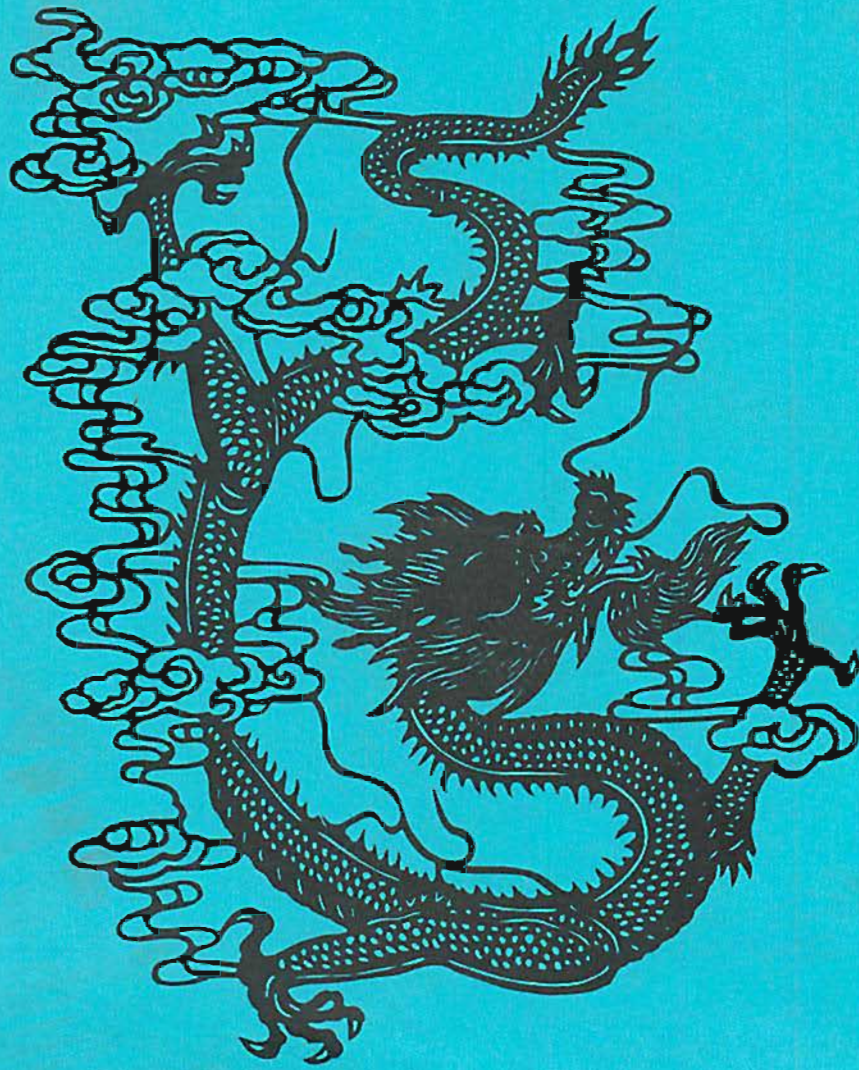


SEIZE THE TIME



FEB. 78

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ON BAKKE

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WOMEN AND BAKKE

A NOTE BEFORE READING THIS ARTICLE: STT'S OVER-ALL VIEW

We would like to put this article in the context of an over-all view of the oppression of peoples and nations and of women under imperialism. The oppression of whole peoples and nations is the primary source of super-profits, and imperialist social structures and ideology. This is the basis for the transformation of capitalism into imperialism. So, every struggle of oppressed nations to control their own destiny, even by property owners to dominate their own economy and create a separate capitalist state, is directly against imperialist control.

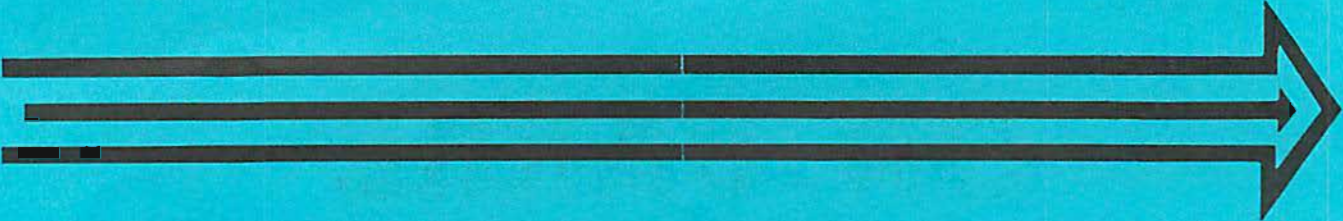
Naturally, the *primary* focus of the Bakke Decision, and the present reactionary movement it is part of, is against oppressed peoples — Blacks, Native Americans, Chicanos, Asians, Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians and other Third World nationalities. They have also bore the brunt of the current crisis of imperialism. In many indicators, such as unemployment, life span and relative income, Third World men have gone *backwards* for the past few years. The attacks against Third World women are still in general aimed at controlling Third World people as a whole through them.

The mass movements of Third World people are the leading form of struggle against imperialism. We think there are three great mass movements (nation, workers' and women's) which are interconnected in many ways yet still have their own distinct character

and history. The woman's movement has a great potential for revolutionary action. But every struggle for women's rights or equality is not revolutionary. Imperialism could live with a handful of women elevated to the status of the ruling class very easily. It could live with expanded privilege for some white women and has adopted this as a counter-insurgency tactic to keep Third World people out of jobs and training programs and to break up alliances between the two sectors. The movement to gain these kind of "rights" can not even begin to destroy the basis for the oppression of women in the U.S.

On the other hand, a women's movement led by working class women that consistently struggles against the worst oppression that women face, that of Third World women, will be part of the revolutionary movement to overthrow imperialism. Working women do represent a huge source of super-profits for imperialism. Their potential for organization and action, for connecting the three great movements is shown by the leadership of Third World working women at Farah Pants, Oneita Textile Mills and Jung Sai.

We would like to aid the transformation of the present day women's movement into its revolutionary potential. That is the purpose of this paper. That is why we are encouraging a deeper understanding of the women's question within the ABDC and more outreach to the women's movement and working women by the ABDC.



We look forward to receiving criticisms of this issue and other contributions. Contact STT with correspondence or requests for subscription information at:

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HOW IS IT THAT THE BAKKE DECISION IS ALSO BEING USED AGAINST WOMEN?

The Bakke Decision is primarily an attack against the gains made by Third World people during the 60's. Specifically, it attacks any consideration or compensation for the effects of past discrimination and inequality of TW people. Allen Bakke filed his suit on the basis of the 14th Constitutional Amendment, claiming a special admissions program did not treat him, a white male, equally before the law — in other words, "reverse discrimination".

By extension of this basic argument, a number of programs, funding, and regulations have come under attack:

- Minimum quotas in admissions and hiring
- Super seniority or separate seniority lists
- Special scholarships, loans and other financial aids
- Funding requirements on contracts to have a minimum percentage of minority subcontractors and/or employees

- Affirmative Action programs
- Other specialized programs and regulations designed to serve the interests and rights of TW people (bi-lingual programs, for example)

Many (although not all) of these same forms have been advocated and sometimes won by women to combat the inequality of women and discrimination against them. There are differences between the two movements. The struggle for cultural and bi-lingual programs are nationally based. On the other hand, women have had to struggle for an end to discrimination on the basis of marital status and for adequate health care and insurance provisions for pregnancy, etc. The national movements have led the struggle against imperialism since the 1930's. The women's movement has been dominated by bourgeois feminism which has not struggled against imperialism.

Yet the over-all similarities are striking. The similarities between many programs for TW people and women are *not* accidental. Nor are women organizers just jumping on the bandwagon trying to get in on

what TW people have fought for.

The same types of reforms are being fought for because women are oppressed in some of the same ways TW people are. These include:

- The segmentation of the workforce (in general, TW people and women are not allowed to take the same types of jobs that white men are)
- Their role as labor reserves
- Their predominance in labor-intensive, marginal industries such as food procession and textiles
- The use of super-profits to create white and male privilege and supremacist ideology

Further, the oppression of TW people and women are interconnected in many different ways. Certain industries like domestic servitude and garment making are based on TW women as the extreme in cheap labor for dead-end, menial work. Specific forms of government control are exercised mainly against TW women like forced sterilization and the expansion of the welfare system during the 60's (welfare itself is based on poor women). A whole set of false consciousness — creating myths — is based on this interconnection: the defense of "Southern White womanhood", the Black woman as a castrating amazon or whore, the "exotic Oriental" for Asian women, and more. So it's not just that TW women are oppressed as women in addition to national oppression. Rather, the two forms of oppression have come to *reinforce* each other, both generally and in some powerful and specific forms.

Lastly there has been instances where struggles for women's rights have allied with and aided struggles against national oppression. The early women's movement, before it was subverted by upper-class white women into just a drive for the vote, did much work with the Abolitionist Movement against Black slavery. More recently, some of the women's organizations donated money and supplies to aid the Indochinese people in their war against U.S. imperialism and have participated in joint struggles with TW people here, like in the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition.

WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN?

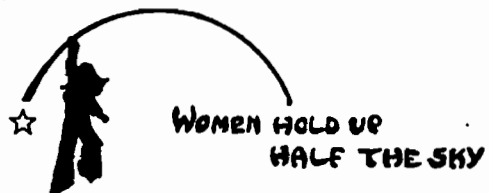
Perhaps the key thing to remember is that imperialism is capitalism in crisis. It is capitalism so hungry

for profits it must reach out and force whole nations into subjugation. It is capitalism so threatened by the "union of interests" between those it oppresses and exploits that it has consciously set aside a portion of its profits to give some workers a privileged position and a few workers substantial benefits. It is capitalism so worried about insurgency that it must transform a vast array of social institutions to serve it: education, culture, the press ("yellow journalism"), the family, etc.

