

"People of the world Unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!"



COMMUNIST

ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

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LONG LIVE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUERTO RICAN REVOLUTION!

October 30, 1970 is the 20th Anniversary of the Puerto Rican Revolution of 1950. Various anti-imperialist groups, including the Young Lords Party, will celebrate this heroic uprising with different activities, including conferences and mass demonstrations. It is especially important for all workers and oppressed people in the so-called "U.S.A." to closely study and understand the important lessons of this struggle, to recognize the genuine revolutionary traditions of the National Liberation struggle of the Puerto Rican people, and to give the fullest support to the forthcoming Puerto Rican Revolution, a National Liberation Revolution against U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of the people of all countries.

Following the defeat of German, Italian, and Japanese fascism in World War II, the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs began a wave of reaction and counter-revolution in all countries, particularly against the people in the imperialist heartlands. "McCarthyism" and the domestic reactionaries in America, spurred on by their monopoly capitalist masters, unleashed an anti-communist hysteria, properly called a "witch-hunt", which completely finished off what was left of the so-called "communist party" and its pitiful collection of "fellow-travellers". The proletariat and workingclass in the American nation, without the leadership of a genuine and scientifically-based Marxist-Leninist party, suffered many setbacks. Many thousands of people, disgusted by the spineless nature of the so-called "communists" in the face of the "witch-hunt", fell back into the arms of reaction, including the anti-communist right-wing. An entire generation was lost to pessimism, nihilism, "beat" culture, etc..

In this period of setback, for the proletariat and workingclass as a whole in the imperialist countries, the revolutionary struggles for National Liberation, the People's Wars in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, surged forward wave upon wave, taking the leadership and vanguard place in the world revolutionary process as a whole. China, Korea, Algeria, Cuba, and others fought their way out of imperialist control and domination, guns in hand. The countryside of the world, the oppressed nations, encircled the cities of the world, the imperialist heartlands. This basic fact passed un-noticed by most of the so-called "left" in the imperialist countries, including the so-called "U.S.A." However, the events of the first half of the 1950's, in a small Caribbean island, were to shatter both the fear-crazed stupor of the witch-hunted "left" and the supposed "stability" of post-war America. The Puerto Rican people fulfilling their historic destiny and revolutionary duty, as a nation and people oppressed by a foreign invader, held aloft the proud banner of Revolution, and of anti-imperialist struggle. While the snivelling leadership of the so-called "communist party" was taking the "Fifth Amendment" and kicking all the workers out of their organizations, the Puerto Rican people wrote a glorious page in the history of their nation, and the history of the world's peoples' struggle against imperialism as well.

Thus, the Puerto Rican Revolution of 1950 must be seen in its clear vanguard role, as the first National Revolution of an oppressed people inside the state boundaries of the so-called U.S.A. in this historical period following World War II. Puerto Rico is the first direct colony of U.S. imperialism to attempt Armed Revolution against U.S. imperialism after World War II. Of course, the two other direct colonies of U.S. imperialism at present, the Black Belt nation in the south, and the Chicano nation in the southwest, also have glorious traditions of national resistance and armed struggle against U.S. imperialism. But we must recognize the strategic historical importance of the Puerto Rican Revolution of 1950, an armed struggle that declared a provisional revolutionary government, in the form of the Republic of Puerto Rico, and whose participants continued that same struggle years afterward, carrying the banner of National Liberation into the citadel of government in the main urban centers of U.S. imperialism.

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The 1950 Revolution began in the town of Jayuya, with thirty armed members of the Nationalist Party, led by Blanca Canales, a revolutionary sister still alive and active today. This is neither the first, nor the last, instance in which women have played a leading role in the Puerto Rican struggle for National Liberation. At 4:00 a.m. October 30, 1970, they moved into the town, attacking the jailhouse, and, after a gun-battle in which both Nationalists and policemen were killed and wounded, captured the jailhouse, raising the Puerto Rican flag over it. For two days, the Nationalists and the aroused masses held the town of Jayuya, while in the nearby towns of Utuado and Pameles, and elsewhere on the island, uprisings occurred. This same year, the revolutionary heroes, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, made their famous attempt to assassinate the U.S. imperialist chief of state, Lyndon B. Johnson, for both political and military reasons, the uprisings were defeated. The Nationalists failed to mobilize the broadest masses of the people, especially the Black Puerto Ricans who are the most oppressed and exploited under U.S. imperialism's racist colonial rule. The Nationalist Party did not base itself on a Marxist-Leninist analysis, which would have pointed out the worker-peasant alliance as the main basis for a United Front against U.S. imperialism. Also, an incorrect military line of waging a war of quick decision to seize the towns and cities, rather than waging a protracted people's war from the countryside, played an important part in the defeat of the 1950 struggle. However, the Puerto Rican Revolution was not defeated in 1950, only set back for a period. The Puerto Rican revolution today, alongside the revolutions of the oppressed nations of the world, constitute the main and leading force in the world revolutionary process as a whole. Learning both from mistakes and achievements, the Puerto Rican people move forward to the new tasks of the new period.

Four years after the 1950 Revolution, Puerto Rican liberation fighters again struck at the U.S. imperialist beast, guns in hand. Lolita Lebron, garment worker, mother of two children, and head secretary of the Nationalist Party section in New York City, led an armed attack on the U.S. House of Representatives on March 1, 1954. Five congressmen were wounded, one very badly. Lolita Lebron and her three heroic companions are still in prison, held in Leavenworth and other concentration camps serving out 25 year and 50 year sentences. The 1954 attack was not only a blow struck for the Puerto Rican struggle, but for the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole, since March 1st, the deliberately chosen "target-day", was the day the U.S. House of Representatives was to debate the status of the Chamizal district between Texas and Mexico. Thus the heroic 1954 attack led by Lolita Lebron on the U.S. House of Representatives joined the National Liberation struggles of the oppressed and the so-called U.S.A. — the Puerto Rican nation and the Chicano nation in the southwest — and must be considered a vanguard act of proletarian internationalism, an outstanding example of the unshakable unity of the peoples of the world who are fighting against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism.

The next step ahead for the Puerto Rican struggle for National Liberation is the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party, a National Liberation Front, and a People's Army the three main weapons of revolutionary struggle in the present historical period. Many new anti-imperialist forces are developing now, both in the oppressed nation and among the Puerto Rican national minority in the American nation. As in all movements and struggles, there are two lines. On the one hand, there is the line of armed struggle and People's War, relying upon the masses of workers and peasants, and the leadership of the proletariat and its party. On the other hand, there is the line of national betrayal, of "peaceful transition" through a change in "status", of a vague kind of "independence" without struggle, of a petty-bourgeois and semi-religious nationalism, that has little or no appeal to the masses of people, but only a few older persons clinging to nostalgia.

The struggle between these two lines is absolutely necessary for the correct development of the Puerto Rican struggle for National Liberation. Before there is unity, there must be clarity. In his famous article, Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society, Chairman Mao Tse-tung begins: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." This is also the question of first importance for the Puerto Rican Revolution. The enemies of the Puerto Rican people are the U.S. imperialists and all their running dogs including the so-called "communist party", the trotskies, and other pseudo-socialists. The friends of the Puerto Rican people are all the peoples of the world who wage Peoples War and Class War against the bourgeoisie.

Only Mao Tse-tung Thought, the Marxism-Leninism of our era, can arm the Puerto Rican proletariat and people with the advanced ideology, strategy, and tactics to defeat U.S. imperialism on the island, and to carry the revolutionary struggle directly into the imperialist heartlands in the American nation. Although many other brands of "socialism" and even "Marxism" are being promoted now, both in Puerto Rico, and here, the genuine Proletarian Revolutionary Line is emerging in the actual practice of the struggle, in the form of the Grupo Marxista-Leninista and their publication, Causa Proletaria. The Grupo Marxista-Leninista is the first organization to widely disseminate Mao Tse-tung Thought on the island of Puerto Rico. The formation of the Grupo Marxista-Leninista and its continued growth and influence among the workers and other oppressed masses, gives leadership to the National Liberation struggle as a whole. The most immediate task as head, as the masthead on Causa Proletaria states, is the "construction of the proletarian revolutionary party of the new type in the Puerto Rican working-class."

