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The Black Colony - A Program for Liberation
part 2 - page 2
In the Black Liberation Movement there are many different economic contradictions and that has dominated ideological development within the U.S. for the past 300 years. During the Civil War, the greatest contradiction was U.S. history (marked by Black slavery). The contradiction between Black Labor and Imperialism has been the critical factor. Slavery labor provided the economic support of the U.S. liberal society and the strengthening of U.S. imperialism. Black slavery was the principal contradiction of the greatest slave state in history. The contradiction between Black Labor and Imperialism has been the critical factor. Slavery labor provided the economic support of the U.S. liberal society and the strengthening of U.S. imperialism. Black slavery was the principal contradiction of the greatest slave state in history.
SELF-CRITICISM OF THE JUCHE CONFERENCE

"Juche means holding fast to the principle of self-reliance; that is the problem that the revolution and construction in conformity with the actual conditions at home."  -Kim Il Sung

This is a statement and self-criticism by white STT, the Juche Conference, held in San Jose, California, in December 1975. The conference was attended by several organizations, including the Weather Underground Organization (also known as the Weathermen), the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC), and others, including some members of the Black Panther Party, among others.

The conference took place two days after the 1975 conference of the Weather Underground Organization (WUO). The WUO had been advancing a line on anti-racism, with the Weather Underground claiming to be a mostly white cadre organization. The Juche Conference was an attempt to address the issues of racism and nationalism within the WUO.

The conference was organized by the Weathermen, who argued that racism and nationalism were central to the problem of the revolution and construction in the United States. The conference was a venue for self-criticism and self-correction, with the goal of building a more effective and unified organization.

The conference was divided into three sections: 1) The presentation of the white activists' position, 2) the presentation of the positions of other organizations, and 3) the discussion of the conference.

One question which became central in the conference was the role of the Weathermen in the fight against racism. The Weathermen, who had been advancing an anti-racist line, were criticized for not doing enough to address the issue.

The conference also addressed the issue of the relationship between the white activists and the black activists. The white activists were criticized for not doing enough to support the black activists.

The conference was a success in terms of building unity among the white activists, but there was a lack of unity among the black activists. The black activists were critical of the white activists for not doing enough to support them.

The conference was an important step in the fight against racism and nationalism, but there was still a lot of work to be done.

For the discussion of specific issues, it is recommended to refer to the original text.
to decline.

The Black Liberation struggle is of the Black masses. The Black bourgeoisie is typical of its counterparts in Africa(Cabral's "Return to the Homeland"
marked the birth of the first generation of the finest leaders of a revolution or liberation struggle come from this class(Cabral, Amilcar de Castro, Ho, Mao, Lenin, DuBois, etc.). They are a whole that is indissociable for leadership, caught between the wish of their bourgeoisie-and-revolutionary-struggle of this class is as oppressed as any sector of people in the U.S.

Another fatal error in relying on the petty bourgeoisie for political leadership is that they were not the vanguard of the fight for the demands of the class. The petty bourgeoisie-led struggles typically are for the right to a seat at the table, Harvard, Yale or UCLA and more positions in management. Mass oriented Black struggles make demands on the black market, including health care, relevant, non-racist public schooling, safe workplaces and equal pay. The Black masses have begun to realize that civil rights leaders were no longer pushing demands that changed the quality of most people's lives. They began to seek new methods of struggle.

The two main criteria not the only ones for deciding which sector of our people constitutes the main force are: can this class qualitatively better the lives of the masses of our people? Can this class capable of leading a struggle to final victory? The Black petty bourgeoisie has fulfilled neither of these criteria.

Bourgeoisie and lumpen

Black bourgeoisie, through its lackeys(Jackson in Atlanta, Vernon Jordan, Roy Wilkins, etc.), has been represented as the only valid leadership of the Black masses. As George Jackson states, "The principal reservoir of revolutionary power for the Black masses is in the black community. First, it is the largest class of Black people. Depending on the area, between 50 and 80 percent of all adults are Black. Consequently, any program built around the demands of the class would necessarily involve the participation of all industrial workers are Black. Close to 50 percent of all industrial support roles and roles filled by blacks. Blacks are still doing the same work as the greatest leaps forward in history. The terms of our servitude are all that have altered." In addition Blacks are a majority in agriculture and transportation(urban bus lines and long-haulers, especially), health care and clerical work.

The lumpen bourgeoisie, "the enemy of the liberation movement. There is a substantial part of our people. However no matter how much power the Black revolution must take on the lumpen proletariat, like the Panthers in many areas were unable to deal effectively with the lumpens. The West Coast revisionist Panthers followed this trend even more by building up the so-called "Black Liberation movement", a petty bourgeoisie. The lumpen. Class, the main strategic force for Black liberation is the Black working class.

Black workers: The main strategic force

The lumpen bourgeoisie is the main sector of the petty bourgeoisie. The lumpen proletariat, the lumpen, also has revolutionary potential and has played a role in the struggle for Human Rights. Under this criterion, the Black workers and Black poor people are a revolutionary class. The lumpen proletariat is the main strategic force for Black liberation is the Black working class.

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We must commit to struggle for freedom, without backing down.
has many times in American history. Any or during a difficult labor, personnel her own body. Yet for TW women the greater Black woman who has studied her people's paper. It describes the situation most TW have the freedom to decide if she wants a born by the feet over the floor and threat…tonic is a racist, imperialist society. We…organizations and contributions of TW women to the racist society, forced sterilization in a racist society, forced sterilization…Frederick Douglass speaks of Black workers. Some definitely feel that Black men hold of black women "castrating" black men is a colonized mentality fostered by the capitalist ideology of families for breeding and sale, by Jim Crow's forced unemployment of Black men and by racist "entertainment" portraying the image Black man/woman/child as weak and/or intimidated man/son. This is one example of how our ending as oppression as TW people will go a long way toward solving the problems that arise between TW men and women.
In general TW women are more likely to be working, more likely to be working wives and mothers and more likely to be in low wage occupations. These figures are U.S. Census Bureau/Labor Department figures. While they show a bad situation, the real extent of the problem because many TW women do not report they are working. They will lose welfare or social security pay or get turned into immigration police. Under those conditions, they receive few or no benefits and accept lower pay. Another problem with U.S. government figures is that they have been counting Latina women as white.

OVER ALL TW WORKING WOMEN
49% of all 10-64 yr old women work. 60% of Black women are age 65
39% of married women work.  50% of Black married women work
35 million working women in U.S. 3.5 million working in U.S. (not counting Latina women) 12% of total

WHITE WORKING WOMEN
37% have children under 3 yr old. 51% of Black working women have children under 5 yr old

1968 INCOME COMPARISON
For every $1.00 average white working man earned the average black working man earned $0.66 the average white woman earned $0.85, the average black woman earned $0.66, every gap is widening, not equalizing. In 1969 half of all employed Black women had income of $3,000 or less per year

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES (those who are actively seeking work or just lost jobs)
White men 5.1% Black men 3.6%
White women 5.5% Black women 3.7%
White men 20%, Black and 30., Latina

A little less than 1/4 of all TW working women are clerical workers.

SERVICE (fastest growing category of women workers and workers in general)
16% of all working women are service workers: food service, health attendants and personal care aids, barbers, beauticians, hairdressers, housekeeping & cleaning.

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FACTORY
13% of all working women are in factories: textile, garments, food processing, electronics, construction, assembly.

16% of black women workers are in factory jobs.
21.7% of Latina women workers are in factory jobs.

The low tech industry is the low tech employer of Puerto Rican women in New York and Chinese women in San Francisco. Textile workers are the lowest paid industrial workers in the U.S. (Levi-Strauss has 5 plants in New Mexico/Chicanas) and one in Georgia/Black media is in South Carolina (85% women, 75% Black), and Pabst in El Paso, Texas (35% women, 93% White).

DOMESTICS
Half of all workers in this job (and 97% of these workers are women) earn less than $3,000 a year for working 50-52 hours each week. More than 2/3 of these workers are Third World Black and are domestic workers: housekeepers, nursery school workers, domestic workers.

A MENUS VIEW OF THIRD WORLD WORKING WOMEN

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NATIVE FAMILY AT PARK HELPING SUPPORTING THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (1974)

PART II

ORGANIZATION AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF TW WOMEN

TW women have contributed in many forms to the organization and struggle of TW. These contributions have not been limited to the Young Lords Party (early seventies) to deal with the injustices committed against TW and to organize to build on the other hand, political education of the Party cadre was mainly in the hands of men because women are less willing to take the responsibility of child care, house work or running a health clinic with men. However, women must learn to take on these roles.

SISTERS IN TW

Some are women's caucuses within community organizations, some are community organizations like Women's Health Organization, some are women's caucuses on what is usually the case, U.S. society assigns positions of superiority and inferiority to men and women. That ideology works in the organizations for liberation negatively and must be consciously corrected.

PROBLEMS IN THE STRUGGLE

We are concerned about the uneven division of community practice and political education of the Party cadre was mainly in the hands of men because women are less willing to take the responsibility of child care, house work or running a health clinic. This is less willing to have a group of people to deal specifically with putting together a newspaper or coordinating a health clinic with men. We are concerned about the uneven division of community practice and political education of the Party cadre was mainly in the hands of men. This is less willing to have a group of people to deal specifically with putting together a newspaper or coordinating a health clinic with men. However, women must learn to take on these roles.

