

37

OSAWATOMIE

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

VOL. 2 NO. 2

JUNE - JULY 1976

50 CENTS



**200 YEARS IS
MORE THAN ENOUGH!**

COVER: THEODORE LANDSMARK ATTACKED BY RACIST MOB, BOSTON, APRIL 5th

CONTENTS

- 3 NEWS
- 6 ¡ CUBA SÍ
- 9 OUT OF WORK
- 12 FIREWORKS: RECONSTRUCTION
- 14 FREDERICK DOUGLASS'
4th OF JULY SPEECH
- 16 WHERE WE STAND
- 21 EYE OF THE STORM: BOSTON
- 23 200 YEARS OF DECEIT & DISGRACE
- 24 TOOLBOX: SUPEREXPLOITATION
- 25 FICTION: THE PEOPLE, THE PEOPLE

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OSAWATOMIE

In 1856, at the Battle of Osawatomie, Kansas, John Brown and 30 other abolitionists, using guerrilla tactics, beat back an armed attack by 250 slavery supporters, who were trying to make Kansas a slave state. This was a turning point in the fight against slavery. For this, John Brown was given the name "Osawatomie" by his comrades.

MARCH ON PHILADELPHIA

JULY 4, 1976 SAN FRANCISCO · LOS ANGELES

FOR A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES!

- THE DEMANDS OF THE COALITION ARE:
- FREEDOM FOR ALL OPPRESSED NATIONS
 - FOR FULL DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY
 - FOR JOBS AND A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!



NEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWSNEWS

Che's Captor Slain

Bolivian Ambassador to France, Joaquim Zenteno Anaya, commander of the Bolivian troops who captured and murdered Ernesto Che Guevara, was assassinated on a Paris street, Tuesday, May 11. Anaya, a career military officer, had been the general in charge of the Bolivian military region of Santa Cruz in 1967 when Che was captured there.

Responsibility for Anaya's assassination was claimed by the International Che Guevara Brigades. In a call to Agence France-Press, a French speaking caller gave Anaya's role as leader of the hunt for Che as the reason for the action. Several key figures in the murder of Che have met with a similar fate.

Death in the Mines

Methane explosions rocked the Scotia coal mine in Kentucky on March 9 and 11, killing 26 miners. This brought the total number of miners who have died in Appalachian coal mine accidents in the first three months of 1976 to 56.

The United Mine Workers Union labeled the blasts "the second mine disaster of 1976," pointing out that "there is no 'story' in the news media when coal miners die in ones and twos, in machinery accidents, roof falls and electrocutions. But miners do die that way -- an average of one every other day."

Federal inspectors had closed the Scotia mine 57 times in six years, and state inspectors closed it seven times in the same period. Scotia mine was cited for close to 1750 serious violations of safety laws and regulations from 1970-76. For the big companies it is more profitable to pay fines and bribe officials than it is to create safe conditions for workers.

Riots in Nazareth

A general strike of Arabs inside Israel on March 30 erupted into the worst day of rioting in Israel's history. Six Arabs were killed by gunfire from Israeli security forces, 60 were wounded, and over 250 people were arrested.

The general strike, coming on the heels of two months of political upheaval in the occupied West Bank, was called to protest the government's attempt to expropriate 5000 acres of Arab land to build Jewish settlements in the Galilea. Israeli authorities, anticipating difficulties, strengthened their armed forces in the area and tried to break the strike by threatening Arab workers, shopkeepers, and officials. When the strike began, enraged Israeli soldiers clashed with Arab demonstrators.

Tawfig Ziyad, 46, the Communist mayor of Nazareth, said, "Our people behaved with cool heads in spite of the police provocations. They attacked us... They were out of control."

Thirty Israeli soldiers had earlier stormed the mayor's house, but Mrs. Naila Ziyad blocked the doorway saying, "You shall not pass." The soldiers responded by smashing windows and potted plants in the front of the house with their riot batons, and one soldier fired a burst from his machine gun. Naila Ziyad refused to move. When it was over she stood amidst the wreckage of her porch and said in Hebrew, "This is the face of Israeli democracy."

Support for the strike was strong among Arabs in the West Bank. Schools and shops were closed and a majority of workers stayed home. The West Bank has been the scene of increasingly militant demonstrations since last January when the US vetoed a UN resolution upholding the national rights of the Palestinian people. The deeper reasons for the growing unrest are widely believed to include

the cumulative anger over the oppression which the 518,000 Arabs inside Israel suffer, the colonial status of the West Bank where 705,000 Palestinians live, the methodical expansion of Jewish settlements on Arab lands, and the continuing destruction of Palestinian culture. The size and scope of the recent demonstrations, coupled with the sweeping pro-PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) municipal election results in the West Bank last month, indicate a new phase in the struggle of the Palestinian people.

Phil Ochs

(1940-1976)

Phil Ochs is dead, a suicide. He was a great artist, a creator of songs which were a proud, defiant declaration of a young America which renounced racism, imperialism and hypocrisy. Was there an artist who gave more energy, spirit and vision to the anti-war movement? Phil was at the battle of Chicago in '68, where he sang "I Ain't Marching Anymore" to thousands, and then personally confronted the occupying soldiers and pleaded with them to desert. Phil's political activity hurt the commercial side of his career, yet he never sacrificed his politics for money and fame. Even after his artistic powers failed, he remained active as an organizer.

In 1971 Phil travelled to Chile and sang for copper miners with his friend, folksinger Victor Jara. Two years later Jara was dead, brutally murdered by the CIA-backed fascist junta.

Phil Ochs lost faith in himself, in the artistic and political worth of his songs, but never in the world-wide anti-imperialist movement, and in the people's eventual socialist victory. Sisters and brothers throughout the world will certainly sing Phil's songs again, adapting the lyrics to changing needs and times.

There is such a thing as a revolutionary camp, there is a revolutionary movement and there is proletarian internationalism. And if the imperialists want to know what proletarian internationalism is about, Angola is a magnificent case in point.

Fidel Castro

¡Cuba Sí!

Efforts to have a dialogue with Cuba are suspended so long as Cuba keeps forces in Africa and agitates for Puerto Rican independence.

Henry Kissinger



Cuba is under attack. Kissinger and Ford, with an eye to creating a crisis at election time, are threatening hostile action. In the last month two Cuban fishing boats were attacked by US-backed Cuban refugees. Both boats were destroyed and one fisherman was killed. All moves toward normal diplomatic relations have been suspended by the US.

The attacks against Cuba are escalating because Cuba has recently delivered humiliating diplomatic, political and military defeats to US imperialism. The Cuban revolution has played an important role in weakening imperialism since the victory of the revolution in 1959. For this reason five US presidents have attempted to destroy Cuba. Besides the Bay of Pigs invasion, repulsed in 1961, the CIA arming and financing of bandits to harass Cuban fishing and shipping, CIA attempts at industrial sabotage and infiltration, the recent report of the Senate subcommittee investigating the CIA revealed eight separate plots to assassinate Fidel.

The economic blockade initiated by the US in 1961 is a strategy to strangle the Cuban economy. The US refuses to do business with any ship which carries cargo to Cuba, and prevents Cuba from obtaining international loans. By coercing other governments to honor the blockade, the US prevents medicines, spare parts to US-made machinery and technological information from reaching Cuba. With great sacrifice the Cuban people have created a strong socialist economy and nation. Aid from the Soviet Union has been an important factor in overcoming the effects of the US blockade. Now more and more countries are breaking it. Cuba demands an end to the blockade as a prerequisite to any normalization of relations with the US.

*

Cuba has over and over demonstrated the critical role of international proletarian solidarity in the continued vic-

tories of national liberation struggles. Since the triumph of the revolution Cuba has raised the banner of Che Guevara, politically, morally and materially aiding popular struggles throughout the world.

As the first Latin American country to break imperialism's hold, Cuba represents a threat to the ruling classes and the only alternative for the oppressed peoples of the whole continent. Cuba supports the anti-junta resistance of the Chilean people, the struggle of the Panamanian people for control of their canal, the national rights of the Palestinian people. Cuba gave whole-hearted support to Vietnam. Cuba has been a friend to the US movement. Thousands of activists have had the privilege and the education of working in agricultural and construction teams on the Venceremos Brigades, and at the same time learning about socialism and internationalism. This is what the US ruling class calls "exporting revolution" because it is dangerous for them to admit to internal social and political contradictions, but this, too, is the face of Cuban internationalism.

Today the growing independence movement in Puerto Rico and the challenge to colonialism and white rule in all of Southern Africa are gigantic threats to US imperialism. Cuba, guided by revolutionary ideology and morality, is leading the international support for them. Since 1965 Cuba has helped place the question of Puerto Rico's colonial status before the world. In the UN and in the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations she has rallied support for the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to independence and self-determination. In 1975 Cuba hosted the International Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence. Representatives from 79 countries and 18 international organizations met in Havana to affirm their support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people. These were defeats for US colonial power.

Cuba has actively supported the struggles against Portuguese colonialism in Africa for many years. When the MPLA asked Cuba for military aid the Cuban people mobilized to support this critical struggle. Thousands of Cuban troops went to Angola and fought alongside the Angolan people to final victory. Fidel Castro explained, "We Cubans helped our Angolan brothers and sisters, first and foremost on principle, a revolutionary principle, because we are internationalists, and secondly, because our people is both a Latin American people and a Latin African people. Millions of Africans were shipped to Cuba as slaves by the colonialists, and a good part of Cuban blood is African blood." Fearing this alliance of revolutionary Cuba and revolutionary Africa the US is insidiously attempting to defuse the revolutionary message to Black America by portraying the Cubans as white invaders of Angola. Hence Roy Innis played his CIA role attempt-

ing to recruit Black Americans to fight on the side of the US in Angola. Eldridge Cleaver appeared in Newsweek magazine of May 3 denouncing the "white racist Castro dictatorship" and thereby is paying his own way to freedom by betraying the genuine liberation of Black people for the most racist government in the world.

