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

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

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

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

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

In 1971, the Nixon government gave Portugal a $436 million loan in return for continued use of the Azores Islands as a military base. US companies have a growing stake in Portuguese success; they now are the third largest investors in the Portuguese colonies. Gulf Oil Company pays Portugal $62 million a year for its rights to oil resources on the Angolan coast (Cabinda). In November, 1973, Gulf acknowledged the discovery of new deposits in this area which it called “the most prolific south of the Middle East.” When the Arab states halted oil shipments to Portugal and South Africa, Gulf helped take up the slack, sending oil to both countries and Mozambique.
Over half of all US African investments are in South Africa, which functions as a junior partner of Western imperialism. South Africa is currently fighting liberation movements in Namibia (Southwest Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and within its own borders. As Portugal loses its hold over Angola and Mozambique, more direct South African intervention is likely.

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

The African liberation struggles have been hidden wars, rarely mentioned in the US press. It has taken the concerted work of the Black movement to break the silence in this country. Black organizations have pushed forward boycott campaigns against Gulf Oil and Portuguese products, have opposed US support for Portugal and South Africa, and are now demanding US recognition of the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Longshoremen in Baton Rouge, Baltimore and San Francisco have refused to unload shipments of Rhodesian chrome, brought here in violation of a U.N. ban.

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

PORTUGAL OUT OF AFRICA!
NO US OR NATO AID TO PORTUGAL
OR SOUTH AFRICA!
RECOGNIZE GUINE-BISSAU!
THE PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

It was after the holocaust in Europe in which half the Jewish population of Europe was slaughtered by the fascists that the creation of Israel became a reality. The US and other Western powers denied immigration to Jewish refugees and encouraged migration to the land of Palestine. Zonists colluded with the imperialists to create Israel on an already-populated land.
From its inception, zionism has been an imperial ideology, presented as an alternative to communism. Theodore Herzl, recognized as the founder of modern zionism, had toyed with the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Uganda or Kenya and was blunt about zionist alliances:

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

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

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

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

Israel's economy is weak, in spite of the enormous theft of Palestinian land and labor. It is dependent on foreign capital: German reparations, US aid and billions from Western donations. In 1967, Israel received 10% of all US foreign aid. The Nixon administration boasts that it has given Israel more aid than the combined total of all previous administrations. Israel is a client state of US imperialism, serving as policeman and favored partner in the exploitation of the Mideast and Northern Africa.
The zionist government in Israel supported the US in Vietnam, supports the fascist junta in Chile and opposes all liberation movements in Africa. Since the 1967 war, 26 African nations have severed relations with Israel on the basis of Israeli occupation of Arab land. This is also a consequence of Israel’s attempt to penetrate and dominate African development. South Africa and Rhodesia continue ties with Israel.

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

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

— Israeli society internally reflects this imperialist reality: militarized, commercial and competitive.

— The myth of socialism on the kibbutz is a powerful one, but the kibbutzim never contained more than 5% of the Jewish population of Palestine or Israel, and are no evidence for Israel being a socialist country. Many of the kibbutzim are on land which Palestinian peasants were driven from, some directly exploit Palestinian labor, and they are all subsidized by zionist funds.
Zionism does not represent Jews. It is a racist ideology based on the claim that “God” chose a people superior to others. It has been consistently used as an alternative to class struggle and socialism for Jews, undermining Jewish progressive and working-class traditions.

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

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

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

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

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

The presence of the Palestinian struggle is a touchstone for other contradictions in the Mideast. The Palestinian freedom fighters are a highly politicized group, a militant nucleus, scattered in five “host” countries. A principle of the liberation movement has been that the revolution is Palestinian in origin and Arab in extension. The dedicated fedayeen have stimulated wide support among Arab people. Their struggle and their determined independence from Arab governments in whose lands they live, train and organize, makes them a force for revolutionary change throughout the Arab world.
Often Arab governments have rhetorically used the Palestinian cause to maintain their own power and control, while consistently leaving the Palestinians out of negotiations and excluding them from a dignified life within their countries. These rulers are fully aware of the threat posed to their power by a vital liberation movement strategically located in their midst. Yet they are somewhat restrained by the immense popularity of the movement among the people of the Arab countries.

