

CELEBRATE INT'L WORKING WOMEN'S DAY!

BUILD THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP
OF THE WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT!

BUILD THE PARTY ON THE
IDEOLOGICAL PLANE,
GRASP THE KEY LINK OF POLITICAL LINE!

"Wherever there is capitalism,
wherever there is private pro-
perty in land and factories,
wherever the power of capital
is preserved, the men retain
their privileges"

(Lenin, "Tasks of the Working
Women Movement in the Soviet
Republic.")

On International Working Women's
Day, we celebrate the struggle of
oppressed women, particularly work-
ing class women, who have heroically
taken up the fight against all forms
of exploitation and oppression
throughout the world. We celebrate
IWWD in solidarity with the women of
China and Albania in their struggle
for socialist construction, with the
oppressed women of all Third World
countries who are fighting against
imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism,
and all reaction. We celebrate with
the entire working class, all oppress-
ed nationalities and oppressed women
and men who are struggling to over-

throw the system of monopoly capita-
lism in order to gain genuine equa-
lity for women.

Today the world is in great disorder.
Marxist-Leninist Parties and or-
ganizations in various countries have
developed and grown in strength in
the fight against the bourgeoisie and
modern revisionism. The Third World
countries and peoples have won new
victories & advanced in the struggle
against imperialism, colonialism and
hegemonism. The working class and
oppressed nationalities and national
minorities in the US and all capital-
ist countries have launched fresh
IWWD. (EDITORIAL) CONTINUED ON P.14.

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

MARCH 1976

VOL.1 NO.1

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AFRICAN PEOPLE HAVE SMASHED COLONIAL
SHACKLES. NOW SUPERPOWER AGGRESSION,
ESPECIALLY SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM
MUST BE DEFEATED. MOZAMBICAN SOLDIERS
MARCHING.

ANGOLA WILL WIN!

THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN.
LIBERATION THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE!

KICK THE SUPERPOWERS, SOUTH AFRICAN
AND CUBAN TROOPS OUT OF ANGOLA!

For 500 years, the Angolan people
have fought against the Portuguese
colonialists and, more recently,
against the U.S. and Western Euro-
pean imperialists. In the course
of these heroic struggles, they have
learned rich lessons about the true
nature of colonialism and imperia-
lism. This understanding will enable
them to see through the true nature
of the rising new imperialist danger:
Soviet social-imperialism.

ANGOLA CONTINUED ON P.22.

EXPOSE THE E.R.A.

In the past few years, the bour-
geoisie has been drumming up a big
fanfare around the Equal Rights
Amendment, after it has been buried
in the dead file bins of the Con-
gressional office for the past half
century. The ERA was ratified by
Congress in 1972 with the support
of a broad spectrum of the bour-
geoisie. Both conservative and li-
beral politicians are clearly lined
up solidly behind the ERA, includ-
ing South Boston's fascist Louise
Day Hicks to New York's liberal
Congresswoman Bella Abzug. The li-
beral politicians and the trade
union bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO
and the United Auto Workers are u-
niting with a whole host of sham
socialists, social-feminists, revi-
sionists and opportunists from the
ranks of the communist movement to
rally support for the ERA in the
name of eliminating discrimination
against women!

Why is this assorted pack so
desperate in pushing the ERA? What
is the working class stand on this
issue? To answer these questions,
we must analyze the ERA in light of
the historical facts.

During the 19th century, the US
was marked by the rise of capitali-
sm and intensification of the ex-
ploitation of the working class.
Women workers, particularly those
in the garment and textile indus-
tries staged militant struggles
against the bourgeoisie. Similarly
during the first decade of the
1900's, as US capitalism developed
into monopoly capitalism - imperia-
lism - the exploitation of the
working class was further intensi-
fied. This was met with strong re-
sistance from women workers. For
example, in 1908, thousands of wo-
men workers among the 23,000 tex-
tile workers in the Lawrence mills
battled company thugs and the Na-
tional Guards in a strike to fight
against speedups and wage cuts in
one of the greatest pages of our
working class history.

One response of the ruling class
to this rising militancy of working
women was to promote debates on the
women's voting rights amendment to
the US Constitution. This was
passed in 1920. And this act suc-
ceeded to divert a sector of the
women's movement - the working wo-
men's movement - away from its cor-
rect path. The petty bourgeois sec-
tor, determined by its class nature,
fed the illusion of the Voting
Rights Amendment and put out demands
for the ERA. These petty bourgeois
forces were first represented by the
National Women's Party. However,
the ERA campaign, then as well as
now, has never been able to rally
the vast majority of working class
women and oppressed nationalities.

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SELL-OUT CONTRACT IN GARMENT SPURS CLASS STRUGGLE

"INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO 'A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK,' THEY OUGHT TO INSCRIBE ON THEIR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD 'ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM,' WAGES, PRICE, AND PROFIT, MARX
CHINESE ED. P. 78

Over 20,000 garment workers were locked out of shops in the NY-NJ-Connecticut area from Feb. 16 to Feb. 23.

The lockout was a result of collaboration of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) misleaders with the bosses to smash the militant workers' resistance. The bourgeoisie used the cutthroat competition between the small capitalist contractors and the larger capitalist manufacturers and jobbers to cover up the real attempt to smash the garment workers' insurgent movement.

The lockout was the culmination of a two week struggle by 55,000 members of the ILGWU dressmakers unit against the sell-out contract forced on them by the trade union bosses.

In order to smother a militant rank and file movement for a strike, the ILGWU bureaucrats hustled a contract through minutes before the strike deadline on Feb. 2. The contract is a big sell-out because it lowers the workers' real income as well as insures speed up.

By forcing the contract through in a closed deal with the larger garment bosses, without agreement from either the workers or the small shop bosses, the union misleaders practically insured that the lock-out would come down.

Conditions were set for the closed deal between the jobbers, manufacturers and the trade union misleaders when the large capitalist manufacturers and jobbers threw the contractors out of the negotiations. When the contractors in some shops refused to follow the contract, hundreds of workers hit the street. This is when about 500 out of 863 contractors seized the opportunity to initiate the lock-out which is legal under the capitalist law.

GARMENT WORKERS FIGHT ILG MISLEADERS' SELL-OUT AND BOSSES' LOCK-OUT

It is clear that both the trade union misleaders' and the bosses' cutthroat tactics were designed to crush the militant workers' resistance in the garment industry. In this industry, wildcats and militant struggles occur everyday as the workers, predominantly women and oppressed nationalities and national minorities follow the needle trade workers' long tradition of militancy and organization.

The immediate significance of this contract is that it is a 'pacesetter' for other industries in the contract struggles to come this year.

The more important long range significance of this contract struggle, however, is that it comes at a time of severe economic crisis when the militancy of workers is rising all over and their minds are wide open to socialism! Especially in this major industrial contract year, the bourgeoisie fear this particular conscious struggle could unleash a whole avalanche of industrial struggles against their rule. They are particularly afraid of the garment workers, who have a proud history of militancy and communist organizing in the industry.

The workers of the needles trade are among the lowest paid industrial workers in the U.S. Their ranks include over 80% working class women, predominantly oppressed nationalities and national minorities. Garment workers have a rich history of resistance against the attacks of the bosses and the treachery of the union misleaders. Militant rank and file workers, at one time under the leadership of the Communist Party of the USA before it went revisionist, have waged tireless struggle for decades against the bosses in order to build up strong garment unions like the ILGWU and the Amalgamated which were later sold out to the bourgeoisie.

COMMUNISTS LED STRUGGLES AGAINST OPPRESSION

The ILGWU began around 1900. International Working Women's Day celebrates the uprising of thousands of Lower East Side NYC women garment workers on March 8, 1908, to demand better conditions and higher wages in the shops. The 1909 shirtwaist makers' strike, the "Uprising of the 20,000," pushed forward a huge organizing drive among the workers in the overcrowded, poorly lit and ventilated, disease-ridden shops of NYC. The next year, a strike of some 60,000 suit and cloakmakers -- "The Great Revolt" -- introduced the sitdown strike weapon to the arsenal of U.S. labor. This strike established the ILGWU nation wide, and the organizing drive reached 100,000 members by 1920.

The struggles in the garment, furriers and hatters trades were all led by Communists during the first half of the 1920's, and some of the proudest struggles of the working class against the brutality and oppression of the bourgeoisie were waged during this period. Everytime the bourgeoisie used the state apparatus or its organized crime and hired goons to try to smash our movement, garment

workers fought on, even more staunch and determined to win. These heroic women and men, almost all recent immigrants to the USA, won the right to organize and strike which we must protect today. They also fought for political rights over the years, against national oppression, and the oppression of women. Garment workers have always been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialist war, taking heart from the great victories of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and all victorious Third World liberation struggles. Today, garment workers are struggling against the bourgeoisie's attacks on what they call "illegal aliens" - workers without immigration papers who are forced by US imperialism from their homeland into the sweatshops of the US to struggle for a living.

Because the ILGWU was led by communists and was in the forefront of the class struggle, it was a prime target for the bourgeoisie. So they brought in one of their henchmen, David Dubinsky, who desperately tried to keep the ILGWU under his thumb for many years. Along with other trade union bureaucrats like Hillman in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, misleaders like Dubinsky used a liberal and "progressive" image to cover up their red-baiting and other tactics to divide and divert our struggle. Under the disguise of "socialism" these misleaders mouthed class struggle, all the while conspiring to kick out the communist leadership by splitting the unity of the working class movement with lies and violence. These traitors robbed the working class of the fruit of our long struggle to build strong trade unions. But the militancy of the garment workers resistance has not been stopped.

The ILGWU sell-out misleadership works actively in the interests of the bourgeoisie. They never enforce the contracts and so minimum wage guarantees are meaningless. Without a strong union in the shops, the bosses are let off the hook and encouraged to drive the workers even harder, to squeeze out every last drop of our sweat and blood.

The ILGWU bureaucrats' chauvinist line of "Buy American" helps the bourgeoisie in its desperate attempt to whip up anti-Third World, pro-war, patriotic chauvinism. Recently, the ILGWU paid thousands to push a chauvinist and anti-working class newspaper and radio campaign which ends:

"We work hard, but who's complaining?
Thanks to the ILG we're paying our way.
So always look for the Union label,
It says we're able to make it in the USA!"

This straight-up imperialist line serves the bosses by covering over the exploitation and oppression by the monopoly capitalists. It pushes the bourgeoisie's line about runaway shops, stirring up divisions between the US working class and the super-exploited workers in oppressed Third World countries. They blame the high unemployment on undocumented workers, so-called "illegal aliens", dividing up our class unity against the real cause of unemployment and all oppression, the rule of the monopoly capitalists!

These trade union bureaucrats push electoral politics and closed negotiations with the bourgeoisie as the main ways to fight the economic crisis. They do everything they can to push these illusions about how to fight. This sets us up for fascist rule, because they tell us to put our faith in bourgeois democracy.

THE BOURGEOISIE USE THEIR LABOR LIEUTENANTS TO WRECK WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The garment industry, especially in women's and children's clothing, yields a profit without a large capital investment in machinery. The bosses use large reserves of unemployed and underemployed workers to superexploit the workers. In this industry, the small-time bosses squeeze every ounce of labor from the super-exploited women and oppressed nationalities and national minorities who work in the shops under the brutal piece-rate system. As among all capitalists, there is sharp competition. In the NY area, there are 863 small contractors for work, 64 large manufacturers and 200 jobbers. This cut-throat competition is over the question of who can squeeze more out of the workers.

of imperialist exploitation around the world and at home.

The bosses alternate between laying off workers for weeks, and then mercilessly driving them to work 70 hours a week during the busy seasons. Because the bosses squeeze so much profit from the workers in this industry, average wages don't even come up to \$100 a week before taxes, not even with the supplemental income from the state which workers had to fight to get.

SUPEREXPLOITATION IN THE INDUSTRY

Many bosses, in order to further intensify super-exploitation, hire undocumented workers and cheat them out of their wages. The bosses hold the "illegal entry" status like a sword over the heads of these workers in order to subjugate them into a state of virtual slave labor.

The bosses exploit the fact that many of the workers don't speak English by setting lower than average piece rates to squeeze as much as possible out of them. They also pit workers of different nationalities against each other by setting different piece rates and pushing national chauvinism. The chauvinist trade union bureaucrats help the bosses divide us up by not fighting to enforce the piece rate standards and minimums equally for workers of all nationalities.

Families are forced to bring in their children to help out. This exploits the labor of the entire family. The bosses only have to pay slightly more for the extra labor power they get from the children. This super-exploitation of the entire family is the cause of poor health and frequent accidents. Because there is no day-care for all working families under

it represents only an immediate 5% wage increase, which doesn't even keep up with the cost of living. The contract doesn't guarantee anything at all. The bosses have already begun cutting the piece rate below the minimum, and the union hasn't fought back at all.

The second aspect of the contract does guarantee something - it guarantees more "productivity" for the bosses. This is speedup, covered over in honey tones like "standard yields," and "share in what's good for the industry." Fact is, under this contract, the union OK's cutting the piece rate when production gets high, but only says "negotiate" when wages fall below the "guaranteed average".

In this industry, whose 1975 profits went up 48% over the year before, the capitalists have the full cooperation of the sellout ILGWU misleadership to increase profits even more by intensifying exploitation of the workers. Both large and small capitalists seek to achieve their competitive goals on the back of our labor which produces all value. Instead of us "paying our way," like the ILGWU jingle says, the capitalists are really stealing theirs! All labor contract negotiations are negotiations to bargain over how much the bosses should exploit us and how much we are willing to be exploited in order to make our living. This new ILGWU contract actually allows the bosses to exploit us more over all.

But the bosses still objected to paying the small wage hikes and thousands of workers walked out together when some shops refused to pay the new rates. The lockout that followed made it clear exactly who the real enemy is. And when the misleaders refused to lead a militant fight against the bosses and denied strike benefits to the workers, they showed clearly whose side they are on. They are out to smother the revolutionary initiative of the working class.



Today, the ILGWU misleadership under Sol Chaikin, a lawyer who never worked a day in his life, misuse the dues of the 420,000 members to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. They try to smash all communist and rank and file attempts to really organize and fight the bourgeoisie. They deny union democracy, maintaining their exclusive rule from the top down and using their goons to "lean on" militant workers who step out of line. The ILGWU misleadership are the same as the bureaucrats in charge of the other unions today. They had the same class basis - the labor aristocracy.

The bourgeoisie calls on this group of labor lieutenants to try to wreck the working class movement from within. These traitors to our class are bought off with the super-profits

capitalism, the garment workers were often forced to bring their kids to work and often the children would get seriously injured by the machines.

SELL-OUT CONTRACT SPURS CLASS STRUGGLE

The ILGWU misleadership have never fought to eliminate these brutal conditions; in fact, the contract they are pushing now intensifies this super exploitation! And the ILGWU bureaucrats join in with the bosses and push the contract as the ideal model for all garment contracts by 1980.

The new agreement - the contract has not yet been approved by the rank and file - has 2 key points. First,

Lenin taught that lockouts, like strikes, are inevitable under the system of monopoly capitalism. Speaking of our tasks as communists in developing the class consciousness of the workers through struggle, he said:

"Lockouts are caused by a sharpening of the struggle, and in their turn, sharpen that struggle. Rallying in the struggle and developing its class-consciousness, its organization and experiences in that struggle, the proletariat becomes more and more firmly convinced that the complete economic reconstruction of capitalist society is essential."

("Forms of the Working Class Movement", Lenin, Lenin on Trade Unions, p.272-73)

SPORTS & CLASS STRUGGLE

What can we learn about imperialism and socialism from some basketball games, two young gymnasts, some ice dancers and acrobatic bears?

The growing danger of world imperialist war and the rise of the revolutionary tide against all imperialism affect every aspect of our lives, including sports and culture. The "politicians of detente" use the exchange of culture and friendship between the people of the world to cover up their imperialist schemes. Recent sports events between socialist China and the US help to give us a better idea of what sports are like for the people in a socialist society. At the same time, during the Olympics and in every exchange with the Soviet Union, we can see the big differences between true socialist culture and the revisionist trash now being hustled by the Soviet social-imperialists.

Last December, the National Women's Basketball Team of the People's Republic of China toured the U.S. in a series of matches with college teams here, to promote the friendship between the peoples of our two countries.

As with all sports in New China, the revolutionary political line of "friendship first, competition second" was in command. The Chinese players demonstrated their deep grasp of revolutionary politics along with some super ballhandling and dazzling team and one-on-one play. They applauded the other teams' goals, and stopped the games frequently to assist their opponents when collisions occurred. The U.S. teams seemed awkward when they tried to return the friendship, but by the end of the games it seemed as if they were making a real effort to learn new things from their Chinese friends.

This sportsmanship of the Chinese team was probably new to a lot of us, who have grown up watching the NBA Playoffs. As everybody knows, sports under capitalism stress winning and breakneck competition, individual talent, skill and "glory". But the differences between the Chinese and U.S. sports aren't due to the difference between Chinese and American culture, but to the different social and economic systems in the two countries: socialism and capitalism.

ETHICS OF CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST SPORTS

Sports under capitalism reflect the brutal competition of capitalism itself. Riots in soccer stadiums, violent games of hockey and football, and boos from the stands are common features of capitalist sports.

The bourgeoisie pushes professional sports careers, as a high-paid way out of oppression, as an individual escape and diversion from the class struggle. They push it on to the working class youth and especially on Afro-Americans, oppressed nationalities and national minorities.

The bourgeoisie spends millions on professional sports promotion, as they puff up their high-priced sports "heroes" on TV commercials, radio and in the news. Under capitalism, peo-



OUTDOOR TABLE TENNIS FACILITIES IN CHANGTIEN PROMOTE PHYSICAL FITNESS AND DISCOURAGE BOURGEOIS COMPETITION AND PETTY RIVALRY

ple are supposed to watch the "heroes" but never take part ourselves.

And in fact, it's almost impossible for most people to take part in sports, even if we want to. The best fields, pools and courts are all in the big universities, private clubs or the professional stadiums.

So the kids end up playing in the streets and alleys, and older people end up overweight and out of shape.

Competition, money, individual "heroes", but no sports for the masses. It's no accident that sports and sportsmanship turn out this way under capitalism.

In class society, everything people do and think is stamped with the brand of a class. Every class develops its ideology from its class interests and uses that ideology to serve those interests. And this goes for all realms of ideology, including culture, morals and the ethics of sportsmanship. Engels wrote this about morals:

"...men, consciously or unconsciously, derive their moral ideas in the last resort from the practical relations on which their class position is based -- from the economic relations in which they carry on production and exchange."
(Anti-Duhring, Engels, 1878)

And Lenin said:

"We reject any morality based on extra-human and extra-class concepts. We say that this is deception, dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists." ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, 1920)

In every class society divided into oppressors and oppressed, the dominant ideology and culture belong to the ruling classes. But there are also the beginnings or kernels of the culture of the oppressed classes.

"The elements of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in every national culture, since in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But every nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form not merely of 'elements', but of the dominant culture ... In advancing the slogan of 'the international culture of democracy and of the world working-class movement', we take from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements; we take them only and absolutely in opposition to the bourgeois culture and the bourgeois nationalism of each nation." ("Critical Remarks on the National Question", Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 20, 1913)

Under capitalism, the elements or kernels of proletarian ideology, culture, morals, ethics, etc. are always strangled and smothered under the dominant bourgeois ideology. They can never grow and develop fully under capitalism.

This is why the cut-throat competition, personal achievement and ambition of the Wall Street business executive inevitably prevails in capitalist sports.