But the Angolan war of liberation won many Black Americans to Cuba. Bilalian News (Nation of Islam) supported Cuba's solidarity. Black Historian William L. Strickland, writing in the March, 1976 issue of "Black-World-View", explains the importance of Cuba to the future of oppressed peoples: "But the time is upon us when being indifferent to Cuba will be the same as being indifferent to Africa. We are going to have to choose sides."

*

For the non-aligned and national liberation movements, Cuba symbolizes invincibility and victory. Cuba is an inspiring example, a source of new confidence and energy for the struggle of the people of the Third World for obtaining and defending independence, safeguarding natural resources and continuing to make their respective countries prosperous.

Pham Van Dong
Prime Minister
Democratic Republic
of Vietnam

The life of all the Cuban people has been profoundly changed by the revolutionary process. Today, the revolution guarantees all Cubans decent housing, food, clothing, medical care and education. High rents, evictions, sharecropping, illiteracy, prostitution and other degrading institutions have been wiped out. The emancipation of women and the building of proletarian democracy are two of the most striking examples of socialist construction.

Immediately after the Revolution the Cuban Communist Party defined the main problem facing women as their almost total exclusion from the social and productive life of the country. The Federation of Cuban Women, formed under the leadership of the Party, developed a campaign to bring women into the work force. This included creating day care centers for working mothers, schools to train women for a wide variety of jobs (including many traditionally dominated by men), and educational campaigns about the importance of women entering both the work force and the political life of the country.

In 1974 elections were conducted in Matanzas Province. Only 9% of the candidates nominated, and 3% of those elected, were women. The elections demonstrated that although conditions for women had improved, women had still not achieved equality in the political process and the ideology of male chauvinism had to be overturned for the full liberation of women. Fidel, in a speech following the elections, publicly criticized the entire Cuban people and Party for backward ideas about women. He com-

mitted the Party and the Revolution to uprooting and overturning male supremacy.

The Party responded to the elections in Matanzas by conducting thousands of interviews asking both men and women why they had not voted for women. The study revealed that many women were still unable to participate fully because of inadequate day care and other support facilities, as well as because of backward attitudes on the part of both women and men.

To combat these problems a political struggle was launched for a new Family Code, legislation equalizing men's and women's responsibilities in the family. The Family Code became the law of the land after two years of national debate carried out in every factory, supermarket, farm and home. The profoundly democratic process by which this law was passed is itself a major contribution to the longterm struggle to overturn sexism and win the total equality of women. The code requires:

Both parties must care for the family they have created and each must cooperate with the other in the education, upbringing and guidance of the children according to the principles of socialist morality. They must participate, to the extent of their capacity or possibilities, in the running of the home and cooperate so that it will develop in the best possible way.

Article 26, Family Code

The Cuban revolution has attacked the special oppression of women at its base -- in production and in the family -- and the Cuban people are carrying on a political struggle against the ideas of the old Cuba.

... in 1958 we were struggling for the triumph of the revolution. In those days it was the enthusiasm of the people. Today it is a conscious enthusiasm resulting precisely from experience, victories, and political consciousness gained over the years. You can sense this spirit on the streets, everywhere. We can say that today the large majority of the population actively participates in the revolution.

- Fidel Castro

At the time of the seizure of power in 1959, there was a need for a highly centralized government -- one which could make quick decisions, enact the revolutionary laws, expropriate the imperialists, and successfully carry through the political struggle against internal and external aggression. Still, right from the start, there was a commitment to involve the people in decision making. The mass organizations -- of workers, women, peasants, students, children, Committees to Defend the Revolution -- were the heart of the participatory process. Through membership in these organizations, the people discussed and debated proposed legislation, mobilized around particular campaigns (like the 1961 literacy campaign), and

initiated national programs in the interests of their constituency. These organizations have been the arena for the political education, mobilization and participation of the people.

After the failure to achieve the ten million ton sugar harvest in 1970 Fidel and the Party criticized themselves before the whole people. Their conclusion was that it was necessary to increase the level of participation of workers in economic planning. In 1973 a Trade Union Congress was held and out of this came a revitalized workers' movement. Currently, workers input into economic planning has moved beyond the particular workplace. The 1976-80 five-year plan has been submitted to all the workers for their review and recommendations.

The strengthening of the trade union movement laid the basis for increased citizen participation in the State apparatus as well. Elections were held in Matanzas Province as an experiment in 1974. Representatives were elected on a provincial, regional and municipal level. These representatives have the power to administer all the institutions which affect their particular area. From this experiment in Poder Popular, Popular Power, the Cuban people decided to implement elections nationwide, including the election of a national assembly which will have the authority to govern the entire country.

In February, 1976 the Cuban people voted for the first socialist Constitution in the Americas. Only two months earlier the Communist Party of Cuba, which leads the revolutionary process, held its first Congress. Together with the institutions of Poder Popular, these usher in a new stage of socialist democracy in Cuba.

Cuba's proletarian internationalism and socialist construction add up to a profound contribution to human advancement. This is why anti-imperialist and progressive people defend Cuba against US imperialism. Some people refuse to support Cuba saying she is not a socialist country. Coming from US radicals at a time of escalating US attack, this position is national chauvinist. The Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly Revolutionary Union -- RU) denied the integrity of the Cuban revolution when it labeled Cuba a "colony of the Soviet Union"; the October League denounced Cuban troops in Angola as "mercenaries of the Soviet Union." These statements are indistinguishable from Kissinger's, and they serve the identical interests. The facts are otherwise. The Cuban people control their economy, wealth and political destiny; the Cuban people own the factories, mines and other means of production; the Cuban people are free from exploitation and foreign domination. ■

US HANDS OFF CUBA

DEFEND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

END THE BLOCKADE

Out of Work

--- In January, a crowd of over 300 unemployed workers jammed a Los Angeles City Hall office seeking one unskilled job opening. One man was injured when he was pushed through a plate glass door by the crowd which had been gathering since 4 A.M. Police were used to control the crowd. Official unemployment in LA is 11.5%, but Mayor Thomas Bradley claimed the actual figure is close to 31%.

--- In February, Thomas Boronson, a migrant worker and father of eight, held three welfare workers hostage in Portland, Oregon, after repeatedly being denied welfare and food stamps. Boronson is now in jail on charges of assault and first degree kidnapping. His family, without income for months, had survived by selling their blood. "I know I will go to jail, but I know now that my family will be taken care of", said Boronson.

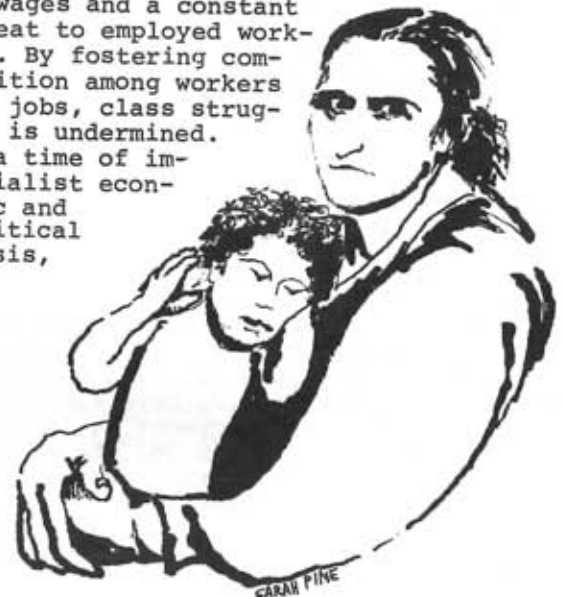
--- General Motors reported a 1,255% increase in profits for the first quarter of 1976, over the first quarter of 1975.

--- "(The workings of the system) establish an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole..." Karl Marx, Capital, vol. 1.

Official unemployment continued at a recession level of 7.5% in April, 1976. This figure does not include the millions who have become "discouraged" and are no longer looking for work, those who are working part-time although they would prefer full-time jobs, and those who have exhausted unemployment benefits. In fact, there are 15 million workers currently unemployed in the US. A conservative estimate for 1975 would be that 24 million people, one worker in four, were unemployed at some time during the year (Dollars & Sense, Jan. 1976). In this situation of increasing misery imposed on the working class generally, the oppressed peoples are bearing the brunt of the current crisis, and women are being hit harder than men. In fact, the gap between Black and Third World people and white workers, and between women and men, is increasing.

But the full picture of the ravages of US imperialism must involve an international perspective. Studies by the United Nations have estimated official unemployment in most Third World countries at over 30%. At the same time, these studies show that over 2/3 of those who want to work are not counted in the labor force. In other words, true unemployment and underemployment in these countries is in the range of 75%.

People need jobs in order to live. But imperialism provides as many jobs as are profitable, not as many jobs as are needed. There has never been genuine full employment in the US because unemployment is necessary to imperialism. The system requires a massive reserve army of labor -- a body of workers who are unemployed or underemployed -- to serve as a brake on wages and a constant threat to employed workers. By fostering competition among workers for jobs, class struggle is undermined. In a time of imperialist economic and political crisis,



the economy slows down, millions are thrown out of work, swelling the ranks of the reserve army, and competition for jobs becomes even fiercer.