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

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

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

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!
US OUT OF THE MIDEAST!
END AID TO ISRAEL!
V. IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS: THE HOME FRONT

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

Che Guevara
Message to the Tricontinental

FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

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

No wonder we scream at the plunder, the wastefulness and wreckage. The streams and lakes float with dead fish, victims of industrial waste; the mountains are ripped apart for the wealth of strip-mined coal; the air is thick with pollution. Profit chases greed in a reckless race across the Earth.
Most people live in the cities, giant centers of commerce and production. The cities contain tremendous potential for human development and community, but the potential is mocked by the reality: burned and abandoned houses, dirty avenues and children living in cold apartments—this crowded up against extravagant wealth and the centers of imperial power. Still the culture of the many peoples grows tenaciously.

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

THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

They are not the only ones. The heads of Ford and General Motors each receive yearly salaries of almost $1,000,000, yet one third of the US people are considered poor by the government’s figures. We measured the energy crisis by cold houses, sick children and lost jobs, while the oil companies increased their profits over last year by as much as 130%.

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

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

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

THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE

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

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

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

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

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

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

-Close to half the US population has one or more chronic conditions - diabetes, asthma, arthritis, heart diseases, high blood pressure. Medical care is inadequate and inaccessible to most people. Since 1960, medical costs have been rising twice as fast as the skyrocketing cost of living, and hospital costs five times. One night in a hospital costs a week's pay for a worker. Health insurance companies are getting rich from the people's pain. The horror intensifies for poor people; malnutrition is the great hidden cause of disease in the US. With humane priorities, the violence of socially unnecessary pain would be eradicated, women's health would be a priority, people would not die from hunger or poverty-related illness.
Illiteracy is increasing in the US. Schools systematically refuse to teach Black and Third World children to read; millions of people in this country are illiterate. Schools are minimum security prisons, geared to repression and control of the young, to teaching the lessons of competition, self-hatred, fear and loneliness.

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

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

Factory discipline is rigidly enforced. Between 1960-1968, disciplinary cases doubled at Ford plants in the US. Absenteeism among workers is on the rise. Work in the US stifles and imprisons the worker. Production for war and waste turns the fulfilling aspect of work into its hateful opposite.

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

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

Children are denied self-respect, dignity and creativity. They have no social power in a driving, competitive society. Almost nothing is built with small people in mind —stairs, toilets, turnstiles, signs, systems of transportation. Schools, television and publishing companies subject young people to a brutal culture of ultra-violence, sexist stereotypes and racism. Children are denied community; day-care facilities are minimal and always facing severe cutbacks. Kids are newer people and have, by the fact of being born, earned the rights that all human beings deserve.
Personal debt to banks and corporations has increased astronomically in the past decade. The ruling class controls and manages millions of people by tying them to the system with debt. Because of high inflation and unemployment, delinquencies on installment loans hit a new high during January and February 1974.
All of this has a profoundly destructive effect on the people and the quality of life in the US. People turn against one another and ourselves. Over one half of the hospital beds in the US are occupied by mental patients. Alcoholism, drug addiction, child beating, rape, gambling, anger and suicide are all at crisis proportions.

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

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

THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE WORKING CLASS

People who must sell their labor power in order to survive make up the large and growing US proletariat (working class). The position in society of the working class is in fundamental conflict with the role and function and activities of the imperialists.

Oppressed peoples, women and youth and other anti-imperialist forces can and should deliver telling blows against the empire now; the actual building of socialism cannot succeed without the active support of the industrial proletariat.

This is the proletariat’s historic mission. It is a revolutionary duty to analyze and interpret the factors and causes which are obstacles to forward motion of the working-class in the struggle against the class enemy.

One can repeat formulas of class structure according to income and work and feel like a lot has been accomplished. But what is needed is a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, “the living soul of Marxism.” What is needed is a method that analyzes the motion of society, the contradictions and the changes, in relationship to historic realities, possibilities, and necessities. In the US in the past twenty years, the white industrial proletariat has seldom exercised its revolutionary initiative.

Third World peoples in the US, and also women, youth and members of the armed forces have shown the most consistent initiative and practice as measured by the decisive anti-imperialist struggle of this entire period: the war in Vietnam. These groups have been the carriers of proletarian internationalism for this time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As imperialist crisis deepens, the entire fabric of social control is tightened and becomes more severe.

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

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

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

THE BLACK NATION

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

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

The Black struggle for self-determination is the strategic leading force of the US revolution, forged from a centuries-long tradition of resistance and revolt in the face of counterattack by the club, the cattle prod, the gun and the lynch rope.

From the clandestine organizations of the earliest slavery days, through mass uprisings, the open carrying of self-defense weapons, to guerrilla combat, the Black movement has historically raised the level of the whole struggle.