The 20th Anniversary of the 1950 Puerto Rican Revolution must be recognized and hailed by the workers and other oppressed masses in the American nation. Victory for the National Liberation struggle of Puerto Rico will be a victory for the revolutionary struggle of all people oppressed by U.S. imperialism, including the American people. The Marxist-Leninist Party resolutely declares:

Long Live The 20th Anniversary of the Puerto Rican Revolution I
Long Live The People's War for National Liberation in Puerto Rico I

Vietnam's minority people take up bows and arrows to fight the enemy.



The armed forces and people of south Vietnam have mastered the strategy of people's war and raised it to a new level. They have used all the advantages of this warfare to exploit the enemy's weak points. Every opportunity has been used to strike at the enemy. As a result, large numbers of the enemy's forces have been wiped out. There is no doubt that the hard-hit American aggressors are trapped by the inevitable force of the people. And as U.S. imperialism suffers defeat after defeat, it is exposed for what it really is — a paper tiger.



These four photographs of the heroic people and Liberation Armed Forces of South Viet Nam show the full use of all types of weapons, from traditional (the cross-bow), to improvised (the bamboo spike traps and "jungle bombs"), to home-made firearms, and modern automatic weapons seized from the enemy.



Large quantities of weapons are captured from the enemy to arm the people's fighters.



The heroic struggle and brilliant successes of the south Vietnamese people are of great international significance. They have set an excellent example for the revolutionary people of the whole world — an example of daring to struggle and win. They have pointed out the correct path to independence and liberation for all oppressed people and nations.



This section of Communist will regularly report on communications and contacts between the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party and various anti-revisionist groups and publications, nationally and internationally. Since the founding of our Party, in March, 1970, we have established contacts and opened dialogue with various revolutionary tendencies, based on the principle of clarity before unity. We will continue to follow this line, looking to a regroupment of revolutionary communists in the American nation, based on the creative application of Mao Tse-tung Thought to the Class War and Proletarian Revolution in the heartlands of imperialism.

We have received the following communication from our Comrades in France:

"Ligne Rouge
Paris, July 22nd 1970

Dear Comrades,

We wish to announce that our journal, Ligne Rouge (Red Line) has definitely ceased publication, and that the Ligne Rouge organization has also ceased to exist. This is the result of a prolonged political crisis, which had already resulted in the disruption of our journal, and then, its suspension, since issue no. 8, Feb. 1970. The militants of Ligne Rouge have not been able to surmount the contradictions which divided them, neither on methods of work, nor long-term perspectives. Consequently, a final general assembly of the membership in little more than the splitting of our group into three principal currents.

It is obviously impossible to give a single objective interpretation of this situation, except that the three currents that have come out of Ligne Rouge have decided to continue, each based on its own political analysis, perspectives, and proposals. We do not believe that this temporary setback, for us and for the Marxist-Leninist Communist movement in France, in any way raises the question of the correctness of our struggle, and we do not doubt that, grasping firmly Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and struggling to apply it to the concrete conditions of the class struggle in France, we will again develop a new unity, not only among the militants of Ligne Rouge, but also among all the genuine Marxist-Leninist Communists in France, in a single Marxist-Leninist Party, organ of struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people of France.

We wish to thank you for your militant collaboration, we call upon you to overcome all difficulties and surmount all discouragement; the actual difficult situation for the Movement must reinforce our enthusiasm for struggle.

With Fraternal Communist Greetings, The militants of Ex-Ligne Rouge. (translated from the French.)

READ THE GENUINE COMMUNIST PRESS!

- Peoples Tribune (published by the California Communist League)
Box 72306, Watts Station, Los Angeles, California
- Mass Line (published by the American Communist Workers Movement (M-L))
PO 5221, Cleveland, Ohio, 44101
- Ad Hoc Bulletin (published by the Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party)
Box 6193, Chicago, Illinois 60680
- Causa Proletaria (published by the Grupo Marxista-Leninista)
Apartado 130, Saint Just, Puerto Rico, 00750
- People's Voice (published by the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist))
PO Box 622, Bellflower, California, 90706
Note: This group has no connection with the enemy agent M. I. Laski. The C.P.U.S.A. (M.-L.) expelled Laski in 1968, although he has continued to use this group's name. A forthcoming issue of Communist will publish a brief history of the development of the various anti-revisionist groups, including our own.

PEKING REVIEW

a political, theoretical weekly magazine

Orders for subscription may be sent to your local dealer or directly to the Subscription Dept. GUOZI SHUBUAN (China Publications Control, P.O. Box 209, Peking, China.

READ RED STAR

ORGAN OF THE RED WOMEN'S DETACHMENT

Issue no. 3 contains important articles on revolutionary women's struggles in all countries. Red Star is not sold by subscription. It is available from local units of the R.W.D. and the M.L.F. and is sold in the following New York City bookstores: Downtown: Eastside Bookstore on St. Marks Pl. Mid-town: Bryant Park newstand Uptown: Liberation Bookstore, Movement Bookstore, New Yorker Bookstore.

3 DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

The MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY is the party of the proletariat in the American nation. The party exists to wage Class War, overthrow imperialism in armed revolution, and build the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the American nation, Socialism, and Communism.

The MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, in acceptance of the revolutionary principles of the Documents issued by the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, recognizes the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world as:

The contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries, and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

(from Lin Biao's report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.)

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE OPPRESSED NATIONS AND IMPERIALISM

The oppression and exploitation of nations under imperialism has increased. But imperialism is not only the highest stage of capitalism, but its final stage as well, and the general crisis of imperialism brings on wave upon wave of Peoples Wars of National Liberation in the countryside of the world. The victories of Peoples Wars in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are changing the world through armed revolution more quickly in this century than ever before in human history. The victory of the Peoples War in South Viet Nam is the undeniable proof of this. The movement of the cities of the world, the imperialist and revisionist countries, by the countryside of the world, the oppressed nations and peoples, is the main expression of the present world revolutionary movement.

The victories of Peoples Wars points out the absolute need for proletarian internationalism, for uniting the imperialist countries into civil wars and revolutions, for uniting the imperialist countries, for bringing the war home, and for completing the victories of the Peoples Wars with the victory of Class War. Both Peoples War in the countryside and Class War in the cities oppose the reactionary violence of imperialism, revisionism, and reaction, with the revolutionary violence of the proletariat and the oppressed nations. Chairman Mao has stated: "Only with guns can the whole world be transformed. Peoples War proves this brilliant thesis to be true. The only genuine basis for a United Front Against Imperialism is when the proletariat in the cities of the world picks up the gun alongside the oppressed nations."

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a fundamental class contradiction based on the social relations of the means of production. This contradiction is irreconcilable and is manifested in class struggle, in strikes, violent outbreaks and uprisings, and other forms of struggle. This contradiction will only be resolved with the destruction of the bourgeoisie as a class, and bourgeois ideology as the expression of that class. The proletariat of all countries is the only class that will liberate all mankind from the capitalist and imperialist system. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie must be raised to the level of Class War, of armed proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the party of the proletariat. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is thus resolved in the full process of the class struggle, before, during, and after the Proletarian Revolution.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN IMPERIALIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES AND AMONG THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

The essence of imperialism compels the imperialists to struggle for the domination and redivision of the world. This struggle is increasing in breadth and depth and is causing the disintegration of various blocs, alliances, and treaties among the imperialist countries, and the definite emergence of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism as the two main imperialist powers in the world today. However much the imperialist powers may fight among themselves, they are united against the proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples, and no alliance is possible with any imperialist power.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

The contradiction between socialist countries and imperialist countries is an irreconcilable contradiction between two entirely different social systems. It is a contradiction between the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The imperialists cannot tolerate the existence of socialist countries, and are intent on provoking war with the socialist countries. The U.S. imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, and the Soviet social-imperialist aggression against the Peoples Republic of China are the main expressions of these intentions. Chairman Mao has recently pointed out: "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: one is that war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war. This brilliant thesis guides the policy and strategy of the leaders of the socialist countries. If the U.S. imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists, and their lackeys persist in their aggressive intentions against the socialist countries, this will only hasten their doom."