Certainly the oppression of women did not begin just with imperialism or even with capitalism. It is historically the first major form of class division within human society. The reproductive and physical differences between men and women served as the material basis for the division of labor between them. At first, relationships of reproduction dominated the simple productive forces (skills, toolmaking, etc.). The most important factor in survival was the number of people a group had. The mother of a child was known whereas the father was not. Therefore the society was based on matriarchal clans and wealth was communal.

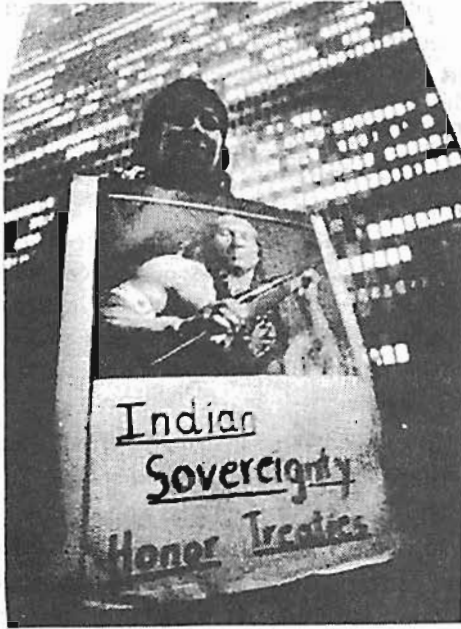
But as the productive forces grew, the work that men did became the basis of wealth, and survival became tied to this new wealth which was measured, for example, in the number of herd animals and the amount of land one controlled — property. A revolution in the family structure occurred and placed men in control of the relationship of reproductive forces as well. It insured the inheritance of wealth by controlling women's sexuality. Slavery was also based on this revolution in the family. The word "family" comes from the Greek word for the domestic slaves that one man held. This was the basis for the patriarchal family, a form of which persists today.

STT believes that the oppression of women now forms one of the three major material and ideological bases of imperialism. So, somehow the imperialist bourgeoisie has been able to transform the oppression of women and integrate it with the oppression of whole peoples (national oppression), and with the exploitation of workers. It has done so in order to expand its profits and insure its ideological control. But, as Mao said, they are picking up a large rock only to drop it on their own feet.



THE KIND OF U.S. HISTORY THEY DON'T TEACH US IN SCHOOL

"The family" and "woman's work" have not been monolithic, unchanging institutions even within the brief history of American colonialism/imperialism. Like everything else, they have changed and varied according to the interplay of economic and social conditions.



Early Colonialism: Killing Indians and Patriarchy

Certainly the many Native peoples of North America had a very different view of what a family was and what women were capable of. Matriarchal societies, women warriors, councils of women who could make or unmake male chiefs were common. In general, women performed much of the physically hard labor such as hauling water and firewood. But all this did not matter so much to the colonialists as the land that Indian people held. The colonialist as agents of British imperialism did not oppress Native women. They waged war against Indian peoples for sovereignty over the land, and that war over-rode all other considerations between or within these two groups.

During early colonial times women's labor was primarily centered around a patriarchal family. But the kind of work was very different from today's "woman's work". No one ever told these women they were too delicate to lift over 50 lbs. or work over four hours without breaks. The family was the productive unit of society (and would remain so until around the early 1800's). The woman was as much the breadwinner (or rather the breadmaker), as the

man. Children also worked as early as they could. So many of the nurturing, protective, comforting attributes now assigned to women as mothers and wives were not particularly evident. Also, men as the patriarchal head of their families had a greater role in the upbringing of children, i.e. religious instruction, knowledge and skills. The family tended to include several generations and single adults, both related and unrelated. Puritan society consciously placed single adults under the responsibility of families as a means of social control. Women who resisted institutions of patriarchy stood a good chance of being prosecuted as witches.

Indentured servants were an important labor source at this time. Most were lower class Europeans, although a number of Black Africans at first were also made indentured servants rather than slaves. Many of these servants were women employed as domestic labor as it was defined in colonial times. One of the more common crimes judged by courts was the "crime" of an indentured servant woman having become pregnant during her master's time, thus reducing the amount of work she could perform. Newspaper articles of the time charged that some masters raped their women servants not only to satisfy themselves sexually, but also in order to incur the extension of servitude.

The Rise of Black Slavery and Integrating Woman's Oppression into Imperialism

But while indentured servitude was important during the early colonial period, it could not be a major, long-term labor solution. The expansion of sugar cane, tobacco and cotton as cash crops and the raw agricultural resources base for growing British and New England industry demanded a different kind of labor. First, these crops had to be raised at a very low cost because of the competition between growers to sell their raw products in bulk to manufacturers of finished goods. This spurred the development of the large scale plantation system. Indentured servants were too expensive, too few and unreliable in their procurement, and too difficult to force into the extremely intensive labor required by these crops. They could easily run away to the growing urban centers or to the frontier.

Black chattel slaves provided the perfect solution. At first slaves used in South American and Caribbean sugar production were so exploited that they died from overwork. The workforce did not reproduce itself. The exploitation of Black women as women was not important besides this fact. But as the importa-

workers as competition and instead of trying to organize them, in general supported laws designed to limit the flow of women into skilled jobs and supervisory positions (protective legislation). The few unions that did try to actively organize women workers also tried to organize Black and unskilled immigrant laborers such as the Knights of Labor and the Colored Labor Union during the 1880's. Lastly, immigrant labor set up the pattern for national discrimination in industry. Black labor under slavery and share-cropping was tied to southern agriculture. It was not generally used in industry until WWI, and the end of major European immigration. But starting in the mid-1800's, the most recent immigrants (from eastern Europe and Ireland), the ones least like native-born white Americans, took the poorest paid, least skilled positions. Employers consciously exploited national differences to break strikes and limit organizing.

At the same time, the ability of the male worker to support a wife and mother for his children at home became the measure of respectability. As soon as they were able, immigrant women tended to quit their jobs and get married and stay at home. Liberal social reformers saw the family as the means by which to stabilize and assimilate these immigrants from Europe – and even offered classes in the arts of home-making to immigrant women. The abolition of slavery also released some Black labor on the job market (although most remained tied to unwaged share-cropping). Many of these new wage-earners were in the same servant-type jobs they had as slaves. About half were women.

The mid-1800's were the height of the bourgeois nuclear family with the workingman and the housewife as a social reality for whites. Less than 2% of native born married women worked and the percentage of European immigrant married working women was steadily falling.

Monopoly Capitalism: Upheavels, the Consolidation of Industry and of Women's Oppression

But many social and economic upheavels began in the late 1800's. The closing of the frontiers ended the demand for the "pioneer family" on their small private farm. Increasingly, farming became consolidated into larger units, and farm families were thrown off the land. The U.S. became a world-wide imperialist power with wars against Spain, the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines, broad intervention in South America and World War I. The wars increased

production and the demand for labor, especially womanpower. Industry itself became increasingly monopolized, large-scale production employing armies of workers. The nature of immigrant labor changed, becoming less culturally and racially like native whites: southern and eastern Europeans and then in the west, Asians and Mexicans. Blacks increasingly entered the workforce, towards the northern cities. The trend for women, especially married women, to stay out of the workforce, reversed. Since the 1890's the number of working women has increased except for during the 1920's and the Great Depression (1930's).

Great labor movements marked this period:

"The factory system eliminated many skilled crafts, creating large pools of operative jobs, mass production and greater mechanization, forged standardized work requirements, large establishments, drew greater numbers of workers into common working environments. These developments laid the basis for the increasingly militant, class-conscious, anti-capitalist labor movement that appeared toward the end of the century."

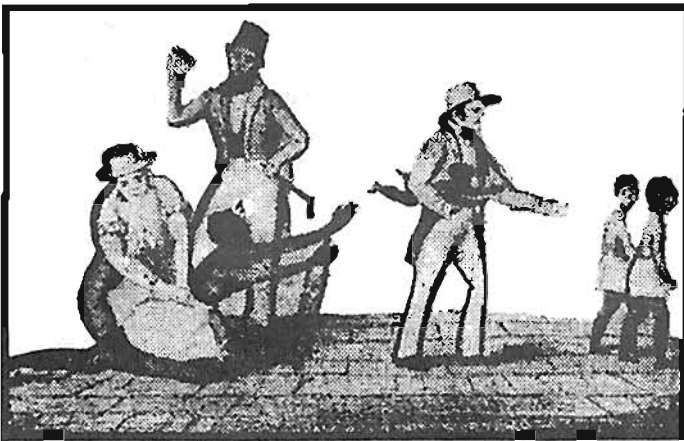
The IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) aggressively organized the most oppressed sectors of industry, especially Blacks, immigrants and women. The National Women's Trade Union League was supported by both men's trade unions and middle class women who advocated suffrage. It fought for unionization of women and against some of the worst abuses against them in the workplace. It was involved in the Shirtwaist Makers Strike of 1909. Over 20,000 garment workers, all the shops in New York City, struck. There are still people today who say women workers can't be organized.



The Women's Trade Union League

tion of Black slaves became more difficult, the reproduction of slave labor became more important, and even became a major source of income for so-called border states whose soil was exhausted.