Modern capitalism or imperialism is one system, one which has created tremendous divisions among the people who must work in order to survive. Faced with a global challenge to its profits and power, the imperialists maximize profits not only by increasing the exploitation of their "own" workers, but also by intensifying their domination over whole nations, so that Third World people and resources can be used as a source of super-profits. And imperialism reaps greater profits from the exploitation of women, by paying women 58% of what men are paid for the same work.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD

For US imperialism, the reserve army of labor includes not only workers within the US, but workers of the oppressed nations of the Third World. The textile industries of the South, for instance, have used the threat of leaving the US to combat unionizing drives and demands for wage increases in their domestic factories. If workers in a Third World country are able to organize and demand a decent standard of living, the companies react in the same way -- they move to an even poorer country.

Over the past 20 years, many US electronics firms moved their plants to Northern Mexico where wages averaged 1/4 those in the US. After some bitterly fought and ultimately successful unionizing drives, the workers began to demand higher wages. The companies responded by moving to Taiwan and South Korea.

Because imperialism promotes unemployment, this enormous reserve army of Third World workers can be forced in and out of the domestic labor force. Northern Mexico, for example, not only supplies super-exploited labor for factories on its side of the US-Mexico border, but is also the major source of undocumented workers in the US. These workers are forced into the most marginal, lowest-paying, and hardest jobs. Because of their legal status, they often do not receive even minimum wage or unemployment or social security benefits. During periods of economic crisis, they are harassed, raided, and forcibly deported.

These same processes have created massive unemployment for Puerto Ricans on the island and in the US. Even colonial officials in Puerto Rico have admitted that the actual unemployment is in the range of 45%; and in the US, the official statistics show the average unemployment rate among Puerto Ricans in 1975 was 21%.

THE RESERVE ARMY AT HOME

Within the US, the ranks of the re-



serve army are disproportionately Third World and women. Official unemployment among Black people in 1975 was 13.9%; among whites it was 7.8%. The Urban League has calculated the actual situation to be 25% Black unemployment and an incredible 35.2% rate for Black teenagers. Black unemployment has been double that of whites throughout the entire post-World War II period.

Beyond the unemployment statistics, the same differential exists. In 1975, the average income of Black families in the US was 57% that of white families. Black and other Third World people who make up 11% of the labor force are 18% of the 3 million part-time workers who want full-time jobs. Black people constitute over 25% of the "discouraged" unemployed who have given up looking for work. Finally, Black and other Third World people are disproportionately employed in the lowest-paying, competitive sectors of the economy. Like their brothers and sisters in the Third World, the people of the oppressed nations within the US borders are super-exploited: working hard to survive, but receiving less for their labor. Racist schools, police terror, genocidal health care, fascist movements like ROAR

JOBS NOT WAR -- PHILADELPHIA JULY 4!



in Boston or the KKK -- all these are elements of national oppression mobilized to maintain Black and other Third World people in a condition in which low pay or no work at all is "justified".

Women make up the largest and best concealed part of the reserve army of labor within the US. Although women perform the socially necessary work of house-keeping and child-rearing in the home, they are not counted as part of the labor force until they have gotten, or are actively looking for, a wage-paying job. More than 2/3 of workers who want a job and are not counted in the labor force are women; this amounted to 3,331,000 women in 1975.

Unemployment among women is officially 15%, but this gives a false picture because unemployment affects most women by driving them out of the official labor force completely. Yet the percentage of women seeking jobs has risen from 37.8% to 46.4% since 1960. This is because of the increased difficulty of supporting a family with only one wage-earner, because of the growing number of women-headed families, and because of the gains of the women's movement. Overwhelmingly, women work in the lowest paying clerical and service sector jobs. The rate for involuntary part-time work for women was almost twice that for men. And almost 1/3 of all women workers are forced to work

part-time because of their responsibilities in the home. This double oppression of women is an integral part of the imperialist system; it is the basis for the super-exploitation of women. It is reinforced by male chauvinist ideology, by sexist education and health care, sexual degradation, violent attacks against women (rape, sterilization), and a reactionary campaign to eliminate the gains of women.

Finally, 12 million young people will be entering the labor market between now and 1980. Official unemployment among teenagers today is 20%. To create enough jobs for the new forces entering the labor market -- 2.1 million new workers in the last year alone -- would require an unprecedented growth rate in the economy.

FROM THE RULING CLASS: INCREASED REACTION

This is an election year, and the candidates and the ruling class are threatening imperialist war: Africa, Cuba, Panama, Lebanon. The danger of war is real. This is their historic answer to crisis and the problem of unemployment. At the same time, Ford vetoed legislation in February which would have created 600,000 more jobs. He has announced his intention to eliminate the small public works program which employs 330,000 workers under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) program. He calls for reliance on the private sector, that is, less regulation and more tax breaks for the monopolies. Meanwhile, the imperialists float ideas like lowering the minimum wage, eliminating the minimum wage for teenagers, or abolishing the minimum wage altogether. The LA police force is being trained to quell food stamp rioting.

Together with slashes in welfare, food stamps and pensions, goes a major strategy to do away with programs of affirmative hiring, to eliminate union strength -- particularly in the public service sector -- and to enforce no-strike clauses. This overall reaction affects employed workers through speed-ups, compulsory overtime, and use of the threat of unemployment to dull the workers' protest against worsening conditions.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has stepped up its attacks on undocumented workers. Imperialist politicians call for the deportation of one million "illegal aliens" who "constitute a general national crisis." The racist and anti-labor Rodino Bill is designed to punish Latino people and make them the scapegoat for the failures of the imperialists. The Rodino Bill would further increase unemployment among Latino workers, and is already being used by employers against other workers, forcing them to work for lower wages under speed-up conditions, and to weaken unionizing efforts. A national campaign to defeat this bill is being led by C.A.S.A.-General Brotherhood of Workers.

Reconstruction and Betrayal

Then came this battle called the Civil War, beginning in Kansas in 1854, and ending in the presidential election of 1876 -- twenty awful years. The slave went free, stood for a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again towards slavery. The whole weight of America was thrown to color caste. The colored world went down before England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy and America. A new slavery arose. The upward moving of white labor was betrayed into wars for profit based on color caste. Democracy died save in the hearts of Black folk.

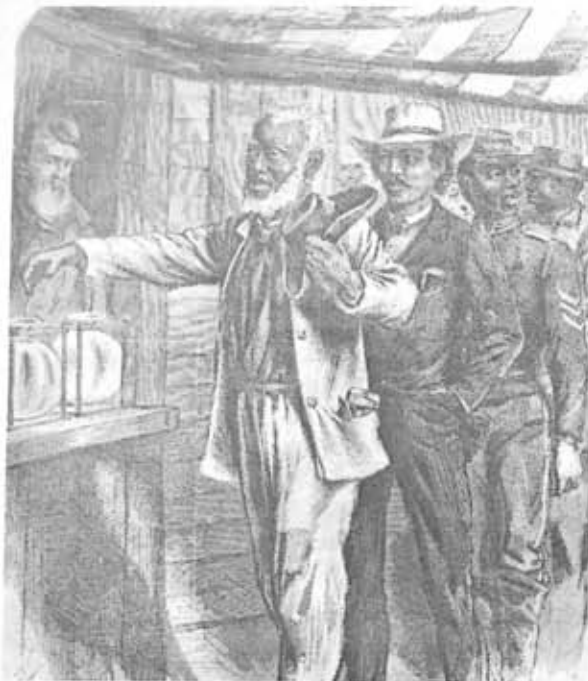
- W.E.B. Du Bois
Black Reconstruction

Children in public schools are taught that Reconstruction was a lawless and corrupt nightmare. The movie "Gone With the Wind" has poisoned the minds of several generations with its sympathetic portrayal of the slave-owning planter class in the Reconstruction South. But Black freedom fighters and historians like Du Bois have made a true accounting. The struggle of freed slaves during Reconstruction began to radically change the political and economic life of all poor and oppressed people in the South.

After the Confederate defeat in the Civil War, thousands of freed slaves, many of them armed veterans, returned home to extend and consolidate their freedom. They helped lead a great popular movement to build democracy in the South. They fought for democratic distribution of land to those who tilled it, the right to vote, public education and civil rights. After Black men won the right to vote, Reconstruction governments were elected at all levels in the South. These governments instituted basic reforms like progressive income taxes, abolition of imprisonment for debt, expanded rights for women in marriage, relief programs for the sick and elderly, laws banning discrimination against Jews, reapportioning voting districts on the basis of population not property, establishing the first public school system in the South.

The Reconstruction movement worked painstakingly to build an alliance with the four million poor southern whites. Before the Civil War these whites lived on the edge of starvation, trapped in a system in which the planter class monopolized the best land and kept them out of productive work. But the planters also cultivated the allegiance of the poor whites by hiring them on to the extensive system of police/overseers needed to enforce slavery on a daily basis. The planters fostered a culture of white supremacy -- many poor whites were won to hate Black people and side with their own oppressors. Some poor whites did become small landowners, artists and even occasionally a planter. This relative social mobility as compared to the fixed property status of the Black slave, coupled with racism, fed the poor whites' identification with the planters. With the end of slavery, Black people tried to win over these whites on the basis of their common exploitation by the planter class. Although important beginnings





Black men voted for the first time
in the South in 1867.

were made during Reconstruction, the change was slow and tentative.

The progress of the Black struggle and the beginnings of an alliance with poor whites posed a threat to the new class of planters. They mobilized to lead a counterrevolution of property and reaction. The planters enlisted poor whites in a war of terror against Black people, using the traditional appeals of white superiority, backed by cash and other favors. Poor whites joined the planter-led terrorist organizations in a campaign of murder and mayhem. Lynchings and rape became daily occurrences. The new schools were burned to the ground, as were homes and churches. Those whites who backed Reconstruction were hunted with a vengeance.

