysis of the Black colony,
- where Black people now stand in relation to the ruling class and other oppressed people, and
- the strategic, tactical and organizational needs of the Black liberation movement.



Black workers in Detroit



Soldado amigo o povo está contigo



MAJOR EVENTS IN THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

April, 1974: The 48 year fascist rule brought to an end by the MFA anti-fascist coup. All repressive legislation abolished; 35 political parties surface (26 of them on the Left); Cultural Dynamization programs instituted; independence for the African colonies guaranteed.

September, 1974: Attempted counter-coup by MFA president Antonio do SpinoLa fails and the MFA consolidates in the face of future fascist maneuvers.

March 1975: Another abortive counter-coup, directed by SpinoLa. The MFA nationalizes all banking and land interests over 1,500 acres, institutes the revolutionary council to provide direction to the general assembly of the MFA and establishes a full employment program to coincide with the economic programs.

July, 1975: The Socialist party and the

Popular Democratic Party pull out of the popular government in protest over the workers seizure of the Socialist newspaper, Republica; a troika consisting of Goncalves (PCP), Carvalho (ultra-left COPCON) and Gomez (moderate) assumes the vacant positions. The SP and the fascists begin a campaign to smash the PCP.

August, 1975: 50 PCP offices burned, 8 dead and hundreds wounded. The MFA splits internally during the crisis. Goncalves is ousted as premier; Carvalho removed as head of COPCON and a new cabinet reflecting the April elections is formed to implement the decisions of the MFA revolutionary council and general assembly.

September, 1975: The new cabinet moves against the seizures of press and land by the workers. The new premier pledges a more gradual transition to socialism. The right consolidates its power base in the government and the Left is bitterly divided.

ORGANIZATIONS

- FRELIMO: The national liberation movement of Mozambique.
- UNITA: Union for the Total Independence of Angola.
- FNLA: Front for the National Liberation of Angola.
- MPLA: Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola.
- PFLO: Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf.
- SWAPO: South West African Peoples Organization.
- ZANU: Zimbabwe African National Union.
- MFA: Armed Forces Movement of Portugal; an autonomous movement with many different forces represented.
- COPCON: The internal security force for Portugal under the MFA. It is a grouping of elite military units that has been solidly Left since April, 1974.
- PIDE: The internal security force of the Fascists, infamous for widespread torture and imprisonment of opposition forces.

- PCP: Portugese Communist Party.
- PCP(M-L): Distinct from the PCP in that it sees itself as the "true" Maoist party in Portugal. Only party ever invited to China from that country.
- MRFP: Movement for the Reorganization of the Party of the Proletariat. Opposed to the PCP, it is primarily composed of students and intellectuals.
- SE: Socialist Party; Socialist in name only, it is controlled by and aligned with European Social Democrats.
- PDF: The Popular Democratic Party; a coalition of northern landowners and petit bourgeoisie.
- CDS: Democratic Social Center; ultra-right neo-fascists in the guise of an electoral party.
- UDP: Popular Democratic Union; the only Left party besides the PCP with a base among the urban workers and the military.
- DMLP: Fascist exile organization, Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal.

cont. from pg. 17

a growing threat from rightists in exile who want to dismantle all the gains of the revolution.

When the MFA seized power in 1973 it did what no other popular movement has accomplished to date- it took power in a sub-imperialist, European NATO state. Initially it was insecure and politically immature and moved quickly against any who threatened the fragile internal situation (this largely meant isolating fascist elements but it also included ultra-leftists who wanted immediate worker control in the face of a population conditioned by 50 years of dictatorship and Portugal's isolation in the face of NATO forces and Franco's Spain.