The ideological superstructure includes theories and ideas as well as ethics, morals, traditions, etc. The realm of ethics is one aspect of the ideological superstructure. It constitutes the criteria for people's conduct in a given society and for a definite class.

Ethical criteria and their application in practice are different from the law, which is backed by force. Ethics have no such direct forcible backing, but are enforced by social opinion, people's beliefs and traditions.

Ethics exist within the realm of morality, such as good and bad, honest and dishonest, right and wrong, etc. They have the social function of influencing, judging and restricting people's actions.

In socialist New China today, hundreds of millions of people take part in sports. Sports are organized everywhere, in the factories, communities and schools. Young and old, men and women all exercise regularly, play basketball, ping-pong, gymnastics, and practice the traditional Chinese martial arts.

In China, people don't engage in sports to "wipe out" the other player or team. Of course, this doesn't mean that people don't try hard or try to do well, and develop skills and technique. Many of us have seen the excellent gymnasts and ping-pong players who have toured the U.S.

But it does mean that they oppose all bourgeois competition and rivalry that breeds individualism and disunity among the masses. In China, sports do just the opposite. They

help develop the spirit of friendship, comradeship, cooperation and collectivism among the proletariat and the masses. "Friendship first, competition second". This is putting revolutionary politics in command in sports and not money or winning.

Sports under socialism become a weapon in the hands of the people, promoting the overall health and unity of the masses needed to build socialism, not competition and "heroes". Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, sports help to strengthen the "perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will" that the masses need in their struggle against bourgeois ideology and capitalist restoration. ("Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder", Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, 1920)

This promotion of sports and physical fitness among the masses in China, and the sportsmanship shown by the Chinese basketball team, are an integral part of proletarian ethics and morals, which serve the working class struggle:

"We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle. Our morality stems from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat." ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, 1920)

Proletarian ethics are historically the highest form of ethics and are diametrically opposed to the ethics of the exploiting classes. They are built on the foundation of communism, on the foundation of struggle. Their essential characteristic is collectivism.

Proletarian ethics demand the abolition of class oppression. They seek to unite the working masses against the bourgeoisie. An instrument for the elimination of exploitation and for liberation, communist morality is proletarian morality, and it develops through the class struggle.

Communist morality and ethics demand that we uphold proletarian internationalism. They demand that we wholeheartedly serve the people, love labor, work for world revolution, defy all difficulties, persist in the philosophy of struggle, and dare to go against the tide.

Even under socialism, with the proletariat in state power, these communist ethics and morals develop very slowly. It's an uphill fight against all the old capitalist ideology, habits and traditions. These old traditions of competition, individualism, etc. are very deep and for a long time they are stronger than the new proletarian ethics.

"...for some time after the revolution traces of the old ethics will inevitably predominate over the young shoots of the new. When the new has just been born the old always remains stronger than it for some time; this is always the case in nature and in social life. Jeering at the feebleness of the young shoots of the new order, cheap skepticism of the intellectuals and the like -- these are, essentially, methods of bourgeois class struggle against the proletariat, a defence of capitalism against socialism. We must carefully study the feeble new shoots, we must devote the greatest attention to them, do everything to promote their growth and 'nurse' them. Some of them will inevitably

perish. ... The point is to foster each and every shoot of the new; and life will select the most viable." ("A Great Beginning", Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 29, 1919)

The experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has shown that these new shoots, the "socialist new things", have to be protected and developed through the whole period of socialism. Only through this decades-long struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, can these shoots of proletarian ethics and culture grow and eventually take firm root and dominate.

SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST SPORTS

Like the dollar in the U.S., today the ruble is in command in the Soviet Union. The working class is no longer the master of the country. The Soviet Union has turned back from a socialist country into a state monopoly capitalist, social-imperialist power. Production and profits are in command, not revolutionary politics.

Like every imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism rots inside, producing cultural and moral decay. The Soviet rulers do everything they can to breed bourgeois culture. Fashion shows, Western bourgeois movies and cultural "chic" have all invaded the Soviet Union at the invitation of the revisionist rulers. Brezhnev personally loves movie-star "cowboys" like Chuck Connors. And this cultural decay shows up in a thousand different ways.

The same degeneration happens in sports. Olga Korbut, the Soviet Olympic gymnast and darling of the capitalist and revisionist press, has publicly stated that "politics bores me to tears" and that her ambition in life is "to be a movie star." Compare that with 13-year old Liu Ya-Chun from socialist China, who writes of her love of working hard to entertain and inspire the masses of the world and to win respect for socialism.

Her goals: to develop sports in China, to serve the people in sports, as well as in production, and ideological and armed struggle. Since the masses admire sports champions, such a champion as Liu Ya-Chun is poison to the bourgeoisie, while one like Korbut further serves to poison the working class with the capitalist ideology of "do your own thing" and "leave politics to the politicians."

Violence is also on the rise in Soviet sports. Soviet soccer stadiums today require hundreds of guards to prevent murderous riots after a "home team" has lost a match, just like the stadiums in western capitalist countries.

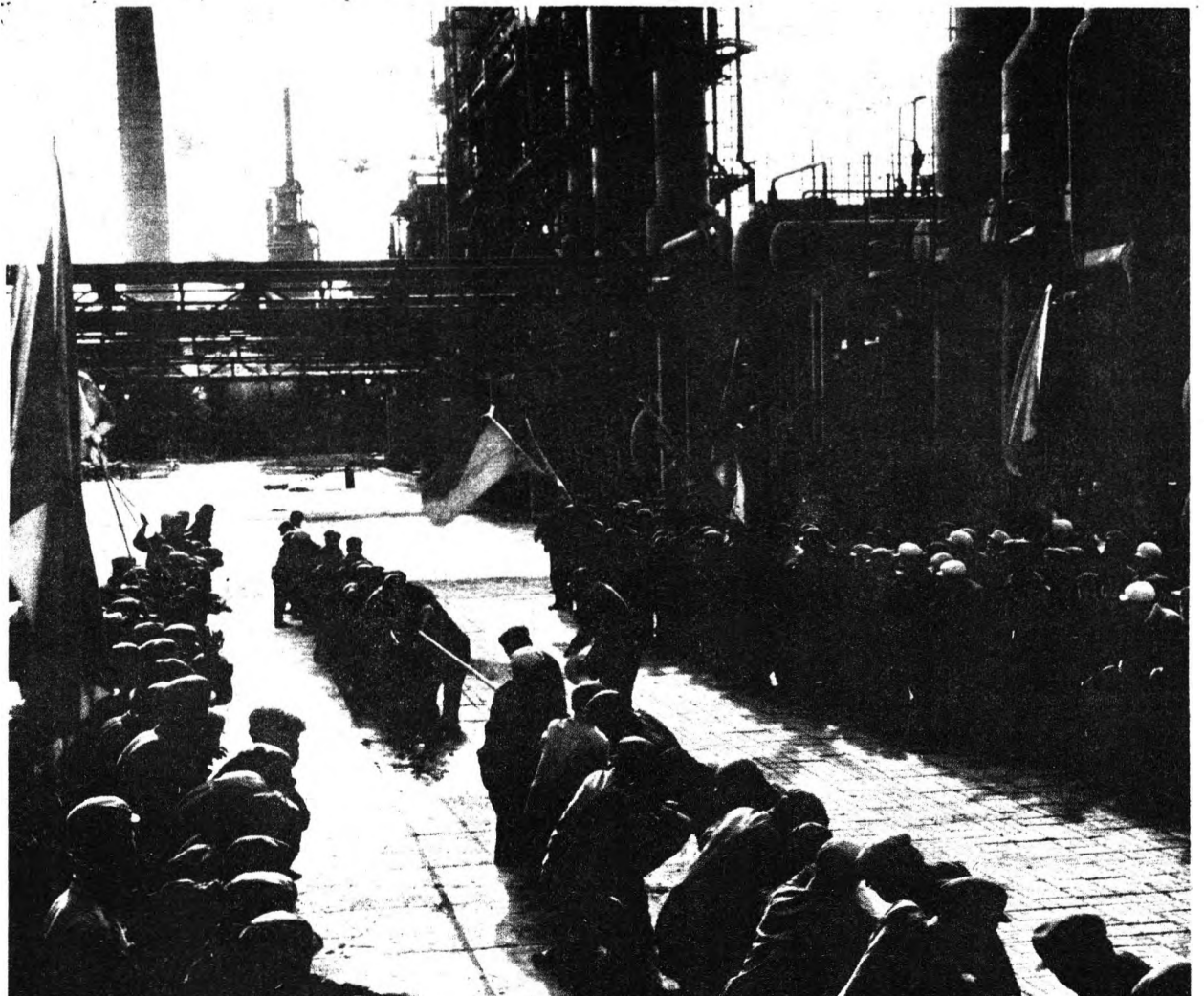
The recent Soviet Army hockey tour to the U.S. and Canada was marked by increased violence on the part of the Soviet players in response to the typical U.S. capitalist violent brand of hockey. After the bloody loss to the Philadelphia Flyers, the Soviet coach implied that the only reason his players didn't hit the U.S. bullies harder was that they had to save themselves for the Winter Olympics. Here again, only the won-lost record matters, and not the politics of friendship. This is "production in command" in sports.

This kind of violence is not revolutionary, because it is among the people, and not directed against the bourgeoisie. Like all sports, soccer and hockey should be games of skill, not brutality, games that build up the people's spirit and unity.

The recent Olympics showed us the "gentle" side of the new capitalists' culture. The Soviet ice dancing teams didn't at all reflect the steel-will of the masses in struggle and the true equality of the sexes which we must strive for under socialism. Instead, their gold medal-winning performances featured every sort of decadent and degrading bump wink and giggle that we are accustomed to see in a bourgeois burlesk show.

Such admiration for bourgeois decadence and the emphasis on doing

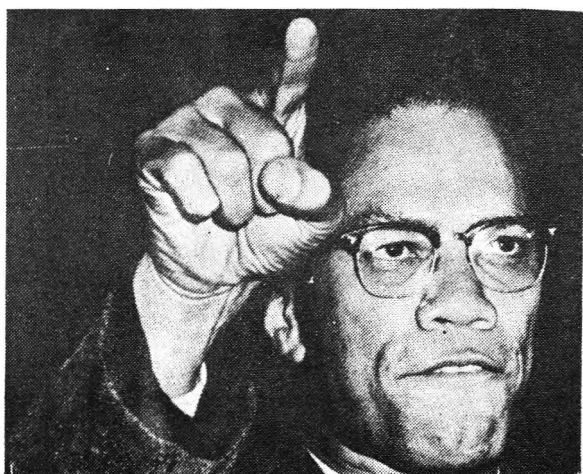
SPORTS CONTINUED ON P.20.



SPORTS EITHER SERVES THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND GLORIFIES THE INDIVIDUAL, OR IT SERVES THE WORKING CLASS AND BENEFITS THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE. WORKERS ENGAGE IN COOPERATION AND COLLECTIVISM IN SOCIALIST CHINA, BOTH IN PRODUCTION AND RECREATION

FORWARD!

IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF MALCOLM X



"FIERCELY BROWED, I COOLLY DEFY A
THOUSAND POINTED FINGERS,
HUMBLY BOWED, I SERVE THE CHILDREN
LIKE AN OX"

- LU HSUN

Eleven years after his assassination, Malcolm X continues to live on in the hearts of the masses of oppressed people as a shining example in the long history of struggle waged by Afro-Americans against national oppression, racist discrimination and violent suppression.

Exactly because of this popularity among the masses, the ruling class -- the enemies of Malcolm, especially those inside the Afro-American community -- must pay lip service to his memory. Many "tributes" are paid to him this time of year; the Nation of Islam recently saw fit to name their Harlem mosque after him. The ruling class even allows the reading of his autobiography to take place inside the schools. It was not always like this!

"During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time emasculating the essence of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*, FLPH, 1973, p. 5)

It is precisely this type of "respect" that the ruling class now gives Malcolm. In order to undercut the revolutionary spirit of the working class, the ruling class and the revisionists distort the history of Malcolm to imply that he was, in the last years of his life, changing his revolutionary views after his visits to the Middle East and Africa in the early 1960's. They try to say that he was becoming "less radical" because he no longer saw the struggle as one of "Blacks against whites," that he was no longer ad-

vocating freedom by any means necessary, including violence and instead was "coming to his senses." In fact, the opposite is true. Malcolm was broadening and enriching his thinking and steadily moving to the point where he understood capitalism and imperialism as the root of all the evils suffered by the oppressed peoples the world over, especially the Afro-American peoples.

Malcolm waged his early struggles against racist discrimination and oppression from within the Black Muslim movement. Yet, the incorrect element was that this struggle took the form of attacks on the "white man" and was also cloaked in the religion Islam.

This is an important lesson of the Marxist teaching on "appearance and essence." Chairman Mao teaches us that appearance is only the threshold to the essence of the matter. The appearance of some spontaneous struggles of the working class may be economic demands within the framework of trade unions, or they may be spontaneous nationalist demands, but the real content, the essence, of these struggles may be for the abolition of classes themselves. The appearance of Malcolm's struggles was Islam and revolutionary nationalism, the essence of his struggles in the final analysis was actually class struggles for the overthrow of monopoly capitalism.

Malcolm X was above anything else a true revolutionary totally dedicated to struggle. His fighting spirit consistently led him forward to the most advanced and militant solutions to the suffering of Afro-Americans.

Blinded by their labor aristocratic chauvinism and petty bourgeois hatred for revolutionary struggle, the revisionist "C" PUSA had no such understanding of the revolutionary essence of the national form. For these reasons, the revisionist "C" PUSA went so far as to call Malcolm a "cop" for the militant demands he put forward and for the revolutionary insights and ideological vigilance he possessed in cutting through all that was philistine and deceptive.

The bourgeois liberals, revisionists -- all hated him for his critical and combative spirit and mind, which made him an advanced element of our people, though he was not a communist at that time. Because of the state of the communist movement at that time, because the "C" P had fully degenerated, turned into its opposite, abandoned the working class and all the oppressed, and was busy chasing after Kennedy as the "most reasonable man" and the "A-Ban" treaty to sell out national liberation struggles around the

world -- because of all these betrayals, it was natural that there was no fusion between the spontaneous national movements and communism.

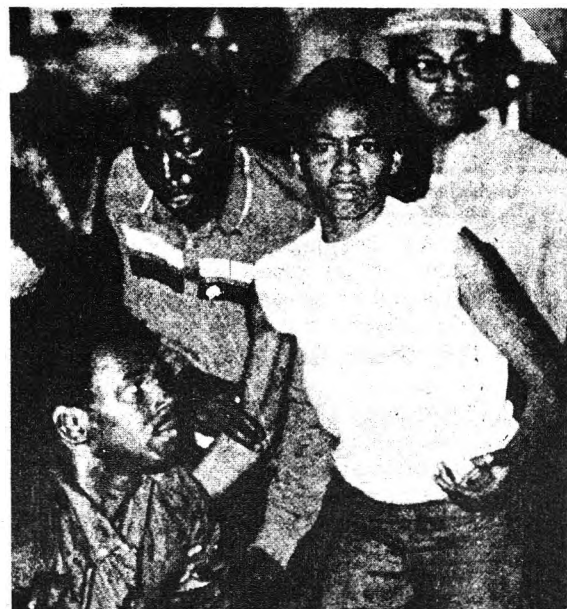
In the absence of Marxist-Leninist theory, the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities pick up anything around them that can be used in the struggle against oppression. Even religion, for example, which is used to dope the revolutionary spirit of the masses, was seized on as a primitive weapon in the class struggle. That happened in the past, and today, there is the religion of Islam. That's why Karl Marx said, "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress."

We even take the bourgeoisie's own declarations for 'human rights' and equality (which they put forward against the old feudal classes) to demand these same rights for ourselves:

"From the moment when the bourgeois demand for abolition of class privileges was put forward, alongside of it appeared the proletarian demand for the abolition of classes themselves - at first in religious form, basing itself on primitive Christianity and later drawing support from the bourgeois equalitarian theories themselves." (Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, International Publishers, 1972, p. 117)

For Malcolm X the early Black Muslim movement presented itself as the only revolutionary solution to the oppression of the most oppressed sectors of the Afro-American people. The "Communist" Party USA had ceased to be a revolutionary party and could give no direction to the erupting Afro-American struggle. From the start Malcolm was part of the militant movement at the time:

AFRO-AMERICANS RESIST AGAINST
NATIONAL OPPRESSION
- HARLEM, 1964



"For one thing, one of the primary ingredients in the complete civil rights struggle was the Black Muslim movement...it talked such a strong talk that it put the other Negro organizations on the spot. Before the Black Muslim movement came along, the NAACP was looked on as a radical..." (Malcolm X Speaks)

MALCOLM WAS NOT FOOLED BY THE BOURGEOISIE'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

In early 1964, Malcolm was forced to leave the Nation of Islam, which he joined in 1952 and helped build into a national organization. He was silenced as their spokesman for describing the assassination of John F. Kennedy as a case of "chickens coming home to roost." JFK, of course, was being played up as a liberal friend of the Afro-American people who supported civil rights. Malcolm's statement, which linked the assassination to the growing contradictions in America, was seen as "cold." But Malcolm saw little difference between the so-called liberals and the out-and-out racists; he only saw differences as the "expediency of politicians". He correctly linked this "new approach" to the international situation where he saw American imperialism under Kennedy switching from the "old openly colonial imperialism approach".

"JFK also saw that it was necessary for a new approach among the American Negroes. And during his entire term in office, he specialized in how to psyche the American Negro... Kennedy's new approach was pretending to go along with us in our struggle for civil rights. (Malcolm X Speaks, p.172-3)

Malcolm saw through the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 as being merely part of this "new approach."

"In 1963, it was the march on Washington; in 1964, what was it? The Civil Rights Bill. Right after they passed the Civil Rights Bill, they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the Civil Rights Bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems." (Malcolm X Speaks, p.151)

So thoroughly revolutionary was his thinking, so clear was his outlook, that he was able to see through all the tricks, twists and turns the ruling class uses to divert the people's struggle.

Today, the ruling class continues to use these liberal tactics, like forced busing and community control, to split up or divert the people's struggle. And there are those like the October League today who call themselves Marxist-Leninists (and as M-Ls we are supposed to be the most clear-headed and consistent revolutionaries) but who instead are so hypnotized by illusions of "democratic reforms" that they can't see these tactics for what they are! Malcolm X's view in the early 60's clearly put these "communists" to shame.

Revisionists, passing as Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, sought to destroy the movement from within. Yet, in this period, the liberation movements of Afro-Americans and other

minorities were so strong that by virtue of their inherent strength, they smashed the "integrationist" and "gradualistic" strategies of the revisionist "Communist Party, U.S.A. The "Communist Party's" correct political line of the 1930's on "equal rights" and "right of self-determination" of Afro-Americans in the black belt south had long before soured to a reflection of the liberal politicians' view. Under that given situation, there's no doubt that Malcolm's leadership was the best leadership available.



IN SAN FRANCISCO, DOCKWORKERS AND SUPPORTERS PROTESTED UNLOADING OF ASBESTOS AND OTHER MATERIALS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

CHAIRMAN MAO'S STATEMENT CONFIRMS

THE CORRECTNESS OF MALCOLM'S STAND

Malcolm was clear. When we compare his view on the Afro-American struggle to those of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's, we can see why Malcolm was becoming more and more dangerous to the ruling class.

Chairman Mao said:

"The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the constant sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasingly grave anxiety to the U.S. ruling clique. The Kennedy administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against and persecution of Negroes; it even sends troops to repress them. On the other hand, it is parading as an advocate of the "defense of human rights" and the "protection of the civil rights of Negroes," is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and is proposing to Congress so-called "civil rights legislation," in an attempt to numb the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country. However, these tactics of the Kennedy Administration are being seen through by more and more of the Negroes. The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad. ("Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle" Mao, 1963)

The essence of Malcolm X's view was developing very close to this great Marxist-Leninist's view in 1963.