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The women who wrote the majority of articles in this paper came together to struggle out a political unity and to clarify differences on the liberation of women and our strategic importance in the revolutionary process. We live and work in the San Francisco Bay Area. We have been or are involved in child care work (some as mothers), clerical work, education, different areas of the women's movement, the anti-imperialist movement, the civil rights movement and the labor movement. We came to the group with different levels of political development and with different backgrounds.

All the women in the group were white, and therefore saw our audience primarily as other white women. There was not unity on all the political issues represented in STT; we were unified by the need to develop a scientific analysis of women's oppression and liberation. After three months, we defined the political unity of the group as points we wanted to make to the readers, more than as criteria to judge the political line represented in all the articles. We are female prisoners from the California prison system. We had defined the political unity of the group in the beginning, political struggle during our three months of study would have been sharpened.

As it was, we were more united at the end and we didn't have the time to clarify those differences. However, in the group who were involved in common political work, there was a political stratum that did take place was helpful in clarifying their differences.

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

1. The enemy is imperialism; monopoly capitalism. The primary contradiction is between imperialists and oppressed nations. Under imperialism, the leading force in class struggle is Third World peoples who struggle inside and outside the U.S.

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community issues (health, child care, education, housing, all traditionally "women's issues") and Affirmative Action on the job are allied with the interests of TW people.

However history shows that the existence of an objective basis for unity doesn't necessarily lead to an anti-racist white women's movement. On the contrary, the white women's movement has, for the most part, maintained the position of white women over TW people while struggling against male supremacy.

That is partly because of the white blind spot that comes from the relative privilege of white people. It is partly because of a strong petit bourgeois tendency in the women's movement.

The women's movement has the potential to become a working class women's movement. Revolutionary women are locating themselves in all different areas of working class life. Working class women who used to view "women's lib" as a threat are organizing women's caucuses in labor unions and forming women's organizations in their communities. Much of this activity has been around health care and child care.

We have enormous tasks ahead of us—we must contend for political leadership of a working class women's movement, which, in turn, is capable of giving leadership to the struggles of all white workers.

This issue of the paper represents our efforts to help us move in that direction. Three months is a very short time to struggle out a line theoretically, much less test it in practice. Toward the end of our discussions it became clear that there were some strong differences in the group. Since our purpose as a group was to put out a paper and not to build an ongoing organization, we felt that it was correct that we let the differences stand and try to represent both sides in the paper. This is done in the two articles on strategy and part-building. We hope that we have, at least, raised some of the correct questions and have, at best, begun to answer them. We also hope that our sisters will take this effort as seriously as we did and will respond to it and criticize the articles in the paper. We eagerly look forward to that response, both to help us come to a correct political analysis and to build ties between ourselves and other women.
"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses. It can only be waged by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."

Mao Tse-tung

THE CENTRAL TASK:
PRINCIPLES
OF UNITY

We must have ideological clarity and unity if we are to build a revolutionary Black vanguard party. Consequently we are presenting a short outline of the ideological principles necessary for unity. We present this short outline in the spirit of unity-criticism-unity and invite comrades to study, discuss and criticize them so that we all can move our ideological understanding forward.

1. Self-determination for Black and all colonized peoples.

Black people within the U.S. were brought over as slaves and have been laboring for U.S. imperialism ever since. The relations between the state and our people are the same as those between an imperialist and a colony. We provide an extra market for the imperialists to dump surplus junk material (food that is too rotten to sell in white stores is shipped to our communities for sale at higher prices). Our labor is super exploited, and contradictions between the ruling class and white workers are exported to our community. The economic conditions of all non-ruling class people is worsening, but the relative gap between white and black workers is widening. In addition Black people have often struggled for succession in the South both during the Civil War and Reconstruction. These efforts were smashed by the imperialist armed forces (the Union army). Today self-determination is still fought for by the Black masses. In the South there have been successful efforts to seize control of local communities and regions. The Republic of New Africa has been holding successful plebiscites in Mississippi. Efforts for community control in the North are a different form of the same struggle. Consequently we do not only believe that Black people are a colonized people, but that in the South we form a nation. Consequently we believe that our struggle is an anti-colonial struggle with...
the right to self-determination and succession. Our national homeland is in the South, and Black people outside the South have the right to participate in the development of the national homeland or struggle for regional and local autonomy where they are. The issue of succession of the national homeland is an issue for the Black masses to decide. Malcolm pointed out that land is key to any national struggle. In addition, both Puerto Ricans and Native Americans have the right of self-determination and succession. We have not studied the struggle of other colonized peoples enough to take a position.

2. Our struggle is also a struggle for socialism.

The majority of Black people work for a living or are trying to. All of our people suffer from the effects of racism. Socialism is the only system that puts political power and the wealth of the land into the hands of working people. Socialism is also the only system that eliminates the material base (the power to affect us) of racism. As Malcolm said you can't have capitalism without racism, and every successful national liberation struggle has instituted some form of socialism for its people. Since most of our people are workers and not peasants, we must struggle directly for socialism within whatever context we choose. In any class society there is the dictatorship of one class over another (we live under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie), the correct form of socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this form working and poor people hold power in their hands and the oppressor is prevented by this power from ever returning to power.

3. Scientific Socialism is our Ideology.

Every national liberation struggle throughout the world has successfully applied revolutionary science to its own particular struggle. The tool of dialectical and historical materialism is one of the fiercest weapons in the revolutionary's arsenal. It is the only analytical tool expressly designed in the interest of the oppressed masses. The fact that it was originated in Europe should not hinder us in the least, and we should be grateful that it did not hinder such Third World comrades as Mao, Ho, Kim Il Sung, Che, Nkrumah, Cabral and George Jackson. We must embrace this tool, study it conscientiously and apply it creatively to our own unique struggle. The two fundamental tenets of this science are that in analyzing any situation, we must start from the concrete analysis of concrete conditions and that it is right to rebel. Both tenets fit well into the philosophical orientation of the Black Liberation Struggle.

4. The Masses are decisive in Revolution: Build the Black United Front.

History has repeatedly proven that the power of the masses is the force that breaks the back of the ruling class and imperialists. Liberation has never been won by small groups of conspirators isolated from the masses. Further, our own struggle and the struggles of our comrades throughout the world show that wisdom comes from the masses of people. Activists have been forced to change because the people clearly realized that civil rights struggle was too limited. Every successful revolutionary party has had to learn the art of learning from the people. Conversely it has been proven that unless the masses are involved in the day to day activity of revolution, liberation will not be gained. In the USSR the soviets (councils of workers, soldiers and peasants) were the vehicle that involved the masses in revolution. However, in every national liberation struggle in Africa and Asia, the national united front involved all segments of the masses struggling to gain liberation and became the basis of the government of the people. At the mass level our primary task must be to build the national united front.

5. The five elements of Liberation.

Mao Tse-tung states that the three elements necessary to a successful liberation struggle are a people's army and a national united front, both led by a revolutionary vanguard party. This is no less true within the U.S. History and every successful revolutionary leader emphasize that the oppressor class can only be overthrown by
force. George Jackson also shows us that if revolutionaries are not prepared with some level of counter-violence at every stage, they will be eliminated. Finally, Mao says that history proves armed struggle to be the highest stage of political struggle during a liberation struggle. Not to adopt this stance is to abandon the people to the wolves of imperialism. Violence is common in everyday Black life. We must convince the masses of Black people that they can protect their own lives and their programs. Black people will not support a liberation struggle unless they believe it will be successful. If we cannot defend ourselves and meet and attack the violence of the reactionaries, Black people know we will not be successful. We must realize that our liberation struggle is in its infancy. The key need at this point is organized leadership. Without this our struggle will remain isolated, confused and spontaneous. Our second priority is building the national united front. Only by involving the masses in the day to day struggle and learning the need for revolution through their own experience can we lay the groundwork for success. Our third priority is building the military arm of our struggle. When we outline our priorities, we, unlike many others, do not mean that we should neglect any of the above areas of work. All three elements are sciences that have to be studied, refined and implemented. Otherwise we are in danger of either isolating ourselves from the masses or of not being prepared for violent attacks from reactionaries. Also we do not make artificial distinctions from legal and illegal work. Armed preparation is not "illegal" while party work is "legal". The experience of the Panthers should teach us that all liberation is illegal. There are legal forms of work that can be accomplished in each of the three areas. Undoubtedly someone could find illegal work to accomplish in the same three areas. The key word is clandestine. If we are to be successful our apparatus and organizations cannot be completely open for hostile scrutiny and must be prepared to defend them from attack.

6. Women hold up half the sky.

Every successful liberation struggle has fully incorporated women in all phases of work: military, diplomacy, cadre and party building and leadership. Given that Black women constitute over half of our population it is key that comrades grasp this point. Women constitute over half our resources. Black women workers are the most oppressed workers within the U.S., and our women must suffer the added abuses of rape, forced sterilization and the welfare system. Since the 50's the main genocidal attacks on our people have come through our women. We must fight both against the vicious attacks by the imperialist on our women and the sexist attitudes that Black men have learned within this society. In Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, FRELLMO and the PAIGC, encouraged the formation of women's organizations within the national liberation front to struggle for the rights of women and correct ideas among men. We should encourage the same organizations in our front. Josina Machel of FRELLMO, Madame Binh of Vietnam, Chiang of China, and Harriet Tubman all prove the correctness of Kwame Nkrumah's statement, "The degree of a country's revolutionary awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women."

