

THE NATIONAL QUESTION & THE WOMAN QUESTION

"TO KNOW YOUR HISTORY & ACT ACCORDINGLY IS TO BE REVOLUTIONARY"

That principle demands that we (1) understand our history through the application of the tool of DHM; and (2) see the importance of a correct ideological position on the WC and the NC to the development of the U.S. revolutionary struggle.

Begin with a look at recent American political history; in connection with each of these developments, discuss your own politicization and personal political development (how did these objective social forces affect you; what was the basis of your movement; how did you develop during this period?)

(1) Refer to the paper "History & Development of the Twin Cities Food Coops" by the Coop Organization

"The USA came out of World War II as the one nation in the world that was most able to rip off all the other nations. These super profits from imperialist exploitation enabled the US ruling class to temporarily solve the sticky problem they had gotten into during the depression: a working class that was getting increasingly organized and disillusioned with the capitalist system. The ruling class used their super-profits to selectively raise the standard of living of certain segments of the US working class...and particularly to buy off the leadership of the big labor unions.

This is when we get the purges of the subversives and revolutionaries in the unions, and then the McCarthy era. It is the death of the US Communist Party and of revolutionary organization in the white working class. The US Communists have never really succeeded in organizing the most oppressed American workers: the national minorities and women; and so as some white workers living standards are lifted at the expense of these other groups, the CP is left without a revolutionary base.

Into this political vacuum rises the Black Liberation Movement in the south.

This powerful upsurge in one way or another kicks off, spurs on, and influences all the subsequent political and social movements of the 50's, 60's and 70's.

White youth in particular are affected. Fear and phony prosperity have created an atmosphere of deadness and hypocrisy in the white nation that is intolerably stifling to young energy.

White kids pick up on black culture: music, language, drugs, and black political energy.

The black liberation movement exposes the contradiction between the pretense of freedom and democracy and the reality of exploitation and oppression.

Many northern white kids go south to try and join in the black liberation movement. Especially this happens in the early 60s

when groups of white students are sent down south by churches and other liberal elements of the white upper classes."

Notice that the contradiction that moved so many into support and action is described as "the pretense of freedom and democracy v. the reality of economic exploitation and oppression". People were moved by the Civil Rights movement on the basis of their own exploitation or social oppression--this accounts for the massive support from liberal elements of the petty bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie. As the struggle develops we will see that economic exploitation and social oppression each bear a particular class character, and depending on where they are coming from, people move off of each in contradictory ways.

As the struggle developed, it moved through distinct stages (Again, from the History and Development paper)

"Also there were contradictions in the black nation (same as the white) between those who wanted to make it within the system and those who were increasingly driven into total opposition to the whole capitalist system.

The black liberation movement went through 5 distinct stages:

1. Testing the laws. This was the stage of freedom rides and sit-ins, where people were beaten and jailed for trying to exercise their legal rights.

2. Voter registration. Once again, trying to get some power within the existing system. Black people lost their land and jobs and lives just for trying to become citizens.

3. Organizing independent black political parties. Once they were registered to vote, who did they have to vote for? Democrats or Republicans, all sell-outs. So black people ran their own local candidates for office and started the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and other electoral parties, and their candidates and organizers were shot and jailed, and the ballot boxes were stolen, and the whole weight of the legal system was used to sabotage their efforts.

4. Self-determination as a nation of black people. Black Power. Losing faith in the white nation's ability to grant any kind of real equality to black people. *DELEGITIMIZING THE BOURGEOISIE*

5. Revolution. Black people begin to organize on a class basis. Black capitalism and the buying off of a black bourgeoisie have convinced many militant blacks that revolution does not necessarily come in skin color: that black people can sell them out as well as white people. The system of capitalist exploitation loses its legitimacy completely and black political activists turn to organizing a revolutionary workers party. They turn first to black workers as the most ready to move, and make links with Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans and other national minorities, but they also begin to organize white youth, and particularly among white working class women: another super-exploited group."

*Consciousness*

*need to move to next stage*

People whose basis of movement through the struggle is economic exploitation have the basis to move most quickly past stage 4 into Stage 5. For others of us, the process is longer.

entire page

(2) Coming off of Stage 4, white kids "go home to work with white people". Most of them, coming from social oppression, have been guided by moralism; lacking revolutionary theory and a correct analysis of the NA--and most of all, lacking a working class stand. They get stuck at the question "How to get white people moving?" and lack even a focus of what part of the white nation to work with. The contradiction between political momentum based on social oppression and political momentum based on economic exploitation begins to be exposed. (History & Development again)

"Out of this whole set of contradictions we get the development of two different approaches to movements for social change, which have carried on through the anti-war movement and continue to struggle right here now in the coops.