The state has imposed the necessity, liberation movements in other countries have helped point the direction. By fighting for control over their communities, schools, jobs and their future as a people, Black people also push forward the overthrow of the existing power relations in the entire society.

Like any movement, the Black struggle grows by qualitative leaps and thru periods of building and regrouping of forces. Organized struggles in local areas and the ongoing day-to-day battles of Black people are often not as visible as the actions and rebellions of a high-tide period. But they are urgent and necessary in the development of a people’s movement. The Black movement today embraces the bursting-forth of revolutionary Black art and literature, the battles for land and political power in the rural South, consistent organized support for African liberation, the ever-increasing organization and militancy of Black women, ideological debate and study. Black political conventions in Gary and Little Rock have attempted to develop unifying strategies and direction; Black prisoners have opened a determined front behind the bars; armed struggle against police power has continued in the cities. Always the Black movement persists, finding new forms to meet new conditions and new hardships —tenacious in the people’s fight for liberation.
INSTITUTIONS OF RACISM

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

Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard)

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

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

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

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

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

Last hired, first fired, the unemployment rate among Black people in the cities is four times that of whites and the unemployment among Black youth is now expected to exceed 30%. The high rate of Black unemployment reduces the effects of depression cycles on the rest of the population and encourages competition instead of solidarity.

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

Third World women are the lowest paid and in the least skilled jobs in the country. Black women make up half the household workers — in other people’s houses. They suffer the triple jeopardy of sex, race and poverty. Black women earn less than half of what white men earn; they are confronted by an infant and maternal mortality rate which is twice that among whites. There is no low-cost daycare, due to cutbacks in welfare and health programs.
The city is becoming Third World territory. Third World people are a majority in 50 of the largest cities. Where they are a large minority (New York, Chicago, Houston, Detroit), the public school populations are often more than 50% Third World. Much of the white population has moved to outer areas and to the suburbs. The cities do not represent, govern, serve, educate or support their population.

An army of occupation prowls the streets of Black communities. Sometimes, they patrol in the name of the welfare of the community. But last year, half the murders of civilians by police—including several children—were Black people. In New York City alone, 53 Black people were shot and killed by police in 1973. From 1968-1972, there were over 100 “legal” murders of Black revolutionaries in the US.

The Black community has paid a tremendous price in the loss of leaders like Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Fred Hampton, Jonathan and George Jackson, Bobby Hutton, Zayd Shakur.

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

These are attacks on a people as a whole. The heroin epidemic, a counterinsurgency weapon and product of the high profits of the international drug trade, is a form of genocide against a whole generation of Black youth. In the name of a cure, methadone is replacing heroin but serves the same purpose when controlled by the state— debilitation thru addiction with the added benefit of increased control.

A measure of the genocidal cost to Black people of imperialist rule is their life expectancy, today fully ten years less than whites. That means that nearly 300 million years of life are being stolen from Black people in the US today.

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

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

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

Black Culture, Black Power

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

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

The political form of the national movement became the demand for Black Power.

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

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

Support for Self-Determination

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

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

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

Whatever decisions Black people and other oppressed peoples make in exercising this right to self-determination, white revolutionaries and anti-imperialists have a very clear-cut responsibility to support these decisions once they are arrived at. This does not mean to support only those choices one approves of, nor only those that can be worked out by reforms within the existing form of the US – “one nation, under god, indivisible.” Support for the right to self-determination is a principle and a prerequisite to successful revolutionary movement in the oppressor nation.
Native Americans have renewed their long history of resistance with a power, militancy and determination which is an example for all struggles. The Indian struggle is a cultural resurgence which involves the whole people as well as a political fight for dignity and survival. The heroic occupation of Wounded Knee was part of a fabric of audacious action which has shaken the country in recent years: the Native American take-over of Alcatraz Island, the fight of the Pit River Indians in California to keep their land, the Nisqually and Puyallup struggles in Washington State for their fishing rights, the whole series of meetings, gatherings and protest called the Trail of Broken Treaties, which led to the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C. in 1972.