7. Internationalism within the U.S. and organizational forms.

We recognize that the destruction of US imperialism will only be accomplished by a coordinated effort of all oppressed people within the U.S. Ideally one organization (a communist party) could lead this struggle. However this flies in the face of material conditions, history and the present dynamics of struggle. Concretely white revolutionaries and their organizations are still riddled by opportunism, lack of discipline and racism. On organizational level, white revolutionaries have proved unable to overcome their shortcomings. This is shown in practice by the increasingly fascist and racist movement of white workers. This further move to the right is confirmed by our own experience in the workplace, Boston, and the strong support for Jackson, Carter and Wallace. The material basis for a revolutionary communist party does not presently exist. Further, history has shown us that every time Black people have liquidated our own organizational structures, our national rights have been abandoned. Ho Chi Minh once said that the Vietnamese could not
wait for the French to get it together before they initiated their liberation struggle. This is in essence our attitude. The demands of Black Liberation confront us now. We cannot wait to move our struggle forward. On the other hand we see the need to cooperate with other revolutionaries, particularly Third World comrades, where it furthers the tactical and strategic goals of national liberation, socialism and the destruction of US Imperialism. We recognize both our responsibility to provide leadership by example and through struggle to the entire revolutionary movement and for close (where possible) organizational coordination. In this period we see the building of strong socialist organizations among the different peoples as being primary. If trust can be built up, we should be able to build councils of coordination, a domestic Comintern (where nationalist parties would meet on equal terms and make decisions in a democratic centralized way concerning strategy,) and possibly eventually a communist party. However we would note that our struggle is already possible one for succession, that white workers have not abandoned either racism or their fascist tendencies. Consequently in the first two steps, Black people would retain their organizational independence. We may never reach the level of a communist party. Two of the main keys are the success that white revolutionaries have in organizing the white masses for revolution and the attitude of Black, Native Americans and Latinos toward succession.

8. Revolution is the main trend in the world today.

We recognize that the Black liberation struggle is an integral part of the world struggle against imperialism. We stand in firm solidarity with the peoples of the world in our joint struggles for freedom. Comrades throughout Africa, Vietnam, China and Chile give us inspiration and renewed determination for us to wage our struggle within the belly of the beast. We recognize two forms of imperialism: the imperialism of the U.S. and its lackeys, and the social imperialism of the USSR. We believe that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy in the world today; it oppresses more people than any other form. But Soviet social imperialism is the main danger in the world today because it has not been thoroughly exposed and is the hungry, stronger imperialist power. Malcolm X recognized in the early 60's that capitalism had been restored within the Soviet Union. In addition the USSR has had a history of subverting liberation movements within Africa (check out Zimbabwe and the Middle East) and aiding reactionary forces on the continent. Racism and sexism are rampant inside the USSR. The contention between the Soviet Union and U.S., for control of the world has led to a very dangerous arms race that has heightened the danger of world war. The Chinese slogan of "War will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent war," is fundamentally correct. Revolution is still the main trend in the world today. When analyzing the world situation we must remain dialectical and realize that unlike many we cannot have uncritical support for any country, party or individual. This is not the revolutionary method of analysis of thought as taught by Mao and other comrades. For example China has been a great rear base for revolution after revolution in Africa and Asia (Vietnam, Mozambique, Tanzania, etc.), but its policy for whatever reasons is incorrect concerning Angola and Chile. Recognizing that South Africa is the main obstacle to revolution in Africa, not the USSR in this specific instance, we must as Black revolutionaries support the People's Republic of Angola while at the same time calling for superpowers out of Angola. On the international level we must support the BIA's proposal of building principled support for the Black liberation movement. This country has often provided a refuge for political fugitives from the liberation struggles of Africa. It is well past time that we seriously dealt with the progressive governments of Africa and secured for us a secure political haven. Every other liberation struggle has secured this right. This issue should be key when dealing with the progressive governments of the world. As with all liberation struggles we should rely on our own efforts for freedom, but the international situation and international support for the Black liberation struggle are key issues that should be studied carefully and put into practice.
The early women's movement was organized around a broad spectrum of demands, many of which reflected the middle-class, and various demands including rights for women who entered the workforce in large numbers. Women's rights movement, supported by women's rights because in abolition. Among abolitionists they were important. Allied with the women's movement, it was tremendously important. 

The middle-class white women, viewed women who worked for far-reaching institutional changes for women. The suffrage movement, supported by women's suffrage because it had the possibility of ending the intense repression faced by blacks and slave. Stanton, Anthony and Susan B. Anthony, who was the first native-born American woman who sought the right to vote on the issue of slavery. In 1851, Stanton's group, the National Women's Rights Convention, met to support the Amendment because it had the possibility of ending the intense repression faced by women. They saw no advantage for themselves in white women getting the vote. To them, women's suffrage was merely a controversial, radical issue which angered them. They come to the realization that their liberation lay in its destruction.

From a poster about the ways in which women sided the Union army.

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WOMEN: the family & revolution

For many women the following descriptions of family life are accurate. A woman with two children struggles daily to attend job training while maintaining her household. By the time her day starts somewhere around 6-6:30am. She gets out of bed, wakes the children and gets them dressed, while maintaining her hustle to the car. As she does, she thinks of the days they had: breakfast is provided elsewhere then this task is forgone. Changes of clothes, bottles, and more are all gathered up and hustled into the car.

Everyone in the family may have separate destinations and duties. For each family member has been into their own day for somewhere around 6-6:30am. She gets out of the chaos, yet is often filled with catch-up on household duties and the children. After a hard day, a mother is lucky if she has some spare time to relax.

The way the family is supposed to be and the reality of the family are actually quite different, and we are constantly confronted through the mass media with a picture of the ideal family. It is a nice white family with a beautiful suburban house and a petit bourgeois morality which serves to justify these ideas, and those things that are that eventually always work out.

Another picture might look something like this: a woman with three children, her only income being her work as a home organizer and child researcher. She faces the same chores, the same problems the same four walls, this children, and possibly even the same husband.

The wonders why she feels depressed, unmotivated and tired. Hope and more she feels like she is "living in the real world" - isolated from the "real world" where the "important" things happen, society doesn't value her unpaid labor. She is invisible and forced to live inside herself.

Capitalism and the Family

The family under capitalism is an individual economic unit whose functions performed by women have included maintenance, reproduction, and socialization of future generations. It has also served as a buffer against the outside pressures of society.

The family has also been an institution to control the sexuality of individuals. One of the primary functions of the family is reproduction, that male/female relationships have been the backbone of the family structure. By institutionalizing this structure for all of us, society assigns our gender roles, gay women and men have been sexualized out from having children, being parents, and from the normal family unit.

The family has also been an institution to control people and their relations through the legal institution of marriage. Lesbianism is served as more women question their lives, the family has become harder and harder to act as a buffer against outside pressures. As the hard times get worse and worse, because women lack a family life, the family is affected.

We are all committed to fighting sexism and sex role behaviour. As women we need to develop our leadership skills, and lesbians are pushing us forward in this way. As part of the revolutionary process in this country, we need a cultural revolution around sexism and heterosexism. We have to all struggle against bourgeois notions of attraction and develop our own lifestyles for living and work.

Lesbians contribute to the women's movement important new role models for strength and independence. They are often in the lead in the fight against sexual repression and self-hatred we have been taught and are teaching us to be strong in and outside ourselves.

Homosexual relationships are a rebuttal to the historically oppressive ideology of womanhood being based on reproduction and the institutionalization of marriage. Lesbianism challenges the "natural" sexual division of labor which is the ideology behind the appropriateness of women's invisible labor in the nuclear family. Lesbians are proving that women do not have to be dependent on either a man or the state and are breaking down stereotypical sex roles. Because lesbians are challenging these people that allow the bourgeoisie to secure profits through the exploitation of both wage and unwaged women workers, it is in the interests of the bourgeoisie to oppress lesbians.

In contemporary society repressing gay people is part of the systematic divisions created by the bourgeoisie to maintain super profits. Employers and landlords use this division as the basis for low wages and increased exploitation at work and in the community.

Confrontation With The State

The general exploitation of gay people means that gay women have come to be understood and seen as "anti-state" activities and systems. Because lesbians are rebelling against the system of unease and other values of women and therefore have no stake in men's approval or in oppressive society, they face more concentrated fights against sexism and sex role behaviour.

As women we need to develop our leadership skills, and lesbians are pushing us forward in this way.

In addition to racism and sexism, anti-heterosexuality is part of the false consciousness that divides the working class. Unfortunately there is also an objection to gay people who consider themselves communists, either in their political work or amongst themselves. It is necessary to draw a clear line between the working class, gay or straight, and the ruling classes.