The PCP's cautious attitude towards immediate worker control gave rise to a Left opposition to the PCP, and consequently the MFA, on the grounds that it was revisionist and a tool of social imperialism. The irony is that while the PCP undoubtedly has some revisionist tendencies, due largely to its relationship with the Soviet Union, the primary aspect of its current role in Portugal has been support for the MFA. Unlike any other party, right or left, it has never denounced the MFA, especially during the August 1975 fascist campaign. It correctly sees itself as the only left force capable of giving a mass base to the MFA. It sees itself as a force that will not compromise on economic policies and the movement that ended colonial war for millions in Africa and threw off fascism at home. Those on the left who raised social imperialism as the main enemy, or even a major opponent in the current political climate, objectively aligned themselves with outright fascists, applauded rightwing terror, and participated in a neo-fascist political coup within the MFA. Now the very forces they allied with to oppose the PCP have turned on them and have crushed any political impact they might have had within the coalition government and the MFA.

The best example of the fate of this wavering, and finally, opportunist position on the left, is Otelio de Sarvio Carvalho. Before the ouster of Goncalves, Carvalho was one of the three in the administrative trika that directed the government, and today he is stripped of his political base, and plays a relatively insignificant role. Carvalho was the commander of COPCON, the internal security force for Portugal. He was head of the delegation to Cuba this summer, and was widely supported by the extra-parliamentary left that opposed the PCP.

Carvalho returned from Cuba with the concept of worker-soldier councils that would be the basis of popular democracy and the gradual seizure of the means of production. He envisioned Portugal breaking all ties with the Common Market and becoming a non-aligned Third World nation. He was also relatively inexperienced politically and he lacked a social base for his programs, other than the anti-PCP left (which was primarily students and intellectuals.) Unable to implement his programs and faced with the political crisis generated by the anti-Communists, he openly attacked Goncalves and added his voice to the rightist drive to oust Goncalves.

The result was the lack of a consolidated left opposition to right wing terrorism and the move against the MFA.

During this period, COPCON tried to present itself as a third force between the PCP and the right, but it lacked a popular base of support outside Lisbon. After Goncalves was removed Carvalho was stripped of his command and denied any input to the development of a coalition government. Carvalho embodies the role of the anti-PCP left in Portugal.

#### SUMMARY OF CURRENT PROBLEMS

The capitalists now have a relatively solid base for furthering the counter revolution. The MFA is divided. The PCP with its large base, is isolated politically from the Left forces that could have moved it forward. It has been weakened as a viable political force within the MFA movement that forged the revolution.

The opportunist position of those opposed to the PCP has been the crucial factor. Elevating "revisionism" and "social imperialism" over the dangers of US imperialism and its fascist lackeys not

only furthered the counter revolution, but without it the rightists would have been decisively defeated.

The attack upon the PCP was a move by reactionary forces to divide the MFA and the left and to open the way for counter revolution. In a situation such as this, especially with the PCP's base in the urban areas and in the rural south, to do anything but support the MFA and the PCP was to play into the hands of the right.

The role of the Soviet Union in Portugal, compared to the role of US imperialism and their allies, was not a major factor. Yet many left organizations let this be the determining criteria for the practice during this critical period. Given the social origins of the anti-PCP left and the consequences of their policies

Puerto Rico cont. from p. 7

the low wages and high cost of living imposed by US companies which control the island's economy. Each day, more workers join the pro-independence parties, and elect known independentistas and socialists to leadership positions in their unions.

At the same time this movement takes place within the context which we in the United States must never forget. It takes place within the context of brutal repression, such as the savage and bloody suppression of the Nationalist-led insurrection in 1950. This repression continues today and becomes more intense as the movement for independence grows.

And it takes place within the context of an all-out attempt to co-opt the independence movement through a phony "commonwealth" status, a lie perpetrated on the Puerto Rican people in 1952, two short years after the 1950 rebellion. Legally, this status is almost exactly the same as the colonial status laid down by the Jones Act in 1917. Yet the United States uses

History of cont. from p. 7

## ★ PUERTO RICO ★

1947: The PIP organizes a chapter in New York. Independence followers in conjunction with Vito Marcantonio's Progressive Party, organize in support of Puerto Rican independence, in New York and demand the release of Albizu Campos.