Malcolm's scope continued to grow. In 1964, he participated in the "African Summit" -- the second meeting of the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity which had been formed in 1963. There he presented the case of Afro-Americans in the form of a resolution that was later passed in support of the struggle here. Earlier that year the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was patterned after the OAU, was formed under his leadership to organize a new non-religious, political movement among Afro-Americans.

Malcolm X consistently saw the Afro-American struggle as part of the revolutionary upsurge around the world. For years he had drawn strength from the national liberation movements. In his last formal speech, he characterized the situation this way:

"We are living in an era of revolution and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against oppression that has characterized this era... "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter. (Malcolm X Speaks, p.217)

Malcolm's spirit of revolt will always represent the stance that the revolutionary masses must constantly raise up. At particular points in time, it always takes mass leaders like Malcolm to help advance the overall struggle of the oppressed, to get down to and better grasp the historical tasks. The history of the masses' struggle determines that the forms of the resistance movements, the revolt of the "field niggers" of the peasants and workers, of the wage-slaves, of oppressed nationalities and national minorities, will many times fly under the banner of nationalism. In the U.S., the rich and varied movements spoke of "black power", of the identity with slavery and the black belt south, of ties with Africa, Mexico, the Caribbean and Asia, of the oppression of all immigrant nationalities and national minorities. This has been true because of 200 years of national oppression in the U.S. Spontaneously developed revolutionary nationalism and national movements, when correctly directed at the imperialists and moving toward working class leadership and Marxism-Leninism are definitely a powerful motive force of history.

Eleven years later Malcolm X is remembered by the masses of people as a revolutionary hero. That's why the ruling class now has to resort to its other tactic, its other approach. They're pretending to go along with Malcolm, trying to make him their own! They're still trying desperately to kill Malcolm and the example he set for us!

So great is their fear of the Afro-American and other oppressed nationality and national minority people's struggles! So great is their fear of the militant unity of the American people and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America! So great is their fear of the revolutionary, multi-national unity of the American working class! So great is their fear of revolution! ■

THE SPIRIT OF MALCOLM X LIVES!

GUN CONTROL - A STEP TOWARD FASCISM



HARRIET TUBMAN, WHO FOUGHT IN AND LED NUMEROUS MILITARY BATTLES, TOOK UP ARMED STRUGGLE TO FREE HER PEOPLE.

World-wide and at home, the working class and its allies are rising up against oppression and exploitation at the hands of the monopoly capitalists. As the capitalist crisis deepens everywhere, the monopoly capitalists (bourgeoisie) step up their preparations for war abroad and for controlling uprisings at home. In the Congress and in newspapers, on T.V. and radio, bourgeois politicians are all preparing for gun control: the bourgeoisie's attempt to take from us one of the necessary weapons of our liberation.

Gun control is an important step toward fascist rule - the total and naked repression by force of the working class by a monopoly capitalist class. In the U.S., the working class is struggling to smash all bourgeois rule, "democratic" or fascist, and to build socialism. Revolution means war, and, just as in war, we need a general staff to lead us. That is why the principal task in the U.S. today for communists and the working class is the struggle to build a new communist party, an advanced organization of the working class to lead us in overthrowing monopoly capitalism and building socialism.

What we want to build, however, is an anti-revisionist party which fully grasps and grasps tightly the understanding on the nature of the state. Revisionist parties either believe in "peaceful transition to socialism" or have a "maybe, maybe not" attitude towards the armed repression by the state. Or else they agree in principle but don't practice Marxism on this question, which has historically served as the watershed between Marxists and revisionists. Lenin characterized these revisionists as those who are afraid of sharp turns of events and disbelieve in them. For Communists, the only question is when.

The struggle over which direction our party will lead us is crucial, but one thing about that direction is clear: the capitalist class, the Rockefellers and the Kennedys, will never go down peacefully. If the company bosses will shoot down workers who are on strike, they will definitely shoot down any workers who want to confiscate their property and seize state power. If the government will use the police and national guard against demonstrations revolts for civil rights, and general strikes, they will definitely use all their armed forces against uprisings and insurrections for socialism. They know that if they finished.

But everyday working people - especially oppressed nationalities and oppressed national minorities - face the violence of the government - police, courts, jails, army, FBI, etc. - the bourgeois state apparatus. Throughout our history, the working class has had to protect itself against a brutal state which destroys our right to a decent life: the armed struggles against the ruling class at Attica and Wounded Knee, against police brutality in national minority neighborhoods (Fred Hampton died fighting an army of police) armed defense of the miners' strikes, are just a few recent examples.

FOLLOW LENIN'S TEACHINGS ON ARMED STRUGGLE

We understand the need to arm the entire working class, not just a few headline-seeking "terrorists" like the S.L.A. and Patty Hearst, who are built up by the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois press pushes as "revolutionaries" these small bands of terrorists who are divorced from the masses, but we must grasp the correct revolutionary line on armed struggle. Marxist-Leninists must follow the path of Lenin, who wrote during World War I:

A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest fundamental, and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society... An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle... (Therefore) to "demand" disarmament (read: gun control)... is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. ("The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 23, p. 80-1.)

We must use this teaching to grasp the correct position on gun control and to smash all incorrect stands put out by the bourgeoisie and all its agents in our ranks.

WHY THE "LIBERALS" PUSH GUN CONTROL

Before the 1960's, there was little gun control in most of the country. New York had the strictest law, called the Sullivan Act, which kept anyone except the bosses and their agents, the police, from owning a handgun. Meanwhile, large areas in the South and West had no gun control laws at all, except for the Federal laws against arms like cannons and bazookas.

What really gave gun control a big push was that between 1966 and 1968, the bourgeoisie was faced with mass, armed rebellions in the Afro-American communities of Detroit, Watts, Philadelphia, Harlem, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. Ex-attorney general Robert Kennedy, whose own assassination the bourgeoisie later exploited in order to win over the undecided Midwest liberals who were blocking gun control, urged that "we must take away these tools of the urban rioters." All the time that they were trying to make like they were protecting us, they were really only worried about their own property and keeping their factories and cities running smoothly!

Then the rush of political assassinations in the 1960's provided a convenient cover for the bourgeoisie, led by Johnson, Rockefeller, Kennedy, Dodd and Tydings - to push for a stiff national gun control law which would supposedly take all arms away from the "civilian population" or make them register with the police if they wanted to keep, say, hunting rifles. Very clearly, they saw the rising trend toward mass armed resistance to oppression, the inevitable post-war economic crisis, and all those guns around for the asking, and decided that they'd better do something quickly!

The bourgeoisie takes the genuine mass demand for an end to crime and violence and uses it to hide the real cause of crime - their rule of monopoly capital - which exploits people to such desperation that they are driven to rip off their class brothers and sisters. So the ruling class passes laws like the gun control act in the 1968 Omnibus Crime Control Bill which bans the interstate mail-order sale of all guns, the "Saturday Night Special," and the importation of assembled guns. Gun parts can still be bought but the bourgeoisie is now trying to ban that, as well as ammo sales.

Instead of controlling crime, however, laws like these are the first steps in a scheme to actually disarm the working class, leaving us unprotected against the capitalists.

Recently, Ford and Attorney General Levi have been pushing total disarming of the people in 11 major cities, making it clear just who the bourgeoisie really wants to disarm: the urban working class, mainly Afro-American, Latin and other oppressed nationalities and national minorities

Now that gun control has clearly become part of the bourgeois plan to smash revolution, there are no less than 120 various gun control bills waiting in Congress, with hundreds more in every state house around the country. The recent Massachusetts

state gun control law was praised all over by the bourgeoisie as the "strictest gun control law of any state." But they can't rely on getting state laws passed, so they won't stop pushing for a Federal law to centralize and streamline their control over our weapons. Combined with other plans like the S-1 Bill, arrests without a warrant, "preventive action" by agents infiltrating workers and communist organizations, beefing up the police forces, arming fascists and at the same time disarming the working class, the bourgeoisie is clearly getting ready for fascist rule.

THE BOURGEOISIE ARMS THE FASCISTS- TRIES TO DISARM OUR CLASS

We stand for the armed self-defense of the working class and oppose the use of guns to exploit and oppress us. There is a big difference between the armed violence we use to defend the rights of workers and the violence the bourgeoisie uses to dictate over us. The bourgeoisie try to make it sound like they would disarm all political groups from Communists to the John Birch Society, but we know that all the while they're disarming the working class, the bourgeoisie is arming their fascist gangs like the KKK and the Minutemen to the teeth! In fact, in 1968, it came out that all this time the Army had been giving free guns, ammo, and training to hundreds of civilian groups. You can be sure these groups weren't training their sights on the bourgeoisie. Recently there was a bill in Congress to replace these Army programs with public rifle ranges, complete with government instructors. Nassau County outside of New York City plans to set one up. Under the disguise of "public safety in hunting", the bourgeoisie seeks to use these ranges, set up outside large industrial areas or cities, to train more efficient fascist gangs. Although for now the working class can use them too, under fascist rule or with stronger gun control, only the fascists will be able to train at these ranges.

Even though the "gun lobby" -- mainly the National Rifle Association and other right-wing fascist organizations, along with the arms manufacturers -- oppose gun control, they do not do so because they are on the side of the working class. In fact, the gun dealers pimp off the sufferings of the working class, providing arms mainly to the army, police and fascist governments abroad, and to the sector of society -- the lumpen ("broken" or declassed) proletariat -- which lives by ripping off the working class. Under fascism, the bourgeoisie, through the Mafia and other elements of organized crime, the labor aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie, organizes these pimps and hustlers into their roving gangs to put down any working class uprising.

The lobbyists may fight the liberals' argument that gun control will "stop crime" but their "solution" to crime is more police repression against the working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and stiffer jail sentences and more death sentences for "criminals."

FIRMLY GRASP MARX'S AND LENIN'S TEACHINGS ON THE STATE

To not grasp this question tightly is not to grasp it at all. The bourgeois state apparatus, Marx and Lenin taught, is the instrument which the bourgeoisie uses to oppress the workers. The bourgeois state can never be "neutral"; it always works

for the ruling class. And the "democratic" form of the bourgeois state (bourgeois democracy) is the most efficient, "best political shell" in which the oppression and violence of capitalism can be hidden. The U.S.A. is history's most developed example of bourgeois democracy. Just recently, for example, Rep. Murphy (D-NY) said, in defense of his gun control bills, that the "purpose of government is to allow the individual to live freely, to do for him what he cannot do for himself." The bourgeoisie, ever since the Declaration of Independence (and earlier) has used lies like this to cover up the real truth about their rule.

Lots of gun control groups are coming out now, filling the press and TV with lullabys about non-violence under capitalism. Listen to this recent example from the head of the National Council to Control Handguns: "I cannot buy the need for the most free country in the world to be armed against ourselves and to always fight violence with violence." This garbage tries to make us forget that violence is always there for the bourgeoisie to use, and they use it regularly, most often against the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and always in the name of "democracy". The bourgeoisie finds itself driven sooner or later to use naked terror in order to smash proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie, in order to survive, must show its true face.

The liberal tactics of the bourgeoisie dictate that they must try to put off the use of open terroristic rule for as long as possible and try to rule by granting "concessions," through subterfuges, and by deluding us into thinking we're being helped when we're actually being shafted. They either try to put everyone to sleep with pie-in-the-sky dreams of "democracy" and "moral promises" or they create divisions within the ranks of the working class with their court-ordered busing schemes, welfare forced-work programs and cutbacks, etc. In order to divide the class they must rely on their petty-bourgeois community misleaders and the "labor aristocracy" in the leadership of the trade unions. The gun control bill sells us anti-crime, but in essence is meant to disarm us. The forced busing plans sell us equal education for all, but only divide us with racial violence. The same thing goes for school "decentralization," welfare "reform," social "service" bills, and tax "rebates." They always say that this or that reform will help us, when in reality, the only ones being helped are themselves -- to better exploit our labor!

Just as they did for Hitler fascism in Germany, the liberal bourgeoisie of every country have always played a cover-up role for the sneaking-in of fascism. Unlike German fascism, however, American fascism "tries to portray itself as the custodian of the constitution and 'American democracy.'" (Dimitroff, On the United Front, Proletarian Publishers, p. 41) The liberals' role is to lay the groundwork: getting people's hopes up with all sorts of reforms and subterfuges and disarming the masses. These all make it easier for the bourgeoisie to impose their fascist rule on us. Because of this, the liberals are more dangerous than those who come out openly against gun control. This is the lesson we must learn about reforms like gun control.

REVISIONISTS DISTORT THE TRUTH ABOUT BOURGEOIS RULE

We know the correct stand on armed struggle and the bourgeois state. What about the incorrect stand taken by the revisionists and Trotskyites -- agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

The "C" PUSA and the Socialist Workers Party peddle lies about a "peaceful transition" to socialism, about how we can "vote socialism in" and "nationalize" the big industries without first smashing the capitalist state. These traitors to the working class, along with the October League and others, march in Boston to demand that the National Guard -- the capitalists' own troops! -- "protect" Afro-American people against violent attacks. The "C" PUSA and Trotskyites also told us that President Allende could make a "revolution" for the people in Chile by "voting it in" and hoping that the capitalists in Congress and the US-trained and supplied army would remain neutral or even defend the workers, whom Allende himself had disarmed by law! Today, because they were disarmed by the revisionists, the blood of the Chilean working class runs in the streets under the military fascist dictatorship set up by the US to overthrow Allende's government.

Revisionists clearly distort what Marx and Lenin taught, that the bourgeois state constantly uses armed force to oppress the working class, and that we must organize to smash it with our own armed might. Every party which calls itself Communist must put this understanding into practice. The Communist Party of Indonesia, at the time the largest outside of China, was virtually wiped out along with millions of workers during the CIA-backed coup in 1967. Those who survived concluded that their big mistake was to have had illusions about the "dual nature of the state," that the bourgeoisie could be "used" by the working class instead of seeing the necessity to smash it. Let us learn from these mistakes of our class brothers and sisters. Oppose this deadly line now peddled by the social-imperialist Soviet Union and their lackeys, the "C" PUSA!

As Lenin said, "The necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with this and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of all the teachings of Marx and Engels." (State and Revolution, emphasis in original)

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM
IS A LIFE-AND-DEATH STRUGGLE!

POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE
BARREL OF A GUN!

FIGHT FOR WORKERS' RIGHT TO
ORGANIZED ARMED SELF DEFENSE!

DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF OPPRESSED NATION-
ALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES TO
ORGANIZED ARMED SELF DEFENSE!

SMASH THE GUN CONTROL BILLS!

GUNS DON'T CAUSE CRIME-CAPITALISM
DOES; FIGHT TO END ALL CRIMES
AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS!

WORKERS VIEWPOINT is the political organ of a communist org'n. The theory guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. We view ourselves as a part of the general communist movement in the U.S. and look forward to uniting with other communist organizations on the basis of a common program, strategy, tactics and organizational principles. We view the present tasks of our movement as the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the linking up of the working class movement with the communist movement to help build an anti-revisionist communist party in the United States.

We welcome your suggestions and criticisms. Also, if you would like to support us financially, be placed on our mailing list, or receive additional copies of our newspaper (25¢) or our journal (\$1) please write to us. Address to:

WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION
c/o 43 West 28th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001

DEGENERATE CULTURE & THE WOMEN'S QUESTION

FASCISM AND THE WOMEN'S QUESTION

The exploitation and oppression of women is an integral part of class oppression. It is one of the indispensable foundations of private-property society. Under moribund, decaying monopoly-capitalism, this exploitation of working class women has intensified:

"Modern capitalism, while freely exploiting women in industry at sweated rates so far as it has use for their labor, kicks the remainder out of industry...bidding them become dependent on male wage-earners and thus save its total bill for wages or unemployment relief, and at the same time calls on them to perform their service in producing plenty of recruits for the increasing needs of the slaughterhouses of imperialist war. This is the viewpoint of modern capitalism in extreme decay, or Fascism, on the role of women." (R. Palme Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution, Proletarian Publishers, 1974, p. 242)

On the ideological level, to justify their immoral acts, the fascists will raise cries of:

"Back to the home! Back to economic dependence on marriage as the sole career for women! Cut down women's education! Expel women from employment and give the jobs to men! Back to pots and pans! Produce more cannon-fodder for war! Back to kitchen-slavery! This is the line of Fascism on the women's question." (Ibid., p. 241)

These all sound very familiar because the bourgeoisie has used the cultural front (through TV, movies, books, songs, etc.) to bombard us with such reactionary garbage.

PORNOGRAPHY

The rash of pornography sweeping the country clearly degrades women. Spreading male supremacist ideas among the working class, it splits our movement and demoralizes our class. It keeps us so preoccupied with sex that we must abandon our class struggle. Such films and literature are actively defended by ACLU-type liberals (American Civil Liberties Union) under the sham of "freedom of speech." Today the degeneration has reached such an extreme that pornography is linked with sadism. We get trash like "Snuff," which is an open and violent attack on women's lives and is being pushed on the masses using an imperialist pitch: "nowhere but in South America could such a film be made." We also get pornography from the revisionist point of view, like "Swept Away..." which sets out to prove that all working men, even "communists," are chauvinist to the core, and there's no use struggling for socialism because women will always be oppressed and man-woman relations always transcend classes.

At the same time that they encourage these attacks on working women, these bourgeois liberals "defend" women against rape. Their solution is to beef up the police force. More police mean,

for the working class, not less crime, but more police brutality, especially when the bourgeoisie use the police to violently smash the working class movement to end rape and all oppression through socialist revolution.

Demonstrations against porno shops and movie houses showing sadist films, and book burning in Kanawha County in protest against liberals' ideas about sex education, are signs of the spontaneous response of the working class against the bourgeoisie's attempts to dope us with degenerate culture and fascist ideology.

U.S. imperialism is indeed parasitic, decaying and moribund, and today the U.S. bourgeoisie are on their deathbeds. The present economic-political crisis of the capitalist world is unprecedented and signals the death knell of imperialism. The working class and all oppressed people are fighting back hard against the intensified attacks from the bourgeoisie. In their last desperate attempt to divert and smash our resistance which is growing stronger everyday, the bourgeoisie inevitably turn towards new wars of aggression, towards imperialist war with the Soviet social-imperialists, and towards fascism at home as a way out.

Bourgeois fascist rule is inherently more unstable than bourgeois democracy. However, fascism, such as the Nazi Germany type, i.e. fascist rule assisted by a corresponding mass base among the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, labor aristocracy, organized crime, lumpen-proletariat and even some of the more backward sections of the working class itself, is more dangerous. For this reason, Communists today must pay special attention to the bourgeoisie's attempt to rally to their side a mass base from among these class forces. They do it through bourgeois tricks like the forced busing plans, ERA, and Title XX which manipulate the real needs of our multinational working class. They try to pit us against one another, whip up chauvinism, racism and male supremacist ideology, and counterpose the already threatened interests of different sections of the working class and all the oppressed people against each other. Through these tricks, the bourgeoisie hopes to induce a mass following.

FASCISM AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

We must not underestimate the power of bourgeois ideology. In this period, the ideological offensive of the bourgeoisie is intensifying a hundredfold. On the cultural front they are using TV, books, magazines and movies to promote reactionary ideas to further consolidate their "divide and rule" tactics. This is part and parcel of the fascistization process, along with the greater economic, political and military centralization of the bourgeoisie and their state apparatus.