Secret orders like the Ku Klux Klan were organized to spread terror and ensure that the vote, education, and land were taken from Black people. The planters tried to force Blacks back into a new form of slavery.

Southern property was encouraged in all this by the rising capitalist class in the North. Northern industry had at first tolerated Reconstruction as a means to finish off the old planter class and gain control over Southern agriculture and labor. But, threatened with a rising tide of labor militancy in the north and fearful of poor people's government's in the south, the northern capitalists opposed Reconstruction.

In 1876 the bargain between Big Business and the new Southern power structure was sealed. Rutherford B. Hays lost the popular Presidential vote to a Democratic candidate, but sealed a victory in the electoral college by agreeing to pull northern troops out of the South and allow the Democratic state governments to take power away from the Reconstruction governments.

The withdrawal of the troops immediately after Hayes' inauguration was a formal declaration that the terrorist organizations like the Klan had the power to go forward with counter-revolution. Hayes appointed two Southerners to the Supreme Court whose decisions made the 14th and 15th Amendments (giving Black men citizenship and the vote) effectively null and void.

The stage was now set to destroy the gains of Reconstruction. Disfranchisement of Black people was written into law through the poll tax and other Jim Crow regulations. Black people who kept their names on voter registration lists found the market for their crops cut off and their ability to get bank loans or fertilizer ended. Black people were forced into sharecropping. The white-controlled courts, police and laws were used to dominate Black people. Convict labor maintained the old plantation system. Many a racist fortune was made off the unpaid labor of Black people picked up on the street, framed and imprisoned for years.

This defeat of Reconstruction, and the forcing back of Black people into semi-slavery was a precondition to the rise of monopoly capitalism in the US. It was a cornerstone upon which full-blown US imperialism would emerge by the turn of the century.

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE
PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4**

WHAT DOES JULY FOURTH MEAN TO THE SLAVE?

"FELLOW CITIZENS, PARDON ME, ALLOW ME TO ASK, WHY AM I CALLED UPON TO SPEAK HERE TODAY? WHAT HAVE I, OR THOSE I REPRESENT, TO DO WITH YOUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE? ARE THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL FREEDOM AND OF NATIONAL JUSTICE EMBODIED IN THAT DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, EXTENDED TO US AND AM I, THEREFORE, CALLED UPON TO BRING OUR HUMBLE OFFERING TO THE NATIONAL ALTAR AND TO CONFESS THE BENEFITS AND EXPRESS THE DEVOUT GRATITUDE FOR THE BLESSING TO US RESULTING FROM YOUR INDEPENDENCE? WOULD TO GOD, BOTH FOR YOUR SALES AND OURS, THAT AN AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER COULD BE TRUTHFULLY RETURNED TO THESE QUESTIONS.

BUT SUCH IS NOT THE CASE. I AM NOT INCLUDED WITHIN THE PALE OF THIS GLORIOUS ANNIVERSARY. THE RICH INHERITANCE OF JUSTICE, LIBERTY, PROSPERITY,



WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

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AND INDEPENDENCE IS SHARED BY YOU, NOT BY ME. THIS FOURTH OF JULY IS YOURS, NOT MINE. YOU MAY REJOICE. I MUST MOURN. I WILL ON THIS OCCASION... DARE TO QUESTION AND TO DENOUNCE EVERYTHING THAT SERVES TO PERPETUATE SLAVERY, THE GREAT SIN AND SHAME OF AMERICA!...

WHAT, TO THE AMERICAN SLAVE, IS YOUR FOURTH OF JULY? I ANSWER: A DAY THAT REVEALS TO HIM, MORE THAN ALL OTHER DAYS OF THE YEAR, THE GROSS INJUSTICES AND CRUELTY TO WHICH HE IS THE CONSTANT VICTIM.

TO HIM YOUR CELEBRATION IS A SHAM. TO HIM YOUR SOUNDS OF REJOICING ARE EMPTY AND HEARTLESS; YOUR DENUNCIATION OF TYRANTS, IMPUDENCE; YOUR SHOUTS OF LIBERTY AND EQUALITY, MOCKERY. YOUR PRAYERS AND HYMNS, YOUR SERMONS AND THANKSGIVINGS, WITH ALL YOUR RELIGIOUS PARADE AND SOLEMNITY, ARE TO HIM MERE BOMBAST, FRAUD, DECEPTION, IMPIETY, AND HYPOCRISY—A THIN VEIL TO COVER UP CRIMES WHICH WOULD DISGRACE A NATION OF SAVAGES! FOR REVOLTING BARBARITY AND SHAMELESS HYPOCRISY AMERICA REIGNS WITHOUT A RIVAL!"

FREDERICK DOUGLASS
JULY 4, 1852

ANTI-IMPERIALISM VS. OPPORTUNISM:**SELF-CRITICISM**

Political struggle among principled revolutionary forces is essential to advancing theory, identifying and defeating wrong positions, charting a correct path and building revolutionary communist organization. Over the last few months, responding to criticism from within and outside our organization, the WUO has engaged in a deep criticism/self-criticism of our line and practice. We have made opportunist errors:

1. abandoning revolutionary anti-imperialism
2. submerging the national question into the class question, especially in relation to the Black liberation struggle
3. downplaying the struggle against the special oppression of women/sexism and male supremacy
4. downplaying the essential role of revolutionary theory and communist organization.

These errors make a difference: opportunism corrodes and weakens the revolutionary movement. As communists, committed above all to the future of the revolution, we are determined to frankly address our errors and correct them. We present this self-criticism to sum up in a way that advances toward the future, to push forward debate over vital issues and to be accountable for changes in our line. In this way, we hope to draw lessons that are useful to the entire left.

Our method is to trace the development of our political line as expressed publicly in our organizational program, Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism, published in July 1974, and OSAWATOMIE, our revolutionary voice. Prairie Fire provided a sound anti-imperialist framework for approaching both the task of class analysis in the US and that of revolutionary strategy. But Prairie Fire had a wrong view of the role and revolutionary potential of the working class and it failed to argue for a revolutionary communist party. These weaknesses reflected an incomplete analysis of imperialism and an inadequate strategy for defeating it. In the process of addressing our errors on the working class, we did not base ourselves firmly on anti-imperialism or on a rigorous application of Marxism-Leninism to conditions here. And we continued to underplay the role of the party and revolutionary theory. This led to serious opportunist errors.

PRAIRIE FIRE/REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-IMPERIALISM

The core strength of Prairie Fire is its strategic line of anti-imperialism. Prairie Fire clearly defines the whole system -- class and colonial rule -- as imperialism. This definition of imperialism

is nothing new. Lenin explains all this in Imperialism (1916) and in On the National and Colonial Question (1920). But many people pay lip-service to this understanding and then proceed to ignore its strategic implications. Ramon Arbona, member of the Political Commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) pointed to this strength in his review of Prairie Fire (Claridad, August 4, 1974):

In the first place the organization (WUO) views imperialism as a totality, an economic, political and cultural system that includes not only exploitation of the so-called free world, but hegemony within this country as well. "We know this already," many will say. True, but it is one thing to say it and quite another to take it as a serious central strategic conception to define struggles in the very heart of the imperialist nation.

US imperialism is the number one enemy of the people of the world. It is the common enemy, the mortal antagonist of the socialist countries, the oppressed nations and the proletariat. The system derives its great wealth and power from the exploitation of the US working class, composed of workers from both the oppressor and oppressed nations and from the domination of whole nations within US borders and abroad.

Imperialism means the development of underdevelopment in the Third World: mass hunger and starvation while fertile land is ripped off for cash crops; forced industrialization for US profit on the backs of enslaved workers in mines, mills and factories; ecological devastation; rape, terror, war, genocide. The superprofits derived from national oppression are necessary to imperialism: because of this, the forces of national liberation deliver imperialism telling blows. In our era, the oppressed nations have risen to reclaim their land and resources, take back their histories and cultures, and seize control of their own destinies. Imperialism, by exporting capitalist relations of production, has created a working class in the oppressed nations which gives proletarian leadership to the liberation fight. With this leadership, and backed by the example and support of the socialist countries, the national liberation struggles can move forward rapidly to socialist revolution. This was the case in Vietnam. National liberation is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution.

Imperialism has meant the total control by a tiny class of monopoly capitalists over every phase of US life, control which makes the lives of the masses of US people painful and often desperate. The

working class faces exploitation on the job, unemployment, welfare cutbacks, skyrocketing prices for basic necessities, miserable health care, polluted skies and rivers, schools that don't teach the children. Women are chained to the home and to the desk in the typing pool -- underpaid, overworked and doubly burdened. People are thrown into the worst forms of competition and hatred: fighting over the privileges and small advantages which the imperialists toss out.

A portion of imperialist superprofits is given as a substantial bribe to a small but influential sector of the working class who become the conscious agents of imperialism. A correct class analysis is necessary to accurately identify and isolate this aristocracy of labor, because it is an enemy of the proletariat and revolution. Some superprofits are also given as relative privileges up and down the line in the oppressor nation. Relative privileges, such as higher wages and seniority, better schools, housing and health care, are used to tie exploited workers to the imperialist system and to separate them from the anti-imperialist resistance of the oppressed nations. Privilege, white supremacist ideology and culture are employed to strip white workers of their identity as workers, and therefore of their dignity, and to encourage their identity as whites. To the extent imperialism succeeds, white workers ally with their class enemy and acquiesce to their own exploitation.