The oppression of Black women as a means of controlling the reproduction of slaves became critical. With it also came the control of the culture of these stolen African peoples as a means of crushing resistance and making slavery inherited. The colonial family was extolled for white indentured servants as a means of saving wanton women and men from prostitution and criminal idleness and providing them with a model of familial virtue. The same colonial family on the southern plantation systematically tore apart *any* familial ties between Black slaves that conflicted with their value as labor and merchandise. This family upheld the sanctity of marriage and virginity for white women to insure inheritance of property while it encouraged white men to rape Black women, exploit them as concubines and create a class of mulattos. It viewed Black women as valuable not only as labor but also as "breeders". Here is where the oppression of women became integrated with the oppression of a people not only as a material support for imperialism but also as a major ideological support.



The distinction between white and Black labor was broadened and consolidated with the oppression of women playing a major role. State power directly intervened to crush attempts of joint rebellion by white indentured servants and Black slaves, such as the Gloucester, Virginia, Conspiracy of 1663. That same year Virginia made slavery hereditary by law for Blacks.

The Expansion of U.S. Industry: Factory Girls and Pioneer Women

At the same time, the effects of the Revolutionary

War victory spread through the former colonies. They were no longer bound to serve British industrial/mercantile interests. So westward expansion of agriculture began and southern agricultural products went increasingly to fuel rising New England industry.

Westward expansion at first encouraged young white men to leave New England, leaving a surplus of women there. Widows and daughters often took over their husbands' and fathers' crafts and businesses. The long period between adulthood and marriage encouraged many young women to make the transformation between "cottage" industries (market oriented home weaving, etc.) and small workshops. These workshops consolidated into factories like the Lowell Textile Mills in Massachusetts. At first these mills offered relatively good conditions and wages in order to draw young women out of the home. But as production expanded, longer hours, speed-ups and wage cuts hit this labor force. This was the beginning of industrial unionism in America (1820's). By the 1830's the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association formed and led a series of strikes plus spearheading a movement for a 10 hour workday.

But this was also the beginning of vast European immigration from wars and depressions there. Factory owners used this new labor source to break strikes and replace the native-born workforce.

Cheap immigrant labor helped to integrate the oppression of women into U.S. imperialism in three major ways. First, by encouraging native born white women to move back into the family farm, it aided the consolidation of westward expansion through agricultural homesteading. The promotion of "Life on the Prairie", "the Pioneer Woman" and, "Defending woman and children from Indian Savages" type ideas made privately owned farms both a unit of production (and consumption of farm tools, etc.) and an outpost taking land away from Native peoples.

Second, it helped segment the industrial workforce by sex. By arguing that the natural responsibility and moral sensibility of women best suited them to domestic work, employers were able to devalue the labor of women in the job market. Women who did work were only supposed to be waiting for the chance to get married. Their incomes were only supplemental because even single women were supposed to be living with relatives. Labor unions saw women

But employers responded, not only by crushing strikes, thugs murders, government troops, and court trials, but also by developing a whole science of management strategies. They instituted a bureaucratic system of labor management which emphasized the differentiation of jobs. "Taylorism" created a hierarchy among workers — reinforced by the persistent availability of "marginal" workers. Taylor wrote in 1913:

"When all are paid one rate, it is the simplest and almost inevitable thing for all to unite in support of a common demand . . . The good worker who is adequately paid does not consider himself aggrieved so willingly nor will he so freely jeopardize his standing by joining with the so-called 'marginal worker'. There are not likely to be union strikes where there is no union of interest."

Protective legislation that began in the 1900's on the one hand, curtailed some of the worst working conditions for women. But on the other hand, much of it was based on the assumption that women were inherently more frail and that their primary responsibility was still the home and child-rearing. The legislation essentially limited the competitiveness of female labor and helped institutionalize sex segregation in the workforce. Many of the health and safety regulations went (are) unenforced. Other regulations were (are) ideological window dressing. For example, Susan Ross of the Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers, points out that while 45 states require that women have chairs for rest periods, no state law gives women job security for maternity leaves of absence.

With the expansion of finance capital, clerical and service jobs opened for women. They required relatively well-educated, low-cost workers with low job aspirations — women. (The attitude of business is that paperwork is necessary druggery. It doesn't make money, so you try to keep its cost as low as possible, mostly by low wages.) Until the 60's and the Civil Rights Movement, Third World women were generally excluded from clerical jobs. They also faced discrimination in service jobs and were limited to those of the most menial nature, especially domestically related jobs like housekeeping and nurses' aides. A small percentage worked as teachers, nurses, etc. only within their own communities in segregated facilities.

The Depression tended to slow the entry of women into jobs as it did everyone else. But those jobs that were defined as women's jobs, women kept, although at depressed wages. WWII created a large demand for workers very rapidly. Suddenly, many of the restraints against women in skilled labor and heavy in-

dustry were dropped in order to tap this huge source of labor. With the end of the war, a massive propaganda campaign forced women out of those jobs.

Within white families, the push back into the home also supported the development of the consumption-oriented "American Dream" middle class family. Household appliance sales mounted as advertisers pushed images of Sunset Garden, spotless homes and mothers devoted to their children because they didn't have to spend time on the wash. Yet the expansion of household appliances actually increased the housework of women because they were expected to do more now. Women spent an average of 52 hours per week on housework in 1926 and 56 hours per week in 1967. The rise of credit for the working class to expand consumption was tied to the single family dwelling and its furnishings, the auto and major appliances.

THE IMPERIALIST CRISIS AND THE RISE OF WORKING WOMEN

But the American Dream became more and more a myth for white women as it always has been for TW peoples. The steadily expanding demand for low cost, relatively highly educated labor and steady inflation demanded that women increase their participation in the workforce. Certain new industries like electronics have built their assembly lines on women workers. Getting women back into the home during the 50's turned out to be more an ideological campaign to re-consolidate the position of white male privilege than a social reality.



Francis H. Brunner for UAW Announcements

"Don't think of it as a decrease in salary. Think of it as a shot in the arm for the company."

Today 42% of the paid labor force is now female. Actual percentages are higher because many women who work as part-time or domestic labor do not report their wages in order to avoid taxes or welfare benefit cuts. Women workers today are older because young single women no longer dominate their numbers. They are better educated, less likely to take off time for childbirth and more likely to also have children at home. These women are not working for just "pin money". For the 23.3% who are single, their wage is their only source of survival. Another 14.6% are married to men who earn less than \$7000 a year and 11.5% have husbands who earn between \$7000 and \$10,000, still below what the U.S. Department of Labor considers a "low-adequate income". The number of woman-headed households has risen dramatically in the last 20 years. Nineteen percent of all women who work are widowed, divorced or separated. In sum, 70% of all women who work need their wages for their survival.

Between 1950 and 1970 the number of working women has *doubled* while the number of working men has increased by only one quarter. The old formula of two workers for the price of one (a workingman and his wife at home to feed and comfort him plus raise the next generation of workers) has given way to a new, more exploitive formula of three workers for the price of one and a half (the workingman and his working wife who still does most of the housework, etc.).

These women can't be pushed out of their part of the workforce, for no other ready cheap labor source with its degree of education and skills exists. Companies can't afford to upgrade women's work and equalize their wages. That would cost them approximately \$109 billion a year, greater than all pretax corporate profits per year. Nor can they depress the wages of white men (TW men do not earn significantly more, especially when their numbers in the workforce in comparison to both white and TW women is taken into account). That would knock every support out from under the imperialist system of white and male privilege. What would happen if over the course of a depression, the real wages of white men decreased by nearly one-half in a few years?

Companies instead have continued to increase their employment of women as low-paid workers. They have continued to depreciate the wages of women and TW people in relationship to white male wages. They have jumped on "reverse discrimination" and Bakke



Phone worker speaks at rally outside FCC hearings against ATT for racist hiring practices. Women from the Ctr. for United Labor Action won those hearings in 1972.

as a means of dismantling the gains of TW people and women. In short, they continue to create their downfall.

While not revolutionary in itself, the steady increase of women in the workforce has helped "clear the field" for many struggles to take place in a broad, social, organized fashion. Instead of taking it as a failure of the man to provide a decent living for his family, women and men both see the employer and the depressed wages of women as the problem. Instead of each woman being trapped at home in confrontation with her husband and children ("personal problems"), women now confront the bourgeois ruling class directly. They leave the isolation of their "private" work in the home and, working with others, raise their class consciousness and ability for collective struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The Civil Rights Movement and the national movements of the 60's (plus the economic boom of the 60's) produced some improvement in the economic status of TW people while greatly increasing their political consciousness and organizing experience. But in general the jobs that white men hold did not open significantly for TW people. The Affirmative Action programs etc. that were created for these jobs are precisely the ones hardest to implement and the

ones most heavily under attack now. On the other hand, jobs formerly held almost exclusively by white women, such as clerical, some light manufacturing and certain service occupation, are becoming widely integrated (although within a workplace, strong patterns of discrimination still persist aided by seniority systems). At the same time, white women are not being displaced back into the home. Their percentage of the workforce is also increasing. The similarity between TW people and women as "marginal workers" and citizens has once again sparked the basis for a "union of interests". In some places, employers and administrators have been able to defuse that potential by concentrating their "AA" efforts on middle class white women for skilled and professional training, jobs and promotions. But in other places, that tactic has been resisted with white women also fighting for minimum quotas in AA programs, upgrading of job classifications, federally funded childcare for the working poor in coordination with Third World people's struggles.



