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Program of the
TUCSON MARXIST-LENINIST COLLECTIVE



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A program is the set of principles on which an organization bases its work. The Tucson Marxist-Leninist Collective, which arose in response to the absence of a consistently revolutionary movement in Tucson, guided by the principles of scientific socialism, sets forth this, our program. We present it as a platform of revolutionary struggle, as the organizing and mobilizing instrument for all the struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

Theory of Marxism-Leninism

Our program embodies the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and needs of a revolutionary organization struggling within the strongest imperialist power in the world today. Marxism-Leninism consists of two interrelated disciplines: dialectical materialism, a scientific philosophy, and historical materialism, the science of history. Both of these disciplines have two aspects: materialism, the recognition of the primacy of matter, and dialectics, the recognition of the contradictory nature of change. Marxism-Leninism when it is applied to social life and history, transforms them from ideological (pre-scientific) into scientific practices. The Marxist-Leninist science of history allows us not only the possibility of correctly understanding the world and thus the ability to change it in a revolutionary direction, but it also provides us the possibility of understanding ourselves both as individuals in bourgeois society and also as participants in that struggle to change the world. Such knowledge can never become complete but on the contrary grows and develops as both history changes and the science of Marxism-Leninism itself grows and develops.

Imperialism:

The social system in which we live is capitalism in its highest stage, imperialism. Capitalism is a system in which the population is divided up into irreconcilable classes, wherein one class, a tiny handful of exploiters, owns all the accumulated wealth in means of production, land, factories, mines, etc., while another class, the vast majority of the population, own nothing but their ability to labor. The one class, the capital-

ists, live like parasites off the labor of the other class, the proletariat. Historically, the struggle between these two classes has never ceased, from the very first day of capitalism's birth until today, with the capitalists forever attempting to maximize their profits at the expense of the workers. The working class constantly struggles to improve its situation under capitalism and ultimately must struggle to free itself from the exploitation and oppression of wage slavery.

On their side the capitalists have not only their wealth and power but also the capitalist state with its police, its army and its domination over the mass media, religion, education and the semi-legal fascist gangs. The proletariat on its part has only its numbers and organization to support itself, and scientific socialism to lead it forward. Armed with this revolutionary theory the working class and its allies can build its revolutionary army and overcome the power of the capitalist class by seizing state power and constructing a socialist society as the first stage on the road to communism. As capitalism serves a tiny minority, so socialism will work to the interests of the majority; as the platform of the bourgeois parties serve to provide bourgeois solutions to the crisis of capitalism, so too this program offers revolutionary socialist solutions to put an end to imperialism forever and usher in the era of working socialism.

The United States is today the most powerful and wealthy nation the world has ever known, whose influence is decisive internationally. U.S. Imperialism, or monopoly capitalism, developed out of the early "free market" stage of capitalism. The free competition of early capitalism gave rise to the concentration of production which led to the development of monopolies and to monopoly capitalism. Under imperialism the capitalists export capital to developing countries to increase their profits since wages are low, raw materials are cheap, and land is relatively inexpensive in the developing countries. With the super-profits from its neo-colonies, imperialism is able to create privileged sections even within the working class. Yet now U.S. capitalism is faced with its most serious crisis since the great depression of 1929. This crisis manifests itself in the steady deterioration of living standards of the masses, rising inflation, declining real wages and the increased threat of war. Millions are unemployed

while other millions starve slowly in the humiliation of inadequate government aid. How is it possible that a country with such a rich potential is being run to the detriment of the workers who are the producers of all the wealth which they are unable to enjoy? This arrangement is not accidental; it is inherent in the capitalist mode of production.

Economic Basis of Socialist Society:

Socialism is a fundamentally different social system. It is based not on class division and class war, but on the harmony of all previously exploited and oppressed sections of capitalist society. It is not a system of capitalist greed and accumulation but of socialist sharing, with production serving social needs and not private profit. It is not a government of the parasites but a socialist state of the workers and their allies, the poor farmers and progressive intellectuals. Socialism will end unemployment and underemployment through the utilization of all possible labor power in the reconstruction of society to make the cities fit for the peaceful and healthy life of the masses and their children. Economic growth will be directed into production for the use and satisfaction of human needs. No longer will human labor serve the production of munitions or any other instruments of capitalist slavery. Socialist society will have as its motto, "from each according to ones ability, to each according to ones work."