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

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

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

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

The destruction and theft of Native American land has continued. Northern Cheyenne and Crow people in Montana are faced with the plans of major coal companies like Peabody to stripmine their territory and build a massive industrial complex. Lumber companies on the West Coast have bought hundreds of thousands of acres of Indian land in the last few years—purchases arranged thru the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Many of the resource exploitation projects underway in the Canadian north, like the huge James Bay hydroelectric project in Quebec, are being developed on land which still belongs to Indian and Eskimo people. Ecological devastation, accompanied by loss of community and an inability to maintain tribal ways, are the results of these land grabs by major corporations and governments. The fight to save their land and their right to use it, remains a fundamental part of the lives of Native Americans.
One of the most important current Indian battles surrounds the US prosecution of the Wounded Knee liberators. Over 300 defendants, including the leadership of AIM, are being charged with felonies. Trials are taking place throughout South Dakota and in Minnesota. A major political point at the trial, as at the Wounded Knee occupation, is that the government has broken the 1868 Treaty with the Oglala people. The Oglalas rightfully demand that this treaty, which proclaims their sovereignty as a people, be respected and upheld. Support the Wounded Knee freedom-fighters.

THE CHICANO STRUGGLE

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

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

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

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

Hundreds of thousands of Mexican citizens enter the US illegally every year. They are hired for agricultural, industrial and service jobs at wages often below the US minimum wage, without access to social services and welfare. Employers try to use immigrant workers to depress wages and break strikes of Chicano workers. The conditions that cause this immigration are a result of US domination of Mexico’s economy: US companies inside Mexico pay workers $2 to $3 a day, reap up to 60% profit on investments, leaving Mexico “underdeveloped”. Unemployment in Mexico, by some estimates, is up to 48%. Resistance to US imperialism in Mexico has intensified greatly in the past year—including a guerrilla kidnapping of the US Consul in Guadalajara, bombings of large US corporations in Mexico, destruction of unsafe farm labor buses in Mexicali.

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

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

The police occupy the barrio. In addition to general harrassment, they attempt to terrorize the people with periodic murders of unarmed Chicanos. A related strategy for destruction is police-protected importation of drugs into the barrio. In response to police terror, there have been militant mobilizations of the people - youth organizations, community support for police victims, concerted efforts to drive drug pushers out of the community. In 1970 and 1971, an underground Chicano group in Los Angeles carried out a series of guerrilla bombings against school, police and corporate targets.

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

At the height of the Vietnam War, Chicanos were hit by disproportionately high draft calls and casualty rates - coerced to fight against sisters and brothers in Vietnam. Resistance was high. The Chicano Moratorium became the leading anti-war force in Los Angeles. Their August, 1970 demonstration drew 50,000 people who fought back militantly when the police attacked and killed three Chicanos.

The oppression of Chicanos is deep and their resistance is extensive. Anglos have borrowed and benefitted from Chicano culture, skills, labor and struggles. The liberation struggle of La Raza is critical to creating a humane society in the US. We have a responsibility and a human need to learn about and actively support the Chicano struggle for self-determination.
THE RISING OF WOMEN

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

THE CONDITION OF WOMEN

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

Home and Family

The modern male-run nuclear family, when we tear away the veil of sentimentality, is the basic unit of capitalist society. Capitalism and the modern family matured together historically, feeding each other's development. In the family, women both reproduce the labor force and begin the socialization process of the new generation, which is essential to the productive system and the functioning of society. Women bear the major responsibility for the nurturing, health and education of families. These are treated like personal problems, yet they are necessary tasks, fulfilled at minimal cost and effort to the imperialists.

Housework is hard work, done alone, but it is denied any social value and it is not paid for in any formal way.

It is paid in barter: consumer comfort, a sense of economic security, status.

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

Yet in a hostile, competitive society such as this one, the family is for many Third World and poor people the only center of community, of collective survival, a refuge. Until other forms can grow and develop, the family will remain necessary as well as intolerable. There are many families, an increasing number, headed by women. The ability of single mothers to work and raise and care for children and maintain a household is a monument to women's strength and determination.
Women work both inside and outside the home. Having so many unemployed and underemployed women as a reserve of labor is a necessity to modern monopoly capital. Women are available to be exploited in case of war or some other change in the economic situation. Women are a comparatively skilled group, but because of the myth that most women who work are “secondary breadwinners” we work for lower pay and are neither organized nor trained.

Over 40% of the work force is women, and over 40% of women work. Women work mainly in service trades and clerical work, and those of us who work in production work mostly in semi-skilled jobs in textile, garment and culinary trades—the traditional work of women. Although getting out of the homes gives women a place of socialized contact and some independence, it also compounds our oppression. Women’s pay averages three-fifths that of men. Of the 34 million women in the work force, little more than four million are members of unions. Women workers who are organized are mostly in unions notorious for white male control. There are no maternity-leave benefits and no daycare facilities. The lowest paid workers in US society are Black and Third World women.