1. One is the political-revolutionary approach. This came out of the daily experiences of the SNCC shock troops that the ruling class was totally dedicated to maintaining its wealth and power by whatever means necessary. Only a revolutionary force that could seize state power from the monopoly capitalists and create a new society on a different base of legitimacy, the oppressed workers, would be able to end the oppression of blacks and all other people on the bottom of the social system. This realization came early on in the black liberation movement to the most advanced of the black militants, most early to those in the heat of the struggle, and became official when SNCC changed its slogan from civil rights to human rights. This was when they connected their oppression and struggle with the oppression and struggle of the Vietnamese and other exploited nations. They began to call for worldwide unity of oppressed people against Imperialism, which is another word for monopoly capitalism, the military-industrial complex, or the ruling class.

2. The other approach was the Puritan-Morality approach. This was what the upper-class liberals, church people, and other white nation reformists used their money and influence to push. This was the approach that put the "non-violent" in the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee in the first place, and tried at all costs to keep it non-violent. This was the Peace Movement approach that said that the revolutionary force of the Vietnamese people was as bad as the reactionary destruction rained on them by Imperialism. This approach advocated making moral appeals to the so-called better nature of the US upper classes. It was the approach of being "good honkies", of peace-loving Americans, of keeping your hands clean, of not being personally involved in evil, but not really doing anything to end it. This is a holier than thou, privileged class approach to the problem that has prevented many white political and social movements from building any real solidarity with oppressed people. It is very much easier to be a pacifist if you are not faced with the choice of fighting or watching yourself and your people be destroyed. It is from this Puritan Morality approach that the Peace & Love trend in the hippie movement, Alternative Lifestyles, and food purism, come from. The Puritan Morality approach has been used to turn potentially threatening political movements into blind alleys and dead ends."

GAY →  
QUESTION

We can see at work here (and on into the anti-war movement) the objective factor: the decimation of the working class movement and cooptation; and the subjective factor: bourgeois ideology and petty bourgeois baggage (people moving off of social oppression) holding back individuals and the white left movement itself. So the internal contradictions within the white left movement heighten.

(3) The rise of the anti-war movement (and its rising aspect, the anti-imperialist movement)--refer to "Update on Coop History" by the CO:

"The coop stores emerged from the latter days of the anti-war movement and the beginning of the anti-imperialist movement. What is the difference between these two movements?

1. The political platform of the anti-war movement was "make peace without war" or "make love not war." The anti-war movement was essentially a peace movement. Although the initial thrust of the anti-war movement was an anti-imperialist movement which was led by SNCC.

We don't have to second-guess why the anti-war movement lost its anti-imperialist drive. It could only have gotten lost through cooptation. Nevertheless, the peace movement platform reflected its dominant class content which was the white middle and upper class. The political character of this platform was bourgeois idealism, moralism and escapism which purposefully prevented the anti-war movement from taking a political position on US imperialism not only in Vietnam but around the world.

Bourgeois influence was indeed a factor in restricting verbal and material support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against US imperialism. However, there is also a material basis for the limited support. In looking at the class relations in the mode of production, we see the white working class and the petty bourgeois as well as the bourgeois class who benefit directly from US imperialism. Considering the dominant class content in the anti-war movement, how could the anti-war movement members take a class position against the capitalist class which is responsible for the movements members' privileged position in the class relations in production?

2. In contrast to the anti-war movement, the anti-imperialist <sup>which was primarily Black</sup> movement is based on an ideological foundation which encompasses ideologies of the working class struggle. The birth and material existence of the anti-imperialist movement is based upon the interconnectedness of all forms of class oppression and class economic exploitation throughout the world. Due to the development of the social system of capitalism, class oppression and class economic exploitation have only one political character--imperialist. The imperialists the world over have as their aim the repression of working class struggle because the working class struggles the world over have as their aim the overthrow of their class oppressors and class exploiters. The dominant class content of this movement is working class people.

Sum: [Thus, the difference between the two movements lies in the class content and class orientation."