Bourgeois Democracy versus Proletarian Democracy:

The imperialists never cease to proclaim that the United States is the greatest democracy on earth, its elections the freest, etc., etc. In fact, however, all leading government offices are filled with neither workers nor their representatives, but rather bought and paid agents of the capitalists. The government is really nothing more than a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which through the so-called two party system and the fraud of free elections exercises state power over the powerless working class and the oppressed peoples. How far the ruling class will go to protect its own power can be seen in the recent disclosures in the Watergate case, the CIA investigation and the FBI's covert operations where the capital-

ists have broken the laws which they themselves created. Who can doubt that the same class will resort to fascism when it feels sufficiently threatened?

Socialism promises to end this capitalist dictatorship with the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class and its allies. After the dissolution of the old state machinery, socialism will construct in its place a government directed by the working class for the benefit of all the previously oppressed and exploited which will begin the reorganization of society on socialist lines. Socialism will protect, by means of a revolutionary dictatorship, the gains of the masses from all counterrevolutionary efforts to turn back or corrupt the struggle for communism.

Bourgeois Culture versus Socialist Culture:

The capitalist class tells us that this country stands to defend western civilization and western values from the onslaught of barbarism, and that Americanism is the most complete embodiment of those values and that civilization. Why then does it also have to admit that one out of every five citizens is functionally illiterate? Why can it not deny the nationwide deterioration of the school system? And how can it explain the proliferation of trash and decadence in literature, in the cinema and in popular culture nationally? Where is this great civilization for which the children of the working class are sent off to die by imperialism? The culture of capitalism is a culture of death because capitalism is a dying system. Murder, rape, brutality, the dehumanization of the masses and the glorification of the criminal, whether hoodlum, mercenary or businessman; can one expect any other culture from a social order built on war, murder and crime?

Socialism offers to end a situation where the masses are the passive receptors of decadent capitalist culture by creating a social order where the masses will actively create their own society and through it their own culture. The mass media, the arts, all the cultural vehicles of society will no longer belong to the few, but will become the domain of the many. "The development of each is the condition for the development of all," this motto of Marx and Engels will become the watchword of the cultural policy of the socialist

state. Socialism will make this possible first by freeing the masses from wage slavery and secondly by providing the facilities, the means and the encouragement for them to develop their creativity and cultural expression.

National Oppression and the Socialist Solution:

Modern imperialism is based not only on the exploitation of wage labor but also on the oppression of the many national minorities and peoples who were swallowed up or brought into the growing imperialist system. These include Black people, Mexican people, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and various Asian and Latin American peoples. Not only are they oppressed nationally, but also their proletarian members suffer class oppression. This many sided oppression operates to divide these people from the white workers, and this division of the revolutionary forces is one of the principal props of capitalist rule. This necessitates a relentless struggle on the part of the revolutionary movement against all manifestations of the ideologies of white and national chauvinism. For the many national minorities and peoples even the feeble democratic rights which the masses have won from the bourgeoisie through long historical struggles have little meaning. They face deportation, police assault, suppression of their language and culture, and the terror of fascist violence.

Only socialism can fundamentally unify and transform the divisions in the masses into a higher unity through the elimination of national oppression and the class oppression that accompanies it. Socialism, unlike capitalism, has no vested interest in inequality and its corresponding ideological prejudices. On the contrary, the advance to communism requires the common efforts of all nations and peoples in an equal and harmonious effort. The right of self-determination of all nations, an end to national oppression, these are the watchwords of socialism.

