

# THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."  
Mao Tsetung

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## MINERS DEFY TAFT-HARTLEY

During the weekend of March 4th striking coal miners voted to reject the latest contract offer by a two to one margin. It was defeated in 17 of the 18 striking union districts. Shortly after the vote was announced, President Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act to force striking miners back to work for a 80-day "cooling off period".

But the miners will not return to work until they have a decent contract. They will continue fighting what is already the longest strike battle in United Mine Workers (UMW) history.

### WHY DID THE MINERS REJECT THE CONTRACT ?

The miners rejected the latest contract offer because it was a flagrant betrayal of their sacrifices and militant struggle during the past three months. Although the mine owners moaned about their forced "capitulation"

and Arnold Miller, UMW president, put forth the bold face lie that it was a "good agreement", the miners knew that the contract was even worse than the 1974 agreement.

In the first place, the contract would have made the miners pay for health care for the first time in the 30 year history of the UMW Health and Pension Funds. With the proposed deductibles, miners would have had to pay as much as \$500 a family in hospital charges, the first \$150 in doctor fees, and \$50 for drugs. Moreover, instead of the industry wide plan, health coverage would be broken up into plans arranged by individual companies. Thus miners would have lost full coverage for themselves and their families for life--a minimum demand given the dangerous character of work in the mines and hazards such as black lung disease which requires life long treatment. As one miner said, "under the old contract if I died in the mines at least I knew my

family had a health card...under what they offer now this would be gone after 30 days". These issues of health care are the same ones that caused wildcats last summer. Miners are no more ready to give up their benefits now than they were then.

In addition, the coal operators refused to meet the rank and file demand for equalization of pensions. Throughout the strike, younger miners have insisted on this demand, first made in 1976 at a special union convention. They refuse to see miners who retired before 1974 continue to get only \$250 a month, only half of what current retirees are given and obviously far from enough for a decent retirement after a lifetime in the mines.

Most important, the contract would have allowed employers to fine, suspend or fire the organizers of a wildcat strike and all miners who participate in wildcat picket lines. All through this

hard fought struggle, striking miners have made it clear that they will not make concessions to attempts by the coal mine owners and labor bureaucrats to undermine their right to strike. The right to strike is a life and death issue for the miners since in recent years wildcats have been needed most to struggle against unsafe working conditions.

### COAL SHORTAGES

Miners have stopped 70% of US coal production for 12 weeks and have had a significant impact on the entire economy, particularly in the Mid-West which is the heartland of US industry. Coal shortages have already caused power cutbacks and plant shut-downs in auto, steel and other industries. In Indiana, for example, power has been cut 50%; in West Virginia, 30%. And Bethlehem Steel has already shut down part of its Indiana plant because it's running short of coal to feed its coke ovens.

### MINERS DEFY TAFT-HARTLEY ACTION

With coal supplies dwindling, and with Miller's failure to deliver support for the contract offer, President Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act on March 6th to get coal production going

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## NATIONAL CONFERENCE ADVANCES ANTI-BAKKE STRUGGLE

The first national conference of the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition was held in Los Angeles on February 19 and was a good success. Roughly 750 people turned out. The conference was multinational in composition and reflected a broad character of representation from different regions of the country.

At the conference the ABDC decided on a plan of activities for a spring offensive to be timed to coincide roughly with the Supreme Court decision in the Bakke case.

First, there will be a national demonstration now set for April 15 in Washington, D.C. This demonstration will strive to mobilize the entire anti-Bakke movement.

Second, a week of struggle/semana de lucha is planned for May 6-13 which will begin with regional demonstrations in Atlanta, New York and other cities. During the week following these demonstrations, there will be education programs on the impact of the Bakke decision.

Finally, there will be a national demonstration held on May 13 in either San Francisco or Los Angeles.

All these activities will be coordinated with events held to celebrate the revolutionary holiday of the Mexican people, Cinco de Mayo. Also, suggestions were made at the conference to connect the week of struggle with events to commemorate Malcolm X's birthday, May 19, and African Liberation Day on May 26.

The mobilization as a whole will make it possible to respond most effectively to the Supreme Court decision in the Bakke case which will be decided sometime this spring.

### ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY

The conference reflected a strong spirit of anti-imperialist resistance on the part of participants. This spirit was reflected in solidarity messages, such as the presentation of the ABDC representative from Atlanta, who exposed national oppression in the Black Belt South, as well as in the eagerness of conference members to take up political discus-

sions in the workshops and informally on the floor of the conference. Local groups with different backgrounds and from different regions all reflected a militant and enthusiastic desire to take up work. In addition, there was a strong sentiment for building unity among all anti-Bakke forces.

All these aspects of the conference represent strengths which provide a strong foundation for members of the coalition to unite and move forward and, in particular, a good basis for building and expanding militant actions for the spring offensive.

### STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATION FOR NATIONAL WORK

Nonetheless, there were also certain weaknesses reflected in the work of the conference. For example, it was a weakness of the conference that the principles of unity of the ABDC were not taken up for political discussion.

These principles have served well as the basis of the statewide ABDC, but need to be reevaluated in light of the decision to give the coalition a national character. The principle concerning the UC Regents, for example, has a historical justification in terms of the origins of the statewide coalition (particularly in opposition to the line that the UC Regents should be counted on as "tactical allies" in the fight to overturn the Bakke decision!), but it is not a principle of unity adequate to the task of mobilizing nationwide resistance -- first because it tends to suggest that Bakke is mainly about university admissions programs and second because it tends to suggest that Bakke has some specific local impact on California. Obviously these points narrow unnecessarily the national scope of the coalition.

In order that the principles of the coalition could more effectively serve as a basis for mobilizing national resistance to the Bakke decision, the Workers Congress (M-L) presented to the conference specific criticisms and suggestions for modifying them. While we have supported the present principles of unity in our propaganda and activity in the

coalition, we felt they could be broadened and improved. The document we distributed at the conference is reprinted at p. 8.

Two examples of the importance of taking up this question were reflected in the conference workshops. In the OUTREACH workshop, the biggest question raised was how to build multinational unity. In particular, members of the coalition wanted to know how to reach white workers and how to draw them into the struggle. This has also been a question which has troubled some locals. The failure of the coalition to provide good leadership on this reflects the narrowness of the present principles of unity. While the principles correctly call for reliance on the masses of oppressed people which are the target of the Bakke attack, they fail to point to the working class as a leader in the struggle for democracy. However, it is the role of the proletariat as a vanguard fighter for democracy that is the key to giving guidance on the question of building multinational unity in a democratic struggle.

In both the OUTREACH and in the IMPACT OF THE BAKKE DECISION workshops, criticisms were raised of ABDC work on the woman question, and the conference pledged to place greater emphasis on this issue. But what is important in this connection is that the principles of unity themselves do not speak directly to the special oppression of women or to the fact that the anti-Bakke movement must fight against sex as well as national oppression.

Overall these points make clear that the ABDC can only strengthen the basis for its work by taking up a constructive political discussion of the principles of unity as quickly as possible.

### THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE BAKKE ATTACK

A second weakness of the conference was in the failure of leadership to organize political discussion around the major questions facing the conference. While there was a thirst for political discussion among partici-

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## US HEGEMONISM UNCHALLENGED IN CANAL TREATY DEBATE

On Wednesday, February 8, the US Senate began a lengthy and heated debate on the new proposed Panama Canal Treaty. The Senate will vote on ratification of the new treaty, which was signed by Carter and President Omar Torrijos Herrera of Panama on September 7, 1977, following this debate.

The bourgeois politicians, led by Carter, who support ratification, argue that the terms of the new treaty are necessary to improve US imperialism's position in Panama and throughout Latin America. Through the new treaty they hope to weaken both the Latin American national liberation movements and Soviet influence in the area.

Opponents argue against any concessions and support the continuation of direct US colonial rule over Panamanian territory. They oppose US recognition of Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal and Canal Zone territory and the proposed withdrawal of US military forces.

In the debate around the treaty both sides base their arguments on the "national security interests" of US imperialism. They differ only on how those interests are to be served. The representatives of the monopoly capitalist class are not split on the question of continuing US domination of Panama and denial of the Panamanian people's legitimate demands for complete national sovereignty.

These demands, which must receive full support from the American people, are for immediate withdrawal of all US military and police forces from Panama, immediate transfer of all control

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## EIGHT WORKERS DIE IN CHICAGO TANNERY

On February eight men died at the Horween Leather Company and another 35 were hospitalized as a result of being exposed to lethal hydrogen sulphide gas. These deaths and injuries were completely unnecessary. They were caused by the criminal negligence toward safe working procedures and conditions by the employers at Horween and a capitalist system that must put greater value on profit than it does on the health and safety of the workers who create it.

180 men and women were working at Horween when the tragedy began as a truck driver pulled into the alley behind the plant and received what he thought was a go-ahead signal to begin pumping liquid sodium hydrosulphide into vats containing chromic acid. The mixture spontaneously produced the lethal poison gas that immediately spread throughout the plant.

Within seconds, workers who were preparing the huge vats of acids and dyes used to soften, shape, and color leather, were slumping to the floor with their eyes tearing, their chests in tight agony, and their lungs desperate for air. Many workers made brave efforts to help their friends only to be overcome by the poison gas themselves. Other workers were forced to jump out of upper floor windows for safety. Police who responded to the emergency call found it impossible to get into the plant and were forced to smash windows to get air to the workers inside.

The criminal negligence in this tragedy by the Horween factory owners is brought out by the fact that a similar accidental mixture

of chemicals producing a poison gas occurred in 1971. At that time they failed to take the necessary steps to prevent a recurrence. However, lack of concern for the health and safety of workers and the blame for the deaths is not something that can be restricted to the owners of Horween.

Tanning is commonly acknowledged to be a hazardous industry. Accidents virtually identical to the latest tragedy occurred in Milwaukee in 1975 where three workers died. Six more were killed at a tannery in Berwick, Missouri in 1971. But despite the dangerous character of this work, the government has done almost nothing to monitor health and safety in the industry.

After the Horween tragedy the regional officials of the Occupational Safety and Health Agency (OSHA) admitted that they had never inspected the Horween plant. In fact, they admitted never having inspected any of the 65 tanning plants, employing 5,900 workers, in the six states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. The weakness of OSHA enforcement is clearly shown by these and the following facts. These six states comprise the most heavily industrialized area of the world. More than 24% of American industry is located in this region. There are 10.4 million workers at the more than 807,000 plants in these states. But OSHA has only 300 inspectors and industrial hygienists to cover the entire area and last year inspected only 9,400 factories and mills. At this rate it will take them nearly 90 years

to inspect each workplace just one time.