But imperialism cannot do away with the basic antagonism between itself and the working class. Revolutionary anti-imperialism accords with the needs of the working class and is a guide to its emancipation from imperial domination. With the victory of the people of Vietnam, irreparable cracks have opened in imperialism, yet it remains a dangerous and unstable enemy. The question of true class solidarity -- proletarian internationalism -- confronts the working class in sharper and sharper form, as it is forced down to pay the costs of imperialist crisis.

What flows from this is that anti-imperialism is the necessary basis for class struggle in the US. This breaks through the separation made by those who see support for Ruchell Magee or solidarity with Puerto Rican independence as somehow peripheral to class struggle. It challenges those who imagine a US Working Class revolution in isolation, divorced from Third World peoples -- the leading forces of the world anti-imperialist fight.

THE WORKING CLASS: A SELF-CRITICISM

Correctly assessing the role of the US working class is key to a full anti-imperialist strategy. Prairie Fire makes some contributions: it points to the leading role of Black and Third World people, and of women in the working class struggle.

It looks squarely at the real divisions which exist within the class between workers of the oppressed and oppressor nations. It argues that Black people in the US form an oppressed nation and have the right to self-determination, including secession. It highlights the contradictory position of the white worker -- highly exploited and yet given relative advantages over Black and Third World people -- and analyzes how this contradiction has been resolved at different points in US history.

But many comrades have correctly criticized Prairie Fire for dismissing the central role of the proletariat and for failing to develop a full anti-imperialist class strategy. While his own work lacks an anti-imperialist framework, Judah Hill articulates an important criticism:

There is practically no mention made by Prairie Fire of the proletariat and the historic mission of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and institute socialism is mentioned and dismissed (as merely a supportive role) in two and a half sentences...

(Class Analysis in the US in the 1970s)

This was an error. The working class stands in fundamental opposition to its exploiters, the imperialist ruling class. Only socialism, the collective ownership and control of the means of production by the producers, can finally end its exploitation. Only socialism, which will mean an end to national oppression and white supremacy, can free the proletariat from its chains. The proletariat, drawn together in large-scale social cooperation for production, and subject to the brutality and insecurity of imperialist rule, has the historic mission of overthrowing imperialism, seizing power and creating a socialist society. It can fulfill this role only if it builds the closest alliance with national liberation movements here and around the world.

Imperialism in crisis tightens its grip on the oppressed nations and maintains the structure of white and male supremacy. But the crisis also heightens the exploitation of the proletariat as a class and begins to puncture the myths of "upward mobility" and "the good life" for white workers. With organized revolutionary leadership, the proletariat's objective need for socialism can prevail over the severe inroads made by imperial privilege, racism and sexism.

OPPORTUNISM

The main danger within the US left is opportunism, a tendency which deflects, contains and sets back the march toward revolution. Opportunism abandons the interests of the most oppressed, in particular the oppressed peoples, in order to win a "smoother" entrance as organizers into the working class. Opportunism sacrifices long-range, collective interests of the class as a whole in order to win immediate benefits for more privileged strata.

Opportunists always put off the task of bringing revolutionary politics to white workers on the grounds that they will only respond to the most narrow, immediate concerns. This leads to inevitable defeat. Under imperialism, the most deadly form of opportunism is national chauvinism: a refusal to support the struggles of oppressed nations for self-determination. Opportunism also takes the form of selling out the interests of women, lower strata workers, old people, the unemployed.

Opportunists preach class unity without opposing the real causes of disunity. The Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly the RU) opposes the Black struggle for education in Boston on the racist grounds that this will divide the working class. The RCP argues for class unity based on the acceptance of white supremacy.

There are real inducements -- material, social and cultural -- for white revolutionaries to abandon the fight of the oppressed peoples. Revolutionaries in the oppressor nation must hold fast to anti-imperialism and Marxism-Leninism as a guide. In our case, retreating from revolutionary anti-imperialism led down the opportunist path.

SELF-CRITICISM

1. Our Class Stand

"Our Class Stand" (OSAWATOMIE, Fall 1975) addressed Prairie Fire's errors on the working class. This was long overdue. "Our Class Stand" was an advance in arguing for Marxist-Leninist ideology, in taking responsibility for a full strategy for socialist revolution in the US, and in identifying the two great forces -- the working class and the oppressed peoples -- whose revolutionary alliance will lead to the destruction of US imperialism.

The working class must build the closest alliance with the Black liberation movement and with national liberation here and around the world. These struggles have been dealing the heaviest blows against imperialism and intensifying all other contradictions. This intimate alliance is the political basis for defeating imperialism.
 ("Our Class Stand")

But "Our Class Stand" contained serious theoretical errors, undermining to revolutionary anti-imperialism.

-- It incorrectly identifies the fundamental contradiction of capitalism as that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This error was criticized by Clayton Van Lydegraf of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee in a paper called "Class and Revolutionary Politics," written in February 1976.

("Our Class Stand" states) that the fundamental contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between the worker and the capitalists. This is wrong. The fundamental contradiction of capitalism is that between social production and private appropriation.

The class struggle grows from and constitutes an expression of this fundamental relationship... (see Engels, Socialism, Scientific and Utopian).

This criticism is correct. The fundamental contradiction of capitalism is that between the social character of production (the concentration and interdependence of millions of workers in factories, mills, mines, fields, plantations) and the private character of appropriation (the individual capitalists stealing the fruits of this social labor).

With the development of monopoly capitalism/imperialism, this contradiction sharpens and is expressed, more than ever, on a worldwide scale. Imperialism exploits not only its "own" working class, but also subjugates the human and natural resources of whole nations and peoples, bringing them under its political, economic, social and cultural control. The imperialists set up factories overseas, invest throughout the Third World, plunder the resources and super-exploit the labor of oppressed peoples at home and abroad. A car manufactured in Detroit is actually the social product of the labor of Brazilian and South African miners, rubber workers on Malaysian plantations, Black and white auto workers in the US. Under imperialism, the fundamental contradiction is expressed not only in the class struggle between the US proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but also in the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. Today, the struggles for national liberation are dealing imperialism the sharpest blows, heightening all other contradictions and pushing forward class struggle in the US. Black and Third World revolutionaries produced by these struggles, like Malcolm X, Ho Chi Minh, Amilcar Cabral, Fidel Castro, have provided consistent political leadership to the US revolution, exposing the brutal nature of imperialism and urging forward class-conscious movements.

Proletarian revolution and national liberation, backed by the growing strength of socialist revolution in the world, are the political forces which can and will finally do away with the evils of imperialism. Both stand in fundamental antagonism to imperialism, and have, in their objective and human interest, its destruction. The basis for alliance is this common interest, the fight against the common enemy. But the alliance can only be built if the working class recognizes the absolute right to self-determination of the oppressed nations, and fights for equality. The masses of white workers can be won to this because the maintenance of white supremacy, while bringing short-range, immediate benefits, perpetuates their own exploited and oppressed condition and binds them to their own masters.

By incorrectly narrowing the fundamental contradiction to that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, "Our Class Stand" ripped apart the overall view of US imperialism as one system and

downplayed the role of national liberation in the strategic alliance.

The strategic alliance is a political strategy which points to the forces of revolution, their relationship to imperialism, and to each other. It is not a blueprint. A fuller understanding hinges on a correct class analysis and creative application of Marxism-Leninism to our own conditions.

-- "Our Class Stand" puts forward the necessity to fight racism within the working class. But it fails to explain the material basis for racism among white workers: on the one hand, super-exploitation and national oppression of Black and other Third World peoples; and on the other hand, the relative economic, political and social privileges granted to exploited whites to win them away from true class solidarity. Many groups in the US adopt the slogan, "Fight Racism." But racism is more than a bad idea. Refusing to confront head-on the reality of national oppression and inequality renders this important slogan hollow.

"Our Class Stand" loosely uses the term "multinational working class" without making it clear that the working class is composed of workers from both the oppressed and oppressor nations.



2. Black Liberation/National Question

Over the last year, a number of OSA-WATOMIE articles have downplayed the national character of Black oppression, focusing almost entirely on the role of Black people in the working class struggle. The article "Break the Chains" (Fall, 1975) while arguing strongly for solidarity with Black prisoners, fails to point out that Black-led prison struggles like Attica, San Quentin, Atmore-Holman, are, at their heart, part of the national struggle of Black people for liberation. The article also characterizes prisons only as an "instrument of class rule" -- prisons are in fact an instrument of both class and colonial rule, particularly directed against the Black nation.

In other OSAWATOMIE articles, we pointed out only how the whole working class is hit by the depression, without highlighting the ways in which Black and Third World people are hit the hardest. We failed to explain that the growing differential in living standards between whites and Black and other Third World people, even in the midst of severe crisis, is the result of national oppression.

3. The Women's Question

Our opportunist errors on the women's question are clearly expressed in the editorial, "The Women's Question is a Class Question" (OSAWATOMIE, Winter 1975). Sharp and serious criticisms have been raised by friends and comrades, particularly women.

-- We retreated from all-out struggle against the special oppression of women: against the system of sexism and male supremacy which enslaves and subjugates women. This took the form of reducing the question of women's subjugation entirely to women's exploitation as members of the working class. While it is correct to argue that the women's movement organize working class women, we failed to base this call for proletarianization of the women's movement on strong anti-sexist politics -- on the recognition that women bear a double burden: oppressed as a sex, and economically exploited. Women are isolated as domestic slaves, super-exploited, dominated, humiliated, brutalized, objectified and attacked as women. Third World women bear a triple burden: as women, as workers, and as members of oppressed nations.