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The primary contradiction in the U.S.A. is the contradiction between the American nation, heartland of U.S. imperialism, and the direct colonies of U.S. imperialism: Puerto Rico, the Black Belt nation in the south, and the Chicano nation in the southwest. The struggle of the oppressed nations in the U.S.A. is a key part of the world-wide National Liberation struggle. The oppressed nations in the U.S.A. will liberate themselves through Peoples War. The proletariat of the oppressed nations in the U.S.A. are building their own parties, armies and united fronts. The MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY resolutely combats all national-chauvinism, including the national-chauvinism that denies the right of the proletariat in oppressed nations to form their own parties. In the American nation, there exist national minorities, including Native Americans, Eskimos, Chinese, Japanese, Philippines, and others, as well as national minorities drawn from the Black Belt, Puerto Rico, and the Chicano nation. These national minorities, increasingly exploited and oppressed in the American nation, and concentrated in the millions in the key urban industrial centers, constitute the most advanced and revolutionary section of the proletariat in the American nation. Peoples War in Puerto Rico, the Black Belt, and the Chicano nation in the southwest may be victorious against U.S. imperialism before the victory of Class War in the American nation. It is the primary duty of the proletariat in the American nation, with the national minority proletarians in the lead, to provide all support and assistance to the Peoples Wars in Puerto Rico, the Black Belt, and the Chicano nation in the southwest.

The secondary contradiction in the U.S.A. is the contradiction between the American nation and the bourgeoisie. This is primarily manifested in the American nation with class struggles, including strikes, violent uprisings, and armed struggle. In the American nation the class struggle is the primary contradiction, the basis for Proletarian Revolution. In the direct colonies of U.S. imperialism, Puerto Rico, the Black Belt, and the Chicano nation, the class struggle also rages, but is also a national struggle, because the bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations in the U.S.A. is a comprador bourgeoisie tied to U.S. imperialism. The trade union question is a dead issue insofar as the Proletarian Revolution is concerned. In the era of imperialism, no matter with what leadership, the trade unions are no longer "schools for communism" but rather schools for revisionism. The trade unions serve the bidding of U.S. imperialism, pitting the labor aristocracy against the proletariat, and splitting the working-class as a whole along lines of nationality, sex, and age. Our objective is to smash the trade unions in the American nation, and thereby to smash the bourgeoisie's main influence and control in the working-class. We call for the building of new organs of class struggle, for Workers Militias and mass organizations that unite proletarians of all industries with the rank-and-file of the imperialist armed forces and the lumpenproletarian masses. The historical experience of the working-class shows the need for new organs of class struggle, and the highest level of class struggle, related specifically to armed struggle and armed revolution. The new organs of struggle, such as the Soviets, or Workers Soldiers and Peasants Councils in the Bolshevik Revolution, the peoples revolutionary councils which are the organs of power in the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam, and the Three-in-one Revolutionary Committees in the Peoples Republic of China, are the basis of the new organs of power, under the Peoples Democratic Dictatorship and the Proletarian Dictatorship. Through the new organs of struggle, strikes must be raised to the level of armed struggle, and armed struggle must be raised to the level of armed revolution.

The oppression of women is an inevitable social expression of the unequal division of labor based on private property in the means of production. The oppression of women will be ended with the destruction of imperialism, the overthrow of bourgeois property relations, including the family, and the building of socialism and communism. The MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY calls for the building of Womens Armed Defense Groups to fully express and organize the equality of women and men in armed struggle and armed revolution. The MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY also calls for the building of the Red Womens Detachment as the mass organization of workingwomen under the leadership of the party.

ANALYSIS OF CLASS FORCES IN THE AMERICAN NATION

The Bourgeoisie

Monopoly Capitalists: The monopoly capitalist group possesses the fewest number of persons and the largest amount of wealth and power. The monopoly capitalists economically, militarily, and politically control the U.S.A. through their Dictatorship: their state, their army, their police, etc.. The monopoly capitalists cannot operate solely from one country, they are imperialists, and the U.S. imperialist monopoly capitalists also directly oppress and exploit the Puerto Rican nation, the Black Belt, and the Chicano nation in the southwest, as well as many other countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, and Europe. The monopoly capitalists who are the core of U.S. imperialism, living in the American nation, are the most vicious enemy of the peoples of the world, including the people in the American nation.

Middle Bourgeoisie: The middle bourgeoisie is that section of the bourgeoisie that consists of small corporations, small businesses, and farms, but is not able to control and manipulate whole sections of industry or play a direct role in state power. The middle bourgeoisie support imperialism internationally and they are the main ally of the monopoly capitalist group. However sections of the middle bourgeoisie seek a return to laissez-faire capitalism and "free competition" and thus oppose centralization and concentration of wealth and power. The middle bourgeoisie expresses its disagreement with the monopoly capitalist groups in various so-called conservative movements. These are as reactionary as the political expressions of the monopoly capitalist group, the Republican and Democratic parties. No alliances are possible between the proletariat and any section of the middle bourgeoisie, no matter how "progressive" they appear to be.

Petty-Bourgeoisie: The petty-bourgeoisie are owners of small shops and small real-estate and professionals of various kinds. The petty-bourgeoisie are the largest section of the bourgeoisie as a whole in numbers, and the least stable. They are constantly being thrown down into the proletariat and lumpenproletariat, but bring into the bourgeoisie ideology with it, is a base for revisionism in the working-class as a whole. Left sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, especially farmers, are capable of leading armed struggle against U.S. imperialism in the American nation, and have proved themselves valid allies of the proletariat and the oppressed nations. Other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie unite with the aristocracy of labor in a number of small independent political formations, both leftwing and rightwing. These political formations are the concrete source of revisionism, national-chauvinism, male-chauvinism, reformism, and other reactionary ideas that divide the working-class. No alliance is possible with these political formations. They must be smashed and the genuine anti-imperialist elements among them won to the side of the proletariat and the oppressed nations.

WORKING-CLASS

Aristocracy of Labor: The aristocracy of labor is that highly-bribed section of the working-class which sides with the bourgeoisie. They are the smallest section of the working-class in numbers, but are granted the most privilege, and thus exercise an influence greater than their number. The aristocracy of labor is the main basis for the trade union bureaucracy, scale and goons, and other reactionary flunkies of U.S. imperialism. They must be smashed along with their rackets the trade unions, and replaced by the leadership of the proletariat.

The Proletariat: The proletariat is the most oppressed and exploited section of the working-class and the largest section of the working-class as a whole. The proletariat in the American nation is the vanguard of all mass struggles against U.S. imperialism, especially the armed struggles. Concentrated in the largest numbers in the basic heavy industries, such as Auto, Steel, Mining, Transportation, etc., the proletariat is the most organized and advanced section of the working-class and the only section capable of leading armed struggle and armed revolution in the American nation. The proletarians drawn from rural areas, especially the national minority proletarians drawn from the Black Belt, Puerto Rico, and the Chicano nation in the southwest, have shown in numerous violent uprisings, including Watts, Detroit, Newark, Harlem, and Washington DC, that they are already waging Class War against U.S. imperialism, and mass struggles are a battle-cry to all the working-class and its allies in the American nation to organize armed struggle and prepare for armed revolution. The proletariat in the American nation will build the Party of the proletariat, make the Revolution of the proletariat, and build the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Those who would ally with the proletariat must unite on the basis of accepting the leadership of the proletariat.