The inability of OSHA to enforce even the existing inadequate standards of health and safety in the workplace is not a question of lack of resources or of the complexity of the task as the government would have us believe. It is a question of the priorities of a state whose purpose is to protect and defend the interests of monopoly capitalist exploitation of the working class.

For example, not every branch of the government has been as poorly staffed, underfunded, lackadaisical, and negligent as OSHA. On the day following the deaths at Horween, David Vandersall, the Regional Director of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), announced that he had sent agents from his office to "check on the alien status of the workers". In a slap in the face to Spanish surname Americans he said his suspicions were aroused "when he read the Spanish names of seven of the eight dead workers". And, he said that the plant has a history of "employing illegal aliens". According to Vandersall, 34 undocumented workers had been captured at Horween in 1971 and an additional 17 dragged into the INS nets in 1974.

So, we see that where OSHA has never had the time, the people, nor the interest to inspect the Horween plant even once for illegal working conditions, the INS had had the men, the money, and the will to inspect the plant twice. The INS refused to say what would be done with "illegal" workers who had been "legally" killed, whether their bodies would be deported, who would pay the bus fare for the corpses, etc. In any case, to the benefit of the factory owners of Horween, the INS investigation has had a chilling effect on the survivors of the massacre and their families, discouraging them from filing workers compensation claims.

The contrast between OSHA negligence and the INS vigilance in the Chicago region is merely a reflection of the needs and

priorities of capitalism. The highest possible level of health and safety for workers is not something necessary to capitalism. Deporting workers during periods of economic crisis on the other hand is. The federal budget for fiscal 1977 reveals that while OSHA received only \$127 million for its operations, the INS got more than \$242 million for their "operations" during the same period. Other figures are equally ludicrous. There are five times as many park and forest rangers and fish and game wardens protecting trees and birds, flowers and butterflies as there are OSHA inspectors protecting workers.

No doubt, a demand for safe and enforced standards for labeling and piping toxic chemicals will come out of the Horween tragedy. As we stated, the deaths of the eight workers and the grief and hardship brought upon their families was completely unnecessary. With a minimum amount of effort and expenditure by the factory owners safety procedures and devices could have been instituted and installed that would have made impossible the mixture of the two chemicals that produced the deadly gas. Without this effort and expenditure the "accident" was inevitable.

Communists and advanced workers have a responsibility to give support and provide leadership to this just struggle for reform. But, the fundamental lesson here is that we will never have genuinely healthy and safe workplaces until we have a socialist government that puts the needs of the people first. It is only after the interests of the workers themselves replaces the demand for the maximum profit as the basis for establishing working conditions that genuinely safe and healthy workplaces will become possible.



struggle against the Chiang clique is growing in size and it includes even industrialists. In earlier years, the struggle was mainly over economic issues. Today, that struggle has been linked to the political struggle for democracy.

### HISTORIC POINT IN STRUGGLE FOR RE-UNIFICATION OF CHINA

## 1947 TAIWAN REBELLION

February 28th was the 31st anniversary of the Taiwan armed uprising. This rebellion marks a historic point in the on-going struggle to liberate Taiwan from the yoke of the reactionary Kuomintang (KMT) government and its US imperialist overlords.

The 1947 rebellion began when a hawker in Taipai was beaten by police and an anti-smuggling officer. When a crowd angered by the beating gathered around them the police opened fire and a person was killed. In angry protest the crowd marched to the police station again on the next day and this time they came with demands that the killers be punished and that the Taiwan State Monopoly Bureau be abolished. The police answered these demands by killing three more people and wounding three others. These killings sparked a general uprising that put most of Taiwan in the hands of the masses within a few days.

But, through tricks and maneuvers, the KMT government was to eventually undermine the rebellion and launch a massive repressive campaign, killing over 30,000 people. Although the rebellion was defeated the spirit of resistance to the KMT government continues among the people of Taiwan who suffer under one of the most cruel regimes the world has ever seen.

### TAIWAN UNDER MARTIAL LAW

On October 1, 1949, when the words of Mao Tsetung rang around the world that the Chinese people have stood up, martial law was clamped down on the people of Taiwan. Broad emergency powers were granted to the presidency, which opened the door for all sorts of injustice in the name of domestic security.

Brutal acts of military repression were carried out. An enormous secret service apparatus was developed, putting government informers at all levels in the community, offices, factories and resulting in arrests and intimidation.

This repressive regime continues today. Public assembly by more than seven people is prohibited. Strikes and unions are also prohibited. To advocate independence for Taiwan, to be sympathetic with the People's Republic of China or question Taiwan's goal to recover the mainland can result in imprisonment or even execution.

Tight reins are held on the press, where even information about the mainland is deleted or distorted. Only government approved publications are allowed in the country.

The slightest sign of dissatisfaction from the people will result in arrests, jail sentences, and deaths. Civilians accused of sedition (which could include any offense) are tried by a military court of the Taiwan Garrison Command. Even civilian cases of robbery are tried. Several months ago, four youths were convicted of stealing and were executed. The pre-execution proceedings were broadcast live on television.

### NO DEMOCRACY FOR TAIWANESE

Although the Taiwanese people make up 84% of the population they are kept out of the government and cannot run for office. There is only one political party -- the KMT which dominates the national assembly. The overwhelming majority of the delegates are those who were elected on the mainland before 1949. It was only recently that a native Taiwanese, Hsieh Tung min, was selected for office in a token effort to give the appearance of Taiwanese participation in government. This selection was such a rarity that it was front page news on the N.Y. TIMES.

The Chiang clique has such a big apparatus for spying that it extends even to other countries around the world, where they harass and intimidate Taiwanese patriots. If an overseas Taiwanese speaks out against the fascist atrocities at home, dossiers are compiled, pictures are taken, and the Taiwanese are jailed when they return.

### US IMPERIALIST OVERLORDS

The atrocities perpetuated by Chiang Kai-shek and now his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, are done to perpetuate the conditions for imperialism to reap big profits off cheap labor. Since the signing of the Shanghai Communiqué, US economic interests in Taiwan have increased. US corporations have large investments in Taiwan as well. These corporations have over 2.5 billion in loans and 500 million in direct investments. The number of US banks has increased from 2 to 8.

Because Taiwan is a source for cheap labor, it has become an attractive market for US corporations. The KMT has encouraged investments by such means as five year tax holidays to new enterprises, and other tax privileges. Government exporting zones make it easier to send goods out, duty free and with few hassles.

One of the biggest incentives to illegal business is that strikes are illegal on the island and to participate in one is punishable by death. As a result, wages are lower than Japan, Hong Kong or Singapore.

The average Taiwan worker labors more than ten hours a day, 6 days a week under terrible conditions. His monthly income is less than 2 days income of an American worker. A skilled worker may get \$3.00 per day. Workers in electronics and television manufacture get wages averaging 14 cents an hour.

Taiwan compradores have sold the Taiwanese people to the US imperialists, lock, stock and barrel. While call girls are advertised in government brochures, a severe depression rages in the rural countryside. While US corporations reap enormous sums of tax free dollars, eighty percent of the peasants are heavily in debt.

Where there is oppression, there is resistance and the people of Taiwan have carried on the spirit of the uprising. Reports from the foreign and Taiwanese press carry increasing stories of resistance against the Chiang clique. The



The plan of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is to fight for a newspaper modeled on Lenin's ISKRA as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new Communist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, our columns are open to all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers for topical exposures, polemics and reports on their work.

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# THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

## LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY!

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International Women's Day is a day of international unity of working women all over the world in the struggle for liberation, democracy, and socialist revolution. It was first observed in 1911 with the aim of mobilizing broad sections of women for the struggle against bourgeois domination. It commemorates the history of unity in struggles for liberation on the part of working women of the world and is closely connected to the advance of the cause of liberation of the world's proletariat.

Lenin has said:

"...it is impossible to draw the masses into politics without also drawing in the women; for under capitalism, the female half of the human race suffers under a double yoke. The working woman and peasant woman are oppressed by capital; but in addition to that, even in the most democratic of bourgeois republics, they are, firstly, in an inferior position because the law denies them equality with men, and secondly, and this is most important, they are 'in domestic slavery', they are 'domestic slaves', crushed by the most petty, most menial, most arduous, and most stultifying work of the kitchen, and by isolated domestic, family economy in general."

(The Woman Question, IP, p.45)

But where there is oppression there is resistance--this is a basic law of human history. The world over women are playing a vital and essential role in the battles against hegemonism, imperialism, and for national liberation, independence and revolution. In the revolutionary upsurge in the Third World countries--Eritrea, Azania, Palestine, Kampuchea, Phillipines, Nicuaragua, etc.--women march shoulder to shoulder with men in battling imperialism. Likewise, in the current coal miners' struggles here in the US, women are in the thick of the fight--as wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and fellow workers. Throughout the country women textile workers are a major force in the hard drive for unionization of the textile mills. Women farmworkers are on the front lines of their union drives, setting a militant example for all workers.

### THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

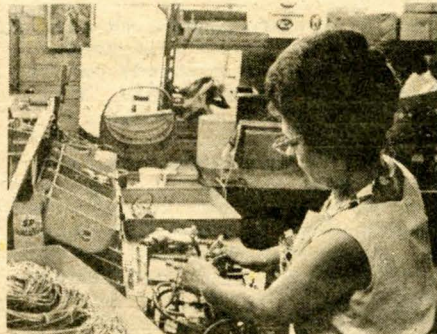
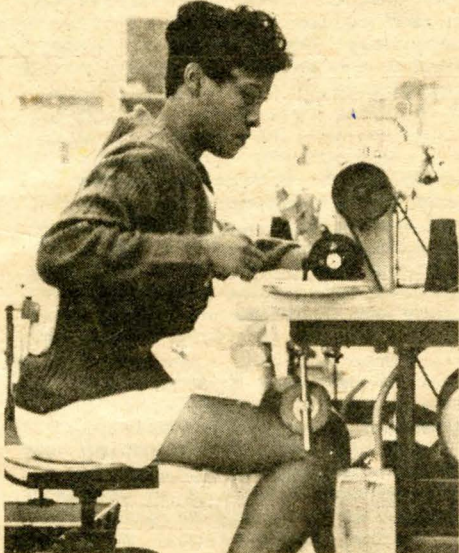
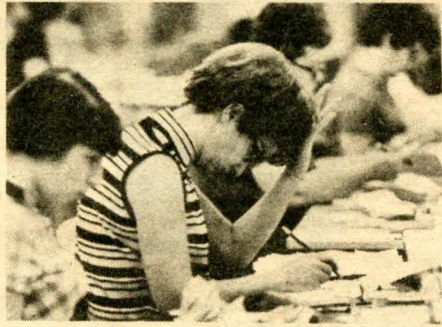
As the Workers Congress states in its "Resolutions on the Woman Question",

"The emancipation of women is a world historic task of proletarian revolution. The full emancipation of women can take place only under the dictatorship of the proletariat where it will be possible to abolish private property through socialist ownership of the means of production and abolish the individual private household as the economic unit of society through the creation of a large scale socialist economy. However, the working class can never overthrow social relations based on private property without overcoming the oppression of women. As Lenin said, the proletariat cannot achieve complete liberty until it has won complete liberty for women. Thus the struggle for the emancipation of women and the struggle for proletarian revolution are inseparably linked."

### CONDITIONS OF US WORKING WOMEN

In the US over the past 25 years there has been a tremendous increase in the number and proportion of women who work for pay outside the home. As of July 1976, 47.4% of all women work at wage labor. Since 1965, 60% of the new workers entering the labor force have been women. They now make up over 40% of the total workforce.

Although women make up a growing share of the workforce, they suffer stark inequality in wages



alone. In 1955, women's wages were 65% of the median wage for men. Today women receive only 57% of the median wage for men. The median wage is \$12,152 for men and \$6,957 for women. This continuing and growing gap between the wages of men and women is one of the clearest reflections of the inequality of women in the workforce.

The inequality in wages is a direct result of occupational segregation of men and women. According to bourgeois ideology, there are "men's jobs" and "women's jobs". Those occupations most open to women, however, are in general lower paying. Women comprise 70% of salesworkers, 78% of clerical staff, 82% of librarians, 60% of social workers, 70% of elementary and secondary school teachers, and 93% of nurses. On the other hand, it has only been in the last several years that women have been hired at all into many sectors of heavy industry and the skilled trades (except for during World War II). Nationally women hold less than 1% of all trade apprenticeships. The state of Georgia has one woman carpenter in its 7,000 member carpenter's union. It is only within the last three years that women have been hired as coal miners. The same pattern occurs in steel foundries, shipyards, construction, etc.

On the job women experience serious discrimination such as sexual harassment, lack of equality in promotions, lower pay for the same work as men, etc. They lack other democratic rights in general which would better allow them to participate in the work force as equals. The right to free childcare and abortions on demand are just two examples.

But the source of the inequality of women goes beyond this or that democratic right. The lack of equality is a reflection of the fundamental inequality of women throughout class society. We state in our "Resolutions on the Woman Question",

"In bourgeois society sex oppression in the monogamous family based on private property is the source of the social inequality of women and the second class status of working women in the labor force. Just as national inequality and the superexploitation of oppressed national minorities in the workforce have their material basis in the imperialist control of the oppressed nation, so too sex inequality and the superexploitation of women in the

workforce have their material basis in the degraded status of women and their domestic servitude within the individual family as the economic unit of society."

It is bourgeois ideology that justifies the inequality of women. Bourgeois ideology says that their "natural" role is domestic slavery at home, that she doesn't need equal pay because her husband will provide for her, that she shouldn't therefore aspire to skilled or heavy work or even the professions--all of which offer better pay.

But these reactionary views fly in the face of the objective conditions of working women. The masses of women work because they have to. Two thirds of all women workers are single, divorced, widowed, separated or have husbands who make less than \$7,000 per year. One out of eight women workers are heads of families. Married women workers contribute 40% of family income, usually the difference between being poor and barely getting by due to today's in-

flation. The great increase of women workers since the mid-sixties coincides with the spiraling inflation which began near the same time.

The picture of the "traditional" family of four, in which the father works while the mother and kids stay home, still dominates bourgeois educational material and all sectors of the media. This is part of their ideological weaponry against the working class, used to reinforce the inequality of women. Today that picture represents only 7% of all married households. Overall, for all married households, in less than 30% of them do the husbands alone work in the labor force.

### FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF WOMEN

On the basis of this blatant material and ideological oppression and discrimination, more and more working women are taking up the struggle for democratic rights. Women have fought for and won many gains through direct mass action during the 1960's and early 70's--expanded childcare through federally-funded daycare centers, legalization and welfare coverage for abortions, expansion of birth control, affirmative action for hiring and promotions, admission of women to skilled trades and professional schools, etc. Now these gains face sharp attack from the US bourgeoisie, which is mired in a crisis and war preparations.

The Chinese Communist Party spoke to this recently in stating, "As each frenziedly strengthens its costly war machine, the Soviet Union and the United States are bound to intensify their oppression and exploitation of the people at home and thus aggravate contradictions in their economies and internal contradictions between the different classes and between the different nationalities." (PR#45, 1977)

In the face of mounting bourgeois reactionary policy towards women, communists must take leadership of the fight for women's equal rights. We recognize that proletarian revolution is impossible unless the working class leads the struggle for the democratic rights of women. Imperialism is anti-democratic political reaction all down the line. Therefore, the democratic movement for women's equal rights weakens the imperialist system and strengthens

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## STALIN ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN' DAY

Not a single great movement of the oppressed in the history of mankind has been able to do without the participation of working women. Working women, the most oppressed among the oppressed, never have or could stand aside from the broad path of the liberation movement. This movement of slaves has produced, as is known, hundreds and thousands of martyrs and heroines. Tens of thousands of working women were to be found in the ranks of fighters for the liberation of the serfs. It is not surprising that millions of working women have been drawn in beneath the banners of the revolutionary movement of the working class, the most powerful of all liberation movements of the oppressed masses.

International Woman's Day is a token of invincibility and an augury of the great future which lies before the liberation movement of the working class.

Working women - workers and peasants - are the greatest reserve of the working class. This reserve constitutes a good half of the population. The fate of the proletarian revolution, the victory or defeat of the proletarian revolution, the victory or defeat of proletarian power depends on whether or not the reserve of

women will be for or against the working class.

That is why the first task of the proletariat and its advance detachment, the Communist Party, is to engage in decisive struggle for the freeing of women workers and peasants from the influence of the bourgeoisie, for political education and the organization of women workers and peasants beneath the banner of the proletariat.

International Woman's Day is a means of winning the women's labor reserves to the side of the proletariat. Working women are not only reserves, however. They can and must become--if the working class carries out a correct policy--a real army of the working class, operating against the bourgeoisie.

The second and decisive task of the working class is to forge an army of worker and peasant women out of the women's labor reserves to operate shoulder to shoulder with the great army of the proletariat.

International Woman's Day must become a means for turning worker and peasant women from a reserve of the working class into an active army in the liberation movement of the proletariat.

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY!

# STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY IN BASIC INDUSTRY!

The following two work sum-ups show the common difficulties encountered in the struggle for women's equality in basic industry. Communists must take the lead in fighting male chauvinism and paving the way for the re-entry of women into social production on a full and equal basis.

Five years ago the first woman was hired at this East Coast shipyard. Since then the number has grown to 200 at most -- out of 6000 workers. It was only last month that this yard hired its first woman for the pneumatics department.

Engels said, "... the first premise for the emancipation of women is the re-introduction of the entire female sex into public industry..". So the re-entry of women into heavy industry is a step forward in the struggle for equality between the sexes. As a result of the struggle for affirmative action programs men and women are coming together in the workplace. This allows us to better expose and defeat the line that "a woman's place is in the home."

Women in so-called "male" jobs are repeatedly questioned as to why on earth they ever got into this type of work. On the surface this is an innocent question. But it covers the line that women are raised to be wives and mothers. If forced to work, they work as teachers, in hospitals, as clerks and typists, or as low paid, low-skilled production workers. This is a reflection of their second-class status in the family. Women do not enter "women's" jobs by nature or by choice. Rather, they have been barred from other areas of training and work in order to perpetuate the divisions between men and women. It is the bourgeoisie that benefits from this division. Our struggle is to fight for the equal rights of women and for working class unity.

Another common experience for women in "male" jobs is having to prove their ability over and over. A crowd of men may gather to see a woman swinging a sledge hammer,

hacksawing or carrying an awkward load. Male chauvinism holds that women can't do rigorous, manual labor, that they are unequal. Though this was clearly disproved by women's participation in production in World War II years, the myth remains.

There is sometimes outright hostility toward women in these jobs. It is prompted by the bourgeois lie that because women are generally smaller than men they are too weak physically to work in heavy industry and endanger the lives of their male counterparts. First of all, this ignores the differences in strength among both women and men. Some women are stronger than some men. It can't be assumed that your sex determines how much weight you can lift. Besides, safety isn't a matter of brute strength. There are pulleys, come-a-longs, and levers to ease our tasks. For safety's sake we should all use them and not rely on human strength. It's the working conditions produced by the drive for profits that endangers workers' lives. To fight that we must unify our ranks, not blame women!

Hostility also stems from believing that women in male jobs throws fathers and husbands out of work. We cannot bow to this. Unemployment for men and women is caused by imperialism. Only socialism can bring employment and well-being for all.

But male chauvinism in the workplace may often be more subtle. It comes in the form of overprotection of women workers. This too has the effect of setting women apart and not eliminating inequality. There are foremen who assign women lighter and less dangerous jobs. They justify it by saying these jobs are just as important, it takes smaller hands, etc. But in reality it keeps women from working on high scaffolding, learning the heavier jobs and being considered equal. This demands from women an aggressive struggle against "protective" male chauvinism, and their own socialization toward passivity. One foreman working with a woman

asked a male spectator to give him a hand. The woman had to jump in and insist that she could do the job. Other times it's well-intentioned fellow workers who offer too much help. Women have to firmly refuse unneeded aid and explain the importance of doing their share.