-- The system and ideology of male supremacy, where men have political, economic and social privileges at the expense of women, keeps women dependent, powerless and unequal; it is a cornerstone of imperialist power. Male supremacy is the source of the severe antagonism between women and men. While this antagonism is not a fight between enemies, it is a real fight about real inequality. The only revolutionary basis for unity between women and men is uncompromising support for the freedom, equality and dignity of women.

The editorial correctly argues for women to join the class struggle, but does not argue that revolutionaries have the responsibility to fight sexism and male supremacy, or that the working class must fight for the liberation of women.

-- These errors led to belittling the strengths and accomplishments of the women's movement. The struggle for the liberation of women over the past ten years has involved millions of women and reached into every home. Its gains are under serious reactionary attacks by the imperialists, and by fascist mobilizations (such as ROAR and the Right to Life movement). Much of its leadership has been seized by bourgeois feminists. By dismissing the struggles of the women's movement, we failed to support and engage in comradely struggle with thousands of revolutionary women organizers over the politics of anti-imperialism and the need for strategy to organize working class women.

-- "The Women's Question is a Class Question" does not root the analysis of the oppression of women in the crisis and decline of US imperialism. In particular, it does not point to the super-exploitation and national oppression of Third World women within the US and outside its borders. Against Third World women, imperialism employs some of its most savage weapons: forced sterilization, forced urbanization and prostitution, rape, torture and terror. Principled unity between Third World women and white women must be based on solidarity with national liberation movements and support for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination.

These errors on the women's question

were a retreat from Prairie Fire, which develops the ways US imperialism extends and heightens the oppression and degradation of women on a global scale. Abroad and at home, imperialist institutions are based on the degradation of women: the family, jobs and unemployment, hospitals, welfare, schools and prison. As the crisis in US imperialism deepens, the crushing economic effects of the depression on women and attacks directed against women in all spheres of life intensify: rape, wife-beating, SNUFF. Imperialism is women's enemy. The subjugation of women is so basic to imperialism that only with its overthrow and socialist revolution can women be free.

Prairie Fire affirms the need for a revolutionary anti-imperialist women's movement, fights for its importance as a leading force in the revolution, and emphasizes the importance of the leadership of women. This was correct.

4. Bowing to Spontaneity

In the period of the crisis and decline of US imperialism, there are great possibilities for the development of a class-conscious, anti-imperialist, internationalist working class movement. But increasing exploitation doesn't automatically yield a class-conscious, anti-imperialist, anti-sexist, or revolutionary movement. It is the role of communist cadre to be the organized carriers of revolutionary consciousness to the working class. Without such a force, there is no scientific, humane alternative to racism and fascism.

"Bowing to spontaneity" is a phrase used by Lenin in What Is To Be Done? to describe contempt for revolutionary theory and organization, and belittling the "conscious element." It defines an opportunist political position: reliance on the spontaneous struggles of the people to produce consciousness of the necessity for overthrowing imperialism and replacing it with socialism. This is an error of revolutionaries for relying on spontaneity, not a criticism of the great spontaneous uprisings of the people. Communist consciousness, revolutionary anti-imperialist consciousness, rarely arises on its own from the daily struggles of the people, and on its own can never be sustained; it must be brought to these struggles by organized revolutionaries. Revolutionaries have the duty and task of applying this knowledge to the struggles of the people; in the process, they themselves are transformed. This is part of the process of proletarianizing themselves, learning from the experience of the people. This happens in every revolution.

The error of bowing to spontaneity is reflected in Prairie Fire, which fails to give proper weight to the need for a revolutionary communist party. Ramon Arbona's review identified this key weakness.

Disciplined study and struggle over the science of Marxism-Leninism and its

application to the concrete conditions of US imperialism today is of the utmost importance. The need to develop a Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat, with a correct political line and strategy, is a pressing question for revolutionaries today. We are studying this question now. But this weakness was not addressed over the last two years. We continually underplayed both the role of revolutionary theory and communist organization. Our calls to "go to the people" and "organize and mobilize" continued to express a reliance on spontaneity. This was mass organizing without attention to the development of a leading theory, strategy and organization. It is bound to result in opportunism, since without conscious, organized struggle for revolutionary anti-imperialist politics, the dominant bourgeois ideology will prevail. In this way, bowing to spontaneity is dialectically related to abandoning the politics of anti-imperialism; they develop and reinforce each other.

The struggle over political line is the heart of the process of forging communist organization. On the face of it, our calls for mass work and joining the working class (see OSAWATOMIE editorials #1 and #2) were not wrong. But we used the emphasis on mass work to defer the struggle over leading political line and communist organization. We referred to theoretical issues as "the small points that divide us." Unity cannot be simply affirmed, it can only be won through political struggle in a non-sectarian but precise and sharp spirit. Our approach of leap-frogging over the rest of the left to go directly to the masses downplayed the role of the conscious element and underestimated the importance of other principled forces in the left. We failed to acknowledge and engage with thousands of communist organizers who are striving to develop revolutionary politics and organization.



The process of criticizing and correcting these errors has taught us that revolutionaries cannot rest ~~completely~~ on their strengths as anti-imperialists. Anti-imperialism must be grasped firmly, deepened, and applied to our conditions. Revolutionaries must combat opportunism -- a swamp which imperils our advances and misleads the people. The task is to creatively apply what Ho Chi Minh calls the "radiant sun" of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of US imperialism, and to work out correct lines and strategies.

Central Committee
Weather Underground Organization

Boston - Cradle of Racism

by Ella Flynn

On April 5, Ted Landsmark, a Black lawyer and the head of the Contractors Association of Boston, was on his way to a meeting of the Boston Redevelopment Authority in an effort to obtain more construction jobs for Black and other Third World people. He ran into 250 white youths demonstrating in front of City Hall at an "antibusing" rally which had begun earlier that day with refreshments in the offices of racist leader City Councilor Louise Day Hicks. As Landsmark turned the corner, the youths shouted, "There's a nigger, kill the nigger." They threw Landsmark to the ground and beat him with the steel pole of an American flag.

The legislative Black caucus held a press conference next day demanding an investigation of the City Council and the School Committee for "inciting young people to mob violence." They urged Black organizations not to hold their conventions in Boston and called on Mayor Kevin White to resign because of his lack of action against racist attacks in the city.

The Landsmark beating set off a new wave of violence against Black people. On April 7, Walter Gill, a Black man, was shot three times by rooftop snipers in Charlestown. On April 16, Jim Pratt of Roxbury was hit on the head with a club and beaten by six white youths on his way to work in East Boston. Over Easter weekend, two Black bus drivers were kicked and beaten with car antennas outside a Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority station in South Boston. Three white bus drivers who came to their aid were also beaten. The next week a 13-year old Black youth was badly beaten by 10 white men with baseball bats as he walked down Columbia Road in Dorchester.

On April 19, Richard Poleet, a white mechanic from Jamaica Plain, was beaten by Black youths in Roxbury. His brother stressed in an interview that Poleet was not a racist and wouldn't want to become a martyr in an anti-Black crusade.

The attack on Poleet was predictably spotlighted in the media. The mayor and the Police chief sent extra police to do round-the-clock patrols in the Black projects.

In the midst of this situation, a march against racist attacks, called for April 24, was cancelled in a capitulation to the racists. The Socialist Workers Party march leadership, acting without notifying the rest of the march coalition, claimed that racial tensions had risen too high, that the attacks were no longer just against Black people, and that they couldn't insure the safety

of marchers along the route in either the Black or white communities. This was a step backward for the antiracist forces.

Boston is a center of the growing fascist movement in the US. Far from being spontaneous acts of hate-filled whites, the attacks on Black people are part of a carefully-orchestrated campaign of terror and violence led by ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). When busing began in September 1974, Louise Day Hicks attempted to consolidate white power by creating ROAR. Drawing on a base in the segregated white neighborhoods, ROAR built a movement under the guise of slogans like "support neighborhood schools" and "stop busing." These slogans have always been thinly-veiled covers for racism.

ROAR leaders are small-time capitalists, landlords, politicians, lawyers. They have built a following among working class whites who are oppressed by rotten jobs, bad schools, unemployment, dilapidated housing. ROAR's appeal is to "protect" what little they have against Black people who have less. This is a way to prevent poor white people from struggling for decent education and living conditions and properly identifying their real enemies. ROAR operates out of power bases in the City Council, the School Committee, the Police and Fire Departments and the hierarchies of the all-white craft unions. Its goal is the maintenance of the system of white supremacy and national oppression which has kept Blacks in the worst schools, the worst jobs at the lowest pay, the worst housing, receiving the worst treatment at the hands of the police and the courts.

ROAR has been promoted and encouraged by the Ford Administration on many occasions. Ford publicly opposed "forced busing" in Boston at the peak of anti-Black violence in 1974. Now Edward Levi, the US Attorney-General, is reportedly planning to back a ROAR-inspired court suit against Phase II of the Boston desegregation plan. ROAR has become a national organization in the last year, building ties to other fascist movements like the West Virginia bookburners, the Klan and the John Birch Society. A ROAR chapter exists in Rosedale, Queens where racists firebombed the home of a Black family, and is active in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn. ROAR has developed extensive connections with the national political campaigns of Wallace, Ford, Jackson and Reagan. The Jackson victory in the Massachusetts primary was based on the active support

of Louise Day Hicks.

ROAR is organized to maintain white racist terror in Boston at a high level. It has established marshall units of Vietnam veterans that patrol South Boston and Charlestown, stopping and harassing Black people. ROAR leaders openly call for terror attacks against the Black community. For example, Dan Yotts of the South Boston Information Center (a ROAR-led group) wrote an article in the South Boston Tribune urging that the NAACP office be "wiped out." Two days later it was firebombed. Yotts has never been arrested or even questioned in connection with this attack.

