

As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race.

I hold if the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all the eating and none of the work, he should have made them with mouths only, and no hands; and if he had ever made another class, that he had intended should do all the work and one all the eating, he would have made them without mouths and all hands.

The same spirit that says "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it", no matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bstride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

As I would not have a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.

Abraham Lincoln

Chapter VII

Unity of Action Is Required

There is only one road to defeat the twin menace of fascism and imperialist war. That is the unity of the working people against their common enemies.

In many other countries where the danger of fascism is growing, broad anti-fascist, anti-imperialist movements exist. In countries such as Iran and Nicaragua, fascist regimes were overthrown. In other countries, such as Spain, the recent attempt at a fascist military coup was defeated by the democratic movement of the people. In many countries such as Turkey, Portugal, Spain, Brazil, Chile, Germany, South Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, Afghanistan, Canada and others, broad anti-fascist movements are growing. Today the beginnings of unity between the anti-fascist organizations of some countries exist.

But in the U.S., the democratic and freedom-loving people are divided along many lines. The working class itself is divided. The majority of workers are not even organized into unions. Sharp divisions exist between the privileged skilled workers and the majority of unskilled workers. Workers of different races and nationalities may work side-by-side, but outside of work, segregation reigns in housing, education and most every aspect of daily life. Differences in the social and economic position of men and women are abundant. The aged are forced into retirement and isolation.

To promote and maintain these divisions among the people is the vital tactic of monopoly capitalism. Disunity and segregation serve the interests of capitalist minority rule. The reactionary campaign to enforce these divisions is conducted on both an international and domestic level. When the Japanese or Iranian or Arab people are not being blamed for the ills of the American economy, then the affirmative action programs for minorities are blamed, or the Jews are blamed. The continued rule of dollar democracy, and the prospects for a fascist state, depend upon the continued disunity and segregation of the people.

Among the militant, active sections of the people fighting against exploitation and oppression, there is clearly no united center. Those fighting against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and elsewhere, those fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico or Micronesia, those fighting against the draft, those fighting the attacks against the unions by both the monopolies and the labor misleaders, those fighting racial attacks against the Black masses, those fighting against police terror, the terror unleashed against the immigrants crossing the southern borders of the U.S., those fighting against the oppression of women, those fighting anti-semitism, those fighting the creationists, against the cutbacks of the Reagan economic policy, and those fighting to free the political prisoners — all remain largely disconnected and disunited, though efforts are being made to overcome this condition.

Though there is a powerful objective basis for unity, subjectively the road to unity is not an easy one. It must be based upon a genuine fighting program, and will require concrete organization. To achieve unity, the many petty, selfish and sectarian obstacles which exist in our movement must be defeated. The legacy of racism and white supremacy in our movement must be combatted, as well as reactionary nationalist tendencies, both of which seek to perpetuate segregation and disunity.

There is no road to victory over fascism and war except through genuine multi-national unity — the unity of all nationalities and races, against their common enemies. This is not a matter of preference. It is a necessity.

The burden of building multi-national unity in America today clearly rests with the white workers, through their militant struggle against white supremacy and racism. This struggle will have to begin on the ideological level, combatting and defeating the reactionary views that Black and other national minority people threaten the jobs and security of white working people; that integration adversely affects the quality of education and of the neighborhoods; that it is the Blacks on welfare (though in fact the majority

on welfare are white) who are the cause of federal budget deficits, inflation, crime and deteriorating living standards. It is capitalism and the capitalist crisis which threatens the well-being of all working people of all races and nationalities.

This struggle will have to occur in practice, as well. White working people will have to stand up against every manifestation of fascist violence and repression against Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, Mexican and all national minority people — whether it takes the form of Immigration and Naturalization Service raids on undocumented workers, Ku Klux Klan violence, police terror or legal lynching by the state and railroads of political prisoners like Gary Tyler and the Pontiac Brothers.