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THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM WILL TRIUMPH!

A young woman who is feared by the enemy. So far Ta Thi Kieu has fought in 35 battles and taken three enemy outposts — all by herself!

Her rifle is deadly accurate. Le Thi Toyet, a deputy leader of a guerrilla detachment somewhere in central south Vietnam, once killed ten enemy soldiers and wounded two — with a total of just 12 bullets.

Twenty-one-year-old guerrilla platoon leader Tran Kim Ky — a man who has killed 30 enemy soldiers and wounded 20, all in 15 months.

He is 16 years old. Only a boy. But guerrilla fighter Nguyen Tam has already shot down one U.S. helicopter with a rifle and killed or wounded some 20 enemy troops.



On December 20, 1960, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation was born out of the flames of struggle. It alone represents the 14 million south Vietnamese people. It embraces the patriotic forces of all classes, strata, nationalities, parties and social and religious organizations in south Vietnam. Following the correct line of people's war, it is successfully leading the struggle of the south Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression.



The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation follows the correct line of a people's war. It rouses and mobilizes the civilian population. It vigorously organizes and develops the people's armed forces and smashes the enemy heart. The people of south Vietnam overcome every difficulty, make every sacrifice. With their brothers in the north they are determined to fight the U.S. aggressors — until final victory.

(continued from page 4)

This colossal force are the people who have risen in battle and revolution, is the proletarian revolution which rises in a fury against them, is the "ghost of communism" which has now become a major reality. At the root of the Soviet-U.S. alliance lies their joint war against socialism, against communism, against Marxism-Leninism.

By dividing the spheres of influence between them, these two imperialist States threaten the world with all the kinds of armaments they have at their disposal, including atomic bombs and shells; they have made common cause to suppress national-liberation wars, to suppress proletarian revolution which threatens them with perdition. It is in alliance with each other that they are actively at work wherever peoples fight for their freedom. In Vietnam and the Caribbean Isles, in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia, in the ranks of their own allies both in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. This complex and coordinated activity of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, by arms and demagogic pacifist propaganda, seems as if it is not coordinated, it even seems that there are deep contradictions between them. This is a mirage which should be continually exposed. Apart from the fact that in Soviet-U.S. actions there are deep contradictions which will deepen and will aggravate and may degenerate ultimately to armed clashes between them — an eventuality not to be excluded among capitalist — their main and decisive objective is one and unalterable.

U.S.-Soviet diplomacy has arrived at the conclusion that each of both sides — can dominate and hold in its grip its allies in the ill-fated NATO and WARSAW alliances etc., that together lead the war against socialism, communism and the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism. But a calculation of this kind cannot be but a wrong one.

The economic and political crises in the United States of America, in the European capitalist countries, in Czechoslovakia and within the Soviet Union itself, the revolts of peoples and students in Europe, Asia, Latin America, the war state in the Middle East, Bonn's open and threatening intentions, the fascist coup in Greece and elsewhere show how incorrect, how short-lived are the calculations of U.S. imperialism and its allies, the Soviet revisionists.

The major crises within the ranks of the various imperialists, the deep contradictions and cracks within the ranks of the bourgeoisie of the capitalist and revisionist countries, their armaments and preparation for further plundering wars, go to show exactly that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are clarifying and inspiring the world proletariat and laboring masses and are blazing the way for them to the revolution. This shows that the world proletariat and laboring masses are becoming more and more aware every day of the lie of bourgeois democracy, of the falsity of bourgeois and revisionist vote and parliamentary, and of bourgeois pacifism. From their own experience, the world proletariat and workers are becoming more and more conscious each day that the capitalist world and the world of the social-democrats and modern revisionists preach should be crushed by revolutionary violence, by the violence of arms. And it is precisely because this furious war is surging that we are witnessing today major world imperialist-revisionist crises, that we witness such preparations for war on their part, such suppression of strikes and national-liberation struggles, such splits in bourgeois parties, such rise of polycentrist drifts within the ranks of modern revisionism, in general, and of divisive factions within the ranks of every revisionist party, in particular.

It goes without saying that this deterioration, which is deepening on the imperialist-revisionist front, will degenerate into a catastrophic revolution and lead to the victory of the proletarian revolution. Blinders seem to have been thrown over it, but these blinders are made of cardboard and

beneath them, the revolution is sizzling, it has broken out and will continually break out in its slacked links.

The sharp edge of the joint and coordinated war of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism is spearheaded against the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania, against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania who lead their people to the certain victory of socialism and communism and stand in the lead of the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties of the whole world in their battle with imperialism, modern revisionism and the entire world reaction.

The brilliant victories scored by the great proletarian cultural revolution of the great Chinese people and their glorious Party, guided personally by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have fortified a lot the common cause of socialism and revolution everywhere in the world. The triumph of this revolution is of vast importance not only to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, to carrying through to the end socialist revolution and to warding the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but it has set, at the same time, a great example for the revolutionaries and peoples of the revisionist countries to overthrow the traitorous cliques in power, it is a powerful incentive for the proletariat of the world and the oppressed peoples in their class and liberation struggles.

The existence and force of Mao Tse-tung's great socialist People's China, provide a major guarantee for the inevitable victory over imperialism and revisionism. All the diabolic schemes of the imperialists and revisionists will be frustrated, one after the other, by those revolutionary peoples of the world who, under the leadership of revolutionary communist parties (Marxist-Leninist), under the leadership of revolutionary patriots, have risen to fight and by those who will continually rise one after the other, and all together wage war and revolution.

The regroupment of revolutionary communists in new Marxist-Leninist parties is an open break with modern revisionism and with the former communist and workers' parties which betrayed Marxism-Leninism. This is the picture of a new revolutionary situation within the ranks of the international working class which is being split and, at the same time, regrouped. Within its ranks, the conscious and revolutionary part of the proletariat are being strengthened to play their vanguard role against the socialist, social-democrats and modern revisionists who still hold commanding positions, especially, among the strata of the worker aristocracy who mislead the working masses.

The struggle to lead long but the conscious and revolutionary section of the world proletariat, under the guidance of the new Marxist-Leninist communist parties, should cope with energy and in an organized way with the attacks of the bourgeoisie, organized and armed, as well as of all its lackeys, the social-democrats and modern revisionists.

The great idea of proletarian revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat pursues its course nonstop. This is borne out not only by the decay of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but also by the betrayal by Soviet-led modern revisionists, this is shown by the fact that, in order to block the way to the nonstop revolution, the revisionists try to find new forms of warfare, to put on new masks, to resort to new forms of organization and fraud.

Guided under various masks and hidden behind various labels ranging from socialist to anarchist, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their parties are organized once upon a time to quell down revolution in the world, and especially in Russia, through fire and demagoguery. But to no avail. They could not. And now, although the Soviet and other revisionists, who are or are not in power, strive to quell down the growing proletarian revolution they will meet with failure.

Our confidence and determination in the victory of the world proletarian revolution are enhanced and we rejoice when we learn that new Marxist-Leninist Communist parties are formed and consolidated everywhere. We gain a major experience from the joint experiences of all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, big or small, old or young of age. We learn a lot when we see that the Marxist revolutionaries in the world, guarding the purity of our Marxist-Leninist theory like the apple of their eye, pursue everywhere, in their own way and by their own forms and methods, their war against imperialism, against the bourgeoisie, social-democrats, national-chauvinists and modern revisionists who cover their faces under many forms and masks. The great Marxist-Leninist unity among the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties is being tempered in battle and revolution. It is precisely this unity the capitalist and modern revisionists aim at splitting and destroying. But to no avail. Revolution cannot be stopped and Marxist-Leninist unity in revolution cannot be broken. Revolution spelt unity, counter-revolution spelt disunity.