Another tell-tale question put to women is "what do you do with all your money?" This one is based on the bourgeois notion that women work for "pin money" and couldn't possibly need the same wages as men. But women, like men, work for a living. For married women it's because it takes two wage-earners per family to provide for today's needs. For all women economic independence is part of breaking from their dependent position in the family assigned to them by the male chauvinist ideology of the ruling class. Proletarian family relations must be based on equality and not on economic dependence.

In the course of work in a plant that is 97% male one of the most oppressive experiences for women is the sexual harassment by foremen and fellow workers. It challenges their legitimacy in being there. Catcalls, invitations to come to isolated work areas, uninvited handling, and discussions about Navy experiences in Subic Bay, notorious for prostitution, set women apart from the "norm". This divides the workers in no uncertain terms. It must be

squelched and exposed as part of the bourgeois line that women are sex objects.

The struggle for equality is more than getting a "male job", more than setting the example that women can do the work, and more than coping with sexual affronts. It means patiently explaining the roots of male chauvinism and pointing to its harmful effects. Bourgeois ideology has a stranglehold on the working class. It will not go away simply because more women are entering heavy industry. Both men and women must take up the struggle against all cases of women's inequality. We must get at the essence beneath the jokes and the bitterness. The myths must be broken down and replaced with proletarian ideology.

Advanced workers are open to our ideas, and many already have some basic understanding of the oppression of women. We must strengthen this consciousness and enlist these forces in spreading it. We must link the struggles for equality in our plant to the struggles of women workers in traditionally female jobs. We must take up the issue of women's equality seriously and consciously in our day to day work, with our contacts and in our unions. Together we must build a class conscious struggle for equal rights for women and for working class unity.



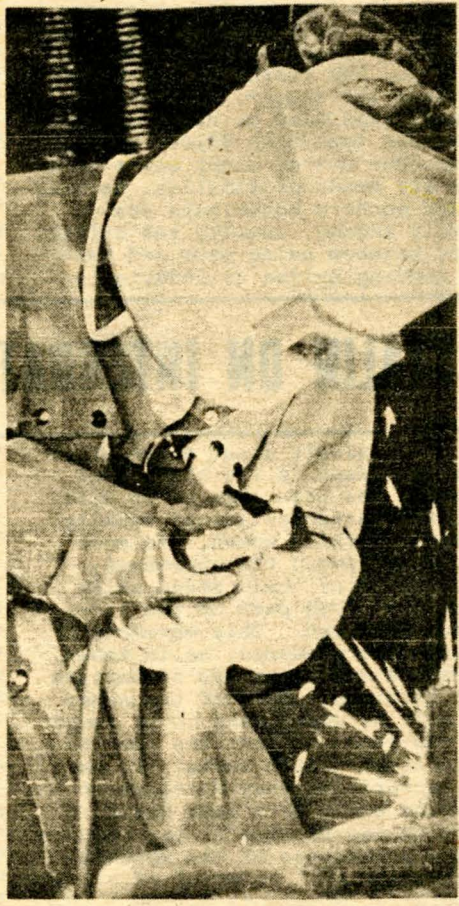
## WELDING STUDENT FIGHTS MALE CHAUVINISM

In THE COMMUNIST Vol. IV, no. 7 we carried an article by a worker correspondent on a vocational program in welding. The following exposure, from the same correspondent, shows how male chauvinism in that program blocks the path of women's re-entry into social production on an equal basis.

I am currently enrolled in a welding training program to prepare myself to do work in the industrial proletariat. When I first realized the political importance of learning to weld I viewed the welding training program one sidedly. I saw the aspect of being a woman welder as a good thing. I knew it was especially important for women to get the training and experience necessary to enter a job category that has been historically dominated by men. But I belittled the male chauvinism that I would have to continually struggle against.

In the course of the program, I've experienced male chauvinism on many occasions. For example, one man remarked to me, "I cannot picture you as a welder, a welder wears coveralls and a helmet and gloves. You wear that outfit and you look out of place. That outfit is too large for you, you are buried in the coveralls. Welding is a dirty job, a woman is clean. You look like the type of woman that belongs in the house, or as a nurse in the hospital. You look too feminine."

He went on to say that his feelings towards me had grown very much. He proposed that I marry him. But I said no, because I considered him as a friend and nothing more, and that was the way it was going to stay. He then said that he would kidnap me and take me to Mexico. I said that I wouldn't accept this approach of his. I told him this is an assault on me and in no way would I let it happen.



Other men's reactions were that I should take up light welding, working only with lighter metal. They said that women can work better with lighter metal than with heavy dirty metal. I responded that I would work with heavy metal. Sooner or later I would run into heavy metal in welding in any job I took. I told them not to let my appearance fool them, the heavy metal wasn't that heavy to carry. There were men who would look

at me and say, "How long is she going to last in the welding program. Is the welding going to get to her, working with heavy metal, cleaning up the shop, the bathroom arrangement, and putting up with us men?" But these men were surprised at my strength in continuing the program, and by my effort to get information related to welding.

One man in the welding program has to prove that he is a better welder than a woman. Occasionally I have seen him compete with me in my welding. He doesn't want a woman to see him welding. A woman would get in the way of his welding. If the weld got messed up it would be the woman's fault, she was too close to the weld. He claims to be embarrassed when a woman welder sees him welding. He won't even weld unless I leave his area. The same myth existed years ago. A woman wasn't supposed to be on a ship. If she was, the ship was supposed to have some kind of problems, it would sink in the middle of the ocean. He wants me to prove to him that I really wanted to be a welder, and not that I was there to play around with the men and to look pretty.

I have to be serious at all times because he is watching me, just waiting to see if I make a mistake. But, my job is not to prove to him that I am serious because I am not there to waste my time to prove to men I am better, but to receive training as a welder.

Another day in the classroom the advanced welder and the teacher made a couple of remarks to the effect that women aren't capable of handling anything, except the household. They said, "Try teaching a woman something, and she forgets it later on. Men always have to control women to keep them in line." I responded that we don't need that kind of talk in the shop. They knew I

was upset with this kind of attitude they were throwing at me. The two men remarked that women were only to play around with. They both responded that they were playing with my emotions. Then they both laughed at me.

A couple of other men think I am strange because I don't have a social life. They think I should stop being a dead beat and join them in going out to night clubs, or having dinner, a couple of drinks, etc. One man is upset with me because I don't give him my fullest attention. But I am not there to engage in romantic affairs. The purpose for my being in the program is to be a certified welder. As a woman it is essential I receive as much welding as possible and not be there as a flirt to entertain the men in the welding program. I would just be wasting my time and belittling the woman question.

I studied the woman question a year and a half ago, and I thought I understood what it meant. But, through practice I find that I'm still not well enough equipped to deal with the level of harassment that continually goes on. I must continue my study of the woman question if I'm to deal correctly with this chauvinism.

The male chauvinism that I have experienced is to keep women out of industry and to perpetuate women's second class status. This reactionary ideology tries to prevent women from playing a full role in proletarian revolution. But this divides the working class. That is why the struggle for women's equality is part of the struggle of the working class to overthrow capitalism.



I. PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

1.1. The bondage of women is connected historically with the appearance of private property and with the monogamous family based on private property as the economic unit of society. The classical monogamous family is based on the supremacy of the man, its express aim being to produce children of undisputed paternity to inherit property. Within the monogamous family the social status of women was degraded and her role in production reduced to that of being an instrument to produce a man's legitimate heirs and a domestic slave restricted to the petty tasks of a private household economy. Based on private property the monogamous family arose as the subjection of one sex by the other, establishing a family system entirely dominated by the private property system.

1.2. In bourgeois society sex oppression in the monogamous family based on private property is the source of the social inequality of women and the second class status of working women in the labor force. Just as national inequality and the superexploitation of oppressed national minorities in the workforce have their material basis in the imperialist control of the oppressed nation, so too sex inequality and the superexploitation of women in the workforce have their material basis in the degraded status of women and their domestic servitude within the individual family as the economic unit of society.

II. THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

2.1 The emancipation of women is a world historic task of proletarian revolution. The full emancipation of women can take place only under the dictatorship of the proletariat where it will be possible to abolish private property through socialist ownership of the means of production and abolish the individual private household as the economic unit of society through the creation of a large scale socialist economy. However, the working class can never overthrow social relations based on private property without overcoming the oppression of women. Thus the struggle for the emancipation of women and the struggle for proletarian revolution are inseparably linked.

2.2. Materially, communists must work for the full and equal participation of women in social production as the first premise for the emancipation of women. This requires the socialization of housework and the transformation of the narrow, petty individual household economy into large scale socialist economy. It

# RESOLUTIONS ON THE WOMAN QUESTION

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includes our immediate revolutionary struggle for the development of institutions to facilitate the participation of women in social production, such as low cost public dining rooms and laundries, childcare programs, etc., as well as programs of technical and professional education. It demands unrelenting struggle against every form of discrimination against women at the workplace and in trade union activity.

2.3. Politically we stand for the abolition of all restrictions on the democratic rights of women and for the absolute equality of men and women before the law. But formal equality in bourgeois society is inevitably undermined by household bondage, male privileges and inequality in fact. Like national equality, sex equality is a component part of the bourgeois democratic revolution which the bourgeoisie can proclaim but cannot accomplish. Only the proletariat can lead the struggle for the democratic rights of women because we intend to abolish private ownership of the means of production which alone is the material basis for establishing the real, not merely formal, economic and social equality of women. Proletarian revolution is impossible unless the working class leads the struggle for the democratic rights of women. At the same time the struggle for the democratic rights of women cannot be separated from the struggle of the working class for the conquest of political power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must take concrete steps to overcome the inequality of women's participation in politics. As Lenin says you cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing women into politics as well. The experience of all liberation movements shows that the success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it.

2.4. Ideologically we must wage an uncompromising struggle against all forms of male chauvinism. Our communist work on the woman question involves widespread educational work among men to eliminate every trace of the conduct and mentality of male supremacy. We must fight all manifestations of oppression in bourgeois society which promote women's lack of

interest in politics or which stifle the political initiative and activity of women. We must also fight against any narrowness on this question such as that represented by the various feminist trends.

2.5. Organizationally, as communists we take the jackhammer of criticism-self criticism to smash all forms of male chauvinism or female slavishness and passivity within our ranks. It is the duty of every comrade, male and female, to actively repudiate all liberalism concerning the oppression of women. Within our organization women must be brought forward as leaders of the organization's work in all spheres. We totally reject any vestige of male supremacy which ignores or disregards the revolutionary experience and ability of communist women and fails to promote them to positions of responsibility based on proven capability. We also recognize that male supremacy and domestic slavery of women are the primary source of unevenness between men and women comrades and therefore insist on the need to take concrete steps to promote the ideological, political and organizational training of women. The key to women's full participation in proletarian revolution, the path to the emancipation of women, is our ability to move forward aggressively to arm women with Marxism-Leninism.