Communists have reacted negatively to lesbians and gay men for two main reasons. One is the subjective reaction of having to face one's own sexual identity and prejudice when confronted with an obvious choice. The second generation has been raised on arcing gay struggles.
The family as an individual economic unit is a waste of full productive potential. The hours each family must spend washing dishes, shopping and preparing food, and the need for each woman in the family to repeat these tasks over and over while her neighbor is doing the same thing, is an unnecessary duplication of labor. Each family instead of being a social grouping of primary relationships is a domestic work unit. These domestic workshops are not recognized as part of the economic unit of society. The domestic economy will be converted into a social matter as well as the care and education of children.

This change will directly affect the degree of women's oppression. As the hours of domestic labor diminish, women would be free to actively participate in the socialized workforce to a greater extent than we do now. For those of us caught in the "second shift" between work and home, we will be freed from the double work load and exploitive conditions we face in the workplace. When this happens, the division of labor according to sex will lose its material basis. This will greatly advance our road to liberation.

Correspondingly, changes inside the family will occur. Collectivizing the way labor power is maintained will alter the creative and emotional characteristics of family life to become the primary reason for their existence. Cooperatively and spiritually growth will be the family's function. This also means that changed relationships between children and adults will necessarily take place. But biological ties between parents and their offspring will continue and the change in the family under socialist conditions will give these ties a more human content.

Children, like all people, are valued little by capitalism. Too young to produce surplus value by their labor, they are considered and "educated" until they are able to do so. School, television, racist and sexist ideology all cooperate to stunt the development of creativity, self-awareness, and human values in our children. The years when an individual must needs to be ready a source of cooperation and training and respect for themselves and others become the times filled with the most pain.

The problem is not the sexuality and consciousness of the child that does not lie in the shortcomings of their adult models. The problem comes from a society that emphasizes human values.

The creation of revolutionary values and culture is vital for our movement. Children are the main instrument of creative and emotional characteristics of family life to become the primary reason for their existence. Cooperatively and spiritual growth will be the family's function. This also means that changed relationships between children and adults will necessarily take place. But biological ties between parents and their offspring will continue and the change in the family under socialist conditions will give these ties a more human content.

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The organization of working women becomes of primary strategic importance because their working jobs, two locations, their union in the waged labor force, and how these two resources link them with Third World women. They are located strategically as the weakest link in the chain of relations.

The growth of clerical work that started with the development of monopoly capitalism continues to become a crucial part of its workings. Paper work employs as many people as production. For clerical work is done by women. The other major area that employs women is the service sector with 17 million women employees. Working women's desperate need for social services confronts head-on the unequal division of labor and they become vanguard in the struggle for women's 'work' or domestic labor. They also see that doing this means a total reorganisation of the home that drive for profit prevents it. Their double oppression, at home and at the workplace, leads to their movement to fight imperialist organisation of labor that forces them into this role. The fact that childcare as by doing this we are challenging the unequal division of labor (particularly when the division of labor means the unemployment of men and how they begin working in childcare centers) frees women to fight for their need in the workplace. At this stage, childcare in the community is the key to organising working class women.

Childcare is the key to organizing women

Working women play a critical role in combating white supremacy, the major division in the working class. This is because of the way women have been drawn into the labor force in such huge numbers in the last twenty years has dumped on them the same double workload that Third World women have carried for centuries. White and Third World women now have a basis to build a concrete and liberation struggle. It is through this strategy that Third World women have carried for centuries. White and Third World women now have a basis to build a concrete and liberation struggle. It is through this strategy that White and Third World women have a basis to build a concrete and liberation struggle.

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HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC BASIS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

Although the oppression of women predates capitalism, capitalist development has drastically changed its forms. Today, imperialism exploits women through both its unwaged labor in the home and its superexploitation in the labor force. Women's unwaged labor in the home reproduces and maintains the labor force, materially as well as ideologically. Women are also primary consumers of the goods and services produced by the system. At the same time, huge numbers of women have been drawn into the labor force. We work in the worst-paid and least-skilled jobs, which is justified on the ideological grounds that women's place is in the home and that our work force participation is marginal. This is a myth and a falsehood. The growth of corporations and the state have led to new areas of work which have become sexually segregated, especially clerical and service work. Women are super-exploited in the work place precisely because of the dual economic function we fulfill in working a double shift.

The Dollymop, a novel by Barriette Arrow, illustrates sharply the changes in women's oppression brought by capitalism. Gertie Novels, the dollymop, is a Kentucky mountain woman in the 1840's who, along with her children, supplies most of her family's needs by working the land, raising vegetables, chickens, hogs, making their clothing, and carving tools and utensils. The Novels are removed from a wage and money economy. Gertie's husband, Clovis, does odd jobs as a mechanic and hauler, but hates the mountains and is fascinated by the city. When Clovis receives a notice for a draft physical and leaves, Gertie uses her lifetime store of secret savings to buy a small farm so that the family will no longer have to work shares and to separate himself from his family. Just as she completes this transfiguration, she finally hears from Clovis, who has been rejected by the draft, but has gotten a job at high wages in the defense industry in Detroit. Community pressure forces Gertie and the children to give up their farm and join Clovis in Detroit. There, they live in a cramped, overcrowded, hastily built house for defense workers. Clovis, proud of his high wages, binges on store food, fashionable clothing, a stove, refrigerator, and radio. Gertie not only does not want these consumer goods, but she does not know how to use them. She comes home from the grocery store with a bag of rice and meat; she knows how to cook, but not how to buy meat. Gertie cannot understand why Clovis is not grateful for the new riches that he is providing.

Overnight, Gertie is changed from a producer of goods for her family to a consumer of those goods, dependent on her husband's wages. She no longer plays a central productive role for her family. Not only is Gertie unable to deal with her increasing uselessness and dependency, but the entire family goes through severe shocks. The children are unable to "adjust" to the city; one runs away and another is killed by a train. Gertie and Clovis grow further apart. Gertie has worked on carving a head of Christ for years; she finally gives up this last creative use of her energy. What happens to Gertie in the course of a few months is the same thing that has happened to women more slowly over the past two hundred years. The development of capitalism, dispossession from the land, industrialization, and forced urbanization changed women from producers of subsistence for our families in consumers of goods, bought mainly with our husbands' wages. Women changed from producers to consumers and were made more dependent on men.

The Novels' life in Kentucky is similar to the majority of white people in colonial North America. On the farm there was an age and not division of labor. Men worked in the fields, and with livestock, while women grew gardens, raised poultry, took care of the dairy, spun, wove, and made clothes, in addition to caring for the house and the children. Children learned sex roles early by actually engaging in work. Fathers were thus responsible for the socialization of their sons. The towns, families engaged in a variety of trades and crafts. Women and children took part in the work, and widows frequently succeeded their husbands as shop heads. Although women had an inferior status to men, they were respected for their crucial role in making a living. Colonial women were both civil and political rights, such as the right to vote, which they lost after the revolutionary period.

On the farm, work was life. Industrialization separated the two. Rather than producing their means of subsistence, families began to rely on wages earned by the men. Young men and older children went to work at whatever jobs were available. As money came into the family, the resistance of the slave community, which the children were supposed to work in a labor-scarce society. They were forced to settle in eastern and mid-western cities and to work at whatever jobs were available. The labor of immigrant women, men, and children supplied most industrial needs.

Although bitterly exploited themselves, the European immigrants soon found that North-american racism could be turned to their own short-term advantage. Each wave of immigration drove black workers out of the skilled or semi-skilled jobs they had, and in 1860, over 50 strikes occurred in which white workers protected the employment of blacks.

The situation of black women under slavery differed from the patterns that characterized the white working class. während, women and men suffered equally in the exploitation of black and white women through racial oppression. But black women also reproduced the slave labor force and served as sexual objects for their white owners. In raising their children, they developed the resistance of the slave community, by teaching them how to do the least work possible, how to keep from punishments and to survive and rebel. After the abolition of slavery, women, and men who continued to do agricultural labor, many others got jobs as domestics or factory operatives. Since the late 19th century, a higher proportion of black than white women have been in the labor force out of economic necessity. When black men were unable to obtain jobs, black women supported their families through the lowest paid and worst jobs.

All women were affected by the process of industrialization. Machines and unskilled labor produced more cheaply and efficiently the goods which women did in the home was increasingly socially degraded. The white womanhood was used as a rationale for slavery and lynching, as well as for the exploitation of white women as servants and factory operatives. The ideal of the woman of leisure, perhaps, was held up as a model for all, but was only attainable by women whose families had enough wealth to release them from productive work. At the same time, a class- and race-biased ideology of the true woman was developing. The purity and lower-status position of the true womanhood was used as a rationale for slavery and lynching, as well as for the exploitation of black women as servants and factory operatives. The ideal of the woman of leisure, perhaps, was held up as a model for all, but was only attainable by women whose families had enough wealth to release them from productive work.

Beginning with the abolitionist movement of the 1830's, white women began to work out a program of women's rights. This movement, which the granting of woman suffrage in 1809 was a movement for bourgeois democratic rights: the right to education, to own property, to divorce, and finally the right to vote. The expanding role of women on the job, such as better wages and working conditions, were addressed by some social continued on p.b
Historical Basis cont.