THE WEAK LINK IN IMPERIALISM'S BASE

The 70's have also seen the rise of a new women's movement. In the same way that their activity in the Abolition and early trade union movements sparked the early women's movement, the activity of women in the Civil Rights, anti-Indochina war and national liberation movements have sparked consciousness and organizing around women's oppression. Although even, this movement has concerned itself consciously with the "double shift" of working women and with



the movements of TW women as oppressed peoples.

Here lies the material and ideological basis for calling white working women the weak link in the chain of relative privilege within imperialism. For a long time, imperialism has been able to rely on white and male supremacy as well as armed force to safeguard its system of super-profits, national oppression and women's oppression. A key factor in its strategy has been pushing white women back into the home, making white men the "protectors" of their families.

Even now, with the continuing economic slowdown, we can see that reactionary counter-mobilization beginning. KKK recruiting posters proclaim, "Be a Man — Join the Klan". White power banners appeared at the anti-feminist rally outside the Houston Women's Conference this year. Phyllis Shaffley is being played up as the leading advocate of the true place for American women (in the home) and of U.S. imperialism. Conservative spokesmen have called for a new majority based on anti-busing, anti-abortion, anti-gay, pro-military, probusiness, protectionist, anti-"reverse discrimination", anti-communist, anti-Third World, "throw the welfare chislers off the tax rolls" (meaning TW people and poor women's social services) politics.

IF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF UPPER CLASS WOMEN

The women's movement can play a critical role in resisting this reactionary mobilization and overthrowing imperialism. But, the history of the Suffrage Movement, the drive for protective legislation and now some affirmative action conflicts show what happens to the women's movement when it's not based on oppressed and working women. When the leadership of the women's movement has fallen into the hands of upper class women, it has systematically cut its support and alliances with Third World national struggles and those of working people. This has

worked to the detriment of both of the most oppressed women and the struggle against women's oppression generally.

When leaders of the Women's Suffrage Movement cut their alliance with Black Civil Rights (the 14th and 15 Constitutional Amendments), they began arguing that white woman as the carrier of western civilization and the natural helpmate of her husband, should be given the vote in order to counter Black votes and rising immigrant votes. The argument tied women even more to the bourgeois family and mystified its role besides promoting white racism.

Presently, federal legislation encourages women who can afford the cost of private childcare or household help to work while other government actions have deprived those who are poor, but not on welfare, of federally financed day-care centers. Here again, if the latter is not the primary focus for day-care struggles, government encouragement of private domestic labor for better off women will actually help to further oppress women by supporting the isolation of private domestic labor and pegging its wages considerably below the wages of white collar/professional women (still far below that of white men).

WHAT THE ABDC SHOULD DO ABOUT ITS THIRD SLOGAN

The Anti-Bakke Movement is focussed around principles and demands which can unite the women's movement with the demands of Third World people in particular and with the demands of the most oppressed working people. That is why we feel it is very important for there to be strong participation and support of the ABDC by the women's movement and its organizations. We also believe that education

around ABDC's principle and demands on women's oppression must be done within ABDC to bring out what the oppression of women is and how it supports the oppression of TW people in America.

We believe that propaganda and agitation specifically relating the oppression of women to the Bakke decision is very needed. It would link the Anti-Bakke Movement to the struggles of working women for Affirmative Action and equality, deepen its relation-



ship to TW women in all spheres and ally it with many demands of women in education, health care, social services, etc. Since women workers are extraordinarily concentrated (one-half work in only 21 out of 300 job categories, one-quarter work in only 5 of those jobs) and many of them are Third World women, we would like to propose and aid the development of leaflets relating the Anti-Bakke Movement to the conditions and struggles of those industries. In California food processing, garment making, electronics, health services and clerical work stand out. Many of these occupations have rank-and-file caucuses and other organizations with a history of militancy and support for political issues around the oppression of TW people and women. Reaching working women also means some organizational considerations like short, noon-time or after-work meetings in or near major worksites and consistent childcare for other meetings.

Linking the Anti-Bakke Movement to women's oppression and struggles will take more work and study. But the result will be well worth it. Women reached in this campaign will undoubtedly become outstanding members of ABDC.

THE ANTI-BAKKE MOVEMENT CAN HELP END THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

Because of the similarities between the oppression of



Getting Together News Photo

Chinese women strike to unionize Jung Sai, Chinatown garment sweatshop in San Francisco.

舊金山華埠中西車衣廠，華人女工罷工，要求入工會。

TW people and women in the issues raised by the Bakke decision, effective reforms for TW people as advocated by the ABDC will also effect women. If they are based on the most oppressed, most militant sectors, then reforms are more than a band-aid on a major injury. They can prevent great tragedies — the worst abuses against women, like massive sterilization which coincides with those against TW people. Joint work between women's movement groups, TW groups and workers' organizations in the Anti-Bakke Movement will also serve to bring a better understanding of women's oppression, its relationship to the workplace and to national oppression and what the liberation of women would mean, among *all* these groups.

Winning the specific demands of the ABDC is like first aid in an emergency. While defending against the worst attacks, the struggle for these reforms will form a base for oppressed and working people to organize their forces and gain the experience and understanding in order to overthrow imperialism and establish socialism.

We believe that the establishment of socialism is a necessary step towards ending the oppression of women. On the other hand, national independence from U.S. imperialism/state power may be the course of oppressed nations. Even in this, the women's movement, if it is led by working class women, will aid national liberation. It will both reduce imperialism's material resources significantly and weaken one of its main ideological bases — male supremacy which has been heavily tied to white supremacy. The success of TW national struggles will in turn aid the liberation of the great majority of women by directly attacking imperialism's main support.



In this way, organizing around the principles and demands of the ABDC are like the first steps towards a healthy society where the oppression of Third World people and women for profit will be completely ended to the benefit of all working people.



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NOTE: The history in this article is a very brief outline, mostly of broad trends. So many important and inspirational individuals, organizations and events were not included. All the more reason why people should read some of these books.

STT on the Bakke Decision

PART I

THE BAKKE DECISION IS PRIMARILY AN ACT OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION

What is the Bakke Case?

The past year we have seen the rise and intensification of a struggle against the Bakke decision. Students, workers, women and community activists of all nationalities, including many Marxist-Leninists, have joined forces to defeat this California Supreme Court decision. The court has upheld a charge of "reverse discrimination" against the University of California at Davis Medical School admissions policy. This charge was made by Allen Bakke, a 34 year old white engineer who applied twice to the U.C. Davis Medical School (during 1973-74). Twice he was turned down. Encouraged by an admissions officer,

Bakke filed a suit against the special admissions program which reserves only 16 out of 100 class places for Third World students. On September 17th, 1976, the state court upheld Bakke's racist charge by deciding that the U.C. special admissions policy violated the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, declaring the policy unconstitutional.

The U.C. Regents are now trying to appear as if they are appealing this decision by taking the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. In actuality they would like nothing better than the outright exclusion of most TW people and many women from "higher education". These Regents are the same people who called in police tactical squads to suppress the movement of TW students which gained special programs for TW people during the 60's. The Bakke decision is a logical extension of the Regents' original stand against TW students' struggles.



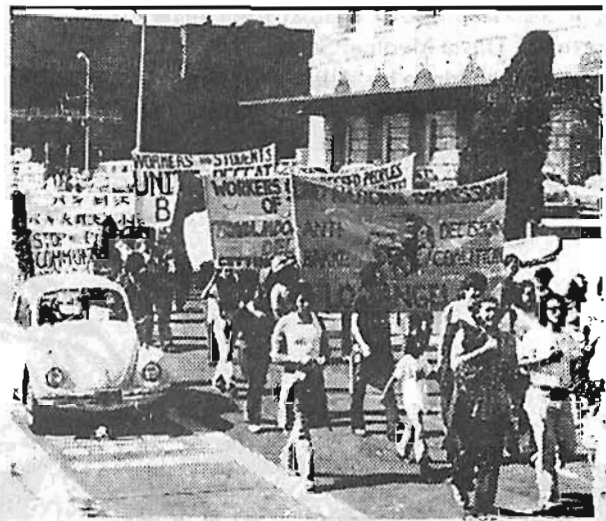
Given the historical control of the judicial and educational systems by the imperialists, it comes as no surprise that many of the U.C. Regents are millionaires who have always viewed advances made by TW people as a major threat to their power. The average yearly income for the Regents is \$75,000. The Regents who control policy making for the University of California system also sit on several boards of directors for powerful multi-national corporations such as Del Monte, Tenneco, Southern Cal Edison and Union Oil. The reactionary nature of the U.C. Regents has been further exposed by their investments in the thoroughly racist apartheid regime of South Africa. How could there be any possibility of them actually defending the right of TW people and women in equality in education?

Not only are the Regents clearly siding with the rest of the bourgeoisie against TW people and women, they have taken a stand against white working people as well. At U.C. Davis white students who come from influential families are admitted over white working class students with higher "Grade Point Averages — GPA's". In 1976 a U.C. medical student uncovered a "special admissions program" to admit the sons of wealthy and influential friends of the school's dean, Dr. Tupper. Despite the overwhelmingly poor and working class nature of TW students, very few of the 16 "minority" slots went to TW students from this kind of background.

Although white working class students are in a relatively better position to get into universities and obtain jobs afterwards, they have also been hard hit by the crisis of imperialism. All oppressed and working people should be able to get a good basic education and go on to college. But colleges must make a special effort to correct the history of oppression and racism that TW students have had to face. Financial aid, tutorial programs and special studies departments which teach the history of all the peoples and nations that make up this country should be available. Instead, we have the bourgeoisie throwing out a few economic and social privileges in order to keep the working class divided and different TW peoples competing against each other.