Many white petty bourgeois elements are politicized around the war and especially the draft, particularly white men who are oppressed by it.

The two lines are evident in the opposition to the war; the objective and subjective factors play themselves out, the internal contradictions in the movement heighten, and people's political development is pushed forward.

(4) Many woman activists feel the urgency to move the struggle forward, in contradiction to lack of leadership, misleadership, lack of organization, opportunism, etc. in the white left. They begin to come forward, first with questions "what are we doing here" and "where are we going?" Their own social oppression drives them to solidarity with the struggles of other oppressed and exploited people, and finally to consciousness of their own oppression. Many white women, disillusioned by the go-nowhere thrust of the anti-war movement begin looking around for theory that will explain their oppression and the struggles of others. What is offered them is dominantly petty bourgeois pseudo theory.

--Radical feminism (for example The Dialectics of Sex by Shulamith Firestone of the tire and rubber family;) this represents a trend of looking inward for solutions and seeing men as the enemy

--Petty bourgeois feminism, like MS. magazine--they tell you how to be the "perfect modern woman" of the late 60s & 70s; they also support the

--Push for Bourgeois Equality (like the ERA and affirmative action hiring for women--representing the burning social need for more woman bank vice-presidents, etc.)

Black women who had raised struggle in SNCC earlier had risen to positions of leadership and made steps against the ideology of male chauvinism. We will see that the rising force propelling women forward has been women in production;

A concept that we can see developed in this history is: the process of delegitimizing of the bourgeois order and coming to a working-class stand

1. The Civil Rights Movement, undergoing 5 stages of development to revolution--a process of testing the limits of the system, seeing it cannot fulfill the just demands of the advanced elements, and looking beyond its limits to fulfill those demands (discuss in the particular)

2. The Peasant Question

Stalin describes a similar process of development of the Russian peasants guided in this case by the conscious element. The peasants ally with the Bolsheviks (working class leadership) and Oct., 1917 is proletarian revolution. Through the use of historical materialist analysis of the peasants' conditions and a dialectical use of s & t, developing the political consciousness of the peasants through their own political experiences, the conscious element (subjective factor) brings forward reserves as allies to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While we can see that in Stalin's time the Peasant Question was of critical importance, in the U.S. today the question to look at is: Who are the allies of the proletariat, and what are the conditions under which they can be developed?

3. Women's Movement also exposes stages of delegitimizing reform and bourgeois feminism.

Women's social oppression (& working class women's economic exploitation) has historically led them to (1) support the struggles of oppressed nationalities, as abolition, and (2) take political action in their own interest, such as labor struggles, suffrage, etc.

Bourgeois and petty bourgeois leadership consistently falls short of meeting the just demands of working class women. For example, in the Suffrage Movement, suffragists try to get working class women into the suffrage struggle, but do not support workers struggles. One line that was used to get the vote is that suffragist women's votes will offset lower-class immigrant votes.

Current conditions in the US reflect the decay of imperialism in the stage of finance capital, especially heightening since the victory of the Vietnamese people over a high level US military effort. Even many white workers now are being ruthlessly squeezed.

As the contradictions heighten, class consciousness rises--and the question of "what is the motor that will move the white working class" becomes an important ideological question.

So, look at some aspects of the historical materialism of the Woman Question

Since the end of the stage of development of society of primitive communism--that is, since the rise of surplus in society and the development of private property--women's position has been dictated by the need to pass on surplus (private property) to the heirs of the man; woman has been monogamous.

Also, there have been classes ever since then, and women in both classes:

--women of the slave and serf and working class have always worked, both in domestic production (their own) and in agricultural or industrial production and/or often in domestic production for ruling class women.

--whereas women of the master, feudal and bourgeois classes have been mainly limited to domestic production (or overseeing lower class women at the task of domestic production for them).

(Under modern capitalism, in the age of the ERA, etc., we do see many upper class women in managerial jobs, but that only reflects the essence of their class and domestic position).

Women's labor historically has been exploited by capitalism:

Providing unpaid labor in the home and in raising future workers; in US history, playing a key role in agricultural expansion--clearing land, producing workers, only to have that land later taken over by agribusiness; being used as a continued source of cheap labor in industry.

Because of this exploitation, women have not been allowed to develop.

Women in the US have been pulled into jobs in industrial production depending on the development of the productive forces at a given time and the need for surplus (cheap) labor. For example, during World Wars I & II.