In general, however, the women's rights movement did not speak to the most pressing needs of poor, Third World, and working women. As wage laborers, women were rarely organized into trade unions. Successful unions existed mostly in the skilled trades dominated by native-born white men. These men made few attempts to organize the predominantly immigrant and black unskilled female labor force. Unskilled men workers, who were struggling to find unions for themselves also feared the competition of cheaper women labor of preserving food and making clothes became an industry. The hours of home labor of preserving food and making clothes became as obsolete as the master Weaver or the blacksmith. Technological unemployment became a household reality.

During the 1890's and 190's, the U.S. economy took on the classic features of imperialism, complete with the economic penetration and military occupation of Third World nations, whose workers, raw materials, and markets were subordinated to the needs of the rising imperialist power. Domestically, the period between 1890 and World War I defined the basic pattern of employment of the U.S. labor force, which persists to this day with only minor changes.

Agricultural employment declined, while manufacturing employment remained steady--more new jobs were in finance, transportation, retail sales, public utilities, and services. A new domestic labor force had to be found that could be exploited more easily than the existing white male working class, whose increasing militance and organization presented a definite threat to "business prosperity."

To move Third World people and white working class women into the gap, imperialism updated and solidified systems of white and male supremacy that offered material benefits to white working class men if they would side with the exploiters and not the most oppressed. Although these systems of white and male privilege weakened the working class in its struggle against capital, they did offer real payoffs to whites and men in the short run.

White men held the better-paid factory jobs, and became the foremen, supervisors, and managers in industry, finance, and the government bureaucracy. Depending on the region of the country, Black men or Asians or Mexicans were hired for the dirtiest and most dangerous industrial work or as unskilled day laborers and farmworkers or as service workers such as janitors and orderlies. White women from the post-proletarianized petit-bourgeoisie and the upper sections of the working class were allowed into the growing semi-professions that grew out of the state's gesture toward organizing the human services that women wage workers could no longer do at home--teaching, nursing, social work. Black and other Tw women were servants of the white professionals, as cleaning women in their homes, or as aides and paraprofessionals on the job. Tw women also worked in the most exploited manufacturing jobs--textiles, garments, food processing. Working class white women filled the rapidly increasing clerical and sales jobs. Badly paid and increasingly organized to resemble assembly-line labor, these jobs were glamorized by the white male supremacist image of the All-American (i.e. white) office girl with her J.C. Penny wardrobe and her Colgate smile. As Third World women flooded into the clerical paper factories, the image wears increasingly thin: during the last 20 years the clerical sector has been the fastest-growing employer of Black women.

The Contradiction Between Women's Waged and Unwaged Labor

At the beginning of this century, most women were exploited primarily through the rip-off of our unwaged labor in the home reproducing and maintaining the workforce. Only about a fifth of white women (mostly young, single, immigrants or the children of immigrants) and a third of Black women worked for wages; less than 5% of married white women also worked outside the home. All of this was changed by maturing imperialism.

After World War II, the U.S. became the leading force in the world capitalist economy. This position of power rested on three pillars: (1) investment outside the U.S., and war production inside the U.S. to reinforce it; (2) government spending on highways and mass transit projects; and (3) the creation of a consumer economy resting on the consumption of "consumer durables." To ward off the spectre of another disastrous post-war depression, the ruling class stoked toward the creation of a consumer economy by promoting the construction of suburban single-family homes rather than apartments or public housing. The middle classes were ensured that every family would be able to end the month with money, and a set of major new appliances. The domestic economy was imperialized to create new markets and new investment outlets that could keep the rate of profit up.

For the ruling class, this strategy was very profitable; for white working class women, it turned the world upside down. The household was now completely transformed into a unit of consumption. To help the family purchase the expensive new necessities and pay off the mortgage, more and more wives and mothers were drawn into wage labor.

Today more than half of all women 18 to 65 old work for wages; more than 40% of married women living with their husbands also have paid jobs. More than 40% of women with school age children are in the wage labor force, four times the 1940 figure.

The family structures that make sense when women work full-time in the home cannot endure when women work two jobs. Almost 40% of marriages end in divorce; a fifth of U.S. families are headed by a woman (more than double the 1940 figure.)

White working class women are the weak link in the chain of privilege that binds the white working class to the bourgeoisie. Subject to male supremacy as well as class exploitation, we get relatively little of the benefits of being white. At work or at the welfare office, we find ourselves on the bottom of the heap, close to Black and other Third World women and men. These conditions give the material basis for a political alliance between white working class women and the leading struggles of Third World peoples.

If we live with a white working class man, he sees the cost of male supremacy every payday. If he sees that male supremacy costs the family more than he gains as a relatively privileged worker, he has the real basis to join the fight against inequalities in the class and the imperialist system.

Imperialism has made use of the historical oppression of women to maintain its profits and power. By pulling us into wage labor for the imperialist state we have brought into the arena of the struggles for national liberation and against class exploitation. Whether we fight our fellow workers for crumbs of privilege from the imperialist table or work to build an alliance against imperialist domination is a question of political leadership. Communists should see our task as providing leadership in the struggle to turn this revolutionary alliance between white workers and the oppressed Third World people.
Party-building is Our Primary Task

Under the blows of the oppressed nations and the workers, imperialism is sickening to death before our eyes. Yet we believe that this death is not inevitable. In the advanced capitalist countries, including the USA, even the most abstract and important problem has been channelled into reformism. As we analyse world history, we see that it requires a truly revolutionary communist party to organize the working class for the sake of state power and the establishment of socialism.

So in an age of revolution, party-building is an immediate task. It is in this age of movement among the masses of people where the imperialists seem to be pushing their crisis onto the backs of the workers and their nationalities in this country. Within the next few years we can expect a mass upsurge of resistance like the 30's or 60's. Will the conscious elements be prepared to lead this mass explosion? Will we have consolidated the essential conditions to begin the political line in a communist organization that can direct spontaneous resistance toward revolution?

As Marxist-Leninists, we see party-building as our primary task. All our work must be subordinated to this task, and all our organizations must be geared toward the establishment of the party. This is the final test.

Party-building is both an urgent and a protracted task. We disagree with those who think that the forces are now prepared to establish a new communist party. The merger between communist theory and the advanced workers, the necessary condition for the formation of the party, will take a long time. But it is high time to specify the nature of the party we are building.

Nature of the Party

By studying revolutionary theory, our movement has some clarity about the general nature of the revolutionary communist party. The party is the highest form of organization of the proletariat, bringing together all the advanced fighters in the class around the most developed revolutionary theory; it is a party whose purpose is to organize the class for socialist revolution, so it is a party that leads not only the party-building process.

Anti-revisionism

Once we understand that the state is always the instrument for the forcible domination of one class by another, we understand that there can be no peaceful road to socialism, there can be no lasting revolution that is not the armed struggle of the workers and the suppression of the newly defeated bourgeoisie. The lessons of Marx and Lenin warn us of the danger of becoming involved in an illusion that we can go through a period of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the domination of the workers, the recovery of their majority and the abolition of the exploiting few.

An anti-revisionist party's class consciousness must turn the whole of our society against imperialism. We must organize the world into a system of oppression and oppression nations. The party must come to the conclusion that this world struggle is within and without the borders of the United States, and organize the white workers and the rights to secession for the oppressed nations in.

With our group did not study the national question, we use the word nationalitely in a purposely vague way, not to imply a polemical fight about which oppressed groups are nations and which are national minorities, but to mean something more like the process of making a concrete plan for a working class movement. This includes a) a true struggle in this country. A strategy is an analysis of what forces should unite around what program to build a force that can establish a workers state. Strategy comes from our class analysis; who are the leading forces, the intermediate forces, the vacillating forces, and who is the enemy? What are the aspirations and demands of such friendly forces and how can they be combined? What are the contradictions within and among the forces and how can they be resolved? Our theory must also include b) political lines that have shown in practice that they can address the problems posed in the struggle and lead the movement toward revolution. By political line we mean answers to particular questions like: 'What are the concrete slogans for a working class movement?' 'Should we uphold the right of self-determination for the Moro people?'

Second, we need to win advanced workers to this communist. Advanced workers are the most politically progressive people who emerge in struggles, who have earned the respect of co-workers and actually want to be a part of the movement. A truly communist movement is composed of people who are capable of organizing white workers to refuse the prejudices of the white working class and alerts that we should not just the party and its files into a concrete plan for party-building. Then our work advance the party's program. But it is high time to specify the nature of the party we are building.

Our revolutionary vanguard organization, the Stalinists, will reflect the history and composition of the USA as an imperialist state. Oppressor nation communists organize white workers to refuse the prejudices of the white working class and alerts that we should not just the party and its files into a concrete plan for party-building. Then our work advance the party's program. But it is high time to specify the nature of the party we are building.