Our revisionist enemies who fight us are not and can never be united. The unity, which allegedly exists in the revisionist camp, is only a formal one. There can be no unity under conditions of the political and ideological degeneration of the cliques who hold sway in these countries which are called socialist but which have, in reality, turned into capitalist countries. It is their interests of capitalist ownership that splits them. On such basis, their ties are temporary and have nothing to do at all with Marxist-Leninist unity.

The revisionist cliques in power speak of close ties among them and reproach us with breaking up Marxist-Leninist unity. But in the reality of things, they are exposed before the masses of their own countries, who see that the unity, the revisionists speak of, is false and based on capitalist relations everywhere in the world, but our policy, our ideology and our justice. By fighting us, the revisionists create and deepen still further the split in their camp. Whereas we, on our part, are united and, therefore, stronger for the proletarians of the whole world are on our side.

It is true that the Soviet-led modern revisionists were more powerful in their economy, organization and propaganda, but it is also true that our attitude is an adventure contrary to the interests of the Albanian people, that it has no relations whatsoever with Marxism-Leninism. Then we ask: Wherefore so much concern on their part about — so small a Party of so small a country, — wherefore shedding tears on their part over a cause that they have long since won?

But things are not as they picture them. Our stand is wholly Marxist-Leninist. It is dangerous to them and to them alone, for it exposes them

badly in the eyes of the communists the world over, who are gaining class consciousness, intensifying the class struggle, uniting more and more closely with us and, together with us, assaulting the caved-in stronghold of modern revisionism. Thus, neither their "hateure", the magnitude of their territory nor their economic, military and propaganda potential can withstand our unconquerable revolutionary force, our determination and piercing and smashing blows.

The glorious struggle of our Party and of the Albanian people against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionary bourgeoisie as a whole is not waged without great sacrifices but we have taken all these sacrifices into account. It is precisely because of the correct and unflinching war we wage in favor of revolution and progress and precisely because we wage this war regardless of any sacrifice, that the progressive-minded workers and people of the whole world sympathize with and hold us in high esteem. It is here that the force of our Party and people lies, which no force of reaction can suppress or bend.

It is because our Party represents that revolutionary force which unites and tempers the internationalist unity of the proletariat and the revolutionary communists, that it is fought fiercely by the modern revisionists. The latter cannot afford to set no store by their battle against us (regardless of the fact that we, as they say, are a "small party" and for which they seem to hold us in contempt) for we represent and fight for a great idea.

Our active propaganda in the world, pointing to our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary way of building socialism in Albania and our international policy have aroused great sympathy not only among the proletarians of the world but also among the petty bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries who are, likewise, oppressed and exploited by the big monopolies and capitalist States. Therefore, it is our duty to increase and keep improving our revolutionary propaganda.

By pursuing our correct and unambiguous policy both internally and on the international arena, we should at no time think that we have attained all our objectives and need no longer worry that our many enemies will assail us. The latter are arming themselves day in, day out. Therefore, our main task is to keep strengthening our defenses, our vigilance, to be always prepared for the most critical version our enemies may force on us.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania which guides them, have made up their mind and are prepared to perish rather than surrender to the enemy and that is why they will win. Herein lies the key to all victories. This is not only an historical fact of our people and our Party but it is as much a true decisive factor of their triumph. We should always be on our guard and armed to strengthen our Fatherland from all points of view and defend it until imperialism and modern revisionism are made short work of by Marxism-Leninism and revolution. We should be well aware that we will have to fight against numerous and strong enemies. We should stand firm and not be scared. We should cope with all eventualities and make all sacrifices. We should always have confidence in our strength, in our line, in our justice. We should exert all our efforts in defense of our Fatherland against the imperialists and modern revisionists, we should defend it at all costs and we should win at all costs over any aggressor. While defending our dearly cherished socialist Fatherland we defend, at the same time, world revolution and socialism.

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DISCUSSION OF FEMINISM, "WOMENS LIBERATION," "GAY LIBERATION"
BY THE REVOLUTIONARY MASS-CRITICISM GROUP OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

A number of social movements have developed recently which raise the question of sex and its use and abuse in capitalist society. These movements range from reformist lobby-type groups to highly disciplined and tightly-knit organizations and collectives with a revolutionary perspective...

The breaking up of the movement of radical and revolutionary women into two categories is not new, but in fact the direct inheritance of the original division in feminism and various other women's movements. It is the expression of the class struggle in the ranks of the women's movement...

On the other hand there exists the trend which I will call revolutionary feminism. This trend is less noticed and of course, its views which are distorted by the "respectable" and "regular" sections of the movement...

What is especially important to realize is the fundamentally different methods of analysis and world outlooks of these two different tendencies. "Women's Liberation" is immersed in metaphysics and idealism of the most reactionary kind...

ities of bourgeois society demand a horde of physically weakened and passive females ready to be wed, impregnated, etc.. On the other hand, the needs of bourgeois society, drawn ever deeper into the general crisis of imperialism, must interfere with, and contradict this process by taking millions of women, throwing them into production, and then out of it...

It is this fundamental question of the exploitation of human labor, and in the case of females, of the exploitation of female work, beginning in the kitchen, home, etc. and extending into the process of industry itself, which is at the core of the struggle of proletarian women and women as a whole...

The campaign proposed, based on multi-class alliance and liberal reforms, is impossible because the imperialist monopoly capitalists of today are something different from the northern industrialists of the Civil War and the 19th century...

This campaign is unnecessary as well, because the inevitable process of proletarianization is accomplishing what a thousand bourgeois-led reform movements and campaigns could never do: it is uniting millions and tens of millions of women in a strategic situation where they have only two choices...

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material and mental in effect, that is the essential ingredient in revolutionary feminism that promises to throw this movement more and more into direct contradiction and violent struggle with the whole of bourgeois society.

An Marxist-Leninist and Communist, we relate to the process of proletarianization in the same sense that Lenin related to the process of militarization in society. Of course, we bitterly oppose all the degradation, suffering, and senseless pain inflicted on masses of people during the process of proletarianization, as under militarization, but the characteristic of these processes in no way cancel out their basically progressive role in the overall development of society. In conscripting workers by the millions into fascist and imperialist armies, murdering and crippling many, the bourgeoisie creates a Frankenstein monster which can only turn on its "creator". This is not only because this process arms workers and trains them in the use of arms but also in that it concentrates and further unifies further millions of workers, millions of women—not only collectively develops their physical strength, skills and methods of work, but concentrates and unifies this collective experience at the point of production, at the most strategic immediate area of class struggle. All of the various self-defense classes and group disciplines used by the revolutionary feminists and other women to overcome their physical weakness, a weakness forced upon a collective and mass process involving millions and tens of millions, is the real muscle-builder for revolutionary females, the real process which, independent of human will, will at the same time physically and materially strengthen and politically and ideologically unify the only women who can make a revolution: proletarian women, workingwomen. Developing one's individual physical strength through the martial arts, exercises, etc. is necessary, but it must not be seen as a form of self-cultivation which can either equal or replace the basic class and mass strengthening, the collective experience of millions of workers, steeled in the heat of battle, forged in the anvil of Class War.

In connection with the entire question of physical, material weakness and strength, as fundamentally social, rather than biological characteristics defining male and female, we must investigate the question of homosexuality, and, in connection with the present-day "gay liberation" movement and Revolutionary Feminist movement, we must analyze the so-called "gay liberation" movement. As stated before, it is the considered view of Marxist-Leninist and Communist that the so-called "gay liberation" movement is a reaction to, and a counter-revolution against the revolutionary feminist and struggle of oppressed and exploited women. Homosexuality, like marriage, cannot be simply defined as a sexual category, but as a social category. The biological questions raised concerning sexual relationships between members of the same sex, whether male or female, is of no interest or use to us. What we are concerned with is the role of these various social phenomena in relation to the class struggle, the Class War, and the Proletarian Revolution. Not simply in the context of 1930's European fascism, but also in the context of this period of the general decay and crisis of imperialism, homosexuality, in fact the entire concept of "sexuality" plays a reactionary and counter-revolutionary role. To further understand this, we must look at the historical basis of the present situation.