III. THE PROLETARIAN FAMILY AND PROLETARIAN MORALITY

3.1. We stand for stable monogamous proletarian marriages, whether officially sanctioned or not, based on mutual acquaintance, free and frank consent, and sincere proletarian love between man and woman. Although bourgeois society hypocritically proclaims marriage based on individual sex love, freedom of choice and mutual affection, these remain unrealizable in the monogamous family based on private property, male supremacy and the domestic slavery of women. In bourgeois society freedom of marriage and individual sex love based on mutual affection can become the rule only among the oppressed classes because all the foundations of the monogamous family based on private property are removed. But this can happen only where there is a constant

and militant struggle against every form of male chauvinism, a sharing of domestic chores and a struggle for the full and equal participation of women in social production.

3.2. We defend a proletarian relationship between a man and a woman which is free from material considerations and free from religious and social prejudice. We do not defend freedom from the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing and oppose every form of bourgeois licentiousness which sees in sex relations only the search for a bedmate to satisfy one's sexual desires. These views are the product of the loveless monogamous family based on private property which has always carried with it prostitution and adultery, enforcing strict monogamy for the women but assuming polygamy and sexual freedom for the men. It is the slaveowner's mentality toward women derived from the monogamous family based on private property that reduces women to sex objects and also promotes other degenerate forms of sexual expression such as homosexuality. We adopt the standard of the People's Liberation Army of China: "Don't take liberties with women". As Lenin said, "Promiscuity in sexual matters is bourgeois". Sexual license is a barrier to the emancipation of women and debases both men and women. It is a sign of degeneracy and a waste of the concentration and energy essential to the class struggle of the proletariat.

3.3. Unless properly handled, contradictions within the working family--contradictions between a man and a woman and between parents and children--will inevitably stifle the revolutionary drive of both men and women and will powerfully contribute to the political backwardness and passivity of women. Among the proletariat and oppressed masses these contradictions are contradictions among the people and must be handled through democratic methods of discussion, persuasion, education and criticism-self criticism. Failure to handle such contradictions correctly will give rise to increased oppression, retard the emancipation of women and promote degenerate views and activity on the relations of the sexes. This can only retard the work of a communist organization and the revolutionary progress of the masses. Therefore contradictions within the family are the responsibility of the whole organization. If handled correctly they will promote the political consciousness and revolutionary initiative of every family member, making the family a mighty unit of struggle on the path of proletarian revolution.



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## WOMEN'S DAY

the struggle of the proletariat. It becomes a close ally of the proletarian struggle to overthrow imperialism. Furthermore, we can build mutual respect, confidence and solidarity among working men and women only if the whole working class takes up the struggle for equal rights. As Lenin puts it, "Without the proclamation of these rights, without a struggle to introduce them now, immediately, without training the masses in the spirit of this struggle, socialism is impossible..." (LCW, V.23, p.74)

SUPPORT THE ERA

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is a simple statement of the principle of legal equality for women. It states that, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex". While the ERA was introduced in Congress in 1923 (three years after women won the right to vote!), it only passed Congress in 1972. Currently 35 states have ratified the ERA. Three of those 35 have since voted to rescind it, but the legality of rescinding is still in question. A total of 38 states must ratify the ERA before March 22, 1979 in order for it to become law.

Most of the states where the ERA has been rejected are in the South and Southwest. Here women make up a larger percentage of the workforce, the majority of workers are non-union, and working conditions are some of the worst. These states include Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia.

The first principle of our support for the ERA is that we stand for the abolition of all restrictions on the democratic rights of women and for the absolute equality of women and men before the law. Through our support for this

reform we can draw out more sharply the real source of inequality--imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, which is based on the private ownership of the means of production.

We must expose and reject the existing reformist leadership of the woman's movement, like the National Organization of Woman (NOW). These reformists never challenge what lies at the root of real inequality and the lack of democratic rights of women... the private ownership of the means of production and the state power that defends it. They fail to challenge the real household bondage, the very real male privileges and the inequality in fact that is maintained and deepened under bourgeois rule.

But in opposing reformism we do not reject the struggle for reforms. Those forces in our movement who make this error only leave the mass movement in the hands of the opportunist and reformist leaders. We can only proclaim the task of proletarian revolution and destroy bourgeois illusions and the influence of reformism by waging class struggle against bourgeois ideology and politics in the arena of the struggle for the democratic rights of women.

Secondly, we support the ERA to help fight against the artificial restrictions of protective legislation that serve to keep women from qualifying for more skilled and better paying jobs. Employers will often say something like, "I can't hire a woman because she would have to lift 25 pounds or do overtime prohibited by law." We seek protective legislation for both women and men around such issues as overtime, weight restrictions, rest periods, etc. At the same time we demand special measures necessary for women to participate in work on an equal basis with men - paid maternity leave, childcare, sick leave for menstruation, financial support for job training, etc.

Thirdly, we support the ERA as a tool to fight for other aspects of women's democratic rights such as credit discrimination, rape prevention, social security and pension benefits, equal treatment in the military, community property laws, etc. In all these struggles the ERA can be a weapon to carry out consistent agitation and propaganda around equal rights.

Finally, we support the ERA as part of preparing for and putting off imperialist war. The struggle for democratic rights strengthens the proletariat and its allies who are opposed to imperialist war. Moreover, if war does break out, we must conduct a civil war against the bourgeoisie. Our civil war is a democratically organized and conducted war of the majority against a small minority. Mobilizing to prepare for that war means preparing the democratic struggles of the masses of US people on every front.

OVERTURN THE BAKKE DECISION

The US Supreme Court has said it will decide this spring on a California Supreme Court decision of a year ago which ruled that the constitutional rights of Allan Bakke and other white applicants to the University of California at Davis Medical School had been violated by "preferential" treatment offered to minority applicants because of a special minority admissions program. The argument has developed as one of "reverse discrimination", which is supposed to mean that Bakke as a white person was discriminated against.

Although the Bakke Decision took the form of an attack on university admissions programs for minority nationalities, in fact its heaviest impact will be felt by women and oppressed nationalities in the workplace. Those who see the Bakke Decision as mainly an attack on oppressed nationalities or students are mistaking the appearance for the essence of the issue, seeing the form but not the full content of the thing. The Bakke Decision represents the spearhead of a chauvinist attack on all affirmative action programs. It threatens to wipe out hard-

won gains of the day-to-day struggle against job discrimination towards oppressed nationalities and women.

To belittle the impact of the Bakke Decision on women workers denies the very real oppression they face as 40% of the workforce. One indication of this is that 35% of the complaints filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) are because of discrimination against women workers. This belittlement weakens our ability to reach out to the masses of working women and unite all who can be united to defeat the Bakke Decision.

The potential force of working women has yet to be felt in the national mobilization of the anti-Bakke forces and it is the duty of every Marxist-Leninist to address and overcome this shortcoming. We must raise the Woman Question and insure the full participation of women in this crucial struggle for the equal rights of oppressed nationalities and women, who are both targets of the Bakke Decision.

Comrades and friends, women in the US make up over half the population. Without their full participation in the political struggle of the US people, we cannot achieve our goal of socialist revolution. Women have consistently proven their great ability and desire to struggle. Women must be mobilized in all their millions to vigorously participate in the struggle against US imperialism, must be brought forward to rise in struggle, side by side with the men of this country, uniting together with the worldwide proletariat and oppressed nations and people in the struggle against imperialism and all reaction. Especially in this historical period the struggle for the democratic rights of women must become part of the worldwide revolutionary united front against superpower hegemony and war preparation.

SUPPORT THE ERA!  
OVERTURN THE BAKKE DECISION!  
STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN!

The struggle for the emancipation of women will take the form of a struggle against the bourgeoisie.

In February, 1978, the Akron, Ohio city council passed an anti-abortion ordinance. This law requires a woman who wants an abortion to sign a consent form acknowledging that she was informed of how her fetus compares to a fully developed human being (that it has "a nose... can suck his thumb, frown, etc.") and that the procedure may result in hemorrhage, sterility or death. While there should certainly be full discussion before any medical procedure, this is a cruel attempt to make a woman seeking an abortion guilty and afraid.

Other provisions of the law contain burdensome requirements which, among other things, are designed to force local abortion clinics to shut down. For example, the ordinance requires two doctors to be present at every abortion performed after the third month of pregnancy. The second doctor's job is to "make every effort" to "save" the life of the fetus.

The so-called "pro-life" movement plans to take the ordinance to other cities across the country. In early March, the Chicago City Council, for example, began consideration of a similar ordinance.

Eventually, a goal of "pro-lifers" is an amendment to the US Constitution that would overturn the 1973 US Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion. So far, eight states have passed measures calling for a Constitutional Convention to write that amendment. Twelve more states are considering this, and ten others have agreed to take up the issue.

The "pro-life" movement has amassed many reactionary forces and is estimated to be 11 million strong. The major organization is the National Right to Life

# RIGHT TO ABORTION UNDER ATTACK

Committee which has a budget in 1977-78 of \$1.5 million for propaganda activities. It buys TV commercial time to show dead fetuses in bottles, it organizes mass rallies and it visits abortion clinics to try and shame women out of having abortions.

## LIMITED RIGHT TO ABORTION

Abortion was legalized in 1973 when the US Supreme Court ruled (in Roe vs. Wade) that to prohibit abortion during the first and second trimesters of pregnancy was to invade a woman's privacy. Abortion was legal and funds were provided for those who could not afford to pay. Many thousands of women were able to gain a safe abortion for the first time. Before 1973, many women were forced to get "back alley" abortions, or to try and abort themselves, usually resulting in illness, hospitalization, and many times death. In 1976 alone, HEW paid for approximately 300,000 abortions, close to one-third of all abortions performed that year.

Still, there were limits on women's democratic right to abortion during that period. Much depended on where a woman lived and the amount of money and time she had.