Given the long and brutal history of slavery, white supremacy and racism in America, unity and genuine equality will not come about as a result of fine sentiments. It will grow out of common work and common struggle.

At the same time, the mistaken notion exists that a particular movement of a particular nationality — whether Black, Puerto Rican or Chicano — must develop its own organization and theory independently of the majority of the working class before it can unite with workers of other nationalities. Fighting organizations of particular races or nationalities must be supported when they take up a real anti-fascist, anti-imperialist program of action. But history has proven, in many countries, that the working people of no single race or nationality can achieve real political influence, let alone self-determination, without alliance with the working class as a whole. To argue today for the exclusive, separate development of any race or nationality will lead to its further oppression. Nationalist organizations may achieve some initial practical or theoretical headway, but will never achieve liberation, nor even maturity. Political maturity for any section of the workers depends upon its unity with the working class as a whole. This unity cannot be achieved through proclamation. It will be achieved only through concrete actions and a definite program which has equality at its living foundation.

To forge multi-national unity and to educate, organize and mobilize the people, every effort must be made to present a program which the majority of the American people who cherish democracy, equality and peace already understand and support. It must be a program which demarcates itself from reaction and conciliation with reaction; a program which organizes and mobilizes the progressive people now. It must be a program which clearly and precisely points out what we are fighting for and what we are fighting against.

The heart of this program will be to **fight against reaction, racism, fascism and war and to fight for progress, equality, democracy and peace.**

To fight against reaction is to oppose every form of social injustice and oppression of men and women, youth and the aged, all races and nationalities, in the cities and on the farms. To fight every effort to turn back the clock on social progress in education, law, family life or any other field of society.

To fight against racism is to oppose every manifestation of white supremacy and racial hatred, every instance of terror and aggression against na-

tional minority people, particularly against Black people. To work to defeat the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis and all racist organizations.

To fight against fascism is to educate and organize the democratic and peace-seeking people against the fascization of the state and against the menace that fascism represents. To work to broaden the current struggles of the people into a conscious anti-fascist struggle.

To fight against war is to expose at every turn the preparations of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. for a new imperialist world war. To oppose registration and the draft. To oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador and elsewhere. Fight for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from foreign soil and withdrawal from all aggressive treaties and alliances such as NATO and NORAD. To oppose Soviet aggression, the Warsaw Pact and the growing Chinese aggression in Asia.

At the same time, we seek not only an end to the "Make America Great Again" program for fascism and war, we seek a better world for the working people of the U.S. and of every country. That is why we fight for progress, equality, democracy and peace.

To fight for progress is to fight for the steady advance of both the material and spiritual well-being of the working people, the advance of science and culture, and the health and well-being of the society. To oppose every attempt to turn back the tide of history, the development of the productive forces and the relations of production.

To fight for equality is to fight for the complete equality of all races and nationalities in every aspect of life, such as jobs, housing and education. To fight for all programs which genuinely advance the struggle for equality between men and women, different nationalities, young and old. Genuine equality, not merely in law but in life, is not only a moral responsibility. It is a pre-condition for genuine unity among the working people of our country.

To fight for democracy is to fight for the most complete and consistent extension of democracy. Under capitalism, democracy can never be complete or consistent for the working people — for the majority — but its limits can be pushed forward. To fight for every measure that will increase the political power of the people over all their material and cultural conditions of life.

To fight for peace is to fight for the destruction of the war-making ability of the superpowers and an end to all aggression by the imperialist powers and reactionary regimes. To fight for the right and ability of the peoples to defend themselves against imperialist aggression. Although peace will not be secured as long as world imperialism exists, we can fight the aggressive policies which constantly threaten peace.

Against reaction, racism, fascism and war; for progress, equality, democracy and peace is the heart of a militant, fighting program that can unite the democratic and peace-loving American people against the twin menace of imperialist war and fascism. It represents the deepest aspirations of the people and the best democratic traditions of the country.