Government Policies

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

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

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

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

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

We are taught that our biology is our destiny. We are conditioned to look and act within narrow confines to fulfill our primary role as sexual partners and reproducers. Distorted and competitive standards of beauty are the surface over a whole system of sexual objectification. We live in an anti-life culture, where women are denied control of our bodies—where sexual repression and taboos go hand in hand with prostitution and sexual exploitation. Men are taught to use women.

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

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

THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

The women’s movement has reached into every home, awakening women’s potential and challenging our subjugation. Its achievements are substantial:
Reclaiming our heritage. Women are reconstructing the buried truth about women, weaving together the real history of women's contributions, rebellions and defeats. We are tearing apart the lies of docility and placing ourselves back in history. Unearthing knowledge of the past has led to a rediscovery of witches and warriors, abolitionists and artists, ancient myths and common women, labor organizers and healers.

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

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

Relations based on power preclude the realization of affection and intimacy; they drain our strength and are fought on uneven terms. Mutual and expressive sexuality is part of the human potential for liberation. This has become a striving and a strength of the women's movement, in relationships between women and men, and in relationships between women.

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

Women's Culture

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

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

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

TASKS FOR REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN

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

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

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

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

Overcoming Class Privilege

God almighty made women;
the Rockefeller gang made ladies.
—Mother Jones

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

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

Bourgeois feminism, in all its forms, has come to play a leading role in defining the voice of the women's movement. Bourgeois feminism—which is also feminism for white women—is the fight for individual solutions to the oppression of women, even though it may be cloaked in very radical language and the forms of liberation. Bourgeois feminism assumes that the advancement of individual women to positions of power in the society—on corporate boards of directors, for example—is somehow a victory for women as a group. But career-making for some women is a fight for privilege, and turns into a fight for the protection of that privilege from poor and Third World women underneath. Often the “freedom” of upper class women is based on having a Black woman do her housework. Imperialism is an old master at encouraging the creation of a bought-off group to split, confuse and move against a people's movement. This is why the Ford Foundation, big industry, and the police forces and FBI are recruiting among women as well as investigating the women’s movement.

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

Opposing Racism

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

Fannie Lou Hamer

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

The colonized status of Third World women is enforced by society on every level, even the level of self-conception. One of the most cynically
destructive attacks is the infamous Moynihan Report, issued in 1965 for LBJ's Great Society. This doctrine says that the Black family is pathological (sick) because of the strength of Black women; that Black women are responsible for the position of Black men in society. These theories try to divide the Black community against itself and breed self-hatred among Black women. They have influenced the popular consciousness of a generation and have been roundly denounced by Black women.

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

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

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

Militancy

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

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

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

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

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

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

But imperialism will never, can never, free all women. Sexism will not be destroyed until imperialism is overthrown. It is in the collective interests of women to do this and take full part in building a socialist revolution. We need power. Socialist revolution lays the foundation for the liberation of women and begins dismantling the tenacious institutions of sexism. The revolutionary movement, on its part, must embrace and support the rising of women. There must a solid and irrevocable commitment made to women’s liberation. A revolution is not a moment in time. Old ideas reassert themselves and have to be fought against. Revolution is a continuing process.
THE YOUTH REBELLION

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

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

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

YOUTH CULTURE

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

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

In US society, life is alienating. Sexuality is stripped of its expressive and loving qualities, and institutionalized in marriage, prostitution or pornography. Sexuality is denied its human content, and is offered for sale. Art, too, is a commodity, something to be bought and sold. So are games and sports—no longer human exercises for the fun and development of people, but big business, packaged and programmed. The alienation of life is an ongoing explosive condition of our times.

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

Youth are rebellious against meaningless work and face the problems of less skill and seniority, low pay scales, dirtier work. Unemployment and underemployment are massive among youth; young people are used as a reserve pool of low-skilled labor.
Police, the courts, and prisons are increasingly geared to control of the young. Out of work, out of luck, we are more likely to be involved in minor crime. The prison population is increasingly a young population.

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

The youth movement did not materialize out of thin air but in response to imperialism. It united around and gathered momentum in the fight against the war in Vietnam. It declined when the troop withdrawals and the end of the draft removed the most compelling elements bringing young people into struggle. The killings at Jackson State and Kent State during the protests against the invasion of Cambodia scared many people who had never experienced the wrath of imperialism so directly. People were confronted with the ruthlessness and arbitrariness of repression. The culture produced a group of people, nomads, communal semi-hustlers, sharing a certain sense of being alien to and in opposition to the US imperial way of life.