Engels

On the other aspect, the high level of development of the productive forces in the US at this time (in the era of finance capital) requires a skilled and educated working class. White men particularly have been developed to fill this need, whereas women (& third world men) are kept as reserve (cheap) labor supply.

This in part is due to the history of intense labor struggles in the US, especially in the 30s of this century, resulting in an organized white male working class with relative privileges (skills, wages, unionized, etc). We will see that it is no accident that one segment of the working class has been granted relative privileges; instead, it represents a deliberate attempt to divide us.

The economic basis of male chauvinism: women's labor power is lower paid (they suffer a higher level of economic exploitation) which leads to relative privilege to white men workers. But the actual reality of this is that their high level of exploitation lowers the value of all labor power. (Discuss concretely)

\*(We will see the material interconnections between white women and Black & third world workers in the labor market as we grasp and apply this economic law)\*

We can see two aspects of a contradiction within the working class: (1) the relative material advantage of white male workers vs. (2) surplus labor reduces the value of all labor power through super exploitation.

So we can begin to understand the ideological question involved: White male workers pick up on one aspect (relative advantage) in their thinking, rather than the other aspect (super exploitation hurts all of us)

Today women make up nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  the work force. They are unorganized & super-exploited. Most exploited are Black and third world women, merging the Woman Question with the National Question. To understand their extra exploitation, we will look more particularly at some aspects of the historical materialism of the National Question in the U.S.

African people were brought to the US to work as slaves primarily in the South. The South became their American homeland as they were stripped systematically of their African identity and experience by their slave experience:

- Over half the people taken from Africa died on the trip over
- They faced extremely brutal conditions here
- English was the only language allowed
- Families were at all times only temporary--they were allowed for purposes of breeding more slaves, but men were consistently taken from the their wives & children to do hard labor in the deep southern cotton fields, where their life expectancy was something like 7 years; women became the mainstay of their families

- The struggle was to survive under such conditions

The only cultural and social institution the slaves were allowed was the church:

- Preachers learned how to read and write
- They, through the church, provided education and ideology

All of these factors create preconditions for the development of a nation within a nation.

(The Civil War represented an economic contradiction: the modes of production in the North & South could no longer coexist. To be specific:

The North needed to control the national market, gain control over Southern capital and direct it to industrial expansion. It also needed to protect land interest in the West for capitalism.

Some developments that led to the antagonism of this contradiction:

1. The intense exploitation of the slaves & the tremendous profits from agricultural production in the South were the forces that gave rise to industry in the North and also in England
2. South's economic power was strong until 1850, but the North surpassed it after 1850 and before the Civil War. This was due to the progressive nature of capitalism vs. the inefficiency of the slave system
3. The South held political and social control of US from 1800 until the Civil War, so it was not in their interest to protect the rising capitalism in the North. Instead of paying the higher prices required by developing capitalism, the South bought cheaper industrial goods from England, thereby exporting capital.
4. Capitalist relations of production were the rising force and became dominant and demanded that all labor in production be "free". For example:
  - Owning labor (slavery) is an economic burden--it ties up capital that could be used for industrial expansion.
  - Labor makes the money before you pay them.
  - A "free" laborer has more incentive (!) to work than a slave; can be a more skilled worker; can more be trusted not to destroy the instruments of production, etc.
5. Southern political power over US was holding back the development of industrial capitalism. This eventually developed into an antagonistic contradiction.

"If a thing is not growing & developing, then it is decaying & dying away"

.....So, the struggle of the antagonism of the contradiction first broke out around the question of expansion--would the new US territories (Kansas, Missouri) become slave or free states? Both North & South needed to expand to retain power.

White farmers in the West (supported by Northern capitalists) demanded land, so as not to compete with slave agriculture. (Reflects the unity of interest of white farmers & Black slaves (workers) which as the historical contradiction between US capital and US labor further develops will not often be exposed)

John Brown led bloody guerrilla war in Kansas to prevent it from becoming a slave state--the first violence over the question. "Revolutionary acts precipitate revolutionary conditions"

*supported the underground railroads.*  
(Abolitionist Movement--There was a class contradiction within the Abolitionist Movement: Petty bourgeois and bourgeois people saw it as a moral issue; black slaves and former slaves had a material stake in its success, struggling against their own oppression.