A Planned Parenthood study estimates that between 140,000 and 650,000 women were still unable to get safe abortions during this period. 82% of the hospitals that could have provided the service did not. In most states, abortions were avail-

able only in one or two metropolitan areas with large public hospitals. Women frequently had to travel 500-600 miles to get a legal and safe abortion--an expensive trip.

## ABORTION FUNDS CUT BACK

Since the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, the "pro-life" forces have mounted a large scale attack on women's democratic right to abortion--including the drive for local ordinances and a constitutional amendment. In 1977, anti-abortion forces won two legal battles which cut back access to safe free abortions by limiting federal funding available to women who could not afford the high medical costs involved. The US Supreme Court ruled on June 20, that neither the US Constitution nor current federal law requires states to spend medicaid funds for elective abortions.

At the same time, the Senate was considering a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) appropriations bill which included a ban on spending federal funds for abortions except in very limited cases. Naturally, the Supreme Court ruling aided this bill, which passed the Senate three days later.

This new federal bill allows HEW funds for abortion only when: 1) a woman's life is in danger because of the pregnancy, 2) a woman has been the victim of rape or incest and the incident was promptly reported to the police or a public health service agency, and 3) two

doctors determine that a woman would suffer long lasting physical health damage unless she had an abortion.

The attack on the right to abortion is another example of the hypocrisy behind bourgeois democratic rights. Women have the "right" to abortion. But, what good is a right if you are unable to exercise it? Abortions cost money, and without federal funding a great many women won't be able to exercise their "right" because they can't afford to! President Carter himself put it bluntly, "There are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't. But I don't believe the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal, particularly when there is a moral factor involved."

But in essence, Carter's position is no different from that of other bourgeois elements who say they uphold the right to abortion but are opposed to providing government funding for it. HYPOCRISY OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

Equality in bourgeois democracy is always undermined by material inequality. The legalization of abortion has only once more made clear the contradiction between formal declaration of rights under capitalism and the actual limitations on the ability of women to enjoy these rights. But, we cannot allow this to become a justification for refusing to struggle for these rights. The partial democratic right won in 1973 did improve the conditions of life for thousands of women. We support the struggle to re-gain this right and we demand that it be expanded so that it is accessible, in a genuine way, to all women.

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

## PANAMA CANAL TREATY.

over the Canal and its territory to the Panamanian government and annulment of any claims by the US to the right to intervention in Panama.

### TERMS OF THE NEW TREATY

The signing of the treaty on September 7 marked a significant forward step in the ongoing struggle of the Panamanian people for complete national sovereignty and independence. It was the result of protracted and often armed struggle by the Panamanian patriots against US imperialist control of 500 square miles of their territory. We must defend the gains won by the Panamanian people in the signed treaty against any and all opposition. As we continue our struggle against remaining US interference and domination in Panama, we must also support whatever steps the people of Panama take in the future until they have won their complete independence and sovereignty.

Dating from 1903 and the infamous Hay-Bunua-Varilla Treaty, the US has claimed "perpetual use, occupation and control" over the Canal and Canal Zone territory. As a result, US military bases occupy Panamanian land and US law rules over the Zone. A Panamanian can be arrested for breaking a foreign law, tried in a foreign court and punished by foreign authorities all on his own land.

Under the terms of the new treaty the US has been forced to publicly concede the sovereignty of Panama over the present territory of the Canal Zone. Following ratification, Panamanian law will replace US law in the Canal territory and Panama will exercise jurisdiction over and administer legal affairs, immigration, customs, postal service and other matters. US military bases will be reduced from 14 to 4 and after the year 2,000, all US military forces are to be removed.

As for the Canal itself, during the next 22 years it will still be administered by a US body--the Panama Canal Commission--composed of 5 US and 4 Panamanian members. After this 22 year period Panama will have full control over the Canal.

Also, for the first time, Panama will benefit directly from the Canal's income (previously the income went to the US Panama Canal Company). At an initial rate of 30¢ per ton shipped through the Canal, together with an annual \$10 million payment, Panama is expected to receive revenues of about \$80 million a year, a large increase over the present \$2.3 million. Also, the treaty mandates an affirmative employment policy that would gradually ensure a completely Panamanian workforce on the Canal.

### CONTINUING RESTRICTIONS ON PANAMANIAN SOVEREIGNTY

Under the terms of the treaty, however, US imperialism continues to impose inequality on the Panamanian nation. US troops will

still be stationed there and the US will still control operation of the canal through the Commission until the turn of the century. US imperialists also forced through terms guaranteeing its war vessels the right to "expeditious" transit through the canal--which means US naval ships could go to the head of the line in times of war. Further, there is a clause calling for "joint" US-Panamanian defense of the canal's neutrality.

This clause has already been interpreted differently by the US and Panama. The US imperialists, while in words acknowledging that it has no right to interfere in the domestic and internal affairs of Panama, reduces Panama's sovereignty to nothing by the claim that they have the right to unilaterally decide when the canal's neutrality is threatened and to take whatever military actions they judge appropriate. The Panamanians oppose this interpretation which makes a mockery of their rights and insist that they must first agree to any intervention.

On this point the Committee on Foreign Relations on the Panama Canal Treaties has already recommended amendments to the signed treaty whose language emphasizes both US imperialism's "right" to unilateral intervention and the "first in line" passage of US warships through the Canal. Further amendments, by opponents of the treaty, which would take back even more of the concessions in the signed treaty, are being proposed daily.

These actions demonstrate that the gains won by the people of Panama will need constant defense against imperialist intrigue and treachery. No trust can be placed in the words or promises made by the representatives of US imperialism.

### SENATE DEBATE REFLECTS DIVISIONS IN US RULING CLASS

It is the changing conditions in the world, which forced the US to re-negotiate a treaty with Panama, that also lie at the source of the present divisions among the political representatives of the US ruling class. The differences reflected in the debate over the treaty, which have existed in a less public manner over such issues as the withdrawal of troops from Korea, the SALT talks, and US military strength in NATO, center around how US imperialism will safeguard its interests in the face of the rising and unified resistance of the third world countries and peoples to superpower hegemonism and the increasingly aggressive challenge of its superpower rival, the USSR.

Overall the US finds itself overextended and in a defensive posture strategically. The US must protect what it has in the face of the Soviet challenge to impose a new division of spheres of influence. The liberal sector of US monopoly capital appears to favor certain concessions to reinforce US imperialist influence in

the face of the growing strength of the worldwide struggle against hegemonism. The US imperialists are struggling for a measure of ideological initiative by counterposing "moral" imperialism to Soviet social imperialism.

For example, Carter in his defense of the treaty, tried to present the concessions as a result of the "good will and fairness" of US imperialism, rather than the pressures of Panamanian resistance and worldwide public opinion.

On the other hand the chauvinist wing of the ruling class holds that US imperialism must rise militarily to the challenge posed by the contention of the USSR and the anti-hegemonic struggle of the world's peoples. They contend that US imperialism must recapture the strategic initiative in the struggle for global hegemony by speaking loud and waving an even bigger stick.

Both imperialist trends agree that in the matter of a third world country such as Panama, coercion is the bottom line of superpower foreign policy. For example, a document prepared by the US State Department points out that in the last analysis the US will take military action to seize what it needs: "While the US is a superpower, Panama is a very small country. As President Carter has said, we consider the Canal to be important, and we will take whatever action is necessary to protect it. Panama understands."

What "Panama understands" is the threat of force by an oppressor nation against an oppressed nation. Carter's claim that the new treaty creates an "equal partnership" between the US and Panama is a chauvinist lie. Under the liberal guise of "moral imperialism" lies national inequality imposed by force.

Opponents of the treaty support the maintenance of the open old-line colonial control of Panama. They argue that the suggested concessions will only add fuel to the fire of the national liberation struggles of the Panamanian and other Latin American people. They also emphasize the military importance of the Canal to US deployment of its forces in time of war.

For example, they cite the testimony of Admiral Thomas Moorer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that "A large majority of our war and contingency plans are totally infeasible unless one assumes that full and priority use of the Canal will be available". Moorer also pointed out that the present Canal Zone serves as an important base of naval and air operations 3,000 miles south of the US and would be vital to the containment of growing USSR naval capabilities. A significant factor in its importance, stated Moorer, is the fact that a modern navy depends on ample supplies of petroleum products at strategic geographic intervals. Presently the Canal Zone is the only US refueling center south of California. Given the threat of an OPEC embargo or Soviet disruption of oil shipping routes, control over the Canal

gains added importance.

While some sectors of the ruling class see concessions to the Third World's demands as the best means to extend US hegemony, those represented by opponents to the treaty see an open show of force as the best policy. For example Lexalte, a senator from Nevada, argued that this would gain "respect" from the oppressed nations: "As a Latin, I think I know something about their (the Latin American peoples-ed) psychology. They love macho and glorify in it. On the other hand, they detest weakness and I have a sneaking suspicion that's how they would perceive our ratification of these treaties. The big boy backed down." This racist statement reveals the tortuous chauvinist logic of imperialism.

### PANAMANIAN RESISTANCE WILL CONTINUE

Whether the new canal treaty is ratified by the Senate or not, the resistance of the Panamanian people to foreign imperialist domination will continue. And that includes resistance to the intrigues of the Soviet Union which has attempted to sabotage the national rights of Panama by calling for the "internationalization" of the Canal. As Torrijos stated, "Do you think that we are going to bring down the US flag just in order to hoist another foreign flag? No, that would be the triumph of hope over experience--and our experience has been harsh."

Neither the tactic of continuing US imperialist interference under the guise of Carter's "human rights" rhetoric, nor the more openly militarist stance of the opponents of the treaty will dampen the enthusiasm and struggle by the Panamanian people for full control over their sovereign territory. Neither tactic adopted by the US imperialists will divert the historical trend for national liberation and independence which spurs forward, the Panamanian people and the oppressed people throughout the Third World.

Here in the US the servants of the capitalist class in the government are making a grandstand effort to portray the masses of people in the US as supporters of continuing US colonial domination of Panama. This is part of their overall effort to whip up national chauvinism and build support for their war preparations.