Continued on page D
To sharpen the debate on party-building, we contrast our views with other positions. One debate concerns the relation between theory and practice in the making of the party because there is both a "left" and a right error on this question. The "left" dogmatic position puts theory primary but never it from practice. This tendency holds that it is wrong for communists to contend for leadership of mass movements. But Marxism-Leninism is not a static body of answers that can be learned from books and intra-left debates; it is precisely the science of applying theory to the analysis of concrete conditions. The "left" dogmatists are unable to say how they will identify mass movements. In advanced workers, except by conversations at the workplace. This line of "develop Marxism-Leninists first, mass movement later," often put forward by revolutionaries who have stayed in graduate school too long, holds both theoretical work and mass practice. The right error also severs theory from practice but puts practice primary. This line is put forward by advanced workers who are unable to say how they will build the movement for socialism first, and then a communitarian party. To build this mass movement, we call for revolutionary organizations that are united around little more than a common desire for socialism. To preserve tactical unity the question of the party is deferred and organizational debate on Marxism-Leninism and the long-range questions of strategy are ruled off the table. We insist that theory and practice can advance only in a close dialectical relationship. Correct theory can only be worked out through constant testing in practice; but theory is primary until the present task of party-building, developing strategy and political line—has been significantly advanced.

A second area of debate concerns how we work to unify the working class in this country. What are the contending lines on how to unite the working class across the national, racial, sexual, and other divisions that splinter it?

The right opportunist error on this question denies the long and bitter history of divisions inside the US working class, and falls to see the systems of relative privilege that provide the material basis for white and male supremacy. The program that flows from this analysis emphasizes only those issues which preserve inequality for Third World people and white women. For instance, a right opportunist program would call for percentage rather than across-the-board raises, would soft-pedal issues like affirmative action, an end to imperialist wars, and self-determination for oppressed peoples—all issues that directly challenge the inequalities inside the class.

The "left" error is much less of a danger because it has been discredited for years. This position flows from the incorrect analysis that the entire white working class has been bought off by imperialist super-profits, emphasizing white guilt politics and calls for acts of individual renunciation by white working class people. White workers are left with the role of cheerleaders for Third World struggles.

Our position is that equality in the working class is the essential condition for a united struggle against the imperialists. The working class must both take up issues of the whole proletariat against the ruling class, and must also directly attack the systems of white and male supremacy that deal out unequal hands to Third World and white women workers. To attack the inequalities in the class, our program must emphasize the demands of the most oppressed. For example, the demand of "jobs or income now" is in the interest of the whole class. In our opinion, however, no jobs campaign would be correct unless it spoke directly to the ways unemployment comes down hardest on Third World people and on white working class women. A jobs program would include such demands as ending deportations of undocumented workers, blocking daycare cutbacks that force mothers out of the waged workforce and daycare workers into the unemployment lines, A united struggle against the imperialists, certainly; but only on the basis of full equality.

Parts of this article were influenced by the party-building perspective put forward by the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, Box 4253, Philadelphia, PA 19105.
THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT TODAY

The 1960's saw a tremendous upsurge in women's consciousness and the development of a women's movement which catalyzed incredible changes in women's perceptions of themselves, their relationships with others, and to society as a whole. The experience unleashed by this movement were directed in many different ways with varying political perspectives. In this article we would like to explore the different forces of the women's movement as it exists today.

**Bourgeois Feminism**

For many women the capitalist system remains viable. It is a system to which they are bound by aspiration. Comprised primarily of women who are professionals, wives of middle management, etc, bourgeois feminism attacks sexism ideology, seeing it as the main enemy; as just a faulty aspect of a "workable system".

The system's structures generally work to their advantage, but the ideology of sexism presents an obstacle to advancement within the system and is a constant source of moral outrage. Institutional sexism is perceived to be rooted in ideas. In attacking sexism from this perspective, the bourgeois feminist movement can go no further than reformism, in fact, against ideas as expressed by their struggles, but with 100% of the necessary reforms become goals, in and of themselves.

These reforms generally reflect the interests of white, educated, "upper-middle" class women. The focus was mostly on the abortion movement, in electoral politics, etc. bourgeois feminists have sought legal solutions to a form of oppression which their class biases prevent them from understanding.

Women have viewed the oppression of Third World people in much the same way that they view their own oppression: as opportunities denied, and a moral outrage, rather than as wealth, culture, and lives stolen and destroyed.

**Roots of the Women's Movement**

The upheaval of women's consciousness which grew rise to the women's movement can be linked to a flowering of the 1960's; the Civil Rights Movement, the free speech movement, and the anti-war movement. The resurgent open rebellion of Third World people in the US resistance, oppression and destructive nature of Imperialism are very visible to white students.

Struggles around racism and discrimination developed across the country, and student support for the Civil Rights Movement developed organizational forms. These organizations provided an educational experience, and sparked the reshaping of progressive forces within the white left. As these struggles around racism and discrimination developed, the focus of the white left shifted from the Civil Rights Movement to the Free Speech Movement and the Vietnam War.

**Women's Culture**

As women became more aware of the dominance of the male supremacist point of view that pervades "culture" in our society, they saw the need to develop culture which would speak to women's needs as well as celebrate her strength and resistance. This movement has created a new breakthrough in poetry, music, art and film depicting the joyous side of women's experiences as well as the constant oppression. It must endure. Much of the theme in women's culture is devoted to celebrating the new strength and joy found in learning to love one another.

Women artists, for the most part, work in collective action and try to break down the elitist separation between audience and "art" which occurs in mainstream culture. Because of the elitist control which monopolistic firms hold over "culture" in our society, these new art forms have not had wide distribution. Women's culture is too threatening to the male supremacist underpinnings of the multi-billion dollar music, film, and art industry.

**Women's Right to Self Defense**

As the women's movement grew and as more and more women began to redefine themselves, the right of women to defend themselves against violence emerged as an important concept. Women organized street safety groups, self-defense classes, and political participation in support of women under attack by the law for exercising this right. Their work has done a great deal to bring a better understanding of the most vicious aspects of sexism, and a more sympathetic attitude toward the wide variety of victims.

Third world and working class women have had to develop independence and determination simply in order to survive, but for most of the white women's movement, the passive and docile female has always been upheld as the "Ideal" of society. White women's rebellion against this image was greatly strengthened by the examples of our Third World sisters.

Alternative institutions

Women's understanding of the institutionalized nature of sexism led to building alternative or counter institutions. These institutions provided services which meet the survival needs of many women. Health collectives, birth centers, referral and counseling programs, legal aid projects and child care centers all grew as women sought to provide collective solutions to their own needs. They provide women with a sense of control over their own lives, and an alternative to the hierarchical forms which exist in all of the institutions of capitalist society.

Unfortunately, none of the main drawbacks of alternative institutions tend to be the utopianism of the people forming them. It is sometimes felt that women's needs can be met successfully outside the system if we all "boycott" the system and build our own. There is little understanding of the fact that the imperialist system pervades every sector of women's lives, especially the lives of Third World and working class women, and must be overthrow in order to create human institutions which meet the needs of all women. As alternative institutions can be strategic when they involve and serve a community of oppressed people, are tied to the transformation of our society, and tied with a conscious group of revolutionaries.

**Socialist Feminism**

The first major theoretical work on socialist feminism, "Socialist Feminism, A Strategy for the Women's Movement" (Kula, 1971) described how previous attempts at revolutionary movements failed because they involved women over the course of their movement, and tied with a conscious group of revolutionaries.

Socialist feminist unions were conceived of as "intermediate strategy" -- a strategy for consolidating the political development and energies which the women's movement had unleashed.
Our practice with dedicated Third World communist international (comintern, vol. 1, p. 53) hint at how we feel one might be built. However we all feel that the material basis for such a party does not presently exist among either the white left or masses. In addition, the Third World national movements primary organizational need at this time is for socialist leadership based on national forms of organization. We can only point to such forms of organization exist (the BPP is the leading example), both the national movements and the revolution as a whole are qualitatively advanced. When organizations such as this exist we have the most advanced and widest multinational unity based firmly on the principle of self-determination.

Our central task is the building of a Black vanguard fighting party whose ideology is scientific socialism. Let's examine the above proposals carefully. We have many areas of unity with the BPP's analysis of a Black liberation struggle. However our major area of disagreement is around their call for the building of a Black liberation Front. United Fronts are mass revolutionary organizations, drawn from all revolutionary classes, pulled together in one coordinated anti-imperialist front. We have gained much encouragement from the struggles of our African comrades throughout the world. However if we look at our struggle in a hardheaded way, we will see that materially our closest allies are not the sisters and brothers thousands of miles away but our Third World brothers and sisters who share the same oppression that we do. We must have a Pan-Africanist perspective when we look at history. In addition we must also realize that the defeat of U.S. imperialism from within will do more to liberate the African continent and the Caribbean than any other single factor. In addition many comrades who call for a revolutionary Front as a preliminary step to scientific socialism. We must emphasize as George Jackson and our comrades in the Black liberation movement have repeatedly said that every successful liberation struggle in the world since the early 1900's has adopted scientific socialism as its ideology. The analytical tool of dialectical and historical materialism is one of the greatest weapons in the arsenal of revolutionaryists. We and our party must embrace this tool.

Finally there are the comrades that say the building of a multinational communist party as being our primary task. Again we do not believe that this stand is based upon the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Experience with white revolutionary have convinced us that the basis of our only hope. There will be educational, no revolutionary culture, no forward movement, without these three elements working with the harmony of a healthy organism...to sum up, the existence of a political vanguard precedes the existence of any of the other elements of an truly revolutionary culture. (Bobakas added.)