As a social phenomena, homosexuality made its strongest inroads into modern human society during the development of feudalism. Although, in pre-feudal societies of various kinds, homosexuality had existed, it had never taken on the distinct social characteristics and penetration that it did under feudalism. In tribal and slave societies, homosexuality had existed in the same sense as did various other sexual relationships, i.e. between adults and children, humans and animals, with symbols or fetish objects, etc.. There was no specific differentiation in Roman and Greek societies between homosexual perversion and any other variety of so-called "pleasure". As a rule, all of this kind of activity remained primarily cultivated by the ruling-classes. Some activity for the oppressed and exploited classes remained the same: regular male-female sex for the purpose of raising more oppressed and exploited persons. Thus the word "proletariat", meaning breeders, defined the way in which the ruling-classes viewed their slaves, serfs, servants, and now workers, as persons whose sexual activity is to be restricted to breeding, whereas the oppressor class has the supposed privilege of engaging in sex for more than just breeding, i.e. for "pleasure". However, under feudalism, while had been traditional sexual play for the ruling-classes, what was merely one of a number of hideous "diversions" of the oppressor classes, alongside cannibalism, sadism, and wholesale rape-murder, became more than that, became in fact a conscious and planned social discipline imposed by the ruling-class. Homosexuality under feudalism is a direct result of social domination and political power for a basis part of the feudal ruling-classes. And, under capitalism, and now imperialist-feudal relations, meeting the fascist and militaristic needs of aggressive and imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries, are resurrected and deliberately revived as part of the weaponry used by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat and oppressed nations of the world. Both under feudalism, and today under imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, the rise of homosexuality is accompanied by the rise in the struggle of women against their increasing exploitation and oppression. In fact, homosexuality, under both feudalism and capitalism is the deliberate and conscious act of the ruling-classes against females and their successive revolutionary struggles. To understand this, let us take a closer look at feudal society, and especially what we mean by homosexual-feudal relations.

The entire period of the middle ages, of feudalism in Europe, is marked by the most monstrous oppression, exploitation, and mass-murder of women, especially peasant and serf women, and among them, especially those women, who, inheriting the non-Christian and non-Roman traditions, were considered "witches", or the "wise ones". If the era of fascism can be considered the era when the Jewish people, and others, were mass-murdered in the millions, then the era of feudalism can be distinguished as the period in which millions of women were mass-murdered, tortured, burned to death, etc. (According to conservative estimates, 9 million women were burned as witches.) Is it any coincidence that this wholesale murder and savage oppression of women came side by side with a whole series of social organisms set up for men only? Of course not. And neither is it any coincidence that these social organisms, the church, the knight-hoods, the guild fraternities, the tradesmen's and craftsmen's orders, (notice the "men" in the words themselves), and others, all became in fact large-scale homosexual-dominated structures, with fundamentally homosexual social, if not sexual, relations, as the basis for their existence? Of course, both under feudalism and imperialism today, the sexual, that is, the actual erotic activity involved is at the minimal. The predominant form of homosexual relationship under both feudalism and imperialism remains that of domination, of role-playing between males playing "mother" or "father" or "big brother" roles in relation to other males playing passive, submissive roles. All of the lamented "loneliness" and "sadness" connected with the present-day homosexual, including the deliberately ironic and sarcastic use of the term "gay", is merely the expression of the basic frustration and physical tension associated with this kind of relationship, which at the most erotic level can only be a mutual masturbation, and which almost inevitably degenerates into fetishism, sadism, torture, and cannibalism. Under feudalism, the homosexual relationship becomes the cornerstone of all of the male organization of society: from church and monastery, to military and barracks "camaraderie". This structuring of the church, the military, the trades and banking circles, and at a later period, the state, along all-male lines could only be accomplished by committing a massive oppression and exploitation of women while at the same time solidifying the homosexual-feudal relations among the males, even if these relations become predominantly nonsexual, to ensure the control of a minority of males, the ruling-class that is, within the male organization. Thus, the predominantly male ruling-class under feudalism, all other females, and the majority of males in terms of the homosexual relationship, is the expression of the same domination and oppression and exploitation maintained over females, because a homosexual "junior partner" is expected to perform unpaid, i.e. slave labor, for his "senior partner" or "lover", in the same sense that the wife is expected and forced by law, to perform unpaid slave labor for her husband. The outlook and class role of the fascist army officer towards the boarding-school girl, the older "sautie" or "queen"

towards the inevitably younger men is the same as that of the husband towards the wife. In all these cases, it is not the male who is unpaid, i.e. slave labor, but is regarded by the oppressed to the oppressor because of some pre-determined and established division, whether sanctified by the church, the military code, the actual laws of the state, or a supposedly "sacred" and "inviolable" emotional domain. Of course, whether in the man-wife relationship or the homosexual relationship, or in the class structure, the oppressor always claims "love" or some other regard for the oppressed. The present-day homosexual relations in imperialist-capitalist society, even in the form of the so-called "gay communes" of the "gay liberation movement" are the same as those proscribed under feudalism, and now, revived by imperialism, that is, they are the fundamentally oppressive and exploitative relations between a parasite and a worker, a master and a slave, an owner and a propertyless person. It is because of this fact, the class i.e. oppressive, nature of all forms of "sexuality", that present-day homosexuality is a cultural and social and political, rather than "sexual", expression of male domination over females and other males, and that it is derived from the homosexual church-military-fraternity structures developed under feudalism, that we define it as reactionary and counter-revolutionary. We see that the mass-murder of millions of women as "witches" the rise of feudalism, and the domination of homosexual male elites through military, church, etc., are all part of the same process. In what way does this essentially feudal phenomenon still affect capitalism and imperialism, and why do we say that homosexuality as defined by imperialism is the same, if not worse, than that defined by feudalism?

The process of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the overthrow of feudalism by a specific class, the bourgeoisie, is not the general experience of all, or even a majority of mankind. This is a fundamental reason for the incomplete and unfinished nature of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions. In Europe and North America, with bourgeois-democratic struggles occurring periodically for three hundred years or so in the early stages of capitalist development, from the English Puritans to the Civil War in the States, certain primary vestiges of feudalism continue to exist, surviving each successive convulsion, and in some cases, experiencing a revival and today, these feudal and even pre-feudal forms remain. The bourgeoisie proved incapable, if not unwilling, to carry out the last struggle against feudalism, against the feudal institutions and attitudes of the Church, of the military officer cliques, the modern version of the homosexual knight-hoods or against the feudal laws and outlooks regarding women, children, etc.. German, Italian, and Japanese fascists each relied heavily on all of these to build a reactionary movement against the proletariat and people as a whole. In fascism, we see the revival of feudal structures by the bourgeoisie, and with it, the revival of the necessary concepts of "sexuality", including homosexuality, that was possible the widespread growth of reactionary movements of various kinds, not only German, Italian, and Japanese fascisms, with their cult of youth and "chastity", but also the native American fascisms of the KKK, Birchers, etc. with their all-male organizations devoted to the alleged "protection" (i.e. oppression) of "womanhood", all signal the revival of homosexual-feudal male organization, to be used specifically as counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces against the proletariat, both male and female. The fact that a section of the homosexual-feudal reactionary cult should appear under "progressive" or even so-called "liberation" banners should surprise no one. The bourgeoisie and their lackeys are vigorously promoting various other reactionary schemes, such as genocide, also under a "liberal" and "scientific" guise, and it will continue to do this, utilizing its "liberal" flunkies at the occasion demands, until its violent destruction at the hands of the world's people.