The great leader of the anti-fascist struggles of the 30's and 40's, and proletarian internationalist Georgi Dimitrov pointed out:

"Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a variety of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the point of lunacy, was capable of gaining a

mass influence at all. This was a great mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of wide masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction. Under no circumstances must we underrate fascism's power of ideological infection." (Report to the 7th Congress Communist International 1935. Red Star Press, London, 1973, p. 99)

Fascist ideology is not an independent ideology. It is bourgeois ideology and highly eclectic in nature. It is an art of sophistry and demagogy which appeals to genuine sentiments as well as to the worst instincts of the masses. Its appeal lies in that it speaks to the conditions of extreme decay and destitution of the oppressed. The approach of fascist ideology is pragmatic ("whatever works, use it"). The ultimate aim of the bourgeoisie is to crush the heroic resistance of the working class and to prolong the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie on its deathbed.

The bourgeoisie uses different "covers," depending on the nationally-specific features of the country. For example, Hitler appealed to the German peoples' humiliation after the Versailles Treaty by creating a "super Aryan race." And here in the U.S., where bourgeois democracy is most developed, fascism will be ushered in under the cover of "liberalism," "democracy" and "equal rights for women." As Dimitrov pointed out:

"In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American democracy.'" (The United Front, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p. 41)

Besides these tricks of the bourgeoisie to induce an "anti-government" and "anti-monopoly" movement, irrationality of all forms "helps" the masses to accept fascist "answers," similar to the Weimar Republic in Germany where the movies and culture of the time were obsessed with themes of chaos, instincts of lust, irrational impulses, nostalgia and other philistine sentiments of the dying petty bourgeois class. This irrationality takes the form of trash like "Snuff," pornography, the "Total Woman" program, the gay movement, the "right to die" and "right of the unborn" movements. We have "conservatives" on the one hand and "liberals" on the other who all dialectically reinforce each other to grow and spread. They are developing mostly at the expense of the degradation of women.

Communists must address these questions as integral parts of our political line -- the questions pertaining to the ways and means the bourgeoisie use to maintain their power today and in the immediate future.

"RIGHT OF THE UNBORN" AND THE "RIGHT TO CHOOSE"

Arch-fascist Hitler himself once wrote:

"In the case of female education the main stress should be laid on bodily training, and after that on development of character and last of all, on intellect. But the one absolute aim of female education must be with a view to the future mother." (Mein Kampf)

The current bourgeois offensive against the hard-won gains of working women the world over is no different from Hitler's! It is reflected in the steadily declining rate of literacy among women in imperialist and exploited Third World countries. The right to abortion is also under attack, guided by the feudal religious ideology of Catholicism and given a new "democratic" twist by upholding the "Right of the Unborn." The liberals support abortion as the "right to choose," while the anti-abortion groups dub this the "right to kill." The liberals, by pushing promiscuity and by pushing the illusion that abortion is strictly a matter of "freedom of choice" rather than a democratic right, do nothing to fight for the genuine democratic rights of women such as free and quality birth control care. In fact, they feed the growth of sprouting right-wing groups like the anti-abortion movement. These groups, reacting to the arbitrary "choice" of abortion posed by the liberals, go to the other extreme and treat all women as killers who do not carry out their "duty" as mothers. The way the liberals pose the question only helps to induce and perpetuate the slavery of working women by helping to push many in the working class to the right, aiding the fascists under the guise of "free will."

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie are using birth control methods to carry out forced sterilization, especially among oppressed nationalities and national minority women. The liberals, in their "concern," blame overpopulation and propose Zero Population Growth as the solution. ZPG is only an excuse to commit genocide against working women, especially women of oppressed nationalities and national minorities here and the world over. It is no different from Hitler's gas chambers.

Since now the birth rate in the U.S. is below Zero Population Growth, the bourgeoisie is pushing deadly ideas like the "Right to Die", euthanasia, "mercy killing" etc. This is a glaring way of breeding pessimism among the working class. The Pros and Cons that came out of the Karen Quinlan case give us an instructive lesson on the bourgeoisie's pragmatist social and ethical views and on why they are straightup fascist.

KAREN'S CASE

One thing about Karen Quinlan's case is the bourgeoisie's push for a legal definition of death by using brain wave activity as the criterion for life. Under capitalism, a person is judged by his 'use value', and intelligence is what determines that 'use value'. So when a person is retarded, he or she is worthless. These misguided cries about the "Right to Die" and "mercy killing" go counter to the real situation in class society today. Hundreds of thousands of impoverished class brothers and sisters are seriously injured on the job or in accidents. They are not treated at all or else are poorly treated and left to die or lapse into paralysis in

public hospitals. There are literally tens of millions of mentally retarded children and adults and many more elderly workers who are abandoned in mental hospitals and "senior citizen homes" and allowed to rot and die. For the working class and all oppressed people in the U.S. today the concrete situation is one where we 'fight to live'. The campaign mounted on the pretext of a few exceptional medical cases has clear social implications for the further neglect of the elderly workers who have given their entire lives to the bourgeoisie and are finally abandoned because they have exhausted their 'use value'. This also applies to the mentally retarded and other "disadvantaged".

This campaign will do nothing except further the bourgeoisie's killing of them through neglect and now the elevation of these murders to the level of "principles."

PRAGMATISM AND HEDONISM

In the U.S., pragmatism, together with chauvinism, are the two most sinister ideological sources for fascism. Pragmatism is an ideology of dying classes like the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Due to their anarchist mode of production and class position, they do not and cannot have any long-range plans and principles. They can only react to crises from day to day and abandon whatever long-range goals and principles they have to short-term and immediate aims. This becomes a force of habit within their outlook on life. Ultimately, in the absence and forced abandonment of all long-range goals and principles, they have only one thing left - the 'pleasure principle!' "Whatever satisfies me 'is correct', is 'what I will work for'". This is the principle that guides their living. This 'pleasure principle', living for good food, good life, good sex and good music, is hedonism. Dying classes like the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are, by force of habit and mode of thinking - hedonistic. They adopt whatever principles give them physical and sensual pleasure--'good experiences', advocate subjectivism and glorify empiricism ("learn from your own experience", "don't knock it till you've tried it"). This helps to spread mysticism and the whole thing about 'experience God' or 'experience the holy spirit'. Many of the new religious sects are building on this. The flip side of this hedonist, pragmatist sick social and ethical view is the fundamentalist puritanical clericalism, the right wing social movement which is also on the rise now.

The essence of pragmatist social and ethical views is the preaching of the totally reactionary ideology of individualism. This is also related to the abstract bourgeois concept of "free will".

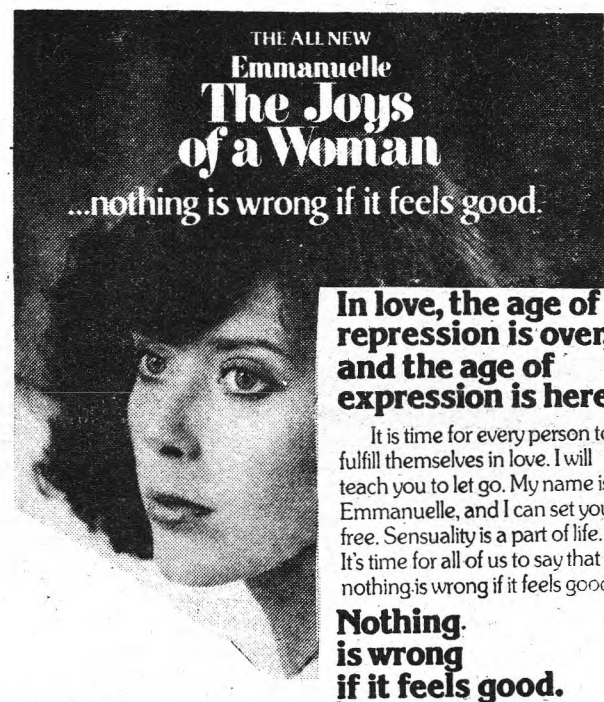
Since the dying bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are capable only of immediate "principles" derived from reaction to immediate bodily & sensual experiences, their existence is totally animalistic. This is a sure sign of their parasitism and decay. They want to push this trash onto the working class, to drag us down with them into their graves, but this attempt will surely fail because we are the rising class. Our strength is growing daily and we will uproot the cause of such degradation.

THE GAY MOVEMENT AND HOMOSEXUALITY

The gay movement has grown in the last decade, taking a lot of motion from the open decadent atmosphere of hedonism in the U.S. which says that "nothing is wrong if it feels good". Communists promote working class

friendship, including solidarity between men and men, women and women, but bourgeois ideology alienates class brothers and sisters away from each other. Homosexuality is a form of hedonism, for it follows the "principle" of fulfilling sexual needs. The bourgeoisie uses the gay issue to divert the working class struggle from its true course. They promote the gays as another example of bourgeois freedom, trying to further our illusions about bourgeois democracy. The trend today is to legalize, to justify gayness.

While we Communists oppose attacks on anyone by the bourgeoisie, including homosexuals, we do not uphold homosexuality as a democratic right. Homosexuality is a form of social sickness, a form of social perversion. It is a form of bourgeois ideology which appeals especially to the petty bourgeoisie because of its appearance as sexual freedom. Homosexuality arose from class oppression and the oppression of women. "...degradation of the women was avenged on the men and degraded them also, till they fell into the abominable practice of sodomy and degraded alike their gods and themselves with the myth of Ganymede." ("Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State", Engels, Selected Works, Vol.3, 1884).



THE PARTY MUST CREATE IN PEOPLE AND IN SOCIETY PRECISELY THAT WORLD OUTLOOK, THOSE CUSTOMES, THOSE FEELINGS, THOSE TASTES, THOSE ETHICS, THAT REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY WHICH WILL NOT PERMIT EITHER THE REVIVAL OR THE SPREAD OF PETTY BOURGEOIS AND BOURGEOIS WORLD OUTLOOKS (ALBANIA TODAY, MARCH-APRIL, 1975)

THE BOURGEOIS FAMILY

The all American family is being held up as the only "natural" way for men and women to live - good old American clean living. The "Total Woman" program preaches that "real freedom" is to "stay at home and please your man." But under capitalism, do couples marry for "true love", fidelity, "through sickness and health till death do us part"? The bourgeois family has nothing whatever to do with this!

As Engels said:

The bourgeois family is "based, not on natural, but on economic conditions - on the victory of private property over primitive, natural communal property ... The sole, exclusive aims of monogamous marriage were to make the man supreme in the family and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own." ("Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State", Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 3, 1884) The family where the man

CULTURE CONTINUED FROM P.11.

wears the pants and is the breadwinner and the woman knows that her place is in the home "contains within itself in miniature all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and its state." ("Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State", Engels, Selected Works, Vol.3,1884).

Bourgeois ethics and morals demand that women be faithful, carry out their domestic duties to husband and children, while sanctioning men to "sow their wild oats." Bourgeois society uses a fundamentalist pitch to preach submission to and acceptance of the present oppression of women, justifying it by saying it's God's will. This poison serves the needs of the monopoly capitalists, dulling our fighting spirit and breeding pessimism.

But even as the bourgeoisie tries to feed us these lies, the proletariat is also spontaneously beginning to practice equality between the sexes within the family.

"And now that large-scale industry has taken the wife out of the home onto the labor market and into the factory, and made her often the bread-winner of the family, no basis for any kind of male supremacy is left in the proletarian household... Here, therefore, the eternal attendants of monogamy, hetaerism (prostitution) and adultery, play only an almost vanishing part. The wife has in fact regained the right to dissolve the marriage, and if two people cannot get on with one another, they prefer to separate. In short, proletarian marriage is monogamous in the etymological sense of the word, but not at all in its historical sense." ("Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State", Engels, Selected Works, Vol.3, 1884)

This proletarian relationship can be achieved only through unity-struggle-unity. It is struggle on a principled basis, in order to move on to higher unity.

On the other hand, under a "left" cover, the gay movement attacks the family. They fail to separate the oppressive bourgeois family from proletarian families which serve the working class struggle. Under socialism, when there are larger numbers of daycare centers, public cafeterias, where household labor is collectivized and socialized, women will participate fully in socialized production. The traditional "division of labor" with man doing outdoor work and women doing indoor work will gradually disappear, breaking down the family as an economic unit. The old unequal relations in the family will give way to more equal relations. This doesn't mean the elimination of families altogether but it does mean new family relations based more on class equality, love and devotion. It will do away with men buying love with money, property and social status and women marrying for fear of economic and social consequences and rejecting a man they really love.

By attacking families in general and not distinguishing between the bourgeois family and its oppression of women and the proletarian kernels in families, gays are inducing the development of right wing fascists who defend the bourgeois family, which imposes oppression on women in the family to serve the bourgeoisie.

ON THE QUESTION OF RAISING CHILDREN

Our outlook on the future is bright and optimistic. Unlike the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, we are not afraid to raise children because we know we're the rising class and



The picture they said could NEVER be shown...

SNUFF

The film that could only be made in South America.

The Bloodiest thing that ever happened in front of a camera!!

X FOR VIOLENCE

BOURGEOIS TRASH LIKE "SNUFF" HELPS THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE. IT DIVIDES AND DEMORALIZES THE WORKING CLASS AND FRUSTRATES OUR FIGHTING WILL.

SOCIALIST ALBANIAN CULTURE PROMOTES AND HELPS CONSOLIDATE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. IT SERVES THE CAUSE OF THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

the future is in our hands. As Lenin said:

"Yes, we workers and the mass of small proprietors lead a life that is filled with unbearable oppression and suffering. Things are harder for our generation than they were for our fathers. But in one respect we are luckier than our fathers. We have begun to learn and are rapidly learning to fight -- and to fight not as individuals, as the best of our fathers fought, not for the slogans of bourgeois speechifiers, that are alien to us in spirit, but for our slogans, the slogans of our class. We are fighting better than our fathers did. Our children will fight better than we do, and they will be victorious." ("The Working Class and Neomalthusianism", Lenin, The Emancipation of Women, 1913)

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCIST CULTURE

At the present time, at home and all over the world, the situation is characterized by great disorder. That is a good thing for the working class. While the objective conditions are increasingly becoming favorable for making revolution, the subjective forces are still weak and unable to provide Communist leadership to spontaneous struggles springing up everywhere. Now, when social and political attitudes are changing rapidly, when the minds of the working class are wide open to socialism, it is urgent that Communists boldly introduce Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to the working class, and win over the advanced workers to Communism, to combat the influence of bourgeois ideology. We must heed the teachings of Dimitrov on the importance of fighting on the ideological front in the context of political struggle against the monopoly capitalists for proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.

We must see through all the poisonous ideas and attitudes and expose all bourgeois culture for its decadence and degeneration, especially those in a "liberal" disguise which only pacify us and divert our struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Lenin said:

"The elements of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in every national culture, since in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose condition of life inevitably gives

rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But every nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form not merely of "elements", but of the dominant culture!! ... In advancing this slogan of 'the international culture of democracy and of the world working class movement' we take from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements, we take them only and absolutely in opposition to the bourgeois culture and the bourgeois nationalism of each nation." ("Critical Remarks on the National Question", Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.20, 1913)

In the context of the day-to-day struggle against the bourgeoisie, we must promote the proletarian kernels of our culture - the rich proletarian kernels of the culture of oppressed nationalities and national minorities, working class traditions, songs and writing, and nurture these 'young shoots of communism' in the course of political and ideological struggle against filth and parasitism of dying capitalism. We must distinguish appearance from essence, get rid of the dross, and retain the essence of ethics in practice in the working class.

Sometimes, for example, proletarian ethics may take the form of spontaneous revolutionary nationalism. We should draw out its essence, give it Marxist-Leninist leadership, otherwise it will be left in the hands of the bourgeoisie to serve fascism. Another example, "hard work and plain living" or puritanical arguments against pornography are spontaneous reactions of the masses which can be used by the bourgeoisie and turned into a reactionary force. The shackles of bourgeois ideology must be cast off and replaced by the true revolutionary essence in the course of class struggle. This in turn will promote our unity in class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie's schemes are doomed to fail. The very same forces of history which create bourgeois oppression also give rise to the invincible struggle by the proletariat, the producers of all value, to put our new order of society in command. Through socialist revolution, we will end all oppression, especially the oppression of women which is fundamental to bourgeois society. ■

BRIEF HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY

INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY, MARCH 8, WAS INSTITUTED AT THE PROPOSAL OF CLARA ZETKIN, ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AT THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN SOCIALISTS, HELD AT COPENHAGEN IN 1910. IT WAS INSTITUTED TO COMMEMORATE THE STRUGGLES OF WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AGAINST EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION, ESPECIALLY WOMEN GARMENT AND TEXTILE

WORKERS IN THE U.S. WHO HAD BEEN RISING UP MASSIVELY AGAINST THEIR BOSSES.

THE STRUGGLES OF GARMENT AND TEXTILE WORKERS IN THE U.S. BEGAN IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND PIONEERED THE STRUGGLES OF WORKING WOMEN AGAINST THE WAGE SLAVERY SYSTEM. THERE WAS A MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION ON MARCH 8, 1857, WHEN GARMENT WORKERS SWARMED THE STREETS OF THE LOWER EAST SIDE OF NEW YORK TO PROTEST SLAVE WAGES AND

BRUTAL WORKING CONDITIONS. THEY WERE VIOLENTLY DISPERSED BY THE POLICE AND 25,000 WOMEN WORKERS WALKED OFF THEIR JOBS IN PROTEST ON NOV. 23, 1909. THERE WAS THE PROTEST AGAINST THE TRIANGLE WAIST FIRE WHERE GARMENT WORKERS PROTESTED AGAINST SWEAT LABOR AND CHILD LABOR IN 1911.

TODAY THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. WE CELEBRATE IWWD IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF OPPRESSED WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!

WE DEMAND:

1. OPPOSE THE SUPERPOWERS AND 'DETENTE,' FIGHT AGAINST THE DANGER OF WORLD WAR, KICK THE SUPERPOWERS, SOUTH AFRICAN AND CUBAN TROOPS OUT OF ANGOLA.
2. SUPPORT THIRD WORLD STRUGGLES FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND INDEPENDENCE, AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, HEGEMONISM AND ALL REACTION.
 - * INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
 - * SUPPORT THE IRANIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, ALL DOMESTIC REACTION AND THE SHAH OF IRAN
3. FIGHT AGAINST THE RULING CLASS ATTEMPTS TO INTENSIFY THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ATTACKS ON THE WORKING CLASS.
 - * OPPOSE UNION BUSTING TACTICS, CUTBACKS, SPEED-UPS, AND LAYOFFS
 - * OPPOSE INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND ATTRITION
 - * DEFEND THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF THE WORKING CLASS
4. FIGHT AGAINST THE DANGER OF FASCISM
 - * OPPOSE THE S-1 BILL
 - * FIGHT POLICE REPRESSION
 - * OPPOSE FORCED BUSING
 - * OPPOSE PORNOGRAPHY AND ALL CHAUVINIST AND DEGENERATE CULTURE
5. RIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES
 - * SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE
 - * FIGHT AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY
 - * SMASH TITLE XX
 - * SMASH THE GUN CONTROL BILL
 - * FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATION OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS, SMASH THE RODINO BILL
6. FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF WORKING WOMEN. OPPOSE ALL FORMS OF WORKING WOMEN'S OPPRESSION.
 - * JOB SECURITY FOR ALL - OPPOSE SUPERSENIORITY
 - * EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK
 - * PAID MATERNITY LEAVE
 - * FIGHT FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT
 - * FREE 24 HOUR CHILD CARE
 - * FREE AND SAFE ABORTIONS, END TO FORCED STERILIZATION
 - * SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF WOMEN FOR SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST SEXUAL ATTACKS
 - * EXPOSE THE E.R.A.
 - * OPPOSE MALE SUPREMACIST IDEOLOGY

WHILE ACTIVELY LEADING IMMEDIATE STRUGGLES AND PUTTING FORTH THESE DEMANDS, WE MUST "LINK THEM WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR LONG-RANGE AND GENERAL INTERESTS, EDUCATE THE MASSES IN A MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, CEASELESSLY RAISE THEIR POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND UNDERTAKE THE HISTORICAL TASK OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION." TO FAIL TO DO SO AND REGARD THE IMMEDIATE MOVEMENT AS EVERYTHING IS OUT-AND-OUT SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

IF WE FAIL TO TAKE UP THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMANDS OF THE MASSES AND GIVE LEADERSHIP TO THEIR STRUGGLES, WE WILL ISOLATE OURSELVES FROM THE MASSES AND ARE "BOUND TO LOSE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE MASSES AND WILL BE TOSSED TO THE REAR BY THE REVOLUTIONARY CURRENT." (FROM "A PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT") IN THIS PERIOD WHEN PARTY BUILDING IS THE PRINCIPAL TASK, WE MUST:

BUILD THE PARTY ON THE
IDEOLOGICAL PLANE,
GRASP THE KEY LINK OF POLITICAL LINE!
UNITE THE GENUINE MARXIST-LENINISTS
AND WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!
BUILD THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP OF
THE WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT!