At the same time, this culture benefited from the affluence of empire, and in some part removed itself from engaging against the perpetrators of empire by escaping from the institutions of society.

The cities are the front line in many ways, but the importance of work done in rural areas should not be underestimated. Potential exists for organizing among the rural poor. Unity can be built with Native Americans, Southern Blacks, Appalachians, the rural Chicano and poor white population, for the redress of the oldest and some of the cruelest crimes of imperialism.
One edge of youth culture consisted of politically active people: organizers, embattled artists, people's musicians, free schoolers, mothers and fathers and children of communal families. What has happened to this large grouping of people as the fat of affluence has dissolved over the last three years?

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

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

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

In many ways, the culture has withdrawn to rest on its privileges, dissociating from active opposition to racism and from active identification with Black and Third World people. A flippant attitude toward consciousness-expanding drugs is separated from the whole picture of deathly and pacifying drugs pumped into insurgent communities. The problems of heroin, methadone, alcohol and pills have not been dealt with. Although young people experience police oppression day-to-day, police power directed against Black and Third World people is not combatted. Rarely do alternative institutions organize to meet the needs of the Black community, Third World children, the old.

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

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

THE ARMED FORCES

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

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

There has been GI rebellion within the armed forces during every 
US war of expansion, but the defeat of US forces in Vietnam combined with 
the growing Black rebellion at home accelerated the opposition into a full 
crisis. The justification for war grew thin: no one wanted to die in this 
war. We refused to fight and burned our draft cards, left the country, and 
demonstrated against the war. Instead of going on patrol, many units would 
head out a few hundred yards and sack out for the night. A generalized 
alienation from military discipline developed. Imperialism needs willing 
fighters, but fewer and fewer could be found.

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

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

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

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

The great injustice of this system is that it leaves its potential unrealized while maintaining scarcity for billions of people.

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

As imperialist crisis deepens, the entire fabric of social control is tightened and becomes more severe.

Third World peoples in the US, and also women, youth and members of the armed forces have shown the most consistent initiative and practice as measured by the decisive anti-imperialist struggle of this entire period: the war in Vietnam. These groups have been the carriers of proletarian internationalism for this time.
VI. AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY

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

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

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

We need organization. Activists are searching for direction —some common ideas, strategy, and practice to unite around. It is frustrating and crippling to individual revolutionaries and groups to have no unified impact on history as it is being made. We all feel the need to work as part of a whole, larger than ourselves, to see our individual contributions add up to something meaningful. Organization unites, gives direction and breadth to particular political work. Activists and militants want to build something bigger, where activity leads to shared results, where masses of people can organize their strength. Anti-imperialist organization is what is needed.
We believe that communist-minded organizers can take the initiative now and lead. Move from small to large. Practice and hard work, boldness and a willingness to intervene in every struggle, big or little. There is room for lots of creativity in application and choice of work. Go to the people. Organize and mobilize. Build the struggle. Read and study. Carry your books. There is no substitute for practice in determining the revolutionary path. Conditions are developing more rapidly than is easily realized. This is not yet a program; rather it is an ideological foundation and the tools for building agitational work.

GO TO THE PEOPLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Internationalism

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

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

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

How to move?

—Oppose nuclear war and US threat of nuclear war. Defeat nuclear sabre-rattling.
—Also, watch for the quiet but sinister ways warfare is waged on sisters and brothers in the Third World. Expose and oppose AID programs, cultural and economic penetration, the multinational corporations, population control. Don’t let them sneak around.
—Oppose racism in practice. Racism is the main and most consistent weapon for holding back the revolutionary struggle. Skin color will be a brand to turn proletarians against one another until this brand is decisively rejected by white folks. The oppressed nation of Black people is the leading anti-imperialist force in our country. No doubt about it.
continuity, militancy—even in hard times. Black and other Third World leadership has, in recent years, been the most internationalist and the most militant. Racism cuts us up, cuts us off from this leadership. All vestiges of racist thinking or action among revolutionaries must be attacked in the most forthright manner. No quarter can be given to racism in our relations with the people we are organizing. We must learn how to reject and expose the racism without rejecting the person. Represent solidarity with Third World people whenever possible.