If allowed to become law of the land, the Bakke decision will virtually legalize and justify a redoubled attack on oppressed nationalities, workers and women by wiping out all special admissions, affirmative action and other programs intended to specifically serve oppressed sectors of society. The implications are far reaching. In the workplace, existing programs

whose purpose is to fight discrimination in hiring and provide training for Third World and women workers are being dismantled. In education, not only special admissions, but also EOP, Ethnic Studies, bilingual programs, special vocational programs, government funding for independent Third World schools and colleges (particularly the Black colleges of the South and East and the Native American Survival Schools) and any other special counseling, recruitment, admissions, tutorial, scholarship and financial aids programs could be wiped out. Third World community centers, services of elderly and youth, childcare centers, community cultural centers, medical services developed to serve Third World communities and women — all these are placed under renewed attack by the Bakke decision.



Getting Together News Photo 12/77

October 15 march sponsored by the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition stretched for 20 blocks through the streets of San Francisco

TW and working class women will be especially hard hit if the Bakke decision is allowed to stand. Many services and programs have been developed to fight the special oppression women suffer in the workplace, schools, society and the home. Childcare centers, programs to help women deal with the violence of rape, beatings and drugs, programs to teach women self-defense, and to train women to become self-sufficient, are all threatened.

For women who have the primary responsibility for raising children and domestic labor, eliminating these services will further disadvantage them in comparison to men in the job market. Some will be forced back into the home, perhaps on welfare, certainly lowering their families' standard of living. But for many women the inescapable tasks of heading their families

and being the breadwinner will become all the more desperate. This is not just a problem of a few women. Between 1940 and 1975 families headed by women doubled in number, reaching 7.2 million, or one out of every eight families. In 1975, 14% of Black families were headed by women.

For Third World women, Bakke represents another case of "Triple Jeopardy"; increased exploitation as members of an oppressed nationality, as workers and as women. If Bakke means a 2% chance of finding a "good" job for TW men, it means *no* such jobs for TW women. Many of the special services now under attack, like translation of legal and medical documents, have also aided in protecting TW people from genocidal attacks, such as forced sterilization, whose primary targets are women.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court will not be handing down a decision for several months (spring of 1978), the Bakke decision has already been implemented in many ways. Congress is holding off on funding for all affirmative action programs that call for quotas and other numerical standards in employment, training and admissions. The Small Business Administration has decided to "review" all of its regulations and programs that specify "minority" business, to make sure it is not guilty of "reverse discrimination". In the private sector, nine lawsuits have been filed against businesses by white workers charging "reverse discrimination" in hiring. Recently a provision of the Federal Public Works Employment Act of 1977 that required 10% of government funds be spent with minority businesses was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. District Court in Los Angeles. The suit was filed by a coalition of building contractors and trade associations who claimed that the provision discriminated against whites.

In education, medical schools are dragging their feet in admitting TW students while at the same time justifying this discrimination in medical journals by saying that the quality of education is lowered by special admissions. In Sunnyvale, California, a junior college administration has hired a white person for a counseling and training program that primarily serves TW students after firing Chicanos. The University of California administration has also eliminated a scholarship program for minority engineering students on the basis that a "reverse discrimination" suit might be made against it too.

What Bakke, the Courts and the U.C. Regents are trying to spread around is the idea that TW programs



After the New England Journal of Medicine printed Dr. Davis' article attacking minority medical students, Harvard Medical students held a RALLY AGAINST RACISM IN MEDICINE.

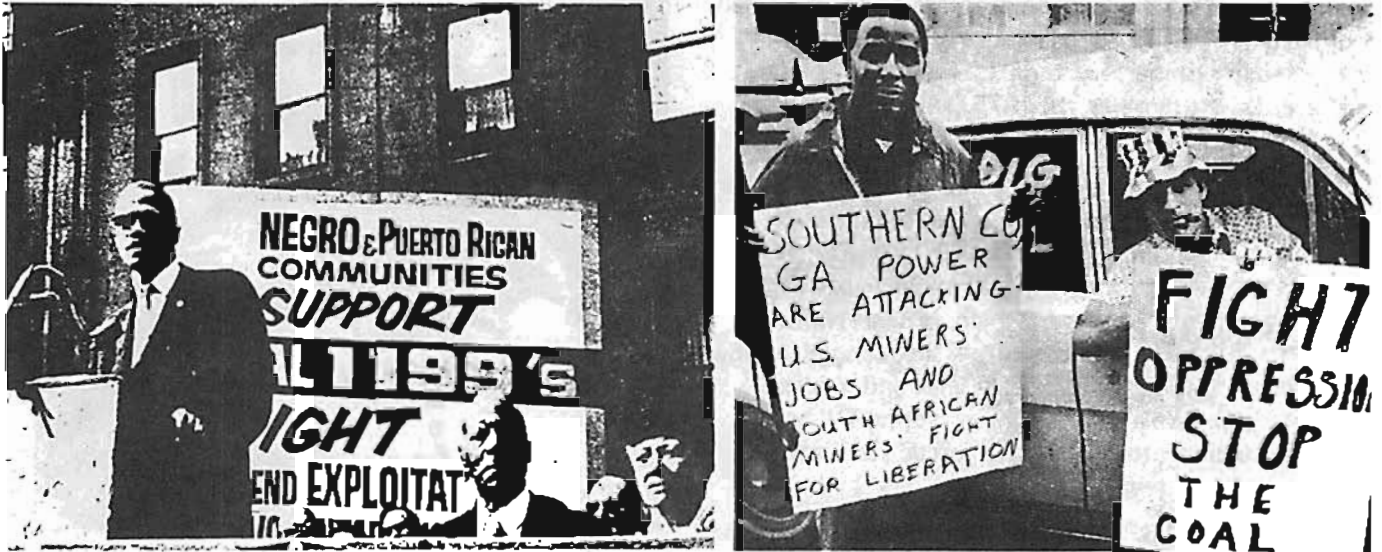
and special admissions discriminate against whites. This implies that TW people are somehow now in a position to oppress whites because past sources of oppression have been miraculously eliminated. Just the single fact that Black youth face near 50% unemployment is glaring evidence that "reverse discrimination" is nothing more than an attempt to contain the growth of oppressed nationality movements demanding an end to racial discrimination in all spheres of life.

Who Is to Blame?

Allen Bakke did not single handedly design and execute this all out attack on oppressed nationalities, and secondarily on women. He most certainly is a sad example of the white supremacist, fascist mentality that misleads many white people into siding with the white bourgeoisie, their oppressor as well. The Bakke decision is an attack by the system of imperialism, and it is intended particularly to protect and intensify existing national oppression in this country.

Imperialism is the stage of capitalism when whole nations and peoples are methodically oppressed in order to perpetuate and expand the monopoly capitalists' ability to reap profits. As a result, the principal contradiction in the world today is between imperialism (U.S. imperialism and soviet social

Reprinted from "THE BAKKE CASE" a pamphlet by the Medical Committee for Human Rights



What the rich and powerful people who control the U.S. really fear is whites, Blacks and other minorities uniting against them. The Bakke case is an attempt to sew disunity and increase the oppression of minorities in this period of economic crisis. Photos: Black revolutionary Malcolm X addresses striking New York hospital workers in 1962 (above left). Black and white miners picket the docks to prevent the unloading of South African coal.

imperialism), and national liberation struggles, Third World countries and oppressed nationalities. Every victory of oppressed nations, peoples and countries against imperialism moves the worldwide struggle of working people for socialism forward. The struggle for socialism will not be easy, for the two super-powers clearly recognize our threat. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are vying for choice opportunities to ripoff the Third World. The U.S. is desperately trying to hold onto its colonies, neo-colonies and internally oppressed nations. The USSR newly rising imperialist power, is wasting no time in scuttling about Africa and the Middle East in an attempt to subvert and compromise just struggles for independence and national liberation.

Here, within the U.S. we face the same enemy. U.S. imperialism has provided the necessary conditions for the formation of oppressed nations. Native Americans, Blacks in the Black Belt South, Puerto Rico all are oppressed nations.** Over-priced and inferior products are dumped on their captive markets. Finance capital has ready outlets for surplus capital investment to further exploit oppressed nations and internal colonies. For example, in many

Third World communities, credit unions, even a "Workers' Bank" in Puerto Rico, are nothing more than fronts for the large banks. Oppressed nationalities are also sources of cheap labor and represent huge reserves of labor for periods of economic boom. To quote *Sieze the Time* (Vol. 2, # 5, Nov. 1976):

In a period of Imperialist crisis such as now, the internal colonies and nations play a more important role. The U.S. imperialist system has been based on the super-exploitation of oppressed nations and colonies internal and external to the U.S. This super-exploitation of oppressed nations and peoples provides the material base for relative privilege (better economic standard, legal status and social services) and white supremacist ideology among workers from the oppressor nation. As the national liberation struggles of Africa and Asia become more successful, and Third World countries fight for economic independence, super-profits extracted from abroad are greatly reduced. In addition, the economic and political crisis is greatly heightened by the immense cost of losing counter-revolutionary wars. Instead of cutting profits, the ruling class increases its exploitation of working and poor people within the U.S. Real income has been rapidly declining for all working and poor people. It has dropped to 1% below 1968 income."