Its thrust was to give Black workers minimum legal status so they would be "free" to sell their labor power. The abolitionists themselves were white northerners primarily petty bourgeois (we will see the limitations of their view of the contradiction).

*Expansion*



At the same time, another labor movement was growing in the North, primarily among immigrants. Its thrust was to better the wages and conditions of the working class.

These two movements could only be strengthened by unity with each other. BUT the white workers perceived the Blacks lowering the value of their labor power; and "the (white) abolitionists did not realize the plight of the white laborer, especially the semi-skilled and unskilled". And so the two movements remained opposed.

(Quote from W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction)

This more reflects the historical manipulation of racism to serve the Bourgeoisie.

*Southern Pol. Power is holding back the Rise of Cap. Indust. Power*

The Civil War itself would not have been won without Black soldiers. That is why Lincoln "freed the slaves"-out of pragmatic necessity, 3 years after the war had begun. Also, many slaves quit working and left the South when the Union army began gaining ground; DuBois describes that spontaneous movement as the "General Strike" and it clearly crippled the Southern economy.

RECONSTRUCTION is a period that exposes and establishes the pattern of political manipulation around racism that supports & reinforces the economic structures:

1) Victorious northern bourgeoisie repress southern slaveowner opposition--slaveowners are deprived of legal rights

2) Agrarian revolution breaks out in south--ex-slaves and poor whites seize plantations. "40 acres and a mule" is the slogan

3) Northern bourgeoisie sends agents, "carpetbaggers", army, etc., to pull mass revolutionary movement back into bourgeois legal framework and stall off seizure of land

A. Reconstruction governments set up with poor white & black participation, slaveowners denied participation

B. Laws passed to satisfy main demands of ex-slaves & poor whites, but they are not implemented

4) Northern bourgeoisie uses black & poor white movement to crush resistance of slaveowners, until slaveowners are ready to make a deal...

..THEN...

5) Reconstruction comes to an end with the Compromise of 1876. The central question was political power to support the economic power of capitalism. Northern bourgeoisie makes deal with southern slaveowners, to restore control of southern governments to them under ultimate economic control of northern bourgeoisie.

The KKK was stimulated among poor whites to keep Blacks out of the labor market (which was small and undeveloped in the South) and maintain the relative economic advantage of white workers. (The ideological question around the contradiction that superexploitation lowers the value of all labor power but lends some relative advantage to one segment over another, again shows up--as we saw it in the Woman Question).

Meanwhile in the North:

-the Fisk Gould, Rockefeller & DuPont (& more) super-monopolies are growing out of the profits of the Civil War

-1873--a depression caused by over-production & over-exploitation of the working class

-By 1877 over 3 million people are unemployed

- capital of course keeps expanding during a depression
- workers are increasingly rebellious in North--strike wave centering in RR lines, pittsburgh insurrection, etc.

\*So, when the Union Army is withdrawn from the South in 1876, it is used on workers in their rebellions in the North.\*

"The military dictatorship was withdrawn and the representatives of Northern capital gave up all efforts to lead the Negro vote. The new dictatorship became a manipulation of the white labor vote which followed the lines of similar control in the North, while it proceeded to deprive the Black voter by violence & force of any vote at all. The rivalry of these 2 classes of labor and their competition neutralized the labor vote in the South. The Black voter struggled and appealed but it was in vain. And the US, reinforced by the increased political power of the South based on the disenfranchisement of Black voters, took its place to reinforce the capitalistic dictatorship of the US which became the most powerful in the world, and which backed the new industrial imperialism and degraded colored labor the world over." (DuBois, Black Reconstruction, p. 630)

*Blacks used as reserve labor-strike breakers in Chicago.*

Lynchings, fascism and terrorism stifled Black cultural development from 1876 until after World War I. (WWI led to an increased demand for Black labor in industry; many Black people began the migration from the land where they were tenant farmers or sharecroppers to the northern cities where they became factory workers.)

The period of the 1920's in Harlem is a cultural awakening for Black people. The Harlem Renaissance brings dignity & pride; Black nationalism arises as a progressive force among a people that has been so treacherously repressed: IN CONNECTION WITH DEVELOPING PEOPLE.

- Music, literature, theatre, clothes, style--a whole cultural thrust
- Marcus Garvey brings pride & African identification (& he also collects an awful lot of money which he does not manage too well)

It is only after 1920 that the Black "bourgeoisie" (p.b., too) can be nationalistic. Understanding the development of a thing, this is a progressive stage: Black nationalism rising in the era of imperialism.