The so-called "gay liberation" movement is the other side of the coin of the homosexual-feudal fascism being cultivated in military schools, prisons, the armed forces, the church, and throughout the entire cultural and super-structural levels of bourgeois society. The "faggot" or "hippie" or other passive and indolent male, and stereotype, joins the "chick" and female stereotype, on the TV and movie screens as the target-victim of the stereotype male hero. The ideal TV-woman police detective hero becomes the sadist-fascist male who beats hippies and "aggheds", etc., as well as being "experimented" (i.e. an oppressor of) with women. This is the new image cultivated by the imperialist bourgeoisie in order to develop a counter-force, especially among youth, to the world-wide revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat and peoples. This is why the rank-and-file of the "gay liberation" movement, although not necessarily future fascists themselves, are the necessary anarchist prelude to an overall homosexual-feudal revival in the imperialist countries, with legally sanctified homosexual marriages, large numbers of homosexuals in the ruling-elite exposing themselves as such, and bring on a widespread anti-female reaction, alongside the traditional anti-workingclass, anti-Black, anti-communist reactions. This is the logical and obvious development of these present trends. The rise of such obvious so-called "liberal" pretty-boy personalities as the Kennedys, Lindsay, Reagan, etc., is a prelude to some more serious homosexual-feudal type character and attitudes. Through its super-structural machinery of TV, radio, movies, the press, etc. the bourgeoisie is promoting the supposed "virtues" of sexual perversion, and especially, from the point of view of the all-male elite in the bourgeoisie. The entire cult of the "hippies" has been a carefully planned and massive publicity campaign to simultaneously sanctify the sexual domination of males by males in the name of the so-called "sexual revolution", and to sanction various homosexual-feudal activities at first, in the name of the "love generation" and non-violence, and then, on a fascist cult of youth struggle as opposed to class struggle, culminating in a U.S. flag-waving (see photos of both NYC and LA "gay pride marches") so-called "liberation" movement, unfortunately duping a mass oppressed female in the process. The imperialist bourgeoisie is a homosexual in the ruling-elite police spy (the Squad) capable and willing to "screw" (i.e. oppress) both (male and female) male workers, and, by virtue of sexual definition, not a threat to the male ruling-class "harem", or, those women which the ruling-class considers its own property. In other words, the homosexual-fascist reactionary circles being promoted and cultivated by the bourgeoisie are seen as the "safe" sunbaths, so to speak, who will protect the bourgeois wives or property. This is the kind of feudal mentality that has emerged in the culture of the bourgeoisie in the era of imperialism's collapse. Is it any wonder that Lenin described imperialism repeatedly with the words "decadent" and "rotting"? Uncovering the actual basis of these aspects of bourgeois culture, it can truly be said that the bourgeoisie is the most reactionary ruling-class in history.

The entire bourgeois culture at present has come to be based on "sexuality", i.e. on a commodity-fetishism based on the distortion of a natural biological function. American culture, the zenith of this commodity-fetishism, may well produce a medieval and feudal reaction that will take some of the European ones seen wild by comparison. Only armed proletarian revolution from within, and Peoples Wars from without, can destroy this ultimate cancer produced by rotting imperialism, once and for all, by overthrowing and destroying the class origins of reaction in general, the bourgeoisie.

We have pointed out the historical roots, and the present-day expression of what we call homosexual-feudal relations. We have shown that homosexual relations, being primarily social and political relations, rather than sexual ones, are based on class contradictions in society, and thus, serve either one class or another. And we have shown that in this era, the imperialist bourgeoisie is using a revival of homosexual-feudal activity as a basic foundation-stone for developing fascism and counter-revolution. The special relationship of the so-called "gay liberation" movement in regards the struggle of women remains however, by its further analysis, in order to develop a program and general strategy of struggle against these reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements.

The bourgeois media is viewing both "gay liberation" and "women's liberation" as part of, and continuators of an alleged "sexual revolution." The "sexual revolution" is a mass publicity campaign by the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie to attack women, and especially workingwomen, by declaring them all "fair game" for sexual, or other abuse. The so-called "sexual revolution" is in fact a modern-day witch-hunt, a mass campaign to terrorize and oppress millions of potentially revolutionary women, especially younger women and workingclass women, by lifting a number of so-called "moral codes" regarding clothes, etc., manipulating tastes and standards of "pleasure"

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and giving all males, but especially ruling-class males a la Hugh Hefner, not only the right, but the "sacred duty" to sexually oppress and abuse women, to the point of physically and/or mentally destroying them. The result is a steadily rising rate of rape, sexual abuse, and general attacks against women all through bourgeois society. This rise is especially evident in the last five years of intensive "sexual revolution" propaganda, including the "hippie" sex-drugs-religion cult and the carefully manipulated and homosexual-fascist dominated fashion industry, with its "unisex" clothing, jewelry and cosmetics for men, and increased use of children as objects of sadistic "enjoyment". Thus, the so-called "gay liberation" movement is a movement based on the reactionary line of passivity, submission, and masochistic slave-like "love" is the correct attitude to the bourgeoisie, and that furthermore, these are "feminine" or female characteristics, inherent in females and desirable in males. "Gay liberation" may be viewed as the hard-core of the pacifist movement as well, providing increasing numbers of so-called non-violent males to further define their reactionary roles in terms of some supposed sexual relationship or sexual characteristics.

The revolutionary feminists must organize to smash the "gay liberation" movement and all that it represents. The question of lesbianism has nothing to do with homosexuality as promoted by the bourgeoisie. Lesbians also have every reason to struggle against homosexual-fascism. This is because the specific context of homosexuality in capitalism is as a vestige of male domination and slave-labor relationships and lesbianism is completely separate from this development, despite the similarities in the sexual-definitions. In fact, lesbianism may prove to be a revolutionary force, and one important to the development of revolutionary feminism. However homosexuality as practiced by the bourgeoisie, the homosexual feudal-fascist and slave-labor mentality and outlook, can only be a reactionary and counter-revolutionary tendency, one that must be completely smashed by the forces of the proletarian revolution.