But in spite of this demagoguery the working and oppressed masses must staunchly support the Panamanian people in their just struggle against US imperialism. There must be bitter opposition to all chauvinist arguments in opposition to the treaty. At the same time there must be consistent and widespread exposure of the slimy posturing of the imperialist backers of the treaty who claim to be the "allies" of the oppressed nations of Latin America. Either attempt to continue imperialist interference and control over the affairs and territory of Panama must be opposed tooth and nail.

data New Amendment . . . at end

# MINERS' STRIKE

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

again. Thinking to bribe miners to return to work under the injunction, he said he'd urge the operators to pay the wage increase agreed upon in contract negotiations. (Under Taft-Hartley coal operators are only obligated to meet the terms of the expired contract.) At the same time, he threatened "the law will be enforced". And the Army is readying contingency plans for using federal troops under the code name "Garden Plot". Carter also emphasized that the government intends to serve the back-to-work injunction on every local president. This would make them, as well as the national union, liable to contempt charges, jail, and large fines.

But rank and file miners and their local leaders have made it clear that they will defy Taft-Hartley threats, as well as other pressures such as loss of food stamps. "I know as head of a union I'll have to tell my men that they have to return to work", said one local president, "but I also know they won't, and I won't either... it won't reopen the mines, and President Carter ought to know that". Coal miners won't return to work without a union contract-- that is a union tradition. They certainly won't return to work without a contract in order to rebuild company stockpiles.

### PUT THE BLAME WHERE IT BELONGS

As the stockpiles run out, the government and media are blaming the coal miners for the resulting power cutbacks and layoffs of thousands of workers. This is a lie. The real blame for current shortages rests with coal operators. It is the coal operators who have refused to match even the terms of the 1974 contract. From the outset their negotiating position has been an open attack on established miner benefits. They refuse to spend money to make mines safe and yet want to "economize" by cutting miner health care benefits. They won't pay retired workers enough to live on. And in order to guarantee "labor productivity" and "stability" in the face of these conditions, they attack the right to strike. It is the intransigence of the coal operators that has prevented settlement from the

start and prevented a resumption of coal production.

### MINERS SET EXAMPLE

The offensive of the coal operators is only part of an orchestrated attack on working people in an effort to pass the burden of the deepening crisis of US imperialism onto the backs of the working class and oppressed masses. For that reason all of us have a stake in the miners' struggle. Full of confidence, they have refused to bear the brunt of this attack and have turned it back on the mine operators. There is nothing in recent years to match the miners' example. Because of mineworker resistance others in struggle can also take new confidence in their fight against the general offensive of capital.

Throughout the country working people have given examples of militant solidarity with the mineworkers' struggle. In Pittsburgh, on February 4th, the Committee of Concerned Unionists, organized by several dozen union locals, raised \$1,000 for the striking miners. A United Auto Workers (UAW) local from Michigan organized a caravan to take canned goods and clothing to the striking miners. Arriving in West Virginia on February 26th, and joining a picket line, one of the auto workers said, "Their fight is our fight" and if they break the UMW, they'll start next on our union and the others. And on March 6th, the UAW announced its contribution of \$2 million to the miners' strike relief fund. Though themselves threatened with plant shutdowns as a result of coal shortages, auto workers are supporting the miners' strike as part of their common struggle.

In addition, striking farmers have joined the miners' struggle. In a caravan one mile long, members of the American Agriculture movement brought donated food to striking miners in Kentucky. As one farmer said, "We want to let the miners know we're behind them." At a rally held when the farmers arrived, the miners also expressed their support for the farmers' strike. One said, "It's all labor organizing and we need to support each other".



"We want to let the miners know we're behind them", said striking farmers as they arrived in Kentucky with food donated for miners.

### "TAFT-HARTLEY WITH A FLAG"

A Taft-Hartley injunction won't get miners back to work and Carter knows it. However, he apparently hopes that he still can get enough coal produced to get through the rest of winter. First, with federal troops plus the bribe he calls a "sweetener" he wants to coerce some union locals into settling with individual companies. In addition, he plans to reopen non-union mines closed by the UMW--and he'll also have to use federal troops to do that.

In any case, the Taft-Hartley injunction prepares conditions for government seizure of the mines. Temporary seizure, which would require Congressional approval, would put the government in charge of the mines and enable the government to negotiate a temporary settlement with miners for the period of the seizure. Labor liberals view this as an "even handed" approach favorable to the miners which avoids the risk of violence associated with Taft-Hartley. Bourgeois media encourages the view that the miners would accept seizure.

However, the government is not an even-handed participant in this or any other strike. It is not neutral, nor above classes. Seizure is no more in the interests of working people than Taft-Hartley. Both are strike breaking weapons. As one miner said, "Government seizure is just Taft-Hartley with a flag wrapped around it". In fact, the chairman of Carter's Council of Economic Advisors said on NBC's "Meet the Press", "If the coal miners think they can come back to work under better terms than they have in the contract they are now voting on, I think they are wrong."

Throughout this strike Carter has cultivated a false image of being a disinterested "mediator" who represents the "public interest". Thus, during contract negotiations, we had the charade of White House meetings where he supposedly twisted the arms of the representatives of some of the largest coal company owners--US Steel, Continental Oil Company, Bethlehem Steel Corporation, National Steel Corporation, and the Pittston Company. But Carter didn't "force" any concessions from them. He didn't even try to get the coal operators to agree to the terms of the 1974 contract, let alone to terms that would be fair to the miners. The only pressure either Carter or the operators felt came from striking miners.

### MILLER'S ISOLATION GROWS

It is Miller's shame that he has capitulated to the tactics of Carter and the coal operators and has tried to make them palatable to the rank and file instead of mobilizing not only miners but every working man and woman to expose these attacks. Now he says that miners will have to learn to live with the Taft-Hartley injunction!

Obviously Miller grows more isolated from the rank and file everyday. Before negotiations began, he fired most of his staff for "insubordination", and then at government suggestion replaced them with a consulting firm. To sell the contract he used a public relations firm which carried out an expensive media campaign. But as one miner said, you can't sell a rotten contract with a

\$40,000 TV commercial. Now Miller packs a pistol, stays mostly in Washington, D.C., and hides from the rank and file. On February 24th, he ordered UMW headquarters locked after he was frightened there by a group of angry miners. But telegrams calling for his resignation continue to flood UMW headquarters and the petition drive calling for a recall election continues to grow.

Miller is an embarrassment to the bourgeoisie because he cannot sell their contract for them. What kind of labor lieutenant is this? So they call his leadership weak and the union threatened. But mineworker solidarity after more than 90 days on strike is stronger than ever. What is weak in the mineworkers' union is the spirit of class collaboration and that is the source of Miller's trouble.

### BUILD THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The miners' strike is an important example of the power of the working class. When the miners shut down coal production, the effect is felt all through the economy. For communists this is a lesson on the importance of continuing to penetrate into basic industry. The open intervention of the state in this strike clearly emphasizes why the miners' struggle, as part of the growing working class movement in this country, must become a struggle for state power. The effect of the miners' strike demonstrates the potential the working class has for political struggle. With the leadership of a communist party, workers can move beyond the economic struggle for better terms for the sale of their labor power to the political struggle to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish working class control of the state--the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## HISTORY OF UMW DEFIANCE

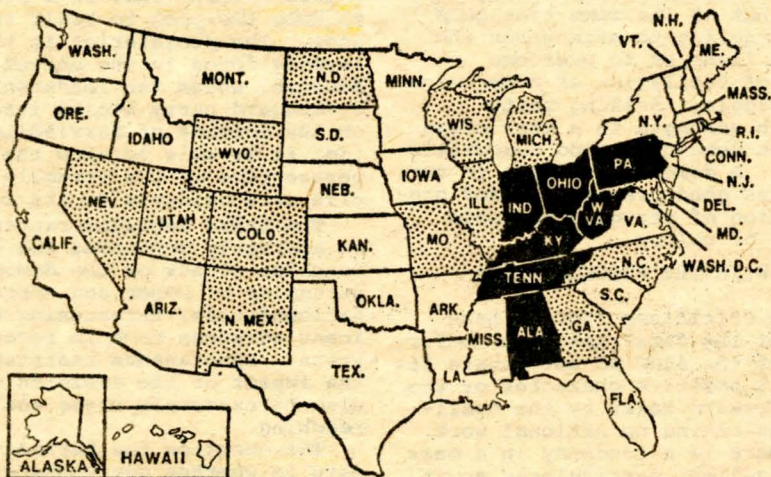
This is the fourth time a President has used the Taft-Hartley Act against the UMW. President Truman used it against them twice in 1948 and again in 1950, then trying to end strikes that totalled 116 days in late 1949 and early 1950. Each time the miners defied the injunctions. In 1948, a court found the union in contempt for not obeying the injunction. It fined John L. Lewis, UMW president, \$20,000 and the UMW \$1,400,000. In 1950, the union convinced a court that the UMW was not guilty of contempt because the continuing strike was a "spontaneous demonstration" not encouraged by union leadership.

Miners have also defied past government seizures of coal mines. During World War II, miners refused to go along with a no-strike pledge agreed to by most unions. 500,000 miners went out on strike in 1943 and President Roosevelt seized the soft coal mines on May 1st. Miners struck three more times that year while the government still was running the mines and won wage increases. President Truman seized anthracite coal mines on May 1, 1945, still during the war, but the miners stayed out on strike until May 21st. A year later, he had to seize the mines again and meet the miners' demands in order to end a 40 day strike. In November of 1946, miners went out on strike again, this time violating an anti-strike injunction.

### Dependence on Coal, State by State

Coal as a percentage of gross energy consumption in 1975\*

0-20% 20-40% 40-70%



\*Preliminary data and latest available figures

## TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 as part of an attack on the power of labor and trade unions. Under its provisions, a President can invoke the act when he thinks a strike is causing a "national emergency". The first step is for him to appoint a fact-finding board. He then uses their report to get a court injunction. In ordering strikers back to work without a contract, a District Court must agree that a "national emergency" exists--that a strike affects an entire industry or a substantial part of it and imperils the "national health or safety". The workers are then supposed to call off their strike and return to work for an 80-day "cooling off period" under the terms of the old contract. If the union and its officers urge workers to stay out on strike, the government can charge them with contempt and fine them heavily. If no settlement is reached during the first 60 days, with the "help" of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the employers make their last offer and the workers vote on it. If it is rejected, the injunction must be vacated and the workers can resume their strike.

# STRENGTHEN THE PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDE OUR WORK OVERTURN THE BAKKE DECISION!

The following analysis is taken from the document submitted by the WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L) to the first national conference of the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition at Los Angeles, California, February 19, 1978.