—Win a base of support for prison struggles and oppose attacks by the state on Third World revolutionaries. The greater the resistance by the people, the more widespread and successful, the greater will be the repression from the state. We can prepare for future repression by planning the next stage of advance and attack. Today people are confronted by prisons, courts, military-injustice and racism, police brutality, spying on and controlling of civilian life, the terror of rape, discrimination, channeling and brainwashing. Does this constitute fascism or a threat of fascism? Again the main thing is the distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations. Third World people have been living under fascist conditions for generations; at the same time, the majority population feels it has some democratic rights worth defending. These contradictory perceptions reveal something that is true: fascism in the oppressor nation is the application here of the colonial policies of empire. It is selective and partial. It has always been applied to Native Americans, Black people, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, the oppressed generally as well as those who unite with the oppressed—radicals, reds.

Fascism in this country is not a challenge to those in power by some more reactionary gang on the outside. Fascism is perpetrated on Third World people from the seats of power: the Pentagon, the Congress, the White House, the Supreme Court. In these places liberal and fascist tendencies compete, but they also connive and conspire. Our strategy must be unity against existing fascism for the liberation of all oppressed people. Imprisoned fighters face the brunt of fascist repression and are a center of our struggle. A solid bridge of communications, news, politics and support sustain sisters and brothers under brutal isolation and torture, makes a difference in the treatment of political prisoners and their chances of release. Connections maximize the impact of prison politics as an essential and leading part of our movement. Support Ruchell Magee. Defend the Attica brothers.

—Like Dr. Du Bois said, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.” It’s our view that white revolutionaries should look toward building principled alliances, coalitions and working relationships with Third World people when possible. Support for self-determination can’t be an excuse for failure to engage with Third World revolutionaries in day-to-day work. A new practice should develop in which we learn from, struggle with, but don’t prejudge or attempt to direct Third World freedom fighters. Full understanding and support for self-determination is the basis for this kind of getting together. Win an understanding of the right of oppressed peoples to determine their own destinies.

—Read Black and Third World publications. Understand the richness of the movements, the current debates, the direction and growth of struggles. Study Malcolm and George Jackson. Learn from the great teachers.
WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

The women's movement has changed the consciousness of millions of women, and the crises of US society are creating resistance and revolutionaries among women every day. This is a good time to do a lot of organizing among women, to bring the full scope of anti-imperialist and revolutionary politics into women's lives. Storm the institutions which oppress women. Direct our force against the men who control these institutions.

—Support Assata Shakur, Marilyn Buck, Lolita Lebron and other women in prisons. Demonstrate to free our sisters in the Saigon jails.

—It is our view that women working in revolutionary organizations with men should organize themselves into women’s groups, sections, brigades, caucuses to build our solidarity, to oppose sexism, to reach out, involve, organize among women and to strive together for the full liberation of women.

—Sexism within the culture of the revolutionary movement denies the full contribution of women and distorts political direction. We need an anti-sexist revolution in this country to create the basis for a new society which genuinely empowers women. The revolution must be fought for women as well as by women.

—Sexism manifests itself in relationships among people, and must be fought on this level too. Men must make a continuing commitment to understanding and changing sexist ways. Criticism and self-criticism are our tools for this struggle: fanshen, the turning over, transformation.

MILITANCY

A movement has no reason to exist if it doesn’t fight. The system needs to be overthrown; revolutionaries must prepare for that necessity at all points along the way. Revolutionary movements must be contending for power, planning how to contend for power, or recovering from setbacks in contending for power. Certainly every movement must learn to fight correctly, sometimes retreating, sometimes advancing. But fighting the enemy must be its reason for being. We build a fighting movement.
Militancy stirs the imagination and raises the vision of victory. Militancy in a street demonstration, in a courtroom, in a rally, in a prison takeover, is recognized and respected as an uncompromising statement. It is a confrontation with the opposing system. Involving people in militant action trains and teaches. It is both an example and a strategy. Militant action is related to the understanding that the struggle is not merely for separate issues but is ultimately for power—necessarily including armed struggle to defeat the oppressive forces of state. To leave people unprepared to fight the state is to seriously mislead about the inevitable nature of what lies ahead.

Some on the left dissociate mass struggle from revolutionary violence and condemn any act of public militancy or armed struggle as adventurist. This is characteristic of oppressor-nation movements where violence is raised to a question of abstract principle, and the illusion is fostered that imperialism will decay peacefully: “Violence turns people off,” “It’s too early,” “Violence only brings down repression.”

—The movement should argue for and explain armed action, develop parallel strategies, openly support the thrust and political content of revolutionary armed actions, claim and spread the message of struggle, help create the “sea” for the guerrillas to swim in. Don’t talk to the FBI. Resist grand jury probes of revolutionary struggles. Laying the basis for armed struggle is also the responsibility of mass organizers.

—From the very beginning of guerrilla action, mass armed capability develops. Its spontaneity will be slowly transformed into the energy of a popular armed force.