EDITORIAL

Build the Communist Leadership of

Build the Party on the Ideological Plane



"THE WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS FOR ITS OBJECT THE FIGHT FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL, AND NOT MERELY FORMAL, EQUALITY OF WOMAN. THE MAIN TASK IS TO DRAW THE WOMEN INTO SOCIALLY PRODUCTIVE LABOR, EXTRICATE THEM FROM "DOMESTIC SLAVERY", FREE THEM OF THEIR STULTIFYING AND HUMILIATING RESIGNATION TO THE PERPETUAL AND EXCLUSIVE ATMOSPHERE OF THE KITCHEN AND NURSERY."(LENIN)

IWWD (EDITORIAL) CONTINUED FROM P.1.
offensives against their monopoly capitalists. On the other hand, the Helsinki Pact and the Angolan situation testify to the growing danger of a new world war and how Soviet Social-Imperialism is the most dangerous source of war (see Angola article).

INTERNATIONAL RESISTANCE

The sharpening contention in the international sphere is directly reflected in the struggle for leadership in the international women's movement. A clear example is last year's International Women's Conference. Last summer, at the first U.N. World Conference of International Women's Year in Mexico City, the delegates from Third World Countries and some national liberation organizations spearheaded a tit for tat struggle against the two super powers' attempts to lead astray the international women's movement. There were sharp debates and struggles on questions concerning the road to women's emancipation and the correct line of action.

The U.S. delegation put forth the "non-political nature" of the women's movement, that women are being discriminated against under all social systems, and attempted to restrict the discussion to formal and abstract women's rights. Their two 'fundamental targets' of International Women's Year were to fight for equal rights with men and the participation of women on equal terms in the development of nations.

The Soviet delegates, under a 'peace' banner pushed the trash about 'detente' replacing 'cold war' and disarmament being an essential condition for making the process of detente 'stable' and 'irreversible'. "Only under the conditions of peace and reduction of military expenditure" can women "win their defined social rights"

More and more, the two superpowers are becoming exposed. We cannot separate the women's movement from the larger international situation. As a representative from the Organization

of African Unity (O.A.U.) correctly said: "Equality is out of the question for us unless our African continent is freed from colonial occupation, racial discrimination and apartheid in all its forms" and "provided that the people of other countries are still suffering from colonial enslavement and foreign economic plunder, we have no peace to speak of". With the unity of the awakening oppressed peoples and nations of the world, imperialist attempts to control this conference were soundly defeated in front of the whole world.

World war and revolution are two contending trends: either revolution will prevent world war or world war will lead to revolution. At home, US capitalism is in its deepest economic crisis since the Great Depression of 1929. In its preparation for a new world war, the US ruling class is stepping up its attacks on the working class through unemployment, inflation, speedup and cuts in vital services as well as repressive measures such as Gun Control bills.



WORKING WOMEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF CLASS STRUGGLE!
20,000 GARMENT WORKERS MARCHED SHOULDER TO SHOULDER
AGAINST THE BOSSES AND THE STATE TO FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE!

-1919

the S.I. bill and police brutality, to tighten the control on the working class. It is clear that the hardest hit within the working class in this crisis are the oppressed nationalities, national minorities and working class women.

STAND OF THE OPPRESSED

For working class and oppressed women here at home, we must take a stand with the oppressed peoples and nations against hegemonism, colonialism and imperialism. This struggle is inseparably linked to our own emancipation just as our struggle to overthrow monopoly capitalism here is inseparably linked with our struggle against women's oppression. Our movement can't be a separate 'non-political' women's movement for equal rights as the U.S. delegates tried to propagate. Ours must be a joint struggle alongside all oppressed men and women. What's the proper outlook on fighting for our own emancipation? "Clearly, the primary task at the present in the struggle for women's emancipation is to fight imperialism, colonialism and particularly hegemonism of the two super-powers. Only when this struggle is carried out successfully, while giving due attention to solving the special demands and problems of women, can the cause for women's emancipation be pushed ahead steadily". (From speech given by Li Suwen, head of the Chinese Delegation)

WORKING WOMEN IN THE U.S.

In the United States, the struggle of working women against women's oppression and male supremacy has always been an integral part of the working class movement and the movement of oppressed minorities against national oppression. The women garment and textile workers pioneered the struggle against the use of women and children as cheap labor and against the wretched working conditions imposed by the capitalists.

the Working Women's Movement!

Grasp the Key Link of Political Line.

Working women's struggles have also made great strides in the past year. The Farah workers, after a 22 month protracted and militant strike finally won their right to unionize. The Oneida Mills strike of North Carolina was another blow to the monopoly capitalists. Wildcat strikes erupt everyday in the sweatshops concentrated in the Northeast of the country. In textile, electronic, garment, food processing, health care and other industries dominated by women, women workers are rising up spontaneously to fight for the right to unionize, against slave wages, for decent living conditions, against the trade union bureaucracy for trade union democracy, and against male supremacist ideology.

Working women have also taken a leading role in community struggles, particularly oppressed national minority communities, for free and quality daycare, quality education, against police brutality, against pornography and degenerate culture. Across the country, working women are surging forward with rising consciousness to take up the task of liberating the entire working class from the yoke of wage slavery.

While there are significant gains that women workers have wrested from our exploiters, the monopoly capitalists, there are also setbacks. The bourgeoisie and its agents channeled the spontaneous struggles into legalism, reformism, feminism, social-feminism, and pacifism. Many of the struggles were sold out and the gains were not accumulated to build the communist leadership of the rank and file movement.

NEED FOR COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

This points to the single greatest weakness of the women's movement and the working class movement in general -- the need for the genuine Communist Party to provide theoretical and practical leadership to the struggles of the multinational working class and to lead the working class to the final onslaught of monopoly capitalism. The party is the advanced and organized detachment of the working class. Only a party that is armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and made up of the finest sons and daughters of the working class will be able to lead the working class and the broad masses of oppressed people through the twists and turns of events in the struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as we do not have a genuine anti-revisionist ML party, the principal task of the communist movement must be party building: uniting with genuine Marxist-Leninists, winning over the advanced men and women who are rooted in the working class, applying the general truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to the concrete conditions of the United States and developing a programme that is able to give direction to the different fronts of struggles of the working class.

COMBAT BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE

On the women's question, we must draw a clear line of demarcation with social-feminism, revisionism and opportunism in all of its various manifestations. In such an advanced capitalist society so deeply infested

with bourgeois ideology there is no way that we can build a revolutionary working class movement led by genuine communists without constantly combating and preventing these bourgeois women's ideological influences within our own ranks.

The basic ML principle holds that there is no such thing as "women's viewpoint", or women above class. This is the fundamental line of demarcation between ML and bourgeois feminism. The bourgeois feminists and social-feminists peddle an 'autonomous' movement which sees that men generally and not the monopoly capitalist class are the enemy of oppressed women. They raise demands such as the 'free expression of sexuality'. They also attempt to divert the oppressed women into struggles for legal 'equality' such as the Equal Rights Amendment. (see ERA article). But even in the matter of formal equality, capitalism cannot be consistent. And one of the most glaring manifestations of this inconsistency is the inequality of women and men! ("On International Working Women's Day", Lenin, Collected Works; Vol.30,1920) Our task is to expose these inconsistencies and point out the root of these inconsistencies - capitalism. "...under capitalism the right of divorce, as all other democratic rights without exception, is conditional, restricted, formal, narrow and extremely difficult of realisation." ("A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economics", Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.23, 1916)

The U.S. women's suffrage movement was progressive in the 19th century when it was directly linked to the struggle to abolish slavery, but has long since turned into its opposite since the consolidation of imperialism at the turn of the century. In the U.S. where bourgeois democracy is relatively consummated and most reactionary, to restrict the aims and activities of the working class to winning reforms and to raise demands for legal 'equality' is precisely to aid the bourgeoisie and to foster greater illusions about bourgeois democracy and the system of monopoly capitalism among the people.

"C" PUSA REVISIONISM

The "Communist" Party of the USA, although paying lip service to the role of working women and full equality between the sexes under socialism, has essentially a liberal reformist program. The revisionist "C" P totally liquidated the class content of the women's question. Their program is a revisionist program that asks for "real equality of women through electoral politics", anti-sexist legislation, trade unionism, and affirmative action programs under capitalism to "extend" bourgeois democracy for "advanced" democracy, to attempt to give a new lease to the parasitic, decaying and moribund bourgeois democracy. Their reformist and pacifist position on the women's question is entirely consistent with their general programme that advocates peaceful transition to socialism, that abandons the dictatorship of the proletariat and that advocates detente as the grand strategy to socialism for the American working class.

REVISIONIST TREND OF O.L.

Within the communist movement, the same reformist and liberal line on the women's question is represented by the October League. "The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist opportunism," ("Historical Destiny of Marxism," Lenin) This is OL, the most dangerous revisionist trend within the communist movement. We cannot judge OL by the general truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought that they mouth. We must look at how they apply these general principles to concrete conditions of the US.

By supporting the bourgeoisie's forced busing plan, the Equal Rights Amendment, the Shah of Iran, the OL shows its true colours as ML in words and die-hard reformist at heart. This liberal outlook similarly dictated their position on "compensative seniority", pinning their hopes on the bourgeois court system and helping the bourgeoisie to split the working class, women against men, and white against oppressed nationalities and national minorities. In its latest article on the women's movement (Call, 2/76), working class struggles and issues are liquidated except in one section, where they hail the "legal battle" on "compensative seniority" that is now in the courts. This is the world outlook of the dying desperate petty-bourgeois class longing for days of competitive capitalism when they were still on the rise - when there was still hope.

While the political manifestations of the "C" P, the bourgeois feminists, and the OL-revisionist trend in the communist movement are different, their ideological roots are the same - the illusion of bourgeois democracy, and demands for freedom and equality in the abstract before the law...combined with their different social basis, they inevitably become the agent of the bourgeoisie and misleaders of the working class.

SOCIAL FEMINISM

Social-feminism is a new brand of feminism. It says that all forms of oppression are interrelated and 'simultaneous'. This is a thoroughly bourgeois outlook under the political cloak of centrism. It is no accident that this centrist force also takes opportunist positions on the ERA, busing, community control and finally unites with the Trotskyites and the revisionists on the Angola issue.

It is inevitable since its ideology and world outlook is thoroughly tied to the petty bourgeoisie, it breeds and develops in the midst of marsh forces such as the Guardian and NAM-like organizations.

PRRWO'S DOGMATISM

While right opportunism is the main danger in the communist movement, we must struggle on two fronts. We must also guard against the danger of left dogmatism, represented for example by the PRRWO --- liquidation of the women's question, not exposing revisionism and opportunism in front of the masses --- which objectively unites with the right opportunists in liquidating the tasks

IWWD (EDITORIAL) CONTINUED ON P.21.

SMASH TITLE XX!



DAYCARE IS A NECESSITY FOR WORKING CLASS WOMEN

From the very beginning, daycare -- just like other services -- was something the working class has had to fight for. For working class women, daycare is not a way to "move up in the world", but a necessity of life.

Under monopoly capitalism, where as Lenin said, "Those who owned capital were the masters and the rest worked for them, were their wage slaves" (The Woman Question, p. 51) workers have no choice but to become wage slaves, to sell our labor power in return for wages to keep alive. As the capitalists keep driving down real wages (our buying power) in order to squeeze more profit out of us, more and more women have to work to help support our families. For single mothers and many working class families where the woman is the only breadwinner in the family, decaying capitalism has broken up the working class family unity. Those who cannot work are forced onto welfare, which means even more oppression and degradation.

There will always be unemployment under capitalism, even in the most "prosperous" years, because the monopoly capitalists need to keep a certain number of workers as a reserve force which they can use to hold wages down, bust unions and strikes, pit one group of workers against another to sabotage working class unity. Historically in the U.S., women and oppressed nationalities and national minorities were forced to be that part of the working class which served as a reserve labor force for the bourgeoisie. No wonder then that the bourgeoisie has stepped up its efforts to control and exploit who gets daycare, since

daycare serves mainly women workers and oppressed nationalities, so as to use them in the economic crisis to hold down the working class overall.

But in order for women to work, someone must take care of the children. At first this was done through neighborhood cooperatives and charity settlement houses for immigrant women, but they were far from enough. As more and more women began to work and the need for daycare increased tremendously, working women began organizing to demand regular childcare programs provided by the government. During World War II, when the ruling class needed more workers to increase production in the U.S., government and bosses worked hand-in-hand to provide 24-hour, year-round free childcare to about 1½ million women workers. After the war, most of this was taken away because the monopoly capitalists no longer needed so many people in the work force, although working class women still needed daycare to survive.

In the 1960's, in order to wage the imperialist war of aggression in S.E. Asia, the US monopoly capitalists needed a lot of cheap labor to increase production at home. That is why the government "liberalized" the immigration laws in 1965 to allow many more immigrants into the country, so that the bourgeoisie could force them to work at the worst jobs for the lowest pay. Working class women -- especially those from oppressed nationalities and national minorities -- unwaveringly pressed their demands for daycare with mass demonstrations, militant actions and sit-ins all across the country. Especially in NYC -- which now runs the largest public group daycare operation in the country -- this movement forced the bourgeoisie, which was still seeking out more sources of cheap labor, to set up more day-

care centers, with educational group programs instead of just individual babysitting services for our children. But even with these different programs taken into account, the number of families receiving public daycare was less than 700,000 nationwide, and the bourgeoisie sets its income eligibility standards so low to make sure that only those who are forced to work for the lowest wages would get daycare.

The present economic crisis -- the clearest sign of capitalism's decay -- has intensified the exploitation and oppression that the working class suffers. The monopoly capitalists, in order to maintain their profits, are trying to push the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the working class. One of the ways is to increase centralization, to further streamline and squeeze the economy by massive layoffs, forcing workers to take lower wages, and cutting services like daycare. Working class women, especially, are being hit from both ends -- no jobs, and no daycare; or daycare only if you go on welfare, which is another name for slave labor.

But where there is oppression, there is resistance. Around the country, there have been countless instances of workers fighting back against these attacks on our right to a decent standard of living. The bourgeoisie knows very well the history of militant struggles by the proletariat and all oppressed peoples. In this time of rising resistance by the working class, the monopoly capitalists have to use all kinds of schemes to stay in power, while they plot to smash the working class movement.

REFORM AND REPRESSION: BOTH ARE TACTICS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

A tried-and-true tactic of the bourgeoisie is to push reforms on us to cover up the real attacks, thus diverting our struggles away from the enemy, the monopoly capitalists, and causing divisions within the working class. Lenin long ago pointed out that "the liberal bourgeoisie grant reforms with one hand, and with the other always take them back, reduce them to naught, use them to enslave the workers, to divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage-slavery." ("Marxism and Reformism", Against Revisionism, p. 162)

In this way the ruling class keeps up the illusions of many workers that we have real democracy, puts us to sleep in the face of rising attacks, while they feverishly lay the groundwork for fascism -- the open terroristic rule and last resort of the bourgeoisie, who will never give up their power without a violent struggle.

Title XX is a clear example of how the bourgeoisie uses a sham reform to divert and divide the working

class movement, while actually cutting back services, consolidating their control over who gets the services that are left, and streamlining their state apparatus so that they can launch even greater attacks on us, especially against working class women and oppressed nationalities and national minorities. Pushed by liberal politicians in Congress, and hailed by misleaders of all stripes as "progressive overall", Title XX went into effect, nationwide, on October 1, 1975. It applies to many social services, e.g., daycare, adoption, family planning, services to senior citizens and the handicapped, etc.

One aspect that the misleaders push as progressive is that local communities are allowed to help plan the programs. This claim is a plain lie, just like all community control programs under monopoly capitalism: we all know that the so-called public hearings to give out the funds are nothing but a place for poverty pimps and other misleaders to fight over the spoils of our oppression. Meanwhile, by setting national standards, instead of local ones, for all services under Title XX, the bourgeoisie is moving towards more centralization and control over all aspects of these services.

TITLE XX: AN EXCUSE FOR MORE CUTS

It is in its effects on daycare that we can see most clearly the essence of Title XX. First of all, during the economic crisis of imperialism, this bill has served as an excuse to cut back services, lay off workers, and close centers. Eligibility for daycare used to be based on whether a parent was a "past, present, or potential" welfare recipient. Title XX, by basing eligibility in relation to a state's median income, supposedly allows more working class families to get daycare. But the new limits, by taking away the deductions that were allowed before, actually make more people ineligible for daycare. In New York City, as a result of Title XX regulations, more than 5,000 children, mostly from working class families, will be kicked out of centers, and more than 2,000 daycare workers either laid off or forced to work reduced hours. Centers where many children have been kicked out are now being closed, even though there are more than enough eligible families on the waiting list to fill those places. In other places where Title XX eligibility limits are higher than previous standards, it remains basically a ploy, a bogus act, because the bill does not provide more money for expanded services.

But for the bourgeoisie, the purpose of Title XX is not only to cut back services to the working class, but also to consolidate their control over those workers who get the services that are still provided. In fighting back against the eligibility limits of Title XX in New York State, many honest people are confused by community and union misleaders' focus on the "80% versus 115%" limit. To put it simply, if our job pays us just barely enough to struggle along, but the pay is over the poverty-level limits set at 80% of the gross median income of our state, we lose our daycare and other services. The law gives the states the option of raising the level to 15% above the state median income (the 115%), but NY State, among others, is cutting back viciously, and refused to raise the limit beyond \$11,411 gross a year, for example, for a family of four.

By only fighting to raise the eligibility limit to 115% without also fighting for more money to ex-

pand services, these misleaders are just trying to make more people eligible for services without actually getting them. But more important, this emphasis on making NY State raise the eligibility limit, covers up the key aspect of Title XX which is in the federal bill itself -- the so-called "50% rule", which was put in there by Congress to tighten the ruling class' control over who gets what services.