Imperialism has been trying to make the oppressed nationalities and the working class, particularly women, pay for the defeats it has suffered throughout the world. In the workplaces this means union busting, wage settlements that don't match inflation

**STT has not consolidated around a Chicano nation, although we strongly lean in that direction. We need a deeper understanding in order to defend and implement any position. Similarly, we are not consolidated around the status of Hawaii.

(wage cuts), increased use of low-paid workers (women and CETA for example) and increasing unemployment for some sectors. In the communities, this crisis means massive cutbacks of gains made by the revolutionary struggles of the 1960's in the areas of social services, education, health, culture, etc.

Intensification of exploitation and super-exploitation also is the cause of wide-scale repression meant to keep the masses in line. In 1974, Gary Tyler, a 17 year old Black youth was falsely convicted of the murder of a white student who was part of a mob that attacked a school bus of Black students in Destrehan, Louisiana. The town was "integrating" its school system by closing down the predominately Black high school and bussing those students. The cases of Skyhorse and Mohawk, of the Dawson Five, of Assata Shakur, Saul Bey, Dessie Woods, the threat of vigilante committees in Indian country, the increased activity of the Klan and Nazis, the Grand Jury attack on the Puertoriqueno and Chicano struggles, the threat of retroactive death penalty for political prisoners who resist: the list goes on and on pointing out the open fascist terror aimed at the oppressed nationalities.



GARY TYLER

Another part of the bourgeoisie's strategy for coping with imperialist crisis is to reinforce the divisions within the working class by maintaining the material and ideological basis for white and male supremacy. While real wages have been going down for all working people, they are not going down equally. The gap between Black and white workers and between white men and all women workers is widening at increasing rates. The median income of Black families was \$7,800 in 1975, only 58% of the white family income of \$13,500. The ratio was 61% in 1966. As the unemployment rate is going down slightly for workers as a whole (for the time being), it is rising considerably for Black workers. TW workers who are currently employed, slave constantly

under the threat of layoffs, speed-ups, little or no benefits even after years of working for the same company. The bourgeoisie is stepping up its campaign of lies; in the workplaces ("illegal aliens are stealing American workers' jobs"), in the community and schools ("special programs for minorities and women discriminate against whites and against men, the real breadwinners").

For these reasons, conditions are ripe for facism as well as revolution in this country. The support of the Bakke decision by many white workers, students and petite bourgeoisie highlights this danger of facism and shows how it is being used to further divide the multi-national working class.

On the October 15 march in San Francisco, a few young white workers heckled the march. In Palo Alto, Mountain View and San Jose California, Nazis are distributing little stickers to high school students saying "Mexicans beware! Hands off white people or die!" In San Diego, white high school students are wearing KKK tee shirts to school. These few examples vividly show the absolute necessity for the anti-Bakke movement in general, ABDC in particular and Marxist-Leninist organizations specifically to show Anglo workers concretely that we all have the same enemy - imperialism.

A necessary part of the struggle against national oppression and Bakke is to struggle for Anglo workers to actively join that struggle. This has to be done materially, by linking their day-to-day exploitation as workers to the system of national oppression. This is one reason why STT supports the demand for open admissions *in addition to special admissions, quotas and affirmative action*. In contrast, organizations such as Workers' Viewpoint use the question of open-admissions to liquidate national oppression by struggling against special admissions, quotas, affirmative action, etc. WV sees the Bakke decision primarily as an effort to divide the working class instead of a further intensification of national oppression and say that the decision is "a tool of the bourgeoisie to divide white and Third World people," and therefore we "shouldn't fall into their trap" by struggling against it. Even though imperialism has bribed a significant part of the working class (the traitorous aristocracy of labor which is mainly white) and enforced the relative privilege of Anglo workers, we all still have one common enemy. We *can not* lose sight of this. Only then will Anglo workers take up the struggle against national oppression in large numbers. Only then will we have the basis for wide-spread proletarian unity.

Bakke and National Oppression

The Bakke decision is first and foremost an attack by imperialism upon oppressed nationalities in this country. It is not an isolated event, but stands right in line with a long history of systematic and broad attempts at control and oppression of Third World people beginning with the slaughter of whole Native nations and peoples (which continues to this day — since 1973 over 300 Native Americans have been assassinated by imperialist occupying forces in Pine Ridge, South Dakota with not so much as a single arrest or prosecution). That history continued

October 1973 Newspaper Article

Police Kill

Still No Arrest

Indian Leader

Pine Ridge, S.D.

Pedro Bissonette, an American Indian Movement (AIM) leader in the siege of Wounded Knee, was shot and killed Wednesday night by police seeking him on a fugitive warrant, authorities said yesterday.

FBI agents moved into the reservation yesterday to investigate the slaying.

Leaders and attorneys of AIM said Bissonette, 33, was "assassinated" by the federal government.



AP Wirephoto

PEDRO BISSONETTE
Wounded Knee figure

without pause through the wholesale importation of Mexican, Asian and Puerto Rican labor, the criminal theft of Chicano lands in the Southwest first by capitalist expansionists, and now by huge multinational corporations in Chiliti, New Mexico. The U.S. as a major capitalist/imperialist power in the world was founded on the kidnapping, enslavement and national oppression of Black people:

"National oppression serves the needs of the ruling class and is part of the U.S. system of imperialism. Black people have been nationally oppressed and exploited since their abduction to the Americas. But the consolidation of U.S. imperialism at the end of the last century meant an increasing need for national oppression. After the Civil War, the South became one of the first areas in the world to be taken over by the Wall Street bankers. They heavily invested in the South and eventually appointed the former planter class to be their managers.

"Profits are the motivation for every action of the ruling class. National oppression is the system of political, social and economic relations that keep all oppressed nationalities the poorest people in the U.S. This is accomplished by brutally repressing Black people in every way. The effect is to keep Black and other poor people in the South politically powerless, economically exploited and oppressed, legally and illegally. The heart of this system has been the social and legal codes which have kept Blacks separated in every way possible. This system includes two distinct sets of laws (the Black codes and Jim Crow), separate and unequal facilities (washrooms, lunch counters, schools, etc.), not being able to vote and false censuses. To enforce this system of repression, the ruling class in the South relies on a brutal legal/prison system, a racist judiciary and the extra legal terror of the KKK." (Pamphlet by the Committee to Free Gary Tyler, 1977)

Bakke and Women's Oppression

The exploitation of women is another pillar of imperialism. Lower wages for the same work as men, reproduction of the workforce, unpaid labor in the home, and the family as a unit of consumption to artificially expand demand are major sources of profit extracted through the oppression of women and defended by male supremacy. Historically women are drawn into the workforce during times of expansionist crisis, such as World Wars I and II and presently. Women are forced out of jobs during economic contractions following wars and during recession/depression. The present "stag-flation" means both, drawing women in as low-paid, unorganized workers, taking away benefits and protective regulations and turning them away from jobs where they would compete with men, laying them off before male workers and hiring them after.

It is hard to imagine that anyone could be worse off than a TW workingman. But there is; a TW workingwoman. Over half the working class is composed of women; of this over 13% are TW women, even by U.S. government figures. To quote STT (Vol. 2, # 4: "Third World Women"):

"So much of the sexual oppression suffered by TW women is integrated with racial oppression. For instance, not only are most domestic workers women, they are two thirds TW, and the lowest paid of any occupation. In metropolitan areas, telephone workers are some of the worst paid, most abused clerical workers. They are mostly TW (in New York, mostly Black and Latino). Their immediate supervisors are mostly white women.

"The textile/garment industry is the largest employer of Puerto Rican women in New York and Chinese women in San Francisco. Textile workers are the lowest paid indus-

trial workers in the U.W. Levi-Strauss has five plants in New Mexico employing thousands of Chicanas, and one in Georgia employing mostly Black women. Oneita is in South Carolina — 85% of its workers are women, 75% are Black. Of Farah's employees, 85% are women — 95% are Chicanas."



In July 1973, 700 textile workers, most of them women, won their six month strike against Oneita Knitting Mills in South Carolina.

In addition Third World women are concentrated into the worst paying, most tedious jobs (most of the work is done by hand rather than by machines). The vast majority of Third World women are unorganized.

Third World women have also been singled out as special targets for fascist terror. The cases of Yvonne Wanrow, Inez Garcia and Dessie Woods expose how the bourgeoisie wants to crush any effort on the part of oppressed nationality women to defend themselves against rape and assault. On government reservations, 50% of Native American women between 15 and 45 years old have been sterilized by government hospitals. White and male supremacy go hand in hand. For instance, the recruiting poster for the KKK declares, "Be a Man, Join the Klan", while at the recent women's conference in Houston, white power signs were common among the crowd at an anti-feminist rally.

Exploitation of the multinational working class, super-exploitation of oppressed nationalities, and the oppression of women form three pillars upon which U.S. imperialism rests. Each attack, from the one against Gary Tyler to the lay-off of thousands of steel workers in the east and midwest, Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign to the Bakke

decision must be seen as part of imperialism's increasingly fascist attack on oppressed nationalities, working people and women. The taking away of health benefits from miners in West Virginia, the eviction of poor, elderly, Latino and Asian tenants in Los Angeles and San Francisco's I-Hotel all have the same source — the imperialist crisis.