Oppression of Women:

There is no more classic example of the operation of the capitalist system than the oppression of women. The great majority of women work every day producing a commodity for capitalism but do not

get paid a single cent for their labor. The commodity they produce, labor power, is created in the home everyday through housework, cooking, child care, etc.; it is the replenishment of the ability to work of the proletariat on a day to day basis. But not only do women perform this unpaid labor for capitalism, many also work in the production of other commodities side by side with men throughout the capitalist system and are paid less for the same labor. This exploitation of women, paid and unpaid, in the economy is the social origin of the oppression of women, politically and in all areas of the ideological superstructure, including literature, the cinema, advertising, in law and in actual legal practice. Socialism, by enforcing the elimination of all forms of exploitation of women, paid and unpaid, eliminates the social basis of women's oppression but does not stop here. Socialism likewise through its control and transformation of the ideological structures of society promises to not only open these institutions to the full participation of women but to build into them the ruthless struggle against all forms and manifestations of male supremacy.

Interimperialist Rivalry

Increasing rivalry with other imperialist powers and the brutal exploitation of the economically weaker sections of the imperialist system: these two features characterize the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. Today with the shrinking markets of the weaker powers passing more and more either to independent control or outright socialization, the rivalry between the imperialists intensifies while the exploitation of the remaining neo-colonial states increases. At the same time imperialism is forced to increase the exploitation in the home country to make up for its losses abroad. The death and misery abroad continues unabated, now imperialism proposes to visit this condition on its own national working class in new and increasingly bitter forms.

The division of labor in the imperialist system unequally works to the detriment of the weaker powers and prolongs and deepens their dependence on the dominant imperialist power. Socialism by destroying imperialism puts an end to its division of labor internationally and nationally and through the struggle for national liberation

cements the unity of the world's peoples, working class and peasantry. Socialism's foreign policy is based on this recognition of the right of self-determination of all nations and mutual respect between peoples and states. Socialism posits the rapid development of the so-called underdeveloped world as a key prerequisite to the world wide transition to communism.

From Socialism to Communism:

This transition to communism is a necessity given the transitional nature of socialist society. Socialism has a two-fold function, negative and positive. Its negative function is not just to destroy the old capitalist system in all its forms. It also has the task of changing the old bourgeois modes of thought and styles of life in every individual through education and struggle. Socialism's positive function is therefore not just to build up a new economy and political system as the basis for communism but also to instill in every individual a communist consciousness as preparation for the new social order. That new social order will have as its motto, "from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's needs." Such a stateless, classless communist system cannot be handed to the masses, it must be built by them through their own transformation into a new and higher form of human beings. We in the United States have today the potential to realize at least the physical requirements of this transition in our lifetime, a potential which places tremendous responsibility on us as communists.

Leninist Organization:

One of the most important aspects of this responsibility is in matters of organization. In as much as the revolution is the culmination of a long class war, the masses of the oppressed and exploited require a general staff to organize and lead it to victory. This general staff must be the revolutionary party, embodying the science of Marxism-Leninism and encompassing the most advanced elements of the proletariat and its allies. Only such a party, linked to the masses in a thousand ways and organized in every factory, shop, and mine, in every office, school, and farm, and on every street, is strong enough to lead a successful revolutionary struggle against the most powerful capitalist system in the world.

Tucson Marxist-Leninist Collective:

Our collective is striving to develop itself to the point where, one day we will become a section of such a party. We envision that, as the capitalist crisis deepens and the discontent and opposition of the masses increases, so too the need for the party will increase, as will the recognition of the necessity of scientific socialism and the leading role of a communist party as the vanguard of the revolution. The strategic (long-range) and tactical (short-range) methods and demands which the various struggles require of us and by which Marxism-Leninism is made specific in all its aspects can only be worked out in detailed position papers which the Tucson Marxist-Leninist Collective will prepare after thorough study and discussion. Nonetheless our general line should be clear: we stand for militant, organized struggle against all forms of imperialist exploitation and oppression, for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state, for the destruction of the capitalist system and for the creation of a socialist society as the prerequisite for the communist future.

We call upon all militants and revolutionaries to endorse this program and our constitution, and to join the Tucson Marxist-Leninist Collective.

**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE UNITE!
FIGHT WHITE CHAUVINISM AND MALE SUPREMACY!
FOR THE VANGUARD PARTY!
FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
FOR COMMUNISM!
JOIN THE TMLC!**



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