SCHEME TO DIVIDE THE WORKING CLASS

The "50% rule" says that at least 50% of federal funds provided under Title XX must be used for services to people who are on welfare, Medicaid, or Supplemental Security Income. In NY State, where only 35% of daycare families are in this category, this means that either NY State must provide services for more welfare families, or, as is happening, it means kicking out 15% or more of the already working families not now receiving public assistance, to the same level as welfare families. So we see that even if the eligibility limit is raised to the 115% level, many working families will still be thrown out of daycare because of the 50% rule. Thus, besides forcing workers -- mostly women -- to quit our jobs to take care of the children, or preventing us from even getting a job, this rule makes working class families receiving assistance the scapegoats for taking away daycare from working families. It tries to divide the working class from within. It also allows the government to gain more control over the number of people who can work, so that in today's economic crisis, when the monopoly capitalists are laying off workers to keep up their profits, the government can help to do this by taking away daycare from certain workers.

The catch to all this is that workers who lose their jobs because they no longer have daycare, can get daycare again if they go on welfare, especially those in so-called "training" programs like WIN (Work Incentive Program), where for their welfare check and very small supplement, these workers are forced to work at regular jobs but at below-minimum wages, with no benefits and no right to organize. Or else they are "trained" for deadend jobs that nobody else wants. Either way, these workers are being directly exploited, forced to sell their labor for slave wages, so that the monopoly capitalists can make more profits from us.

But the 50% rule does more than just guarantee a pool of workers who can be directly superexploited. By encouraging the use of workers on welfare to do regular jobs, it helps the bourgeoisie keep in line those workers who still have their jobs, by threatening to replace them with people working for much less. This is just another way that Title XX is used to divide the working class between those who have regular jobs and working families who are on welfare.

CONSOLIDATION OF CONTROL: BOURGEOISIE PREPARING FOR FASCISM

But it is not enough just to divert and divide the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has to streamline its state apparatus in order to identify and isolate potential "troublemakers". Title XX specifically sets up a Parent Locator Service which is supposed to help track down missing parents who haven't paid support for their children. Actually, in many working class families

one parent is forced to separate or to lie about separation, just so the family can keep its income low enough to qualify for services. The bourgeoisie uses this "service" not only to flush out these families and harass them, but also to keep tabs on everyone who just applies for any Title XX services, not only child support cases.

Under the Parent Locator Service information such as social security number, birthdate, birth certificate number, marital and financial status of the whole family, etc. is required of all applicants for all services. It is fed into a centralized, nationwide computer system that's plugged into the police, the courts, the FBI, etc. Since Title XX services are limited to low-income workers, the Parent Locator Service helps the government to keep track of, and, when necessary, crack down on the most oppressed sector of the proletariat.



WORKING CLASS WOMEN SUFFER UNDER A DOUBLE YOKE

In looking at the people most affected by Title XX, it is clear that working class women suffer under a double yoke. Most of the services under Title XX, e.g. "child care services...services related to the management and maintenance of the home...the preparation and delivery of meals...and services for the aged, the mentally retarded...the physically handicapped" (Title XX, p.2 (E)) have traditionally been performed by women, who were confined to the home with non-productive housework. Working class women have fought long and hard for these services to be recognized as social responsibilities, to be provided by the bourgeoisie, so that they can go to work to support their families. But under this monopoly capitalist system, where the majority are exploited and oppressed for the profit of the few, these demands of working class women can never be consistently and fully met. Engels pointed out long ago that:

"The emancipation of women will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. And only now has that become possible through modern large-scale industry, which does not merely permit of the employment of female labor over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends towards ending private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry." (The Woman Question, p. 11)

ERA: A BOURGEOIS TRICK TO DIVERT WORKERS' MOVEMENT

ERA CONTINUED FROM P.1.

Now some fifty years later, it is clear that the heralded Constitutional Amendments themselves neither facilitated the liberation struggles of Afro-Americans since the Civil War, nor furthered the liberation course of women since women got their right to vote. Conditions for working women have only gotten worse daily.

In the past two years, the workers' resistance to the capitalist economic crisis has been spreading far and wide. Thousands of women workers have been in the forefront of major struggles like the Farah strike and the Oneida strike and countless community struggles. These instances once again sparked off the petty bourgeois - based feminists, including those that call themselves "socialists" and "communists" to jump out, lining up support for the ERA. They claim that all classes, all women and men must support ERA to "fulfill the American dream".

The National Women's Organization (NOW) -- a bourgeois and petty bourgeois women's organization, for example, recently called for the ratification of the ERA to help "complete the American revolution and make it a revolution for men and women". And the New York Coalition for Equal Rights, one of the largest coalitions in support of the ERA in the country said, "By its adoption New Yorkers can remind the nation that America was founded on principles of individual worth and dignity."

Within the communist movement, the ERA has become a crucial polemical question. It is one of the first real tests of Marxist-Leninists on the women's question, on which the movement as a whole is still relatively primitive. The ERA will help to deepen the understanding and draw a line of demarcation between the opportunist trend and the genuine Marxist-Leninists within the communist movement.

To understand the ERA, we have to concretely analyze the meaning of pushing for 'Constitutional Amendments' in this age of dying imperialism, the nature of bourgeois reforms and tricks in this period, and how fascism is fed by liberalism under the guise of reforms.

In the U.S. today where bourgeois democracy is highly consummated, to demand constitutional reforms (as distinct from concrete legislation such as specific protective legislation) that only grant abstract principles of equality is nothing but reactionary! We must put the ERA in the proper historical perspective of time, place and condition in 1976 and the U.S.

Bourgeois democracy is divided into 3 epochs. The first epoch marked the rise of the bourgeoisie, an epoch of bourgeois-democratic movements against moribund feudalism. The second epoch is one marked by the full rise and beginning decline of the bourgeoisie, when bourgeois democracy is making a transition from progressive towards reactionary character politically. This is also the period when Marxism began to grow and started to muster its forces. The third epoch is the period when capitalism has reached

its highest stage, monopoly capitalism or imperialism. It is the period comparable to the U.S. from early 1900 to the present, when bourgeois democracy has fully turned into its opposite, has become thoroughly reactionary, and like now, serves to usher in fascism. Today, U.S. imperialism is not only decaying, parasitic and moribund, it is on the eve of proletarian revolution!

The revisionists always laud "democracy" in general and in the abstract without placing it in proper historical perspective and concrete class interest. They do exactly what Lenin accused the revisionists of his time of doing: "plodding along in the rear of the bourgeoisie, abandoning the standpoint of present-day democracy /Social-Democracy in Lenin's time or socialism -- Ed./ and shifting over to that of the old (bourgeois) democracy" ("Under A False Flag". 1915. Collected Works, Vol. 21) to straitjacket that which is on the rise, vital and vibrant, the proletarian movement. Illustrating to comrades how Marx applied this standpoint and method during his time, Lenin said:

"At the time of the old (bourgeois) democracy Marx and Engels were working on the problem of the desirability of success for which particular bourgeoisie; they were concerned with a modestly liberal movement developing into a tempestuously democratic one. In the period of present-day (non-bourgeois) democracy, Potresov is preaching bourgeois national-liberalism at a time when one cannot even imagine bourgeois progressive movements, whether modestly liberal or tempestuously democratic, in Britain, Germany, or France. Marx and Engels were ahead of their epoch, that of bourgeois-national progressive movements; they wanted to give an impetus to such movements so that they might develop "over the heads" of the representatives of medievalism.

Like all social-chauvinists, Potresov is moving backwards, away from his own period, that of present-day democracy, and skipping over to the outworn, dead, and therefore intrinsically false viewpoint of the old (bourgeois) democracy. (Lenin, "Under A False Flag", Collected Works, Vol. 21. Emphasis original.)

For that reason, in relation to the present-day liberal, imperialist democracy, 'Constitutional Amendments' like the ERA is exactly this "...pure democracy (that) ... when the moment of revolution comes, acquires a temporary importance ... as the final sheet anchor of the whole bourgeoisie..." (Engels, "Letter to Bebel", 1884.)

As Lenin put it: "Pure democracy..." above time, place and condition "... is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers." (Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky", Collected Works, Vol. 28.)

"Let the liars and hypocrites, the dull witted and blind, the bourgeoisie and their supporters hoodwink the people with talk about freedom

in general, about equality in general, about democracy in general.

We say to the workers and peasants: Tear the masks from the faces of these liars, open the eyes of these blind ones. Ask them:

'Equality between what sex and what other sex?

'Between what nation and what other nation?

'Between what class and what other class?

'Freedom from what yoke, or from the yoke of what class? Freedom for what class?'

Whoever speaks of politics, of democracy, of liberty, of equality, of socialism, and does not at the same time ask these questions, does not put them on the foreground, does not fight against concealing, hush-up and glossing over these questions, is of the worst enemies of the toilers, is a wolf in sheep's clothing, is a bitter opponent of the workers and peasants, is a servant of the landlords, tsars, capitalists. (Lenin, "Women and Society". In The Woman Question, p. 59)



GASTONIA TEXTILE STRIKER FIGHTS NATIONAL GUARDSMAN, 1927

THE ERA IS A TRICK, NOT EVEN A REFORM

On the question of bourgeois reforms, Lenin warned that the "liberal bourgeoisie grant reforms with one hand and with the other always take them back and reduce them to naught, use them to enslave the workers, to divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage-slavery. For that reason, reformism, even when quite sincere, in practice becomes a weapon by means of which the bourgeoisie corrupts and weakens the workers..." (Lenin, "Once Again About the Duma Cabinet", Collected Works, Vol. 11. Emphasis added.)

In the sixties, the giant momentum of the Afro-American Liberation Movement was able to force the bourgeoisie to grant reforms that marked an entire period: the 'Great Society' programs, 'Equal Opportunity' programs, bilingual educational programs. The working women's struggle has also been able to wrest similar gains from the

bourgeoisie: daycare, protective legislation on the job. Communists stand staunchly with these revolutionary struggles that have compelled the bourgeoisie to grant reforms. However, as communists, we must also expose that these reforms are thrown out by the bourgeoisie as "sham doles" to bribe and disintegrate the working class movement. In the sixties, the working class and the Afro-American Liberation Movement were disarmed by not having a vanguard communist party at their head.

Today, the subjective forces are still lagging behind while the national and student movements of the sixties have given way to a rising movement of the working class, the main force of the revolution. As the crisis of imperialism deepens today, what can the bourgeoisie do to maintain its rule? Historically, reform and repression are the two prongs of bourgeois rule. While the bourgeoisie is stepping up its use of repression, reform has been and still is the principal form of rule of the bourgeoisie. However, in this period that we outlined above, two major characteristics of today's reforms distinguish them from those of the previous decade: (1) reforms are increasingly used to pit workers against each other to usher in fascism; (2) today's reforms are becoming increasingly hollow and deceptive. Why? Look at the celebrated "reforms" of today -- the ERA, the forced busing plan, the community control plans, Title XX, etc. Do they bring any benefit to working people, however temporary? NO! These are subterfuges--tricks--pure and simple! The bourgeoisie is increasingly unable to afford crumbs to bribe the working class. More and more, they are resorting to subterfuges to nullify the reforms of the previous decade and to usher in fascism through whipping up national chauvinism and racism to split the working class. Let us analyze the ERA in this context.

PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION AND THE E.R.A.

Protective legislation is the hard won gain of working women through the decades. Historically, it has brought women the eight-hour working day, special changing rooms, rest areas, on-the-job seating, improvement in work conditions such as regulating temperatures and ventilation, maternity leaves, etc. The bourgeoisie has always attempted and did succeed in some cases to subvert these gains of working women and to use them to discriminate against working women. Weight-lifting rules, overtime restrictions are used by the monopoly capitalists to keep women in lower paying jobs. Maternity laws are used to force women out of their jobs instead of protecting mothers and children. These same laws, though overall positive are often used to exclude women from disability pay or health benefits and to rob job security from working women. The 1964 Civil Rights Act was turned around by the bourgeoisie to take away protective legislation, as it has concretely happened in California. Now the ERA will complement the CRA in a concerted attack on special protection of women in the name of "equality between men and women". In the same way the ERA will also open the way for attacks on men workers by reducing wages and benefits of men instead of raising the wages of women. The ERA is even more vulnerable than the Civil Rights Act, affirmative laws, etc., to being turned around by the bourgeoisie to attack the working class because of its seemingly general, but actually sinister and concrete content. The bourgeois court and legislators are left completely free to interpret the ERA in any way that is favorable to the bourgeoisie!

There is another sinister aspect of the ERA that makes it an even dirtier trick. It is pumping a new lease of life to the bankrupt bourgeois feminist movement that says that men, and not monopoly capitalism, are the enemy of women. It pits working women against men and promotes the split within the working class.

REFORM STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION

Communists do take up the fight for each concrete gain of the working class.

The Marxists are working tirelessly, not missing a single "possibility" of winning and using reforms, and not condemning, but supporting, painstakingly developing every step beyond reformism in propaganda, agitation, mass economic struggle, etc. ("Marxism and Reformism", in Against Revisionism, p. 164)

Not to do so is a "left" deviation of a "waiting for great days" approach to making revolution. The question is concrete analysis of the content of bourgeois reformist schemes in different stages of the development of imperialism. For communists in the immediate struggle,

...it is necessary to formulate and put forward all these demands not in a reformist, but in a revolutionary way; not by keeping in the bounds of bourgeois legality, but by breaking through it, not by confining oneself to parliamentary speeches and verbal protest, but by drawing the masses into real action, by widening and fomenting the struggle for every kind of fundamental democratic demand, right up to and including the direct onslaught of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, i.e. to the socialist revolution. ("The Socialist Revolution and Right of Nations to Self-Determination (Theses)", 1916, Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 22)



THE E.R.A. FEEDS THE FASCIST MOVEMENT

Because the ERA is a fake reform that pits men workers against women workers, it will serve to strip away whatever gains working class women have already won in past struggles. Moreover, because it is pushed by the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, who have actively promoted liberal moral decadence and promiscuity -- based on their class ideology of "free will," abstract "equality" and "democracy" -- the ERA is associated with moral decadence, with promiscuity and homosexuality. The right-wing fascist forces have thus demagogically exploited this issue, trying to gain a mass following by appealing to the puritanical but good working class instincts of resentment against social decadence, against broken families and doped-up kids. That's why the ERA has become a rallying point to provoke and create a massive right-wing fascist movement in some sectors of the working class.

The Anti-ERA movement has become the rallying point of the right-wing fascist organizations: the John Birch Society, American Legion, Daughters of American Revolution, the Right to Life and anti-abortion groups, and fundamentalist religious groups. Anti-ERA groups have sprung up across the country posing as the arch defenders of the genuine rights and dignity of the American women. Cashing in on the fears and insecurity of working women caused by the decaying capitalist system, these reactionary forces push the most fascist ideology on us.

They claim that the ERA will destroy the family, while in fact it is capitalism that is increasing its attacks on the working class family. They spread the lie that ERA will force women out of the home when women are being forced into wage slavery in order to support their families. They say that ERA will breed widespread homosexual marriage, when it is the bourgeoisie, through the liberals under the cloak of "freedom", that are actively promoting promiscuity and homosexuality, to the level of moral principles. And as another aspect of their reactionary dual tactics, they even resurrect feudal ideology and make it an ingredient of their eclectic fascist ideology. Phyllis Schafly, the head of the national STOP ERA and the leading mouthpiece of these fascist forces, said in her national campaign in 46 states: "The truth is that American women never had it so good. Why should we lower ourselves to 'equal rights' when we already have the status of special privilege?"

The fascist anti-ERA campaign has become the agent of the bourgeoisie in drumming up patriotism and myths of the "ideal American family." They appeal to the working class' genuine hatred and reaction to degenerate culture, pornography, promiscuity, and the growth of the gay and lesbian movement. These forces pump reactionary male supremacist ideology into the working class. The "Total Woman" program which teaches that "the sole purpose for the existence of women is to serve men", is promoted as the newest vogue. The outcry of these fascist forces to go "back to the home, back to economic dependence on marriage as the sole career for women, expel women from employment and give the jobs to men, produce more cannon fodder for war!" is nothing but out and out fascist ideology on the women question.

In the middle of this growing economic crisis where the working class -- especially the oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and women -- are hardest hit, anti-ERA forces act together with the bourgeoisie to push working women back into the home and out of social production. The drawing of women into industry has been the historically progressive role of capitalism, in the relation of women to society. As analyzed by Marx:

However terrible and disgusting the dissolution under the capitalist system of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless, modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons and to children of both sexes, creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relation between the sexes. (Marx, Capital, Vol. I, ch. 15)

But capitalism in the period of general crisis is moving in the opposite direction. It is no longer hunting for new reserves of labor power to exploit. On the contrary, it can no longer find employment for the existing labor force.

Under these conditions, the right-wing fascist forces help to justify the bourgeois attacks on the right to free day-care, the right to abortion, and help to drive women out of the work force under a fundamentalist religious cover. They glorify the traditional ideas of "motherhood". Their religious mouthpieces preach reactionary ideas that "god planned for women to be under their husbands' rule." At the same time, the liberals come out in "defense" of women's rights demanding "compensatory" seniority for women and affirmative action programs that only provide token positions in high places for petty bourgeois women, without dealing with the demands for job security, decent living standards and working conditions for masses of working women and the entire working class. They help to lay the groundwork for women to fight with men for jobs, pitting women against men and helping to promote a split in the working class, diverting attention from the real enemy -- the bourgeoisie.

This is the dialectics between liberal reformism and fascism. By promoting liberal promiscuity and decadence, liberalism helps to usher in fascism, first by feeding and nurturing the seeds of a reactionary women's movement, and secondly by whipping up male supremacist ideology, patriotism and fundamentalism. Dimitrov, the great anti-fascist fighter, warned of the danger of fascists using women as the social base for their rule:

While fascism exacts most from youth, it enslaves women with particular ruthlessness and cynicism, playing on the most painful feelings of the mother, the housewife, the single working women, uncertain of the morrow. ("Women and the United Front", Report to the 7th Congress, Communist International 1935, Red Star Press, London, 1974, p. 90)

The trade union misleaders have collaborated with the bourgeoisie in support of the E.R.A. to promote faith in

bourgeois democracy. For example, DC 37, in their Public Employee Press says "The N.Y. State Equal Rights Amendment is another step towards completing the unfinished task that began with the Declaration, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. It fills in the missing constitutional protection of equal rights under the law for both sexes and assures the elimination of practices which deny these rights. It is the legal, constitutional way of saying that we believe all people are created equal."

DEEPEN THE LINE STRUGGLE TO CORRECTLY LEAD THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The "C" PUSA is opposed to the "current passage of the ERA in its present form" because it is not reformist enough. So they offer more concrete reformist programs that are totally devoid of class content. They proposed that a Women's Bill of Rights should be added to accompany the ERA. It includes such things as "universal daycare, strengthening and enforcing laws protecting the health of women, laws guaranteeing paid sick leave, etc., etc." According to the revisionists, these laws "are the only ways to guarantee full equality for women and to eliminate the present unfair discriminatory practices based on sex."

The OL, as usual, blinded by abstract and formal equality and faith in bourgeois democracy is tailing the monopoly capitalist class and helping them to spread bourgeois democratic illusions among the workers. They do not understand the zigzags of bourgeois tactics and the bourgeoisie's use of reforms to divert the movement. They do not examine whether the masses of working women are behind the ERA but support it because it can "give women a somewhat better field to fight in." The masses of women do not want to fight in the courts, but on the jobs, in the streets for real equality.

The RCP, on the other hand, opposed the ERA. But what are the reasons for the RCP to oppose the ERA? They say the ERA "makes a show of granting token opportunity to women, especially executives and professionals, while actually robbing working women of protective legislation won through many hard fought battles in the late 19th and early 20th centuries." They too do not see the role bourgeois democracy plays. They are promoting more bourgeois illusions instead of exposing the hypocrisy and inconsistency of bourgeois reforms.