Revolutionary feminism alone will degenerate into pure and simple feminism, and the same old reformist and class-collaborationist line that predominates in the larger and better-known groups. This is because, although the feminists have shown a positive tendency in that they have raised the question of a world-view, of an ideology, because of the class nature of feminism, they cannot but eventually arrive at the reactionary point that traditional "liberal" feminism is a part of the bourgeois democratic ideology, admittedly a radical part, but still, inseparable from the process affecting bourgeois ideology as a whole. What has given new lifeblood to this movement is the necessity of carrying out certain anti-feudal and anti-capitalist struggles. However, feminism cannot hope to develop beyond the narrow confines of bourgeois ideology as a whole, only Marxist-Leninism, proletarian revolutionary ideology, can take up both the anti-feudal and anti-capitalist tasks of the new historical period. Feminism, like syndicalism, today contains more positive than negative aspects, because of the position that it finds itself in relation to imperialism's main accomplice, modern revisionism. The feminists, being primarily petty-bourgeois, find it more and more difficult to see eye to eye with a reformist movement obviously controlled direct from the top, from the monopoly capitalist sections of the bourgeoisie. If the feminists ally with proletarian women, workingwomen, and national minority women, if they stand alongside these women in strikes, welfare struggles, and self-defense against reactionary violence, then they will see further the completely reactionary nature of the monopoly capitalists, and come to understand the role of the proletariat, and the need for leadership. All of the serious and important theoretical work, such as is going on in a number of lesser-known groups, will be of little use unless it is integrated with and related to practice, that is, class struggle. The feminists may oppose the CP, SWP, PIP, YAWF, etc. for completely different reasons than we, but this common position, for us anti-revisionists, for the feminists a matter of men and non-dominated organizations, has a common setting-ground: a common struggle against forces which we both regard in some way as enemies in our ranks, or trying to worm into our ranks, whether it be the ranks of the working class, or the ranks of females. In any case, the initiative will have to be taken by us, since we can and must, as Marxist-Leninists, develop a more complete and correct analysis of the woman question, whereas the feminists cannot and will not arrive independently or spontaneously at the correct analysis of the woman question. As Communists, we must isolate the handful of feudalist and fascist reactionaries, neutralize those forces that can be neutralized, and win over the progressives and potential revolutionaries. Feminism is revolutionary, in that it opposes imperialism, feudalism, and often, revisionism and Trotskyism, but to oppose something and to be capable of doing away with it are two completely different things. Feminism is revolutionary, but not proletarian revolutionary; it is anti-imperialist, but alone it has no chance of defeating imperialism. When the feminists become truly revolutionary they will no longer be feminists. The same has been true for other non-proletarian, but objectively revolutionary, forces, in this historical period, which pits the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples against a handful of imperialists and their running dogs. Nationalism and populism, as expressed in Sun Yat Sen and the early and progressive sections of the Kuomintang, opposed imperialism and feudalism in China, but when they became truly revolutionary, that is, when they allied themselves with the worker-peasant masses, led by the Communist Party of China, they had gone beyond nationalism or populism. They had been transformed in the heat of battle into the New Democratic Revolution, a component part of the World Proletarian-Socialist Revolution. The central revolutionary goals of present-day feminism, abolition of the family, equal part of women in production, and under equal terms, self-defense and physical strength and self-reliance, collective and socialized child-care, etc. will be transformed in the heat of the battles of the Class War into central demands and struggles of the Proletarian Revolution, and the great proletarian cultural revolutions that will follow, wave upon wave, the setting up of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. The questions that have been raised by the feminists in relation to the family are of fundamental importance to the Proletarian Revolution and the socialist reconstruction of society. This is because a key part of Soviet modern revisionism and its restoration of capitalism has been its increased support for, and strengthened-spoken defenders of the family, degrading the high divorce rate as a "social problem", praising the virtues of women as mothers alone, and generally maintaining a patriarchal family structure, if necessary, with the aid of the feudal Church, as in the Western Europe and North America, the so-called "communist parties" maintain a strong line of defense in behalf of the family, and in fact, often build their party and organizational bureaucracies around families, inheritance, and nepotism. The complete defeat of modern revisionism demands the complete defeat of the revisionist line in under present-day state monopoly-capitalism, imperialism. Such an analysis remains to be undertaken by Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionaries. The feminists have opened discussion on this question. Their confusion can be partly blamed on our importance of this question by the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The complete strong petty-bourgeois line, even from a decade or two ago, when there was already a high rate of "broken families" and the fact that national-minority families are already proletarianized while their counterparts in the suburbs are still finishing their so-called education. This paper does not in any way propose to fully cover all these questions, but rather to introduce what are the basic points of discussion, comment, criticism, and further discussion is strongly urged.

NOTE

This paper was originally written in the end of May, 1970, following long discussions of these questions in the ranks of the Red Women Detachment, the Red Guards, and the Party as a whole. The Revolutionary Mass-Criticism Group, an organ of criticism and self-criticism in the Party and mass organizations, drew up the original statement and distributed a dozen copies among its membership, close friends, and various groups. The paper was next reproduced in an excerpted form by the New Orleans Female Workers Union (formerly the Southern Female Rights Union), and distributed by them in the Black Belt nation in the South, and among women and feminist groups. This is the third publication of the paper, and various corrections and slight additions have been made.



IN THE GHETTOS, FACTORIES, ETC. THE MASSES BYPASS THE "LEADERS" AND MOVE FORWARD TO REVOLUTION!

Throughout the imperialist heartlands, and especially in the so-called "U.S.A.", the proletariat and oppressed masses are flinging aside the traitors in their midst and resolutely taking the path of armed struggle of Revolutionary War. In the last few months, there have been numerous instances of large masses of people breaking out of the confines of bourgeois legality and so-called "democracy", and courageously tackling the imperialist beast. The revisionists and Trotskyites and pseudo-radicals of the CPUSA, SWP, PIP, etc., are ready to join the imperialist bourgeoisie in playing down the full nature of the present crisis. The liberals and "radicals" both can only view the armed insurrection and Revolutionary Violence in the ghettos as "spontaneous rebellions for jobs". All they can do is talk on more and more points to their reactionary electoral "programs", run around collecting people's names and addresses for "petitions", "voter registration", (i.e. police surveillance by the U.S. imperialist government), expose more and more people to attack and arrest, and lead their confused and frantic following to a tragic end.

In Los Angeles, the cultural nationalists, Trotskyites, and various comprador and lackey elements, combined to stage a so-called "National Chicano Moratorium". They expected that the masses of Chicano workers, students, poor farmers, women, and GI's would be content to march peacefully under the guns and clubs of the fascist police, straight to a "Fifth Avenue Peace Parade"-type circus, complete with imperialist politicians, pathetic folk-singers, etc.. However, the oppressed peoples of the Chicano nation are not the same as the petty-bourgeois herds in the American nation. Fervored by the lackey police, the Chicano militants fought back fiercely, wounding many reactionaries in the struggle, which raged for hours in the heart of Los Angeles, resulting in hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of damage. No doubt the compradors, Trotskyites, and others who staged the show were shocked to see what it turned into. No doubt they were on the telephone to Reagan that night, apologizing profusely for the upset in their "calculations". The Chicano people are getting ready for Peoples War, for Revolutionary War against U.S. imperialism, the only possible way to National Liberation in this historical period.

The No. 1 Scab for U.S. imperialism, the Trade Unions, are preparing a new round of phoney bargaining, strikes, negotiations, and other hanky-panky, to let off a little steam, so to speak. The Trade Union bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, as well as the so-called "progressive" AIA know well that the proletariat and entire working-class is undergoing a basic transformation. They would not admit it openly, but they know damn well that it has something to do with Revolution. They are ready, at the bidding of their U.S. imperialist masters, to stage even a series of phoney "strikes", in the workers may develop their own leadership in the course of struggle. Of course, since they disrupt the imperialist economy and work-routines. However, we resolutely oppose the "institutionalization" of the strike. The strike must be a permanent and ever-sharpened weapon in the hands of the workers, ready to be used at their bidding and for their needs alone, and not simply "performed" at the beck and call of workers in all industries, employed and unemployed, male and female. The next stage for organs of struggle, to smash up the white male-dominated Trade Unions Inc. and to unfold revolutionary Class War in every urban-industrial center in the nation.

The Election Boycott Struggle Movement, launched by the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Red Women Detachment, and the Red Guards in early 1970, is taking a concrete form in the organization of Election-Boycott Struggle Committees no. 1, 2, and 3. These three struggle committees are producing and distributing thousands of leaflets into the streets, denouncing the imperialist "elections" fraud. Taking this struggle and broad masses of oppressed and exploited people. Many people, who had seen through since, now have joined with the Marxist-Leninist Party in attacking the elections and "census" and "voter" frauds as well. The imperialists are worried that their this rubbish in a "radical" package, selling Black and Puerto Rican and other national-minority people that the ballot, like the high-school diploma and the dollar bill, is the most of the barriers of the ghetto. The proletariat and oppressed masses are expressing, in the most fundamental way, that Political Power does not grow out of the ballot box, struggle to a higher political level, building the broadest and firmest alliance around the actual struggle taking place throughout the nation.

The nation-wide wave of struggle in the prisons, houses of detention, and other penal institutions, is another expression of the Class War and the general crisis of the entire imperialist system. Prisoners are proletarians, exploited at least as a commodity by the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie in its most brutal form. Many millions in profits are made from convict labor, not to mention the other lucrative of thousands of prisoners joins with the outcasts of rank-and-file soldiers, the wildcat walkouts of fed-up workers, and the armed struggle in the ghettos, all of these struggles the beginning of the Proletarian Revolution. All the gaudy, both from "liberals" and "radicals" about so-called "prison reform", is exposed for what it is by the extremely violent nature of these revolts. The words "prison reform", and imperialism in general. There can be no "reform" of the fascist prisons outside the prisons, throughout the entire prison of capitalist society, in fact the heroic struggles of the prisoners of war, prisoners of the Class War against the bourgeoisie, as now prisoners are, is a great inspiration to the struggles of oppressed and exploited people everywhere.