There are many whites in Boston who oppose ROAR's goals and tactics. ROAR strategy is open intimidation and harassment of whites who join with Black people in the fight for education or who refuse to condone racist violence. At a Citywide Coordinating Council meeting this winter, Black and white parents, teachers and community people came together to work on improving the magnet schools -- experimental schools which draw students from all over the city. ROAR packed the meeting, sitting in large groups, screaming, chanting, throwing confetti and picketing in front. Hundreds of police were on hand but allowed the disruption to continue. The meeting was called off, leaving many white and Third World parents enraged at the level of official tolerance of ROAR tactics. ROAR also invaded a meeting held by RUN (Racial Unity Now) in Dorchester last winter, where people were discussing the defense of a Black family in the neighborhood. Six ROAR thugs burst into the room and beat people with lead pipes.

Where does Mayor Kevin White stand in the middle of all this? Playing the classic role of liberal he condones ROAR, warns against Black violence and puts himself forward as the "force of moderation". White has formed a new crime commission to speed up prosecution for "racial crimes" -- which in Boston means crimes of Blacks against whites. White has been wooing ROAR by pressing for a court order against the desegregation plan on the grounds that it overloads the education budget. On April 23, White led a much-publicized "March Against Violence" in an attempt to restore his image, cool out an explosive situation and change the issue from "racism" to "violence". This was standard counterinsurgency.

The Black community in Boston is under seige. Black children who are bused to schools in white neighborhoods are now veterans of the Black liberation struggle: every day they face stonings, arrests and suspensions, degrading treatment from police and racist teachers. One Black youth described the unequal treatment Black stu-

dents receive in Charlestown High School:

The police know all the white kids. They greet the white kids and ask how the folks are doing. If a cop breaks up a fight between a Black student and a white student, the cop will pat the white kid on the back and say, "Now run along and give my regards to your brother."

Black students have responded by organizing and protesting. Last fall 90 Black students at South Boston H.S. refused to leave their buses and enter the school. They demanded more Black teachers, the right to meet as a Black caucus, the removal of racist teachers, more protection against attacks. These students then testified in numerous court hearings about the continued racist harassment in the high school. Black student protests have also occurred at Hyde Park H.S. and other schools throughout the city. On another front, Black and Third World construction workers have demanded in the face of violent ROAR-led opposition, 50% of all jobs on construction sites in the Black and Third World communities.

The brutal beating of Ted Landmark revealed what the Black community knew all along: that the cancer of fascism in Boston is spreading dangerously. Sustained opposition to ROAR and continued open action against it is vital. ■

"Pucho" is a cartoon character developed during the Cuban revolutionary war. He appeared in Mella, a clandestine magazine.



Two Centuries of Deceit and Disgrace

(excerpts from "Apartheid: a US Invention",
José A. Benítez, *Granma*, 3/23/76)

Apartheid, the racial discrimination policy which has its most enthusiastic advocates in present-day South Africa, originated in the United States. It is a US invention like neocolonialism, the repeating rifle, biological warfare and the Colt revolver which began to be used in the wars against the North American Indian in the third decade of the last century and in the usurping of Mexican territory.

The North American Indian -- as Martí said in his time -- was the first victim of apartheid, nearly two centuries ago.

At the end of last year a leader of the American Indian Movement, Vernon Belcourt, said that US citizens should think about the fact that the United States' two hundred years of existence have been two centuries of deceit and disgrace; he said that the North American Indians will not take part in celebration festivities of the United States.

The intrusion of the European colonizers disrupted the original development of the Indian population of North America. This process involved the expansion of a people in territory held by others. Seizure of land, violence, betrayal, mass destruction of peoples, brutality and the like accompanied the process. The settlers viewed the American Indian as an inferior race.

The Indian war of 1763 was the peak in a yet unfinished rebellion. Pontiac, leader of the Ottawa tribe, headed the struggle and transformed an explosive unrest into the first North American war of independence. The entire border along the northwest area of colonial occupation was plunged into war. The 4000 warriors led by Pontiac destroyed the British positions along the Ohio River, from what is now the state of Tennessee to Pennsylvania.

Bacteriological warfare was used for the first time in that war when General Jeffrey Amherst, who led the operations against the Indian insurrection, ordered the distribution of blankets to spread smallpox among the Indians surrounding Fort Pitt.

The lack of unity among the Indian nations and the overwhelming number of British soldiers pressed into battle to contain Pontiac's offensive ended the struggle in 1764. Pontiac retreated west into the forests of what is now the state of Illinois, where he roamed from village to village and was finally murdered in 1769.

Many years passed from the end of the Indian war of independence to the establishment of the first reservation, in 1830.

The American Revolution, the purchase of Louisiana from France, the gradual advance of the settlers to the west occurred in the interval.

The law of March 10, 1830 which authorized President Jackson to move the Indians to the land west of the Mississippi was the result of pressures from the Georgia settlers who wanted to seize the fertile lands between the great river and the Appalachians.

They marched on, into the heart of North America, expelling Indians from their lands and killing them as they went, in the name of an alleged right granted by Divine Providence. The history of "white progress" is also the history of plunder, seizure of a people's land and genocide.

The wars against the Plains Indians in the area between the Allegheny Mountains (in the southern part of the Appalachians) in the east and the Rocky Mountains in the west, ended with the establishment of the reservations, into which the Indians were herded and kept apart from "white society". They numbered more than a million when the first colonizers arrived but, by the middle of the century, there were only 300,000 left.

The reservations represent a specific example of apartheid or "keeping the herd apart" as Martí charged in 1885: "They are confined to small areas, where they can only move among others of their kind who are also enslaved, and their horizons are limited to dealers who sell them bright trinkets, weapons and strong drink." "If the Indian wants to see the world, he is unable to leave the human stockyard; he has no land of his own to work in order to leave as a legacy for his children along with an honest name ... the white man he knows is the tavern keeper who corrupts him or the dealer who tricks him, the improvised teacher who talks to him in a language which he can barely understand or the agent who laughs at or insults him when he demands justice ... The corrupt and unjust reservations system must be abolished and the land of the country as a whole must gradually be opened to them, merging with the white population so they can have land in the states of the nation and enjoy the same rights as all citizens."

The situation of the American Indian in the stockyards which Martí denounced 91 years ago can be compared to that of Nazi Germany or the racist regime in South Africa.

This situation still continues in the United States today.

GRAPHIC: AMESASNE NOTES

SOVEREIGNTY FOR INDIAN NATIONS -- PHILADELPHIA JULY 4!

Superexploitation

"Here are the facts you should know about Puerto Rico's higher productivity, lower wages and tax-free profits"

“There is no mystery about the steady influx of U.S. manufacturers to Puerto Rico over the last 25 years. *Operation Bootstrap*, our economic self-help program, has always operated on the principle that business will go where the profits are.

Let me tell you about three major factors that continue to attract billions of dollars in manufacturing investment to Puerto Rico—total tax exemption, higher worker productivity and lower labor costs.

1. Total Tax Exemption

One result of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico's unique compact with the United States is that U.S. Federal taxes on corporate income do not apply in Puerto Rico. This makes Puerto Rico the only location under the U.S. flag where corporate profits are completely free of U.S. Federal income taxes.

In addition, the Commonwealth has passed laws of its own which give your plant in Puerto Rico 100% exemption from corporate income taxes, real or personal property taxes and municipal license fees.

This exemption from Puerto Rican taxes is extended over periods of from 10 to 30 years, depending on the location of your plant on the island.

How about repatriation of profits to the U.S. mainland? If you set up your Puerto Rican operation under Section 931 of the Internal Revenue Code, you may repatriate all of your profits completely free of U.S. or Commonwealth taxes.

With unemployment in Puerto Rico now exceeding 20%, we need the jobs you can provide. To get those jobs, we have made certain that in Puerto Rico the profit you make is the profit you keep — *all of it*.

2. Higher Worker Productivity

Manufacturers, both U.S. and foreign, have repeatedly expressed their admiration for the skill and dedication of their workers in Puerto Rico. These qualities have meant higher manufacturing output and increased profits.

The level of worker productivity in Puerto Rico is among the highest in the world. The latest U.S. Census of Manufacturers found that a worker in Puerto Rico returns an average \$4.03 in

Worker Productivity per Wage Dollar* (Puerto Rico vs. Major Industrial States)

Illinois.....	\$3.37
Michigan.....	\$2.89
Ohio.....	\$3.12
New York.....	\$3.72
Pennsylvania.....	\$2.98
New Jersey.....	\$3.77
Massachusetts.....	\$3.50
Louisiana.....	\$3.99
North Carolina.....	\$3.21
California.....	\$3.70
U.S. National Average.....	\$3.36
PUERTO RICO.....	\$4.03

value for every dollar of wages earned.

This is well above the U.S. average of \$3.36 and puts Puerto Rico among the top U.S. plant sites in labor productivity — and as the accompanying chart shows, ahead of most leading industrial states.

3. Lower Labor Costs

Although the Fair Labor Standards Act covers Puerto Rico, industrial wages on the island are much closer to the statutory minimum than any other plant site in the United States.

With a plant on the U.S. mainland, you have to contend with an average hourly wage of \$5.02. In Puerto Rico, the average is \$2.69 — and that includes sick leave, vacation, and paid holidays.