The RCP is totally blind to how liberalism is used by the bourgeoisie to feed the growth of fascism. They do not see that the ERA is a subterfuge, a trick and an attack on working women. They are against the ERA only because it does not promise "palpable results". seeing fascism only as repression leads the RCP to liquidate the struggle against the process of fascization in this period.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY IN THE REVOLUTION

We must examine the ERA in the context of this current economic crisis, the approaching danger of world war and fascism. The build-up for the bicentennial, the use of the subterfuges are all part of this process to disarm the working class, to strengthen the hold of bourgeois ideology to weaken our fighting spirit. We cannot support the ERA because it will strengthen the bourgeoisie. The passing of the ERA will not be a victory for the women's movement. We must fight for daycare, welfare, equal pay for equal work, right to jobs. To fight for equality for women, we must organize women as part of the revolutionary movement in this country, we must bring them Marxist-Leninist theory and struggle for a break from bourgeois ideology, win the advanced workers to communism and build the genuine working class Communist Party in the U.S. Only through proletarian revolution will women begin to obtain true equality!!

SPORTS AND CLASS STRUGGLE

SPORTS CONTINUED FROM P.5.

anything, even degrading women, to "win a gold," is typical of social imperialist culture today. In every sphere -- opera, ballet, painting, films, mass entertainment -- the Soviet revisionists push the culture of the imperialist ruling class, glorifying their past conquests and present decadence.

SPORTS AND "DETENTE"

The U.S. and Soviet rulers even twist and corrupt sports to fit into their "detente" schemes.

The people's sports and culture from socialist China hold real revolutionary lessons for all of us, while the Soviet culture deals with bourgeois illusions, lies and mind-boggling spectacles. This is one reason the U.S. bourgeoisie constantly plays down friendship matches with China and promotes the "detente" exchanges with the Soviet Union.

The U.S. imperialists have talked a lot about "friendship" with socialist China, but they are afraid of the socialist ideas and the unity of the U.S. and Chinese working class that will come with "too much" friendship. To promote Chinese cultural exchanges would mean promoting anti-imperialism. It would call attention to China's leading role in supporting the Third World struggles for liberation, and also China's consistent exposure of the "detente" schemes of the two superpowers.

That's why the U.S.-Chinese basketball matches weren't promoted the way most big sports events are "hyped." Meanwhile, last winter the U.S. bourgeoisie broadcast the Soviet circus more than a month ahead of time as "the entertainment event of the season." Why this circus "detente"?

Today, the U.S. and Soviet superpowers are contending with each other for the spoils of their aggression in the world. Both of them would like to see socialist China destroyed. The Soviet superpower feints to the east while attacking in the west. They are much more confident about attacking Europe and the decaying U.S. imperialists than the strong and rising socialist China. Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists try to buy time to build up arms to fight the Soviet Union.

At this point, "detente" serves to cover both superpowers' preparations for war. So after an initial spurt of "friendship" by the U.S. imperialists towards China, things have cooled off and "detente" has come to the forefront.

It's no accident that the special production of last winter's Soviet circus featured the U.S.-Soviet space mission as an aerobatic spectacular. The "detente" politicians on both

sides use sports and culture to put up an illusion of cooperation. They use movies, records, books and other "cultural exchanges" to speed up their mutual infiltration of bourgeois culture. And as the recent hockey and Olympic competitions show, both sides also use sports to whip up patriotism for a new war.

As the two superpowers gear up for war, we mustn't be fooled by the poisonous lies of "detente" and "friendship" between them. We must expose "detente" for the murderous policy it is, seizing every opportunity in politics and culture to lead the masses to a correct understanding of the superpower war schemes.

At the same time, we must actively build friendship with the Soviet people. We must promote the glorious traditions of Lenin and Stalin, of the October Revolution and the Anti-Fascist War, and of the great Subbotnik

We won't be fooled. We will do everything we can to actively promote cultural exchanges and friendship between the peoples of the world. In every way possible we should promote the real revolutionary socialist content of friendship with China. We should expose all attempts of the imperialists and social-imperialists to use sports and culture to cover up their feverish war preparations. The people of the world have strength, can learn from each other, and will unite to defeat all imperialist schemes!■

SMASH TITLE XX

TITLE XX CONTINUED FROM P.17.

Childcare is part of "private domestic labor" and the bourgeoisie is caught in a bind between the necessity of providing for the socialization of labor and childcare, on the one hand, and on the other, increasing class consciousness of the proletariat which such socialization must inevitably bring with it. By cutting back services under Title XX, the bourgeoisie is trying to reverse this inevitable trend. They are trying to further oppress working class women by preventing them from taking part in social production. Capitalism is the material root cause of the super-exploitation of women, exploitation over and beyond their oppression as members of the working class. Only by eliminating monopoly capitalism can we make sure that working women are no longer oppressed in these or any other ways.

FIGHTING BACK: MISLEADERS DIVERT US

Since Title XX went into effect, there have been mass struggles against it and against related cuts in services. While most of the country have not yet felt its effects, they are sure to follow soon. In New York City, where its effects are sharper and more urgent because there are more services to be cut, there has been widespread resistance to all aspects of Title XX. Daycare parents and workers have demonstrated against it, as have the elderly. But most of these struggles have been spontaneous, and therefore easily misled by all kinds of opportunists. For example, misleaders who pipped off the struggles of retired workers have tried to pit them against working class women in their scramble for funds. Misleaders of the daycare struggle just focus on NY State's eligibility limit of 80% and try to raise it to 115%, or they tell us that "Title XX is basically good for the rest of the country, it's just bad for NY City." This completely covers up the essence of Title XX, which is an attack on the rights of the whole working class--especially women and oppressed nationalities and national minorities--to these services, and helps the bourgeoisie prepare for fascism by diverting the struggle and dividing our class.

We have to be especially careful to expose revisionist or Trotskyite groups like the PSP, SWP, and papers like the Guardian and the City Star, who talk about revolution and fighting the capitalists, but actually help to mislead the working class struggle by not exposing the bourgeois plan behind bills like Title XX. None of these groups calls for the smashing of Title XX, but instead, mesmerized by legality and law, focus on superficial aspects, as if by raising the income limit to 115% and getting rid of the parent locator service, we can change the essence of Title XX. These are the same groups which, when daycare centers were being closed pushed squatting as the only tactic to fight back with, thus doing exactly what the bourgeoisie wants from the working class: turning public daycare into private co-ops, and bearing the burden of the economic crisis. The bourgeoisie can afford private governesses, special schools; even the petty bourgeoisie can afford private daycare and their utopian schemes. But the proletariat has no choice but to demand: **FREE DAYCARE FOR THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS AND ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES!**

While this demand springs from the working class' immediate needs,

in order to fully realize this demand,

"...it is necessary to formulate and put forward all these demands not in a reformist, but in a revolutionary way; not by keeping within the framework of bourgeois legality, but by breaking through it; not by confining oneself to parliamentary speeches and verbal protests, but by drawing the masses into real action, by widening and fomenting the struggle for every kind of fundamental democratic demand, right up to and including the direct onslaught of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, i.e., to the socialist revolution, which will expropriate the bourgeoisie." (Lenin. "The Socialist Revolution and Right of Nations to Self-Determination (Theses)", Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism. p. 112)

SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY SOLUTION

It is only by fighting for socialism that we can at one sweep get at the root of the economic crisis, of the danger of world war and fascism, and of the oppression of women -- monopoly capitalism. It is only when the proletariat, who produce the wealth of society, establishes its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie that real democracy, real freedom, and genuine equality can be achieved. In a socialist economy, where everyone participates in socially productive labor to help build socialism, there is no longer any material basis for the oppression of women and the denial of genuine equality. In socialist countries like China and Albania, universal daycare is provided as a matter of course to enable mothers to work to build socialism, as well as for the socialized upbringing of children.

Under capitalism the struggle of working class women for jobs and for daycare continues. It is fundamentally different from and hostile to the bourgeois feminists' so-called liberation movement, which just fights for women's "right" to "do their own thing" and for "equality" to join the exploiter class. Working class women will have none of that. The essence of our struggle is class struggle, for the emancipation of women through the abolition of classes and private property. In our struggle to smash Title XX and fight for free daycare for the working class, we must grasp tightly the essence of our fight.

"The working women's movement has for its object the fight for the economic and social, and not merely formal, equality of woman. The main task is to draw the women into socially productive labor, extricate them from "domestic slavery," free them of their stultifying and humiliating resignation to the perpetual and exclusive atmosphere of the kitchen and nursery.

It is a long struggle, requiring a radical remaking both of social technique and of customs. But this struggle will end with the complete triumph of communism." (Lenin. Women and Society. In The Woman Question. p.63)

SMASH TITLE XX!

FREE DAYCARE FOR THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS AND ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

EDITORIAL:

IWWD

IWWD (EDITORIAL) CONTINUED FROM P.15.

of communists. By saying that the chief form of communist work is propaganda, in reality they see it as the only task. They give up the need to win over the advanced and the masses in the course of class struggle against the monopoly capitalists by giving communist leadership.

SELF-CRITICISM

Workers' Viewpoint has also made serious right errors in our initial preparation for International Working Women's Day this year, temporarily conciliating to bourgeois feminism. The basis is the liquidation of the women's question. Without grasping firmly Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought as our guide, with some petty bourgeois social basis in the organization, with the condition of the women's movement where marsh forces prevail, a bourgeois feminist line inevitably crept in and temporarily took over the women's work in the organization.

THE TASK AHEAD

The most urgent task of communists today is party building. Build the Party on the ideological plane, grasp the key link of political line! This means that we must apply the general truth of MLMttT to the concrete conditions of the U.S., imperialism in its dying age. We must seek out, identify and criticize the nationally specific character of revisionism in the U.S. in all its political, ideological and organizational manifestations. We must earnestly "study Marxism and criticize revisionism", and combat and prevent degeneration. The women's question is an area where the communist movement

has lagged behind because of general theoretical weaknesses and the serious liquidationist tendencies on the women's question.

"We must by all means set up a powerful international women's movement on a clear cut theoretical basis. It is clear that without Marxist theory we cannot have proper practice. Here too, we communists need the greatest clarity of principle. We must draw a sharp line between us and all other parties." ("My Recollections of Lenin", Clara Zetkin, Appendix to The Emancipation of Women). The same task is confronting us today. All true fighters for the emancipation of women must take up the task. We must grasp tightly propaganda as the chief form of activity for Communists in this period. We must win over the advanced in the women's movement, promote women leadership and fuse the women's movement with the communist movement. And in the context of providing leadership to the day to day struggle of working women we must develop a fighting program on all the burning questions confronting working women. This will lay the basis for a mass revolutionary women's movement that will march in arms with the entire working class, under the leadership of a genuine communist party, in fulfilling the historic mission of the proletariat of overthrowing monopoly capitalism and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ANGOLA

POWER POLITICS OF

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

& US IMPERIALISM

ANGOLA CONTINUED FROM P.1.

The struggle to kick the super-powers and South Africa out of Angola is not only a struggle for the Angolan people's independence and liberation, for the independence of Africa and the Third World countries; it is also a struggle against the danger of world war for the oppressed peoples around the world. For the working class in the U.S., this struggle also means fighting against fascist rule at home, which will inevitably accompany world war!

A brief survey of recent developments will show naked imperialist power politics. This is especially evident since the recent military successes of the MPLA. U.S. imperialism has abruptly changed its past policy towards the MPLA. The State Department has once again allowed the Boeing Aircraft Corp. to negotiate jet sales and also allowed Gulf Oil Co. to reactivate its production in the Cabinda enclave. These commercial ties were cut off just a month and a half ago. Even racist South Africa has started to negotiate diplomatic relations with the MPLA. Practically the entire Common Market, with the exception of West Germany, has also established diplomatic relations with the MPLA. Though the U.S. has not officially set up diplomatic relations, Daniel Parker, an administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), said in an interview, according to the Christian Science Monitor, that the AID has already made a "computer print out" of officials with background and language training who could serve in Angola. This is clearly a prelude towards extending full diplomatic recognition.

After forcing the military victory of the MPLA through Cuban troops and "advisors" from the Soviet Union, the Soviet social-imperialists have faked some phony "official" gestures about how, in principle, they are for a compromise solution, etc.

This is the latest trick in their attempt to cover up their imperialist nature. But African countries and the whole world are beginning to see through their treachery and deceit!

Meanwhile, the UNITA and FNIA have retreated into the countryside and promise to wage a protracted people's war with the MPLA, Cuban troops, and Soviet "advisors."

Kamana, Zambia's permanent representative at the UN, put this situation very clearly in his letter to the N.Y. Times:

"It was the O.A.U. that recognized all the three movements in Angola; it was the O.A.U. that asked and mandated Zambia along with Tanzania, Zaire and the Congo to carry out the task of uniting the three movements.... Zambia has always believed that it could co-exist with any government that finally established itself in Angola. That government can be MPLA; it could be UNITA or FNIA; it could be a combination of two or three movements.... Another set of principles that has guided Zambia in her Angolan policy has to do with democracy and non-alignment. Zambia believes that its policy on Angola must reflect its own at home. For this reason, Zambia has never found it necessary to usurp the right of the Angolan people to choose a government for themselves.

This is clearly the prerogative of the Angolan people, and even if the MPLA overruns all of Angola, as appears to be the case now, and defeats the other parties in a conventional war, this would be no proof of the popularity of the victor or the unpopularity of the vanquished.

Military victory by one party is not proof of the nonexistence of the other political parties.

Finally, Zambia has taken care throughout the Angolan crisis to distinguish between the question of assisting liberation of an African state from colonial rule and going beyond the threshold of liberating a territory and getting involved in the making of governments for sovereign states.

It believes that it is one thing to help Angola with its independence but quite another to help any group of Angolans impose a government over the people of Angola. (New York Times, Feb. 25, 1976, p. 39.)

We think this is an example of a staunch and principled position.

The WVO upholds the position that Angolan people have to choose their own government. In the long run, if the MPLA has a correct line, they will win the masses of Angolan people and consolidate its government. If the UNITA has a correct line, then they will win the masses of Angolan people to their side. But the present MPLA regime is imposed partly by the Soviet Social-Imperialists and Cuban troops and does not constitute the voluntary choice of the Angolan people and is not the result of their internal struggle. That's why we still uphold the position that coalition government is the only correct solution now.

Coalition government, as Dimitrov said, is a particular form of united front tactic. It's a transitional form of government and does not necessarily mean the dictatorship of any particular party or class.

The principal danger to the Angolan people still remains the super-powers, particularly the Soviet Social-Imperialists and the South African apartheid regime. The unity of the 3 groups in a coalition government, a particular organizational form of the united front, will enhance their strength against the imperialists and South Africa. Internal struggle should take place in the context of fighting the super-powers and South Africa. Whichever party proves to be the most staunch and consistent in resisting imperialism and racist South Africa will inevitably be chosen by the Angolan people themselves. To put this position in perspective, we must examine the history of the 3 liberation groups, the FNIA, MPLA and UNITA, in their past struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

HISTORY OF THE 3 LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Since 1961, the Angolan people began to wage armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. In fighting against colonialism, three liberation movements, the MPLA, UNITA, and FNIA, representing different regions and three main tribal groups of Angola have emerged.

The MPLA, under the leadership of Agostinho Neto, which waged armed struggle against the Portuguese police and troops since 1961, was mainly based in the oil-rich northern corner of Cabinda enclave, Luanda, the capital city of Angola and areas surrounding it, and areas around major ports of Lobito, Benguela, Nova Redondo and Mocamedes. They have support mainly among the Mbundu people.

The UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, was based mainly in the central region of Huambo, where a significant portion of Angolan people (about 40%) lives. They mainly based their support among the Ovibundu group.

The FNIA, led by Holden Roberto, developed around 1961 out of armed peasant uprisings of the Bakongo tribal group with over a million people; it was based mainly around the northern regions of Angola, bordering Zaire.



In a multi-national state such as Angola, with its varied regional, tribal, and linguistic groups, with varied histories of struggle, differences naturally exist. There were many efforts since 1961 to reconcile their differences so that they could be united to fight the common enemy - the Portuguese colonialists. Some of these efforts were temporarily successful, some were not. However, all three groups agreed to fight first of all for the independence of Angola.

On Nov. 10, 1975, after over a decade of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, the Angolan people finally forced the Portuguese to surrender. The Portuguese High Commissioner to Angola was forced to agree to return the sovereign rights of the Angolan people. That was a great victory for the Angolan people, as well as a victory for the whole of Africa and the oppressed people around the world. The victory of the Angolan people's armed struggle marked the total collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

After the signing of the Alvor agreement in Jan. and the Nakuru agreement in June 1975 in Kenya, the three liberation groups all agreed to a coalition government with equal representation. This was recommended by the OAU (Organization of African Unity) which has aided the armed struggle of the whole Angolan people for the last several years.

SUPERPOWER CONTENTION BREAKS

ANGOLAN UNITY

It was then, just as the Angolan people were about to realize their centuries-old dream of national independence, that both superpowers, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, started to play their imperialist power politics, speculating on the gains of the people and placing "bets" on the "winner."

They did it by pumping large sums of money and large amounts of weaponry to different liberation groups, sabotaging the coalition government that just got off the ground. The U.S. pumped in at least \$50 million in support of one group. Because of the notori-

ous reputation of U.S. imperialism in Africa, and because of growing opposition from the masses at home, as well as inter-monopoly fights as to how to handle the situation, the U.S. imperialists instigated aggression secretly thru the CIA.

The Soviet Union, however, being a state-monopoly capitalist country, with highly centralized social-fascist rule at home, has no such concern for domestic opposition, and started interference and subversion by declaring one group to be "revolutionary" and the others "reactionary" and "paid agents" of the U.S. imperialists. It pumped in an unprecedented amount of sophisticated arms and weaponry, which it had denied the Angolan people during the

15 years of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. These weapons include tanks, SAM missiles, armored cars, helicopters, and other heavy weaponry that other liberation groups don't have. This was a way to make sure that "their bet" came out winning, a treacherous imperialist move to wreck the agreement for the coalition government.

Since the start of the civil war, the MPLA, encouraged by the Soviet Union, has declared the establishment of the "Peoples Republic of Angola". Correspondingly, the FNLA, temporarily allying with the UNITA, also set up their "People's Democratic Republic of Angola." This further aggravated the civil war - and plunged Angola into a blood bath with more people killed in the last few months than the total casualties over a decade of armed struggle against the Portuguese. The collapse of the coalition government gave a pretext for racist South Africa to send troops into Angola.

The Soviet social-imperialists have also started an arm twisting "diplomatic offensive," pressuring other countries, in particular neighboring African countries such as Uganda and Zaire, to recognize only the "People's Republic of Angola." This was done through their "foreign aid" strings, slander campaigns, and Big Power chauvinist diplomatic blackmail. Many countries, including Uganda under president Amin, and Zaire, openly resisted this kind of imperialist strongman power politics.

This imperialist power politics has not only led to a blood bath in Angola, but has also caused tremendous damage to the OAU, an organization that has so far led and successfully persisted in fighting colonialists and racist South Africa, and is still aiding armed struggle throughout Africa. Presently, a majority of member states of the OAU, including Zaire, have already recognized the MPLA; some of the others, like Zambia, have not.

Disunity and even a possible organizational split in the OAU would wreck the unity of the whole African continent against racism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism. This is the crime of the superpowers, in particular the Soviet social-imperialists. This represents an escalation of imperialist power politics to a higher stage.