1948: Largely as a result of the Nationalist Party campaign against "colonial elections," 42% of the adult population abstains from voting in the governmental elections.

April 28, 1950: U.S. Secretary of War Louis Johnson meets with U.S. military officials, reportedly to give instructions that Albizu Campos and the Nationalist Party leadership be imprisoned, or if necessary, assassinated by the Puerto Rican police.

Late October, 1950: Repressive acts against the Nationalists grow. Carloads of Party members are arrested and midnight raids are made on their homes. A shoot-out at the home of the mother of the President of the Ponce Branch of the Nationalist Party kills three Nationalists and sparks an island-wide revolt.

October 30, 1950: Led by Nationalist heroine Blanca Canales, Nationalists seize the city hall in Jayuya and proclaim the Republic of Puerto Rico. Using mortars, bazookas, and planes, the U.S. Army overwhelms the valiant patriots and smashes the revolt. In the aftermath, hundreds of Nationalists, sympathizers, and suspected sympathizers are rounded up; Albizu Campos and his followers are once again jailed.

October 31, 1950: Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola attack Blair House in Washington, D.C., where President Harry Truman is staying. Torresola is killed and Collazo is captured. He remains in prison in the United States to the present time.

November, 1952: In only its second time at the polls, the PIP receives 126,000 votes in the general elections, making it second only to the PPD of Munoz Marin. Thousands of Puerto Ricans show, in the only legal way possible during a time of severe repression, that independence is still on the agenda.

1953: Albizu Campos is released by a federal pardon, but is jailed again after the attack on Congress (see below).

March 1, 1954: Four Puerto Rican Nationalists - Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero and Irvin Flores, attack the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington with small arms, wounding five Congressmen. They demonstrate their conviction that those who have usurped Puerto Rico's control over her own destiny cannot legislate with impunity against the best interests of a small and supposedly helpless nation. More than twenty years later, they are still held in U.S. prisons for this act.

1956: The Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI) is founded and immediately declared undesirable by University of Puerto Rico (UPR) Chancellor Jaime Benitez. During 1958 and 1959, FUPI carries out a struggle against compulsory university ROTC courses. In 1960, the ROTC is declared voluntary.

1959: The Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) is organized, incorporating a wide membership of independentista forces on the island. The MPI begins publishing the pro-independence weekly *Claridad*.

1960: The MPI is the first organization in the world to present the colonial case of Puerto Rico to the newly-created U.N. Special Committee on Decolonization.

1964: The MPI attends the second conference on Non-Aligned Nations which approves a resolution supporting the independence of Puerto Rico.

which invariably aids the forces of reaction, not revolution. Those of us who live in the heart of the US empire should take this lesson very seriously. Disunity on the Left in the face of reactionary maneuvering means defeat for all progressive forces.

the commonwealth status internationally and to its own people to deny that Puerto Rico is a colonial possession. The United Nations recognized that lie by its 1973 declaration of the right of the Puerto Rican people to independence.

We in the United States must not be fooled. Under the name of "free association" with the United States, the Commonwealth government carries out the sale of Puerto Rican natural resources and human resources to US interests. It harbors the US military. It trains colonial police and works with the FBI to put down the independence struggle.

The independence movement expresses the undeniable right of all Puerto Ricans to freedom. It goes even further than that: it expresses their right to survive...

We in the United States, as we learn more about the real conditions in Puerto Rico, must build a corresponding movement in this country which exposes US colonial control and gives full support to the national liberation struggle.

April 21, 1965: 100,000 attend Albizu Campos' funeral demonstrating that nationalist sentiment is very much alive. Albizu was released from prison by a federal pardon the year before.

1965: The MPI exposes the existence of copper deposits in Puerto Rico and give-away negotiations carried on by the Commonwealth Government with U.S. companies. A mass campaign against the strip-mining and sellout of Puerto Rican copper develops with the participation of all independence forces.