Bakke and Health

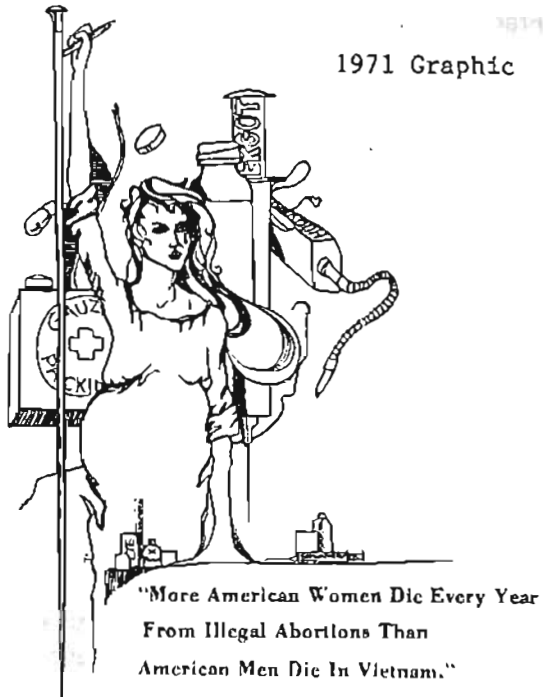
The Bakke decision also highlights the control of the imperialist bourgeoisie over health care. Health care is often portrayed as a field that brings out the best of human compassion, intellectual achievement and community service. Under imperialism, the health care empire brings out the callous greed and brutality of this system. Because health care does involve physical well-being, the burden of oppression and exploitation is easier to measure directly in terms of deaths and injuries.

Infant mortality is the number of infants under one year old who die out of every 1000 children. It reflects the health of children, their mothers, general nutrition, safety and sanitation in addition to access to preventive medicine like immunizations and well baby check-ups. The lowest rates are in Scandinavian countries where about 13 children die per 1000 born. The overall U.S. figure has been in the low 20's for the past decade. The rate for urban non-white children is almost *double* that, while for rural non-white children almost *triple*. These rates are comparable to poor underdeveloped countries like Vietnam *during* the war, Columbia, Ghana and Costa Rica.

Health care is also a huge industry involving drug companies, chains of hospitals and nursing homes, insurance companies, Medicare and other government programs, just to name some major sectors. Doctors on the average have almost four times the income and 250 times the assets of the average American family.

Besides these background statistics, certain medical atrocities stand out — the 40 year Tuskegee syphilis experiment on Black men, the systematic sterilization of 50% of Native American women on reservations ("the long knives of the U.S. Calvary have been replaced by the sharp knives of government surgeons" — Harry Edwards speaking at the Oct. 15th ABDC Rally), and the use of Puerto Rican women as unknowing experimental subjects for birth control pills. Research is just beginning to uncover that many of the procedures and operations per-

formed on women are unnecessary, often more hazardous than alternative treatments and also cause social and psychological problems. These operations just happen to be the ones for which government and insurance provide doctors greater payment.



As the Native American speaker at the ABDC Rally pointed out, it is more than likely that many of these tragedies would not have happened if doctors were the same kinds of people as their patients instead of overwhelmingly white, rich males. Someone like Bakke probably would not be willing to stay out in impoverished urban and rural areas so that the poor and TW people there would have at least one doctor within 25 miles instead of 50 miles for example. Yet the number of TW doctors remains low, and the number of Black doctors is actually dropping. Women medical students only make up about 12% of the total, and TW medical students percentage has dropped to below 10% after a high of 11% in 1974.

These figures reflect the extremely hierarchical nature of health care employment. Entry to various levels is controlled by very separate educational and training tracks: doctors and administrators; registered nurses, dieticians and social workers; then practical nurses, ward clerks and technicians and finally aides, orderlies, cook and house-keeping staff.

This system of education and employment reinforces the white supremacism and elitism of those at the top towards those at the bottom and towards pa-

tients. The poor people whom interns and residents (apprentice doctors) see in the big urban hospitals are often viewed as "educational material" and their whole stay at those hospitals as the last test before doctors get to practice "real medicine" out in the suburbs.

Health care as it exists now is also dominated by the culture of imperialism. While the scientific and industrial revolution brought about great advances in medical practice, it has been used by the bourgeoisie with the aid of doctors to keep that knowledge and technology away from ordinary people and mystify medicine. For example, childbirth has been made an abnormal situation, taking it out of the hands of midwives (women and TW people themselves) and the community. It essentially tells women that they can't possibly do it right unless the doctor and hospital intervene at every moment.

The medical establishment has also attacked people's folk medicine. Not only does folk medicine undermine their monopoly on health care; it also is based on the experiences and values of oppressed and working peoples. Native American medicine, acupuncture, the curandero, herbal medicine, midwifery all have been ridiculed and suppressed by the medical establishment and the state. With the push during the late 60's and early 70's to increase the number of TW and women doctors to demand better health care for TW people and end discriminatory practices, progressive people in health care also pushed for a more respectful view of folk medicine and encouraged research teaching and practice of various aspects of folk medicine that have proven valuable. The



1971 - Hospital worker pickets Stanford Hospital (CA) after police forcibly broke sit-in. Racism and malpractice against poor people were being protested.

integration of folk medicine into modern scientific medicine will benefit not only the basic knowledge and technology of health care. It will also permit better access and participation by TW people in the needed service of medicine. Folk medicine's resurgence has been another front in the overall struggle for equality and the end to national oppression.



PART II

OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE

Dare to Struggle

The intensification of national oppression due to the crisis of imperialism has not gone without resistance. During the 1960's oppressed nationalities increasingly became conscious of the role imperialism has played in creating unbearable conditions in the cities, sending our youth to kill our TW sisters and brothers in other countries, repressing our languages and cultures, murdering and jailing TW people because they dared to defend themselves against drugs and police "357 specials" and stepping up exploitation of the working class (run-away shops and deportations). Third World communities, high schools, colleges and workplaces became battlefields for some of the fiercest struggles this country has witnessed. The East Wind Organization sums up the period as follows:

"The revolutionary national movements of the 60's directly involved literally millions of Blacks, Chicanos, Puertoriquenos, Indians and Pacific and Asian American peoples in anti-imperialist — revolutionary motions; it constituted a gigantic movement open to and embracing such concepts as liberation, freedom, overthrowing imperialism, armed struggle, etc. The revolutionary national movements, through wave upon wave of ever intensifying and spreading offensives, over a period of 15 years ex-

posed the nature of imperialism in the U.S. almost as fully as the struggles of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples (with which our national movements were closely allied, subjectively and objectively). It shook up all the major institutional arrangements of this society from the bottom up: politics, culture, economy, military, health, human services, education, etc. It was a key factor in incapacitating U.S. imperialism's ability to wage war in Indochina, accelerating its historical defeat which, in turn, ushered in a new period of decisive decline of imperialism within the U.S. society; inspiring anti-imperialist movements among whites, women's movement for equality, clandestine armed struggle, a new revolutionary workers' movement, and most importantly, the new anti-imperialist communist movement in the U.S."

The Civil Rights Movement of the 50's and the liberation movements of the 60's began to chip away at the hundreds of years of oppression and inequality. These gains were not "given" to us. The bourgeoisie was forced up against the wall. They *had* to make certain concessions or they would have full scale insurgency of oppressed nationalities to contend with.

On the Job

In workplaces, Affirmative Action programs forced open jobs which had been denied to oppressed nationalities and women in the past. Affirmative action provided these workers with a legal weapon against employers who were guilty of discrimination in hiring and promotion. This in turn gave workers the leverage to pressure union bureaucrats into providing translation of union documents and meetings. The struggle for equality of languages in the workplaces often exposed to working people the true interest of corrupt union bosses — protecting the bourgeoisie.

Caucuses and organizations of TW and women workers like DRUM (Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement), HRUM (Health Revolutionary Union Movement), the Brotherhood Caucus and telephone operators were an important part of this movement. They forced both employers and unions to confront the issue of equality on the job and decent working conditions, not just for the mostly white male privileged skilled trades and crafts workers, but for oppressed nationalities and women workers as well.

The UFW also was founded during this time. It was at first based primarily on the Chicano and Filipino agricultural workers of the west and southwest. The struggles of these workers brought about the exten-

sion of many protective work laws and unionization rights to the agricultural proletariat. Previously, both owners and the old unions had colluded to keep this overwhelmingly TW sector of the working class in some of the most backwards, vicious working conditions of any industry in the U.S.

OUR THING IS DRUM

Deep in the gloom
of the firefilled pit
Where the Dodge rolls down the line,
We challenge the doom
of dying in shit
While strangled by a swine. . . .
. . . For hours and years
we've sweated tears
Trying to break our chain--
But we broke our backs
and died in packs
To find our manhood slain. . .
But now we stand --
For DRUM's at hand
To lead our Freedom fight,
and from now til then
we'll unite like men--
For now we know our might--
and damn the plantation
and the whole Dodge nation
For DRUM has dried our tears.
and now as we die
we've a different cry --
For now we hold our spears!
U.A.W. is scum-- --
OUR THING IS DRUM!!!!



The quick extension of the Bakke decision to workplaces by owners, managers and the government is predictable from their basic need to protect and expand profits for the few. The basis of national oppression is the super-profits that imperialism reaps. A great amount of these super-profits is gained from the super-exploitation of oppressed nationality and oppressor nation women workers at the point of production (on the factory shop floor) through different wages for the same work, segregation according to the kinds of work performed (i.e. light versus heavy assembly, telephone switchboards versus repair), lack of training and promotion and the huge reserve of un- and under-employed TW people and white women. STT believes that while the Bakke decision is being fought tactically by the bourgeoisie around education, every day the profound consequences of "Bakke" to TW and white women workers are being made clear. For example, the Federal

District Court in New Orleans ruled that Kaiser Industries' Affirmative Action program was unconstitutional on the same basis of "discrimination" against whites under the equal protection clause. That program was in the labor contract between the union and the company. It involved two separate seniority lists for white and black workers to a training program so that so many names would be taken from one list and so many from the other, inter-weaving the two lists. That program tried to recognize and compensate for the historic discrimination against Blacks, "last hired, first fired".