The question now becomes what type of revolutionary party we should build. Some comrades believe that we should build a revolutionary Pan-Africanist Party, and others a multinational communist party. As Lenin states the essence of revolutionary science is "the concrete analysis of concrete conditions." The first type of comrades believe that we should build a party based on self-determination, and coordination of the struggle of African people throughout the world. We believe that our organization should be Black, Black revolutionaries from Malcolm X to George Jackson talk about the need for us to self-reliant and to take responsibility for our own struggle. In addition, our struggle is an anti-colonial one against imperialism, and any revolutionary party must be prepared to build and lead the mass of the people as well. Yet, we must be realistic when devising strategy for revolution.

The time is right, struggles reach a point and then fade away, are defeated or as rich now as it was during the turbulent 60's. However there is a qualitative difference between our struggle now and those of our ancestors. Struggles of the past ended in victory, not defeat. That is never true. Our struggle had better have particular power in its support, and are often isolated and uncoordinated from each other. This isolation means that the enemy can concentrate a vast superior force on our weaker forces because he is not fighting for the number one priority on the mass level. However since it is a mass front of all classes, many reactionary tendencies can get away with new, we have a special responsibility to learn from and support those struggles. We have gained much encouragement from the struggles of our African comrades throughout the world, however if we look at our struggle in a hardheaded way, we will see that materially our closest allies are not the sisters and brothers thousands of miles away but our Third World brothers and sisters who share the same oppression that we do. We must have a Pan-Africanist perspective when we look at history. In addition we must also realize that the defeat of U.S. imperialism from within will do more to liberate the African continent and the Caribbean than any other single factor. In addition many comrades who call for a revolutionary Front as a preliminary step to scientific socialism. We must emphasize as George Jackson and our comrades in the Black liberation model of a strong socialist party leading the liberation army have repeatedly said that every successful liberation struggle in the world since the early 1900's has adopted scientific socialism as its ideology. The analytical tool of dialectical and historical materialism is one of the greatest weapons in the arsenal of revolutionaryists. We and our party must embrace this tool.

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PALESTINIAN WOMEN

The participation of women in the struggle for the National Liberation of Palestine has a long history. They played a prominent role in the formation of organizations to ensure survival. They included the Arab Women's Union, the Arab Women's Association, the Palestinian Women's Union of Lebanon, The Red Crescent, and the Association for the Support of Wounded Militants.

During the period 1967-1991, Palestinian women in occupied Palestine, like other non-Jews were not allowed to form any kind of independent political organization. This encouraged the formation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

In 2000, the PNA established the Palestinian Women's Commission (PWC) to promote the rights of Palestinian women. The PWC advocates for gender equality and the elimination of gender-based violence.

World Revolution

Angola: Support the MPLA

Angola, a national unity government was formed between the three movements. At this point the Soviet Union increased its support to the MPLA and its new government during the war against the Portuguese army. Cuban troops and tanks helped to defeat the Portuguese army and to control the MPLA territory. The MPLA was the main enemy of the Angolan and African masses.

We must understand that the MPLA is a socialist movement and is not a socialist country. It is the most active among the movements that cooperate with them. Consequently, we support the MPLA because it is the main enemy of the Angolan people.

The MPLA was founded by Agostinho Neto, the leader of the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola. Neto is the main leader of the Angolan people. The MPLA is a communist movement and is one of the movements that support the socialist system.

Since our ideology is Socialism, we must reject the position of proxy and neutral groups and organizations.

The MPLA is a socialist country and is not a socialist organizations that support the Angolan people.

2. Do not support the MPLA because:

1. The MPLA is an imperialist power and is not a socialist country.
2. The MPLA is a communist movement and is one of the movements that support the socialist system.
3. The MPLA is a socialist country and is not a socialist organizations that support the Angolan people.

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4. Do not support the MPLA because the MPLA is a communist movement and is one of the movements that support the socialist system.

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We believe that this is an incorrect stance. First of all the MPLA has continuously stated that it is an independent movement and does not support the NATO and US military bases.

It is clear that the best hope for the people of Angola lies in the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola. The MPLA is the only progressive government in the world that does not support the NATO and US military bases.

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LABOR ORGANIZING

With this economic crisis affirmative action versus seniority has become an explosive issue in the workplace. Competition among workers has intensified as promotions are choked off and layoffs are explosive issue in the workplace. Compromise versus seniority has become an increase. The recent small gains in employment and personnel cutbacks. In response, slyers with twenty years seniority or the new are at the center of the crisis. The crisis of the urban poor, the crisis of unemployment as it collapses on the backs of US workers. They are organizing themselves - as members of the working class. We have had some practice in this area recently in several places, and would like to share some general concepts:

1. Identify demands that unite rather than divide. Usually the majority of workers in lower paying jobs are black or third world, whereas there are also some white women. Institutionalized racism and sexism abound in the whole group, such as no training programs or departmental seniority lists. Demand no layoffs; demand training programs open to everyone.

2. The principle of seniority cannot be abandoned. New workers and women have gained seniority, though in the worst jobs. The use of seniority is a victory won by workers' own efforts. Because the issue of hard struggle. The principle is important in providing job security and taking arbitrary power away from the union. The demand made to promote men and women to jobs deficient in those groups on the basis of seniority.

3. Focus the blame on management, and make them pay the white workers and men and women who have received preferential treatment. Since the local strike up, the faulty parties are the employers, the government, and the corrupted union bureaucracy.

4. We cannot sacrifice the gains of the late 60's and early 70's. This must be an uncompromising position. We must struggle to maintain affirmative action goals as part of the demands of the majority oppressed, and organize workers under less intense attack to do the same.

5. Third world women must be seen as doubly penalized. White women and white men as well as white men and third world women must be organized. In the past, the non-white sector has been left behind. We should demand that in setting affirmative action goals and priorities, these workers be placed in a special category. That their status not be disapproved by merging them with another group, and that a commitment be made to achieve and maintain equal employment for them.

6. Older workers too are systematically discriminated against in employment. They have perhaps the hardest time getting new jobs as they open yet there are usually no affirmative action provisions to help them. Based on our experience they are valuable participants in the workplace struggle if we pay attention to their special demands.

Realistically, the only way to build a militant mass movement to fight against layoffs and cutbacks is to educate and expose the racist and sexist backward elements in union leadership and among the rank and file. Our experience is that non-white leadership is key and non-racist white support and leadership is necessary to insure success. The most effective way to do this is usually respect for third world leadership and among the rank and file leadership. If we don't start fighting this battle in a non-radical way we might well be faced with the prospect of many more Bostons, and a repeat of the working class race riots of the early twentieth century.

Even where there is no serious threat of layoff this issue can tear a union or a workplace apart. Sometimes it can unite it can unite a significant percentage of white men with women, older workers, and non-CETA workers in demands that explicitly reject white and male supremacy. Threats of layoffs must be rejected, and met with a radical critique and radical alternative. Socialized industry is an opportunity to produce a truly powerful mass movement.

The task of the organizer is to unite the non-white and white to build a militant mass movement to fight against layoffs and employment policies. We have the time and the resources to develop a large strategy to unseat the government, and the corrupted union bureaucracy. We have the time and the resources to build a truly powerful mass movement.

There is a real world, victories of the 20th century. To win in that world, the battle must be to turn it into its opposite. The money is now being used mainly by local governments in order to produce jobs for the poor. CETA workers are used in place of regular civil service workers. Increasingly, the Ford Administration, private industry, and the local UNA are demanding that the US government put its money into a truly powerful mass movement.

We have had some practice in this area recently in several places, and would like to share some general concepts:

1) Build local and regional CETA organizing groups that address the needs of the majority to defeat these backward elements. The factors missing are support and leadership is necessary to insure success. The most effective way to do this is usually respect for third world leadership and among the rank and file leadership. If we don't take the leadership of the minority.
A Hard Times National conference was held in Chicago during the end of January. The call came from Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC), a neo-imperialist organization with its roots in the anti-war and women's movements. The purpose of the conference was to bring together mass activists from throughout the U.S. to discuss programs and tactics to combat the hard times.

It was organized by a Hard Times National Board, composed of PFOC cadre, representatives of the world organizations such as CASA (General Brotherhood of Workers), Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PRSP), Republic of New Africa and local groups such as United Black Workers. Communist organizations such as the Trotskyites and Maoists were also represented. The board put forward three demands for the conference. 1) Organize to carry out the call to the bourgeoisie to impose hard times.

The call to the bourgeoisie was not met. 3) Adequate health care; daycare, schools, clean neighborhoods, and adequate welfare. In addition many Third World organizations supported the conference and many third world masses of the U.S. participated. Workshops were poorly organized. In many cases workshop leaders were also National Board leaders, not really a mass activist orientation.