March, 1970: The pro-independence University Feminine Action Committee holds a protest activity against ROTC presence on the Rio Piedras campus of UPR. State police open fire on the demonstrators, killing fourth-year education student Antonia Martinez.

September 12, 1970: 80,000 people rally in protest of the U.S. Governors' Convention held in San Juan.

January, 1971: The PIP, together with Culebra residents, North Americans from a Quaker action group, and a Puerto Rican committee of clergymen, stages a successful civil disobedience campaign against the Navy's continued use of Culebra for live target practice. Their tactics included swim-ins at forbidden beaches and entering firing zones.

March 4, 1971: A militant demonstration on the UPR campus against the ROTC sparks a confrontation between students and police. The riot police chief, a policeman, and an ROTC cadet are killed.

May 1, 1971: International Workers Day is celebrated for the first time in many years by a united action of PIP, MPI and MAS (Trade Union Action Movement).

November, 1971: The MPI constitutes itself as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

August, 1972: The PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás, and PIP President Rubén Berríos address the Committee on Decolonization of the United Nations, marking the first time leaders of the independence movement have been given a direct hearing before an official U.N. body.

1972: The PSP, the PIP and other groups organize against the plans for the installation of a superport to service U.S. corporations, culminating in a demonstration of over 20,000 people in Aguadilla.

1972: The Popular Socialist Movement (MSP) is formed.

November, 1972: Rubén Berríos is elected to the Senate with 92,000 votes, and two members of PIP are elected to the House.

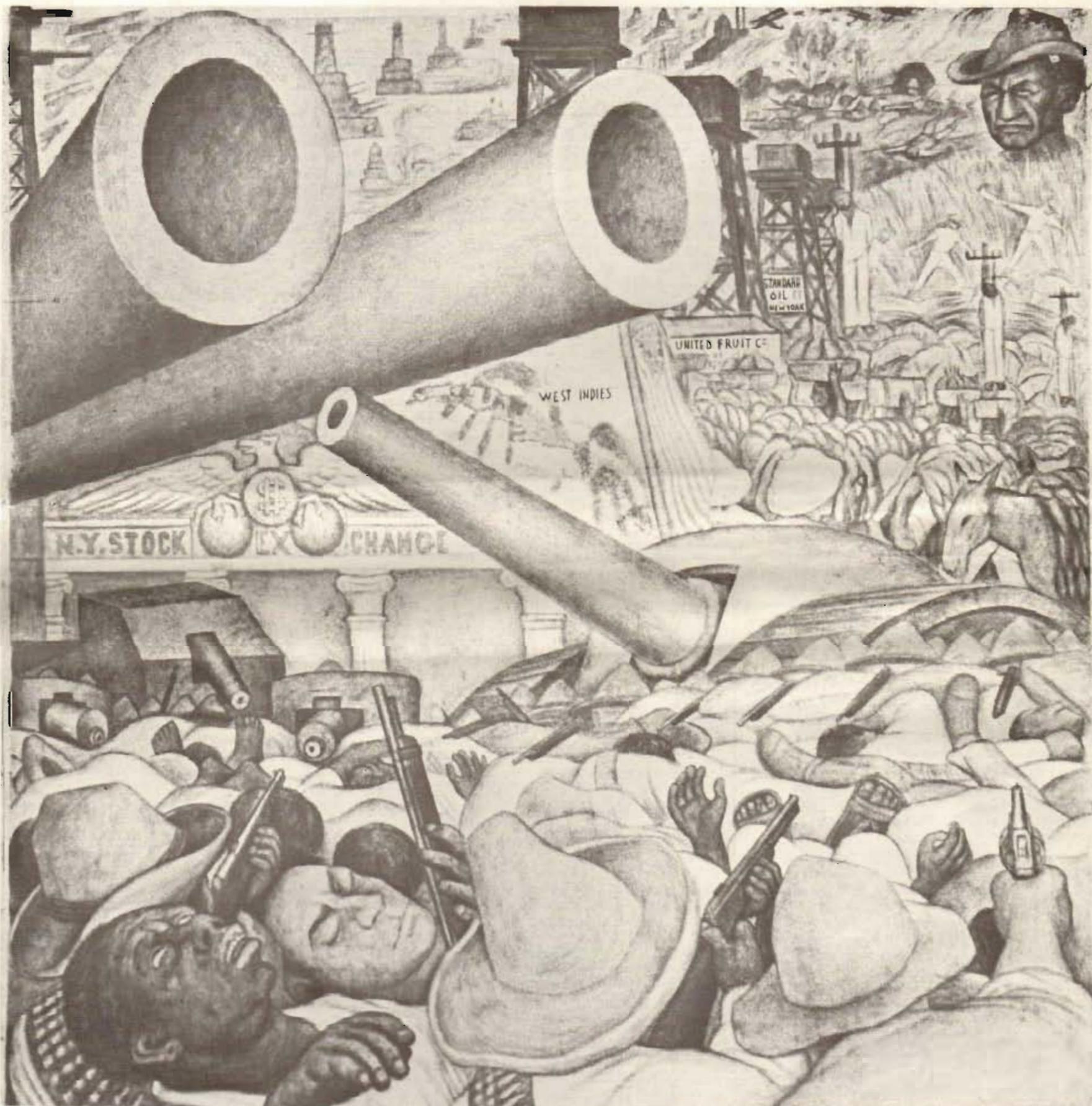
Fall, 1973: The PSP attends the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Nations with the rights of observer status.