...The present principles of unity of ABDC have had a particular significance for a particular period of the struggle. Starting in late spring 1977 they served to draw lines of demarcation with the reformism of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD). But in drawing lines of demarcation and in guiding the work of the ABDC the present principles have proven to be inadequate -- vague on the fundamental issue of equal rights, narrow on how to unite all who can be united, and outright wrong in use of the term "Third World".

1. "RELY ON THE MASSES OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE TO DEFEAT THE BAKKE DECISION."

In building the Bakke struggle we should base our work on the concept of the united front. That is, we strive to unite all who can be united. Only a massive show of strength can force concessions from the ruling class. We cannot afford to close the doors to any allies and to do so undermines the struggle itself.

The present principles fail to give us this broad perspective and this has resulted in people separating and counterposing oppressed nationalities to whites, students to workers, oppressed nationalities to women, etc. Here is a concrete example of how the narrowness of principle promotes narrowness in practice and saps our potential power.

While we unite all who can be united we must rely on the working class first of all. Although Bakke took the form of an attack on university admissions programs, in fact its heaviest impact will be felt by women and oppressed nationalities in the workplace. It is in the workplace that Bakke becomes a direct question of jobs, wages and profits.

Secondly, the experience of all countries over the past 100 years teaches us that it is the working class that is the most consistent fighter for democracy and alone capable of carrying the struggle through to the end. Without that basic force our efforts remain limited. The limits of the gains of the democratic struggles of the 1960's speak in part to that very fact. The courage, stamina, and spirit of the farmworkers and miners are two contemporary examples which show the potential force of the working class in challenging the power of the ruling class.

We also rely on the oppressed nationalities and women as basic allies of the working class--as "oppressed masses". Both are "equal targets" of the Bakke decision. The mass resistance of oppressed nationalities and women in the 1960's and 70's were responsible for the very gains in equal rights which are threatened by Bakke today.

None of this should be used to attack or belittle the activist role that students play in our various struggles. Students have played a great role in sparking the various anti-imperialist struggles in this country, the anti-war movement is only one example. The same is true throughout the world -- in southern Africa, in Thailand, in South Korea, in Europe, in Mexico and Latin America. But none of this denies the general character of the united front, which relies on the working class and democratic movements.

2. "OPPOSE BOTH THE US SUPREME COURT AND THE UC REGENTS AS EQUAL TARGETS."

## ABDC

pants, this was not adequately met by the formal work of the conference.

This was reflected first of all in the failure of the conference to bring out the full political framework for the Bakke attack. Monetary crisis, inflation, unemployment, overproduction in agriculture and other symptoms of the domestic crisis of US imperialism provide the background for stepped up efforts to throw the burden of the crisis on the backs of working and oppressed people. In 1977, for example, there were 4,686 strikes with 26.7 million workdays lost. In this situation a first priority of the ruling class has historically been to foment divisions based on sex and nationality -- to force women and oppressed nationalities from the workforce or into second class jobs and to put a brake on the struggle for wage equality and other efforts to overcome economic and social discrimination. This lays the basis for intensifying superexploitation and for dragging down the working conditions, organization and standard of life of all laboring people.

The war policies and war preparations of US imperialism also lead to an intensification of national and sex oppression and to a general attack on the democratic struggles of the masses.

Unless we show the connection between the Bakke attack of the ruling class and the external and internal crisis of US imperialism, we cannot bring out the full significance of the Bakke decision or its relationship to other attacks on the oppressed masses. Above all, if we do not bring out this connection, we will not grasp the full scope of resistance which can be mobilized or how that resistance can be linked to other democratic struggles, not only in the US, but worldwide.

By grasping objective factors which push the crisis forward and which therefore provoke popular resistance, we can provide leadership to the struggle at every stage, whatever its twists and turns. But if the coalition does not take into account these

factors, it will inevitably tail events and narrow the movement.

### METHODS OF ORGANIZATION

Another example of the failure of leadership to organize effective political discussion around basic issues was reflected in the presentation of the plan for the spring offensive. While this presentation was good, it would have been stronger if the basic political issues concerning the offensive had been focused for debate and resolution. In particular, there were no draft proposals circulated to ABDC locals prior to the conference itself.

The workshops also were not adequately prepared. The list of workshops, for example, was handed out only prior to the conference and there were no concrete proposals for the activity of these workshops either. As a result, participants could not come to the conference prepared to make the workshops working bodies.

In general no materials for discussion and decision were circulated prior to the conference so that informed judgments could be made on basic issues.

Leadership's failure to organize broad political discussion was compounded by other poor methods of organization. The fact that the one-day session started two and one-half hours late meant that the time available for workshops was cut short and restricted. With too little time to deal with scheduled topics, some workshops took up only general comments on how the conference was going.

The importance of the question of preparation, style of work and lack of political substance is that every mass organization should be a training ground for democracy. There was a tendency in the ABDC conference to treat this question in a formal and ultra democratic way -- that is assuming there is democracy if everybody votes. But genuine mass democracy requires lively political debate on substantive questions of policy. In turn this must be well prepared in advance and organized in a centralized and disciplined fashion. That is the decisive role of leadership in preparing conditions for democracy in a mass organization. Members of the coalition should be encouraged to raise

While this principle served to demarcate ABDC from NCOBD, it has lost that significance for guiding our work of mobilizing national resistance. We suggest that we drop this principle and incorporate the ideas expressed in our literature. In our literature we should address the role of both institutions, but our analysis must expose the system behind those and other institutions and not just the institutions themselves. Otherwise if the liberal forces do succeed in reversing Bakke to pacify our struggle, we leave ourselves open to the reformist illusion that they can be relied to act in our interests.

3. "OPPOSE THE SYSTEMATIC OPPRESSION OF THIRD WORLD PEOPLE."

First, the current use of the term "Third World" in this and the next principle of unity (and in the literature and cultural events) is incorrect and should be stopped. There is a growing attack on the term and Chairman Mao's three world theory in the international communist movement today. Careless and unscientific use of the term only aid that attack and make it harder for honest forces to defend it.

This is an important question of principle. The third world is composed of the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the socialist countries who are together the main force in the international class struggle today. The US is a first world country. The people who are incorrectly referred to in the principles as "Third World people" are actually oppressed nationalities of the first world.

Second, to oppose systematic oppression of third world people is too restrictive because it omits women which are also a specific target of the Bakke attack. But even "oppose the systematic oppression of oppressed nationalities and women" would be incomplete unless we point to the principle of equal rights. Supporting the struggle for equal rights makes it possible for us to reach all those who support the struggle for equality, but at the same time show the systematic oppression which makes equality a sham at this time. The struggle for equal rights is in fact the way to struggle against all forms of national and sex oppression.

4. "DEFEND AND EXPAND ALL THIRD WORLD PROGRAMS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS, AND ALL SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN AND WORKING PEOPLE."

The use of "third world" in this principle is incorrect for the reasons stated above. Second, working people in general are not the focus of the Bakke attack, oppressed nationalities and women are. That focus should be reflected consistently in our principles. This kind of principle is important in the development of the struggle for concrete partial demands linked up with the daily needs and afflictions of those attacked by the Bakke decision.

Given these views on the present principles of unity of ABDC, we propose the following principles be considered to replace them.

1. Unite all who can be united to defeat the Bakke decision. Rely on the working and oppressed masses.

2. Oppose all reactionary policies of national and sex oppression. Give firm support to the struggle for equal rights of women and oppressed nationalities.

3. Defend and expand all affirmative action programs.

questions and criticisms, to voice opinions and identify defects in work. With a good democratic style of leadership based on centralism and effective organization, this will raise the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses and strengthen leadership's ability to give guidance.

It is a fundamental principle of united front work to combine unity with struggle and to seek unity through struggle. Mao Tse-tung criticized those who thought that struggle would split the united front and instead fostered a style of work where activists become good at uniting with those who differ with them and good at carrying out common activity with them, but at the same time good at struggling to strengthen the common fight or to overcome signs of vacillation or compromise in struggle. Seeking unity through struggle in a mass organization demands a good democratic style. A democratic style in turn requires good preparation and organization of struggle on basic issues of policy.

### START WITH THE STRUGGLE AS A WHOLE

The criticisms that we have made of the first national conference of the ABDC do not negate its overall positive character or the step forward taken by the coalition in taking up national work. But there is a tendency in a mass organization, particularly as it expands, to see the struggle it has taken up from the viewpoint of its own history and to build its work on that basis. Instead it needs to take the full scope of the struggle as its starting point and to see its connection with the democratic and revolutionary movement as a whole. The organization needs to be viewed in that light, not the other way around.

For example, in our view, hesitation in taking up improvements in the principles of unity of the ABDC would reflect this kind of error.

In other words, there is a tendency to focus on what has been built rather than what must be built.

Moreover, this is reinforced by the fragmented character which any particular struggle will have if it is taken in isolation from the overall struggle of working and

oppressed people.

It can also be reinforced by organizational amateurishness which often develops when methods of work are informal and based on personal ties.

Inevitably such tendencies hold back the work of a mass organization, narrowing the range of its political impact.

### PERSPECTIVE IN MASS WORK

To build in terms of what exists, for Marxist-Leninists, is to bow to spontaneity. It means to build in terms of spontaneous demands without an overall perspective on the struggle.

Perspective in mass work comes from the ability to grasp the objective forces which drive a crisis forward and, as a result, to know the path to build resistance. The proletariat is the leading force in the united front because, under the leadership of a vanguard party basing itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism, it is able to show the perspective of the struggle and give sure guidance to its course.

The Bakke decision represents an extremely important and far-reaching attack on the democratic struggles of women and oppressed nationalities, threatening significant advances made in recent years. Spontaneous resistance to the impact of the decision will also be extremely broad and far-reaching.

The question for Marxist-Leninists is whether our young organizations will grow to meet the scope of this resistance or whether organizations will try to restrict the scope of resistance to fit some present level of work. The main danger for communists in the ABDC, as well as for communists in mass organizations generally, is to belittle the responsibility to give the most advanced leadership possible to the movement, that is to belittle the conscious element.

In ABDC, Marxist-Leninists will play a leading role to the degree that they can provide perspective and guidance for the movement. Our influence will be felt to the extent that we can build the broadest possible resistance to the Bakke decision and connect it to the united front against US imperialism in this country and against superpower hegemonism worldwide.

*ABDC bowed to press & practical table-bowing to spontaneity*

*Need carry through the end*

*Set's Norton*