PROBLEMS OF THE CONFERENCE

The discussion of logistical problems which hampered the functioning of the conference. Important speakers were left out of the program. Workshops were poorly organized. In many cases workshop leaders were also National Board leaders, not really a mass activist orientation. Continued on page 11...
early 70's many felt that the African Liberation Support Committee would be able to eventually provide coordinated anti-imperialist leadership to the Black liberation movement. It soon became clear that ASLC had too many diverse ideological influences and was too close organizationally to provide that leadership. At this point our struggle needed a tightly disciplined ideologically cohesive organization to provide leadership. As the Boggses state, "Today black revolutionaries are confronted with a contradiction that a socialist faced by Lenin when he first began to lay the foundation of the vanguard party. Ever since 1964 the black masses in every Northern city have been in or on the verge of spontaneous eruption. Every year millions of black people, and particularly black youth, are made ready for anything by the worsening conditions in every black community. The capability of the black masses to provide revolutionary political leadership is enormous numbers of people...who desire to protest, who are ready to render all the assistance they can in the fight against absolutism...At the same time we have no people, because we have no leaders, so I have had a battle of organization and discipline and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would give employment to all workers, ...[Lenin] in his works. The scope of spontaneous activity among the black masses has been growing for beyond the capacity of the black movement to provide revolutionary political leadership."

Which course to pursue to overcome the crisis? As Lenin's day (and in his own words), "the movement has already passed through enormous numbers of people...who desire to protest, who are ready to render all the assistance they can in the fight against absolutism...At the same time we have no people, because we have no leaders, so I have had an battle of organization and discipline and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would give employment to all workers...[Lenin] in his works. The scope of spontaneous activity among the black masses has been growing for beyond the capacity of the black movement to provide revolutionary political leadership."

We have all seen the confusion, isolation and weaknesses of our movement when this leadership is not present. Secondly the party must be able to train its successors to its leadership. There are many casualties in a liberation movement. The Panthers have vividly shown us what happens to an organization which has not systematically trained its lower and middle range leadership to take over if the top level leadership becomes incapable of leading. The organization shatters and the leadership of the movement disintegrates. Many organizations recognize this need abstractly but fail to train their membership for leadership until it is too late. Lenin's revolutionary vanguard party must be prepared to seize power. The main difference in fighting for revolution and fighting for reforms is that in revolution you fight for the seizure of power. This flows from an understanding that only by fighting for power are people placed in a position to decide for themselves how to order and better their lives. This is an especially critical task for a black vanguard party to grasp because of the real possibility that our people might choose assassination.

Characteristics

The traits of a revolutionary vanguard party have been often discussed. We will briefly discuss them here. As Mao and the Vietnamese often say, "the political line of the party is most important," if the party's political line is correctly determined, it has no chance of success. Secondly, the party must have its roots deep among the people. A revolutionary line from Lenin to Cabral has commented that if you isolate yourself from the masses, you set yourself up for destruction and more importantly are completely incapable of determining political line and providing leadership. As Mao says, the correctness of a political line is determined primarily through its acceptance by the masses and its effectiveness. Thirdly the party must have freedom of discussion and even discipline in practice. These are accomplished by having thoroughly committed members who are well tested in the struggles of Black people. Internally the methods of criticism/self-criticism and democratic centralism are the mechanisms for accomplishing discipline through discussion. Democratic centralism states that at all times the minority is subordinate to the majority, lower bodies to higher bodies and the organization to the central committee. This allows majority rule and centralized leadership. Practically this works by having the fullest and most revenueless ideological struggle before decisions are made. Then when the decision is made, a completely unified front is put into action. Decisions are binding on all members. This type of discipline is only possible through free will. The only way in which individuals will submit themselves to this discipline is by full commitment to the ideological line of the party and allowing the freest possible ideological struggle among a disciplined cadre. This feature of a vanguard party is its strongest feature. When it is eliminated or subverted the leadership retreats to a liberal ineffective organization, degenerates into a small ineffective dictatorial organization. In any case it loses its role as the leadership of our movement.

Membership

Lastly we will have to deal with the membership of the vanguard party. We have made it clear that the success and effectiveness of the vanguard party rests on the capability and discipline of its membership. To this end it has been repeatedly said that militancy within the party must be committed veterans of the Black liberation movement who have been tested in struggle, they must be completely committed to the political line of the party, and they must be prepared to succeed struggle with themselves and each other. Otherwise the necessary discipline (voluntary unity of will) would not be present. The Boggses elaborate on this point, "The fact is that, over since the emergence of the black power stage in 1964, making political differences over the meaning of black power have been inevitable, because these differences have not simply been made politically, they have tended to appear personal, and the movement has declined accordingly....Current shifts in Black political thought...not understood is that the clarification of political differences through ideological struggle by no means implies there should be diversity of action...The creation or encouragement of a United Front or Fronts to implement this unity in action and the development of the proper relations between the revolutionary party and the United Front are critical to the success of any revolutionary process. By creating correct relations is a clear distinction between the purposes and organization of the vanguard party and the development of the proper relations and organization of the United Front. We must first divide and then unite (Lenin favors unity before independence). A revolutionary party cannot be built on the basis of ideological confusion. We must better understand the party for ourselves and children. As the comrades in the Black Liberation Army say, "The sooner begun, the sooner done!"

BUILD THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

Principles of Unity, the conclusion of this article
**The Women's Movement Today**

Continued from page 12

Socialist feminists committed themselves to working for socialism as an end to the oppression of women, and see the struggle for socialism as central to this struggle.

In the summer of 1973 a national socialist-feminist conference was held to try to bring together socialist feminists to form a strategy. It was there put forward as the "strategy for revolution." Socialist feminists have evolved and developed over a long period of time. The experiences of the labor movement, as a whole, and the experiences of socialists in general, have led many socialist-feminist women to develop a strategy for socialist feminism. This strategy has been developed in a series of articles and discussions within the socialist-feminist movement in the United States. It is important to begin to form a clear understanding of the strategy that we need to develop in order to lead the movement for socialism.

A strategy must provide an analysis of the nature of the struggle for women's liberation. It must consider the nature of the capitalist system and the way in which it affects women. It must also develop a theory of women's liberation based on the needs of women. The strategy must be developed in a way that is understandable to all women, and in a way that is practical and effective.

Even though the women's movement has changed and developed over time, there are still many women who have not been involved in the movement. This is not because the movement is not important, but because many women have not been aware of the opportunities that are available to them. The strategy for women's liberation must be developed in a way that is understandable to all women, and in a way that is practical and effective.

The strategy for women's liberation must be developed in a way that is understandable to all women, and in a way that is practical and effective.
SEIZE THE TIME

The Black Laizas & No Mexican Indians

And we both learned how to be and steal and fight.
Some call it savagery.
I call it savagery.
But, one day the song lifted.
The city and the country smiled at each other.
And we did see.
The Mariachi and the Mondo.
And we did see.
And the fiesta came in Spring.
We walked.
And like the veiled winds of Somtera,
We were gentle.
And so matter how the rain falls.
And if brave steps shod in its track tomorrow,
I will join the Gods for your existence.
I will dance in your rhythms.
Even in this sun grown cold.
And I am not lonely anymore.

Marge Piercy

A History of Lesbianism

How they came into the world,
the women-loving-women.

How they came into the world,
the women-loving-women
in these by those.
And fear by fear.
And the women-loving-women
come in ten by ten,
and box by box until there were more
than you could count.
They took vows of each other.
The best they knew how.
And of each other's children.
If they had any.
How they lived in the world.
The women-loving-women
learned as much as they were allowed
and worked and worked.

The women-loving-women
In America were called dykes
and some liked it
and some did not.

Judy Grahn

Mountain Moving Day

The mountains ev'ry day is coming.
Only so get others do it.
Only so get others do it.
Oh if we
And the women-loving-women
in these by those.
And fear by fear.
And the women-loving-women
come in ten by ten,
and box by box until there were more
than you could count.
They took vows of each other.
The best they knew how.
And of each other's children.
If they had any.
How they lived in the world.
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and worked and worked.

The women-loving-women
In America were called dykes
and some liked it
and some did not.

Yosano Akiko, 1911

From Letter to a Sister Underground

Our smiles and graces,
the ways we walk, sit, laugh, the games we must play
and love each other.
And we must play among ourselves--there are the ways we play
unheard, by the Conquerors
They're always watching.
tricking everyone into war.

This is us.
We are like the Conquerors.
They're always watching.
tricking everyone into war.

This is us.
We are like the Conquerors.

Judy Grahn

A Work of Artifice

The印刷 dream
in the attractive pot
could have grown eighty feet tall.
and on the side of a mountain
still bright by lightning.
But a gardener
carefully pruned it.
It is nine inches high.
Every day as the
blisters back the branches
the gardener cer.

It is nature
to be small and quiet,
domestic and weak.

How much, little tree,
your roots not yet grown.

With living creatures
one must begin very early
to dwarf their growth.
the frayed feet,
the crippled legs,
the hand you
love to touch.

Marge Piercy

From Monster Form

Oh mother, I am tired and sick.
One sister, new to this pain called feminist consciousness.

For want of a screw to name it, asked me last week,
"But how do you stop from going crazy?"

And I will speak her har and loud and low to you
and more and more in crazy gibberish you resound.

Witches' concoctions, poetry, old women's gestures.

Ruthven's coat, moose, kennel, froth, noise, panic, knees, church, and whatever else will tris them.

May we run and together, our sisters.
May our labor agency in bringing forth this revolution
be the death of all pain.

May we comprehend that we cannot be stopped.
May I learn how to survive until my part is finished.
May I

Robin Morgan

We look forward to receiving feedback and criticisms of this issue. Contact STT with comments or requests for subscription information at:

SEIZE THE TIME

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