—Many levels of clandestine propaganda action can be carried out which spread the consciousness of action and give people a way to learn. Spray-painting, rip-offs of corporate files, blood on the murderers. We have done these types of action ourselves, including stinkbombing a Rockefeller appearance in N.Y.C. and doing the same to the mouthpieces of the Chile junta when they travelled in the US after the murder of Allende. Build a people’s militia.

—A successful movement needs to keep part of its organization away from the eyes of the state. This should be part of the practice of every revolutionary. The survival and continuity of the revolutionary movement, of the activists and the supporters over a long period of time, depends on having networks and resources not exposed to computer patterns, electronic surveillance and infiltration of the repressive apparatus. The continued existence of underground organizations shows this can be done.

—Building a capacity to survive over time is no substitute for militancy now in our daily work. An uncompromising, confrontational approach to political work is the best way to inspire the people, build organization, and learn to fight.
REVOLUTION

This is a deathly culture. It beats its children and discards its old people, imprisons its rebels and drinks itself to death. It breeds and educates us to be socially irresponsible, arrogant, ignorant and anti-political. We are the most technologically advanced people in the world and the most politically and socially backward.

The quality of life of a Chinese peasant is better than ours. The Chinese have free and adequate health care, a meaningful political education, productive work, a place to live, something to eat and each has a sense of her or himself as part of a whole people's shared historical purpose. We may eat more and have more access to gadgets, but we are constantly driven by competition, insecurity, uncertainty and fear. Work is wasteful and meaningless and other people are frightening and hateful. This is no way to live.

Anti-imperialism is our cultural revolution. We must rescue ourselves from the consequences of being the base area for imperialism—the base area for war, piracy, rape and murder. In this reclamation process, we come to a better understanding of our history and ourselves. This is not for a small group but for millions of people. Much has happened in the world and in the US to move this process along. Few people really believe anymore in the great civilizing leadership role of the US. Few still think that capitalism is the best of all possible ways to meet the economic needs of the world's peoples, or that Black and Third World people are sub-human labor material destined to support the more worthwhile activities of white supermen. Few really believe that men will go on indefinitely monopolizing power in a supremacist anti-women society. Stated simply, our strategy is to base ourselves on the trends of change, to revolutionize and push them on, and to intervene in everything.

Where do the US people look to learn about social revolution and consciousness, struggle and purpose? A decade of resistance in Vietnam demonstrated to highly "developed" Westerners that we have everything to learn from "underdeveloped" peoples. The revolutionary struggle is the social form from which will deal with the crisis of imperialism in decline. We learn from Third World people who resist US tyranny, with a unity born in a sense of collective power and purpose. We learn from our own history and examples of courage, struggle and communality which are here for us to search out and celebrate.

Our movement must discard the baggage of the oppressor society and become new women and new men, as Che taught. All forms of racism, class prejudice, and male chauvinism must be torn out by the roots. For us, proletarianization means recognizing the urgency of revolution as the only solution to our own problems and the survival of all oppressed people. It means commitment, casting our lot with the collective interest and discarding the privileges of empire. It means recognizing that revolution is a lifetime of fighting and transformation, a risky business and ultimately a decisive struggle against the forces of death.

Proletarianization is a process that is necessarily on-going. Breaking-thru to a higher level of engagement and commitment in 1968 is no guarantee that the level will be sustained in 1974. Standing still over time is sliding back. Commitment and engagement must be continually renewed.
We create the seeds of the new society in the struggle for the destruction of the empire. For our generation that has meant the birth of communalism and collective work in the most individualist, competitive society in the world. Revolution is the midwife bringing the new society into being from the old.

The culture of our communities, the people we try to become, are forged in the process of revolutionary war—the struggle for liberation. We are called on to commit ourselves to this struggle, and time is pressing. People are already dying. Lives are wasted and worn. Life itself depends on our ability to deal a swift death blow to the monster.
Y LOS ÚNICOS PRIVILEGIADOS, LOS NIÑOS

BERKELEY
Maps and Illustrations

The symbolic designs used in this book are respectfully taken from the folk art of people from all over the world. It includes Appalachian, native American, African, and Asian designs.

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These books have been a good part of the background and basis of study for writing this paper:

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Imamu Amiri Baraka
Harold Baron
Raymond Barrio
Black Liberation Army
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H. Rap Brown
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Anne Moody  
The Right of Revolution

Jan Myrdal and Gun Kessle  
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Truman Nelson  
The Way He Lived

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