RIISING THREAT OF SOVIET SOCIAL- IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

The Chinese CP warns us, "In kicking a wolf out of the front door, beware of the tiger coming in thru the back door." This is exactly what's happening in Angola, and it has serious consequences for the liberation of Africa. For example, after the Indo-Chinese people kicked out the French imperialists, they had to deal with the U.S. imperialists, who came in under the slogans "democracy and freedom," and posed as "liberators of the S.E. Asian people." Actually, the U.S. was the rising imperialist power after World War II, filling in the economic, political, and military vacuum left by the defeated Japanese imperialists. And that's why an imperialist power that is relatively new to the scene is more dangerous, because it pretends to be the "friend of the people." U.S. imperialism waved the banner of "anti-fascism, democracy, and freedom" right after World War II; the Soviet social-imperialists today wave the banner of "socialism." This only shows that history has now developed to a higher level! For that reason, the new imperialists have to be more cunning and appear more "progressive" and "revolutionary."

Part of the progressive, anti-imperialist and communist movements of today came out of the struggles in the 1960's and early 1970's in support of liberation struggles around the world against U.S. imperialism. From these struggles we have developed a particular hatred for U.S. imperialism and understand well its "language", "popular logic," and its essence. However, our understanding of imperialism is uneven. This unevenness is most clearly seen in a poor understanding of the development of revisionism - for example, how and why Lenin's great party, the bastion of the world proletariat, degenerated and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Lack of understanding leads to a tendency to centrist thinking with regard to international questions.

Today, these people either see the Soviet Union as a "friend of the Third World," or only as a secondary danger. Some see the Soviet Union as static or in absolute terms: once the Soviet Union is socialist, it is always socialist. They deny the danger of Soviet social-imperialism and its international role today.

ANGOLA CONTINUED ON P.24.

ANGOLA CONTINUED FROM P.23.

The Soviet party has degenerated since the death of Stalin. Capitalist bureaucrats took over the leadership of the party and changed the relations of production so that workers are once again exploited by a small class of capitalist bureaucrats at the top. Using the name and past prestige of the great Leninist party, these revisionists covered up the shameful restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Their imperialist foreign policy is nothing but a reflection, a concentrated expression of their domestic capitalistic economy. Its policy on "peace" and war, under the deceitful slogan of "irreversible detente," is nothing except the logical extension of their imperialist economy at home. Let's take a look at their practice:

If they were genuinely socialist and supported national liberation struggles, why did they resort to blackmailing China, pulling the strings of their "foreign aid," withdrawing their technicians and closing down plants in construction in 1959, when China disagreed with Khrushchov over how to fight U.S. imperialism. And in the early 1960's why did the Soviet Union take the stand that the Algerian liberation movement for self-determination was "an internal affair of France?" If they supported national liberation struggles and the right to self-determination, why did the Soviet Union give armed security guarantees to Israel, precluding full rights of self-determination for the Palestinian people for a multi-national secular state in Palestine?

If the Soviet Union supports national liberation struggles, why did they deny the right of self-determination to the Kashmir people in the Indian sub-continent who have struggled as long as the Indians and Pakistanis against colonialism and for liberation? By the same account, why did they choose to encourage India's annexation of Bangladesh, and more recently Sikkim in the same region?

If they are for "peace" and "detente", then why did the Soviet Union invade Czechoslovakia under the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, which views the sovereignty of Eastern European countries as their sovereignty. By the same account, how can the Soviet Union unilaterally sign an agreement with the U.S. imperialists over the national boundary of Germany, to partition a third sovereign state? If they are so "consistent" in supporting national liberation struggles and fighting for "peace" between nations, why did they jump out and support Turkey against Greece during the Cyprus crisis and then, seeing the wind blowing the other way, switch sides and support Greece?

All these are nothing but despicable old colonial politics, merchant style "arms dealing," unprincipled speculation on which side "wins" and who comes out "losing," and selling out the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world!!

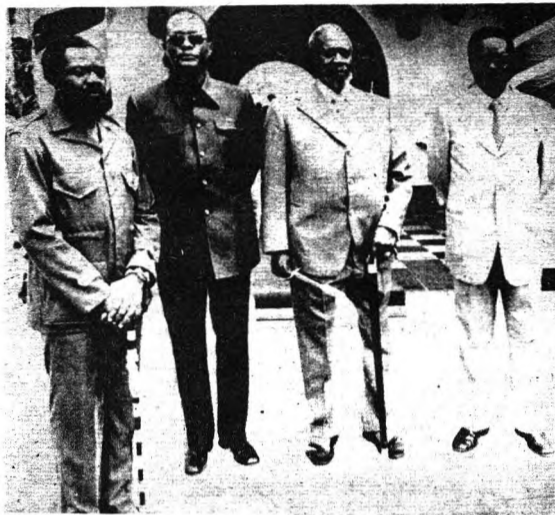
The revisionists and social chauvinists cannot possibly answer these questions!

NEW GLOBAL STRATEGY FOR SOVIET

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The Soviet social-imperialists are now using Cuban troops to test their new global strategy of using the Third World countries to fight the Third World - a new version of the Nixon Doctrine of using

Asians to fight Asians. This is the strategy repeatedly used in the Indian sub-continent, in Bangladesh and Sikkim. They are testing to see how successful it can be, as well as using it as a litmus test for "detente" policy, to see how far they can go without damaging their "detente" policy of colluding with U.S. imperialists around the world, and of borrowing money and technology from them. Soviet social-imperialists are using revolutionary Cuban sons and daughters as cannon fodder, to keep themselves from being stuck in a long, drawn-out war, the way the Portuguese colonialists were trapped in Angola and the U.S. imperialists were trapped in Indo-China by the resistance of liberation movements. For if the Soviet social-imperialists were trapped in a "Vietnam-like" situation by liberation forces it would be a strategic defeat for them in Africa as well as the world over.



LEFT TO RIGHT. JONAS SAVIMBI (UNITA), HOLDEN ROBERTO (FNLA), PRESIDENT JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA, AGOSTINHO NETO (MPLA)

Cuban soldiers today, however, are objectively acting as mercenaries in Angola, essentially paying off their "mortgage" to the Soviet social-imperialists. More important than this blackmail, however, is the petty-bourgeois revisionism of the Cuban leadership. Cuban people, including Che and Castro, have made great contributions to the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle. The leadership, however, holds the incorrect view that revolution can be exported, and hence are pawns of the "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union ("C"PSU), which long ago renounced Marxism-Leninism and degenerated to revisionism. Genuine Marxists hold that revolution can only be made and then safeguarded - which is more important from the historical point of view - through the ripening of the objective and subjective factors within a country. Revolution can only be made through the application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete, particular conditions of the country. Without developing a correct line based on the concrete conditions of the particular country, even if we were able to successfully seize state power mainly through the aid of out-side forces, we could not consolidate and further develop the revolution. In fact, we would sooner or later lose it, or be subjugated by another state. Such is the case of Cuba today, with the Soviet Union.

CHINA'S PRINCIPLED POSITION

China is the country that holds the only correct proletarian internationalist position towards the Angolan question. She aided, militarily and politically, the armed anti-colonial struggle of the Angolan people. However, after the Portuguese surrendered, and after the signing of the agreement between

the three liberation movements, she ceased all military aid to the three groups. This is based on the principle that now it is their own internal affair and that all three groups should settle their own affairs thru peaceful means in the interest of the Angolan people.

Many forces today, in particular the "C" PUSA and various Trotskyite sects and, of course, our "buffer" the Guardian centrists, have all, with hidden ulterior motives, come out attacking China and China's principled stand on the Angolan question. Actually, all these dirt and marsh forces are mouthing the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialist propaganda. Lenin once said that a political organization should be judged not by what it says, but by whom it serves. It is quite clear by now that, for example, the "Bangladesh bandwagon", with all its "popularity" and "chic," did not serve the interests of people of Bangladesh and did not lessen their suffering, nor promote their liberation. In fact, it only intensified their sufferings and prolonged their new subjugation under new foreign rulers, the Indian expansionists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

We see the same situation today with regard to Angola. The chauvinist slander by the "C" PUSA and various Trotskyite sects, who say that UNITA and FNLA are merely paid agents of U.S. imperialism, are lies which play into the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. These marsh forces have taken their whole analysis, their whole stand, viewpoint, and method, wholly from the superpowers' press! By mouthing anti-China and anti-communist slander, these "friends of the Angolan people" try to impose the imperialists' interests upon the Angolan people. If the UNITA and FNLA are "agents of U.S. imperialism", then why did the MPLA, which they all recognize as "genuine," negotiate with them throughout the last fifteen years and even recently agree to form a coalition government with them? Would a "genuine" organization agree to sit in a coalition government with mere "agents" and allow them to have the majority??

So you have, on the one hand, revisionists, centrists, Trotskyites, and scores of marsh forces from the "left" that pretend to be the "friends of the Angolan people." On the other hand, there are misleaders like Roy Innis of C.O.R.E., who have not only sold out the Afro-American struggle here at home, but also peddle the "defense of the ancestral homeland" to serve the U.S. imperialists.

EXPOSE THE SELL-OUT MISLEADERS OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Recruiting 300 Afro-American veterans to go to Angola to "assist anti-communist" forces as "combat medics," Innis said, "...on the basis of patriotism, I applaud their noble action (for supporting) their ancestral homeland in times of war." This is nothing but jingoism, to attempt to sell U.S. imperialist intervention in Angola to the American working class, in particular, the Afro-American people.

With such "friends of the Angolan people," from both the right and the "left", the working class is being deceived as to the real enemies and the real content of the superpowers' contention for world hegemony.

As we said earlier, fighting against superpower interference in Angola is more than just an Angolan affair. It involves the inter-



PARALLELS TO THE INFAMOUS MUNICH PACT AND THE START OF WORLD WAR II

The situation resembles the infamous Munich Pact, signed before the outbreak of World War II, where the West wanted to lure Hitler into attacking the Soviet Union, then the greatest bastion of socialism at that time, by giving Czechoslovakia to fascist Germany in order to divert the fascist danger away from themselves. There is a similarity today to that situation.

Today, the Soviet social-imperialists are comparable to the fascists in Germany, while U.S. imperialism is comparable to the West before World War II. The Soviet and U.S. imperialists fear China, much like the West and fascist Germany feared the Soviet Union, because all imperialists fear the forces of socialism, the international proletariat, and the forces of national liberation! Today, the U.S. imperialists want to divert Soviet social-imperialism toward China and away from themselves. This is their global strategy. But as the lesson of Munich shows, this will back-fire. Encouraged by the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists will have greater ambitious desires for Europe and other areas where their interests overlap and conflict. Such a policy will lead to world war. In fact, it is a fast rising trend today, along with the trend for revolution.

ests of all the oppressed peoples around the world. The imperialists' predatory policy of "detente," this imperialist policy of "peace," will inevitably lead to a world war. It's clear that "hot spots" have shifted from Indo-China in the 1960's and early 1970's, to Europe, the Middle East and Cyprus, and now to Angola. The contradictions are shifting from one between U.S. imperialism and the Third World countries, to the one between imperialists. Though Europe is the strategic area of contention, the superpowers periodically reach out their hands to grab where ever they think they can get a quick buck, a quick victory. Now, it's Angola.

RISING DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR

Escalation of competition between the two superpowers, directly or, more often, indirectly, will lead to a new world war!

The only way to end the danger of world war is to uproot the cause of world war - imperialism. As long as imperialism exists, there will inevitably be war. Even though the subjective factors for revolution in the U.S. and Soviet Union are excellent, they are not ripe, however, and will most likely not be ripe for successful revolution, even if there is a revolutionary situation now or in the next few years. Yet, potential hot spots for world war constantly flare up. There will be constant flareups. Successful national liberation struggles and the strength of the Third World have tremendously reduced the danger of world war. It is only when people are divided, such as in Europe, Cyprus, and Angola, that the superpowers can jump in and fish in troubled waters. Disunity among the oppressed countries, nations, and peoples are conditions for imperialist contention and world war. Imperialism itself is the main cause, the real basis for war.

Weaknesses of the European Second World countries resulted last year in the infamous "European security treaty," the Helsinki pact. This pact actually encouraged the Soviet social-imperialists, who are now more dangerous than the U.S. imperialists and are the main source of war, just like Hitler's Germany before World War II.

Weaknesses in the Third World, like in Angola, allow the superpowers to sneak in with their treacherous, imperialist power politics, which further splits our forces, as in the OAU.

Chairman Mao says that either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will lead to revolution. The most likely situation now is that world war will lead to revolution. But for us in the U.S., world war means fascist rule at home. World war will mean that the U.S. bourgeoisie will have to stream-line their collapsing economy at the expense of the U.S. working class. This will bring about mounting working class resistance and corresponding fascist repression. That is why our interests and the Angolan people's interests to fight the superpowers are intimately linked. We are fighting the same enemy!

The Angolan people have waged hundreds of years of struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Their struggle will not be derailed by either superpower! The Angolan people will stand up and be victorious!!

KICK THE SUPERPOWERS AND SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF ANGOLA!!

PEOPLE OF ANGOLA AND THE U.S., UNITE!

LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S
STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND
LIBERATION!

THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN
LIBERATION THRU SELF-RELIANCE!!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES
OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!!



That means our struggle in the shops cannot be limited to fights for day-to-day immediate interests, within the framework of bourgeois legality. We must cast away illusions that these sufferings can be gotten rid of within the bounds of monopoly capitalism.

Trade unionism as pushed by the bourgeoisie through their labor lieutenants, is used to dope us into such illusions and to try to straitjacket the militant spontaneous struggle of the workers by confining it within the framework of capitalism.

We must make a distinction between the workers who spontaneously rise up to fight the bosses without seeing the bankruptcy of trade unionism and the trade union bureaucrats who push trade unionism to straitjacket the working class movement. We have to smash the trade union bureaucrats through exposure and isolation as the social props of the bourgeoisie, while we must patiently try to win over the misled workers through agitation and propaganda. We must never reduce our demands to purely economic demands of dollars and cents. RCP does exactly that.

DEFEAT THE ECONOMIST LINE ON THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE

The opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) throws these fundamental teachings of Lenin out the window, as it moves forward in its get-rich-quick pragmatic efforts to build the "broadest" mass movement in the "fastest" possible way. Bowing to spontaneity, they are not putting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in command to guide their ideology and policy. As an inevitable result, opportunist lines take command. This economism of the RCP is very clearly seen in their position on the garment workers' struggle.

In their article, "Battle Brews in Garment Industry" in the Feb. issue of Revolution, all they can see and raise are the "immediate needs and interests of the ILGWU rank and file in the area" of substantial wage increases, job security and a "real" retirement plan. This is economism pure and simple.

(Continuacion de la pagina 27)

mujeres bajo condiciones en que las fuerzas marjal predominan una linea femenista burguesa inevitablemente se metio y temporaneamente domino el trabajo entre las mujeres en nuestra organizacion.

La Tarea Que Ados Enfrenta

Hoy día, la tarea mas urgente de los comunistas es construir el partido. Construyan el Partido en un plano ideológico, comprendan la linea política como el punto clave! Esto quiere decir que nosotros tenemos que aplicar la verdad general del pensamiento Marxismo-Leninismo-Mao Tse-tung a las condiciones concretas de los EEUU, el imperialismo en su tiempo de muerte. Tenemos que buscar, identificar y criticar las características específicas nacionales del revisionismo Americano en los EEUU en todas sus manifestaciones políticas y ideológicas. Tenemos que "estudiar el Marxismo y criticar el revisionismo" seriamente combatir y evitar la degeneracion. El tema de mujer es una área es donde el movimiento comunista se ha retrasado comprensión por que la teoria de la general esta floja, y por las inclinaciones de liquidar el tema de las mujeres.

"Tenemos de todos moneras que establecer un movimiento poderoso de mujeres internacional en un fundamento teórico claro. Esta claro que sin la

Their differences with the trade union bureaucrats are only over dollars and cents, false vs. "real" retirement plans, etc, and that is why their exposure of the trade union misleaders still fall within the confines of trade unionism itself. That is also why in their propaganda, the day-to-day struggle is not linked up with raising the aims of socialism.

RCP's line on advanced worker, with whom they are building their "party," is nothing but the economist line of making "every striker a communist" and that advanced workers can even be anti-communist. No wonder RCP glorifies the worker in their "intermediate workers organization" who raised that the fight should be "Not in cents but in dollars". There can be no second thought about what kind of party they are building - an opportunist party.

RCP also totally liquidates the question of raising the fight for union democracy within the ILG. This is because RCP's economism also takes the left form of dual unionism: on building their anti-imperialist workers' organizations, pulling workers outside the unions and cutting themselves off from the masses of workers within the unions.

As Lenin taught us, we must work wherever the masses are to be found - in this case the trade union is the most natural organization workers belong to - to bore from within the union, to expose the trade union misleaders to build the base, including fighting for leadership within the trade unions and turning them into revolutionary fighting organizations. This is the only correct Marxist-Leninist position.

This bowing to spontaneity is also responsible for a total and thorough liquidation of the struggle against national and women's oppression. This opportunist liquidation is no mere oversight, but is typical of RCP's chauvinist stand, especially on the national question. The only hint of super-exploitation in the garment trade that they give is in the reference to the oppression of "recent immigrants" and the divisions among the working class caused by the bourgeoisie, who seek to intimidate us from "building struggle against the

teoría Marxista no podemos tener práctica propia. Aquí tambien, nosotros los comunistas necesitamos principios muy claros. Tenemos que hacer una distincion clara entre nosotros y todos los otros partidos. ("Mis Recolecciones de Lenin", Clara Zetkin, Apéndice de La Emancipación de Las Mujeres). La misma tarea nos enfrenta ha nosotros hoy día. Todos los que son verdaderos luchadores por la emancipación de las mujeres tienen que coger esta tarea. Tenemos que comprender firmamente que la forma principal de actividad comunista en este etopa es la propaganda. Tenemos que ganarnos los avancados en el movimiento de las mujeres, tenemos que promover el diderato de las mujeres y tenemos que juntar el movimiento de las mujeres con el movimiento comunista. Para darle dirección a la lucha de día en día de mujeres trabajadores tenemos que desarrollar un programa combatiente sobre todas las preguntas ardientes que enfrentan las mujeres trabajadoras. Este fundará la base para un movimiento popular revolucionario de mujeres que marcharon mano en mano con la clase obrera, de bajo el liderato de el partido comunista legítimo, en ampletar la mision historico de el proletariado de derribos el capitalismo monopolista y el establecimiento de la dictadura de el proletariado.

miserable wages and working conditions." Instead of calling for a struggle against the oppression of the so-called "illegal" aliens and to build the unity of the working class against the danger of world war and fascism the RCP merely calls to "defend the foreign born." Such sham Marxism-Leninism must be exposed.

LINK DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLE

TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

We must expose the trade union and all other misleaders in the context of day-to-day struggle against all attacks by the bourgeoisie.

We must push to organize the unorganized, especially down South, in order to deny the monopoly capitalists the use of the runaway shops threat and so that we can unite with these workers in the struggle against the common enemy. We must fight all national oppression and the oppression of women. We must smash national and male chauvinism which splits and weakens our revolutionary movement and leaves us open to wrecking from the inside. We must fight for better working conditions and to abolish the piece-rate. We must demand the union fight for a national minimum wage guarantee. We must fight for the democratic rights of all undocumented workers. We must use all of these struggles to win over the advanced to communism. We must consciously and systematically inject Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought into the working class movement, winning over the advanced workers to communism in the context of day-to-day struggles, to build the genuine communist party. Only with the Party can the proletariat and its allies wage a final onslaught against the bourgeoisie. ■

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