Why not join manufacturers in your

Comparison of Average Hourly Earnings Between Puerto Rico and U.S. Mainland*

INDUSTRY GROUP	P. Rico Aver. Hourly Wage	U.S. Aver. Hourly Wage	Labor Cost Based
Tobacco	\$2.21	\$4.82	\$2.61
Textile products	2.24	3.56	1.32
Apparel	2.15	3.33	1.15
Furniture & fixtures	2.35	3.86	1.51
Printing & publishing	3.34	5.34	2.20
Chemical products	3.61	5.65	2.04
Rubber & plastic products	2.59	4.50	1.91
Leather products	2.05	3.37	1.32
Wood products	2.19	4.46	2.27
Stone, clay & glass products	3.04	5.04	2.00
Metal products	3.14	5.30	2.16
Non electrical machinery	3.32	5.60	2.28
Electrical machinery	2.92	4.77	1.85
Transportation equipment	3.07	6.35	3.28
Scientific instruments	2.74	4.75	1.81
Miscellaneous	2.73	3.97	1.24

industry who are producing more for the dollar with a plant in Puerto Rico? ”

REPRINTED FROM THE
WALL STREET JOURNAL
OCTOBER 14, 1975

You're in good company in Puerto Rico, U.S.A. ABBOTT LABORATORIES • ALLIED MILLS • AVON PRODUCTS • BABCOCK & WILCOX • BAXTER LABORATORIES • BEATRICE FOODS • BELL & HOWELL • CARBORUNDUM • CENTRAL SOYA • DEL MONTE • DU PONT (E. I.) DE NEMOURS • ELI LILLY • GENERAL FOODS • GILLETTE • GTE SYLVANIA HANES • HOFFMANN-LA ROCHE • INLAND CONTAINER • JANTZEN • KAYSER-ROTH • WALTER KIDDE • MERCK • OWENS-ILLINOIS • UNION CARBIDE

and broke on the hard pavement. Half a dozen struck their target. The small boy ran for cover, howling like a dog. The angry gang raced after him. Nathaniel looked out the window. The snow fell silently. The boy's footprints had already disappeared.



IN THE ORCHARD

"My idea is to burn it down," Camillo said. He stood in the shade of the apple tree. It was one tree among many, a single tree in a large orchard. "These dry leaves, a little gasoline, one match and puff. They would never catch me," he boasted.

"Don't be too sure of that," Roberto said. He pointed his long shears up toward the blue sky. "You are a farm worker are you not? You talk like a farm worker. You wear the clothes of a farm worker." Camillo looked at his long arms, his faded overalls and work shirt. "Where will you hide?" Roberto asked. "The hiring agent knows your name. He can give a description of you to the police. You will never make it across the border."

"Si, si, that is true," Camillo said. He cleared his throat. "But I hate this grower. He is a thief. Everyday we are robbed. How can you stand it?"

Roberto moved his ladder, climbed to the top step and began cutting the green branches. He squinted his eyes and looked at the tree as if he were an artist painting a mural. The tree had symmetry and balance. Roberto's arms were so short that he had difficulty reaching the center. Camillo shaded his eyes from the sun and watched him.

"Leave those branches for me," he said. "You tend these trees as if they were your own children. I don't understand you, gordo."

"I'm not so strange," Roberto said. "The apples are not my enemy. They haven't stolen the power of my labor. One day this land will belong to the people who work it. Then these trees will bear the sweetest fruit."

"What then is your solution?" Camillo asked.

"You know the union is in the vinyard across the road," Roberto said.

"So the union must cross this little dirt track," Camillo said laughing. "Nothing to it. I will carry la senorita across myself."

"I wish it were so easy," Roberto said. "Unfortunately your gallantry will not be enough. We need organization, and a plan. Tonight we'll make a start. There's a meeting in the church. The union is the fire we've got to build now!"

BERT IN THE AMAZON BASIN

Dear Paula,

This is the strangest winter I've ever known. During the afternoon the temperature reaches 90°. It's humid too. A damn powerful sun. There's nothing to do but play cards, work, and drink beer. I hate the job and want to leave. Most of the guys see things my way, but they need the money badly and can't split so easily. We're all lonely for family and friends.

I thought that we would be building schools. At least that's what they led me to believe during the training session. But so far the only building I've worked on is a prison. The outer walls are six feet thick and there's an inner wall too. The cement is manufactured in an American-owned plant near Recife and shipped here in pre-fab sections. The Brazilians do the driving and the unloading and we do the construction. At the ground-breaking ceremony there were speeches by the local politicians about the friendship between Brazil and the United States. There was a band and some local girls on hand for entertainment.

A prison here is weird. Hell, we're surrounded by jungle. This is nowhere. I tell you there's no village here, not even a five and ten cent store.

The jungle is fantastic. Trees tall as your office, beautiful bright birds, and strange animals. Hundreds of lumberjacks are attacking the forest, and there's a big saw mill along the Amazon. At night the jungle is frightening. You wouldn't want to go for a casual stroll. It's a lot worse than Central Park.

Last weekend I went into town. Bought you a few Indian carvings. I felt uncomfortable sight-seeing. A young man took me aside and told me that the people around here don't want a prison. He said they know they'll be the prisoners. I have a contract to finish the work but I'm gonna break it. Is there any chance of getting a job in the city? I love you very much. Hope to see you soon.

Love,
Bert.



AT PAULA'S DESK

Paula was a neat secretary. Paper clips, rubber bands, and erasers were always in place. But this morning chaos descended.

"You're fired," Mr. Klinger shouted and Paula's elbow accidentally hit the return button and the typewriter carriage slammed home. Mr. Klinger towered above her; in his shadow she felt small and alone. They were on the 26th floor surrounded by plate glass windows. Paula worked in a forest of skyscrapers. Her building seemed to bend with the winter wind. The bright sunlight intensified the office stillness. Adding machines, typewriters and telephones stopped dead.

Paula was supposed to be typing Mr. Klinger's letters: Dear Union Carbide, board meeting sell super shares profit commodity coal oil index new the kids sincerely HK;ph. But instead Paula was typing the office workers' newsletter. She hadn't made a single mistake and there were only two more sentences to go. Then she would hand the stencil to Randy. In the afternoon it would be distributed. But now it was too late. Everything was ruined.

Klinger had out-flanked Paula. She adjusted her glasses and looked up from the typewriter. The secretaries clustered round her desk. The clerks emerged from the stock room. The messenger stopped whistling. The skyscraper stood perfectly

still in the winter sunlight. A woman in a blue sweater stepped forward and folded her arms across her chest. "I speak for all of us," she said. "If Paula goes we go." No one moved. The building was still.

NATHANIEL'S DAYS

It was cold in the kitchen. Even the portrait of Martin Luther King seemed to shiver. For heat Nathaniel lit the stove and opened the oven door. He put up a kettle for tea, took two porcelain cups from the shelf and unwrapped one tea bag. "That sure was a bad movie," he said to his son Tony. "We wasted good money. You'd think all black folks did was pimp and prostitute. What about us?"

"People wouldn't pay to see the likes of folks like us," Tony said.

"I've seen some sights in my time," Nathaniel said.

"Don't go braggin' again," Tony said.

"It's the plain truth," Nathaniel said. "Pickin' cotton, share croppin', the days of the Great Depression. Your mama and me came North to find work in the city. You was the first born out of the South." Nathaniel poured the boiling water into the cup. Tony added a spoonful of sugar.

"Nowadays life don't make as much sense," he said. "It's more confused. Folks aren't as heroic."

"Oh yes they are," Nathaniel said. "Open your eyes. I see it every day." ■

To be continued next issue.

WHO WE ARE

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in "Subterranean Homesick Blues", a popular song in the last decade: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows". In 1970 we made the decision to begin armed struggle and developed an underground organization. For five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

In July 1974, we published Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism. To the best of our knowledge there are currently 30,000 copies of the book in circulation.

The Weather Underground Organization is responsible for over 25 armed actions against the enemy. Eight of these were bombings directed against imperialist war and in support of the people of Indochina. This includes the attack on the Capitol in 1971, on the Pentagon in 1972 and on the State Department in 1975. Ten actions were directed against the repressive apparatus: courts, prisons, police, and in support of Black liberation. This includes attacks on N.Y. City Police Headquarters in 1970 and the California Department of Corrections following the assassination of George Jackson at San Quentin in 1971. One was a bombing of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, an action which was part of the freedom struggle of women. One was a bombing of the New York City branch of the Banco de Ponce, in militant support of striking cement workers in Puerto Rico. These actions were carried out in harmony with the demonstrations, marches and political activity of millions of people. Together they have resulted in approximately \$10 million damage to the imperialists and a significant blow to their arrogance. This is a bee sting against such a powerful enemy, but a bee sting whose strength is multiplied many times by the fact that these actions represent the early stages of sustained armed struggle led by a political organization.

Osawatimic, the revolutionary voice of the WUO, is guided by a commitment to struggle, a determination to fight the enemy, the certainty that we will see revolution in our lifetime, and a spirit of love for the exploited people of the world. In order to build a successful struggle, the people need strong organization and a revolutionary party.

The program of the Weather Underground Organization is:

- US imperialism out of the Third World. Independence for Puerto Rico.
- Peace. Oppose imperialist war and US intervention.
- Fight racism. Build an anti-racist base within the working class.
- Support self-determination for oppressed peoples.
- Struggle against sexism and for the freedom of women.
- Organize the working class. Fight for socialism. Power to the people.

In a single sentence, the program means this: Mobilize the exploited and oppressed people to wage the class struggle against US imperialism, the common enemy.

DEFEND CUBA

first free territory
of the Americas

23 anniversary of the assault
on Moncada 26 de Julio 1976