December, 1973: The United Nations General Assembly votes 104 to 5 in favor of the right of the Puerto Rican people to independence and self-determination.

October 27, 1974: Juan Mari Brás, representing the national liberation movement, speaks to 20,000 supporters of Puerto Rican independence at a rally held at Madison Square Garden in New York City.

November, 1974: *Claridad* becomes first pro-independence daily in Puerto Rico.

1972-1975: The independence movement supports major strikes that occur throughout the island, denouncing the repression of the colonial government which mobilizes the National Guard against strikes twice within these three years - the only times the National Guard has been mobilized since the 1950 Jayuya rebellion.



## NEW WORKERS SCHOOL MURALS

One day after Diego Rivera and his team of muralists were called down from working on the huge mural they were making in Rockefeller Center 41 years ago (1934), they began work on another mural, 'THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE WORKING CLASS POINT OF VIEW'. The mural (consisted) of 21 panels and was created at the New Workers' School on East 14th Street in New York City. All but five of the panels were destroyed when Unity Lodge (where the IGWU had put most of the mural, leaving out five mural panels for aesthetic and political reasons) burned in the early 1960's. Today, after 41 years the mural points the way to an ac-

curate history of the United States can be created for the education of all. The history of Diego Rivera began with the arrival of white men in the 1600's, and is current to 1934, when the last panels were painted. The panel you see above is one out of the 21 panels Rivera and his team painted. Photos of the mural were made by Lucienne Bloch Dimitroff, also a mural painter. If anyone knows of color photos/sketches of these mural panels, please write us, MURALS, SEIZE THE TIME.

The above panel is titled IMPERIALISM. "Over the whole panel broods the grim and determined face of the patriot here ("bandit", Secretary of State Stimson called him) Augusto Cesar Sandino. Every age,

every struggle, produces its heroes—what Wallace and Bruce were for Scotland, what Emmet and Wolfe Tone and Connolly were for Ireland, what Mazzini and Garibaldi were for Italy, what Gabriel and Denmark Vessey and Nat Turner were for enslaved Negroes of America and Toussaint L'Ouverture for the Negroes of Haiti, that Sandino was not merely for Nicaragua, but for the whole of Latin America." The above was written by Bertram D Wolfe, who in 1935 wrote Portrait of America by Diego Rivera, (now out of print). Wolfe also helped Diego with the historical research that was required to accurately portray history. We would add that George Jackson holds the same place for comrades presently struggling for freedom within the beast. CONT. ON PG. 18