*tremendous productivity*

The development of Black nationalism is cut short in the 20's--some due to objective conditions (the Big Depression like all hard times hits Black people hardest, first). But also we can observe the failure of the subjective factor, the conscious element--the CP. The CP essentially pushed a white chauvinist line on the national question, emphasizing "internationalism" over nationalism--failing to take objective account of the process of development.

★

And, in spite of Stalin's directive to the U.S. CP to develop Black leadership, the Party did not succeed in bringing theory and organization to Black people. Many Black leaders joined the Party and left during the 20's; others, like Garvey shunned it completely.

So the objective conditions moved on: Depression; WWII bringing more and more Black workers to northern industrial jobs; lots of discrimination, much of it fed by the cooptation of the labor movement (unions).

It was not until 64-65 that Black culture and pride could reassert itself--Black Power became the slogan.

Only then could cultural nationalism develop fully and become a reactionary force. (Reactionary because it emphasizes culture and overlooks material conditions; that is, "we're all Black; it doesn't matter that I am a millionaire or a Rocky lackey and you are an exploited factory worker")

What develops in the 60's is cooptation of Black nationalism through bourgeois leadership (e.g. Black Capitalism).

Stalin points out that the NQ is a struggle between two bourgeoisies under conditions of rising capitalism. So, the Black bourgeoisie struggles against the white bourgeoisie in order to develop itself, then makes its alliance with it.

*WQ* [ Only when nationalism (p.b. nationalism) becomes reactionary can the Black Liberation struggle move beyond cultural nationalism to see the class contradictions among Black people, and see that the working class of oppressed nationalities must unite with the white working class to smash their exploiters and end their exploitation.

Conclusion

White chauvinism and male chauvinism, along with their justifications of sexism and racism, have done a lot to divide the working class and to keep the working class in its place. They are sharp tools of bourgeois ideology.

Some key concepts here:

- Private property/Socialized property
- The working class has relations of cooperation as producers and relations of competition as sellers of their labor power

Many people are ruthlessly squeezed under advanced conditions of monopoly capitalism in the era of finance capital; class consciousness heightens.

It becomes clear that relations of production are holding back the development of the productive forces.

As workers see who and what is our real enemy, the material basis of our interconnections across sex and race divisions becomes clearer--it is the process of coming to a working class stand.

*Concl.* [ A correct position, in practice, on the key ideological questions, the Woman Question and the National Question, will accelerate the struggle against our enemy.

THE HIGHEST FORM OF SOLIDARITY IS TO RESIST THE COMMON ENEMY

some discussion questions, for focus:

- (1) Look at the political development in the U.S. in our recent experience:  
- What does it expose about the process of development (the proletarianizing) of women and national minorities?  
- Connect to our individual political development at various stages.

*CLASS STRUGGLE W/IN women's movement - gay quest.*

- (2) What is common in our experience to the development of the contradiction of the Russian peasants and their coming to accept proletarian leadership?

*WE MUST HAVE MATERIAL BASIS FOR ASSESSING FORCES*

- (3) What is the material basis of male chauvinism?

*Capitalism developed in European white countries first, then developed black countries for markets.*

- (4) What is the material basis of the historical development of white chauvinism? How does it affect third world petty bourgeois elements?

*It takes the effect out of economic issues.*

- (5) How do male and white chauvinism reinforce superexploitation of women and third world workers? How do racism and sexism do the same? *IN REACTION TO..*  
*Difference women accept their lot -*

- (6) What are the material effects of superexploitation on women and Third World people? *Lack of adequate medical care etc.*

- (7) How does superexploitation of women and Third World people lower the value of all labor power? *source of cheap labor*

- (8) What has experience taught you about overcoming racism and sexism?

*look at that material basis*  
*DEVELOPING PEOPLE (NOT USING MORALISM) (DON'T JUST REACT)*

- (9) How will the black and white Movements be consolidated? *leadership from blacks and white women*

- (10) What is the significance of saying that the WQ and the NQ are ideological questions of the revolutionary movement?

- Look at the historical effects of various ideological positions on those questions. *WHAT HAPPENED TO THE CP.*

- What has been the effect of a correct ideological position on the WQ in the development of this O?

*what is that position for?  
that rising force.*