ABDC as a coalition representing progressive, oppressed nationalities and working people has been increasing its outreach to workplaces and rank-and-file union organizations. A significant number of workplace activists came to the Oct. 15th rally. Ultimately the battle of the Bakke decision must be fought and won on the shop floor as well as on the campuses and the communities. Linking up with the struggles on the shop floor and winning those struggles will show that the ABDC and the anti-Bakke movement are another step forward on the "long march" started by the struggles of the revolutionary sixties. Students, workers, community people and women of all nationalities must come together to defeat Bakke!

In the Schools

In education, the 60's brought on a similar transformation. It began with the Civil Rights Movement of Black people against the inequality of forced segregation in education and other fields. With this movement the *fact* of national oppression within the U.S. exploded in worldwide headlines — Little Rock, Alabama's Gov. George Wallace barring Black students entry to state college, the murders of voting rights activists and more. The TW students who began to attend schools as a result of civil rights organizing and laws organized themselves on campus and forced a recognition of the effects of America's *system* and *history* of inequality and discrimination for TW students. They forced the establishment of special admissions and financial aid programs which enabled hundreds of thousands more TW students to attend colleges. These students were not about to sit in classes taught by racist and sexist teachers. They demanded that their history, language, culture and arts be taught in a historically and politically accurate manner.

What happened in education went much farther than changing laws and establishing new programs. A

kind of cultural revolution developed. Imperialism has relied extensively on its educational system to carry out the subjugation and assimilation of TW peoples and the corresponding whitewash of its bloody history. Basic education has by no means been "free and equal to all". For example, the Fundamental Slave Code of 1740 prohibited the teaching of writing to Black slaves and allowed only the white master to teach his own slaves how to read, if he so desired. Other parts of the Code forbade on pain of death, the speaking or teachings of African languages, the use of drums and the practice of African religions. By 1834 fear of slave revolts and the effect of Abolitionist literature made any reading by slaves illegal. After the abolition of slavery Jim Crow laws and segregated school systems continued to do imperialism's work.



Demonstrations demanding increased enrollment of third world students and defending Ethnic Studies have taken place on a mass scale since the late 1960's. This is a demonstration at the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

In Hawaii, the need for immigrant plantation labor and the communalist culture of the Native Hawaiians produced a complex ethnic/racial socio-economic system. There, "English-Standard" schools were established (besides the private school system dominated by the white elite) and only students who could speak "proper" white English could attend these better financed and equipped schools.

An integral part of imperialist education was the exclusion of TW people and their true history and culture from children's first primers to junior high world history courses to high school music studies to college literature courses. With the struggle for equality in education by TW students came a great

flowering of all kinds of literary and historical work, musical recognition and visual media production. These reflected first a sense of dignity and a search for our true history. As it became clear that institution after institution refused to support and actively repressed the "ethnic studies" movement, it began to reflect TW peoples' conscious challenge to domination by imperialism.

Bakke, Cultural Genocide and Resistance

Imperialism, in order to maintain its position of dominance, must by necessity attempt to force a people to believe that they have no other purpose in life than to allow the invasions and plunder of their homelands, be grateful to do the back-breaking labor of this country at the lowest (or no) wages, have police daily torture and murder their youth and allow their children to be taught to be ashamed of themselves and proud of this country's 300 years of conquest:

"When they couldn't physically destroy us then they tried to assimilate us. They put us on reservations, and they put us in government boarding schools, forbid us to speak our language, forbid us to perform our ceremonies, to relate to our religious ways and literally drove our culture underground. So at that period in our lives, any attempt to keep our culture, to hang on to our culture, would become an act of resistance . . ." (Native American speaker at the Cultural Workers Front of Our America, 1975)

This is precisely why imperialism has a great stake in the destruction of TW people's culture. It is *not* possible for the ruling class to carry out systematic economic and political oppression while at the same time allowing independent national culture and pride to flourish. Culture is the heart beat of national life. Through culture we learn our history, what is right and what is wrong. We learn to love and respect and practice the ways of life which ensure the continuation of our people.

A statement in *Ikwezi* (journal of South African southern African political analysis) accurately defines the dynamic role of culture for oppressed nationalities:

"The culture of a given society is the expression of the conditions of the life of its people, and the reflection of its politics and economics. In a colonial society, the culture of the oppressed and exploited people must necessarily be one of both resistance and survival to boost the fighting morale of the nation."



The Bakke Decision Is an Attack on TW People's Culture

The art and culture which directly reflected and encouraged growing political consciousness of Third World people is one of the more important aspects of the revolutionary period of the 60's. The murals, plays, music and dance were an expression of the revolutionary mass struggles of that time. They helped to develop revolutionary nationalism and class consciousness among their audiences. This cultural upsurge became a powerful tool to deepen people's understanding of imperialism and what it has done to our land and people and to our culture itself. Cultural workers have deepened our understanding of national oppression and pointed out that our enemy is imperialism and our greatest ally is the revolutionary working class. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary working class will not be able to rest as long as there exists a people being denied the right to determine their own destiny by imperialism.

The cultural upsurge also transformed its producers, the artists. It forced them to answer fundamental questions such as "for whom" and "how to best serve the people". To answer these questions cultural workers must begin to determine what imperialism does to the economy, the land, the government and political system, the family structure; in short all aspects of national life *as well as* the culture of the nation or people that imperialism seeks to subjugate.

Because, at the base of imperialist expansion and national oppression is the contradiction between social production and private ownership/control. The means of production and the fruits of labor are not in the hands of their producers, the workers and peasants, but have been stolen by the bourgeoisie. The contradiction is true for art as well. Of course many artists "own" their brushes canvasses and cameras just as some independent plumbers and other craftworkers own their own equipment. But the most powerful, most technologically developed cultural "means of production" is the media: television, radio, the press, film, records and their distribution networks — all these clearly belong to the ruling class. The media is an incredible source of profits (advertising, sales of appliances and recordings and ticket sales). It is also instrumental in promoting racist, fascist, sexist, individualist and just plain decadent ideas among the broad masses of people.

For TW artists — again super-exploitation. TW artists are used as tokens in T.V. programs and movies to justify assimilation (even making it look real good). Yet at the same time, they are also excluded from most opportunities to make a living in the "art world" due to the denial of quality training and the suppression of activities and programs which would promote TW culture and speak even indirectly of the injustices suffered by TW people. For example, "BURNI", despite featuring a "big-name" white star, has never had major theater promotion and distribution because it was based on the true history of slave revolt and revolution in the Caribbean (and by analogy in the U.S.). Asian and Native American actors, until the recent progress of political struggles, could not find work except as white man's caricatures of themselves.



There is an "alternative" now. The capitalist couldn't kill resistance. So they've tried to divert it, strip it of its collectivity and politics, transform it into a commodity and make more money off it. The so-called "Black exploitation" films are a well-named example of this process. In music:

"... folk culture, or people's popular culture was also developing, a culture that came from oppression, a culture of survival and resistance. In terms of music there were folk tales, ballads, labor songs and from Black

people came gospel, blues and jazz — the only really original "American" musical form.

"Besides taking what they wanted from these musical forms, it was seen that money could be made from selling people's popular music. The capitalist made popular music and the people who performed it into a commodity, and built what is today one of the largest industries in the U.S. reaping profits in the billions (1.7 billion as of 1970 in record sales alone)." (Warriors of the Rainbow, an Afro-Asian musical group)

Denial of education and resources to produce Third World art comes in many ways. In some fields, the basic equipment is so expensive that access to them has been effectively controlled. How many TW owned major radio or T.V. stations are there? How many banks would give a loan to a TW community based dance group? Before special admissions, financial aid, community arts programs and funding, highly technical training was also inaccessible, particularly for TW arts programs, groups and individuals. If you do manage to get into school, the art and drama departments work to smash any politics and turn out artists who will fit right into jobs in the bourgeois media. This means the artist also has to be adept at producing consciousness which accepts and extolls imperialism as a logical system and an unchanging fact: "It's human nature to be greedy and cutthroat," and Tarzan, Flash Gordon, the Lone Ranger and John Wayne always know what's best for everyone in the world. Until the establishment of ethnic studies programs and other such programs in elementary and high schools, the kind of art and culture taught had very little to do with fostering pride, political consciousness and the spirit to struggle. In fact art and culture are often viewed as a luxury that the "slower-learning" TW school children of impoverished areas should not be allowed.

The Struggle for Political Line in Cultural Work

As a part of the national movements of the 60's, many TW artists demanded and fought for the right to produce and disseminate art which speak directly to oppressed people's real interests; an end to this criminally exploitative system called imperialism. Third World artists fought for cultural centers based in oppressed nationality communities, art and history programs in schools, bilingual education, public murals, cultural festivals and holidays and the right to perform theater in streets, parks workplaces and schools. Third World artists also have led in tearing down

the walls of elitism, mystification of art forms and exclusion of the masses in producing art. In fact, the vast majority of Third World artists in the U.S. have been self-taught. Teatros and other kinds of peoples' theater troupes for example are composed generally of students, workers, community people and youth who have had no previous experience but learned how to do political theater from the masses and hard work and study. They



Chicano teatro against repression of undocumented workers.

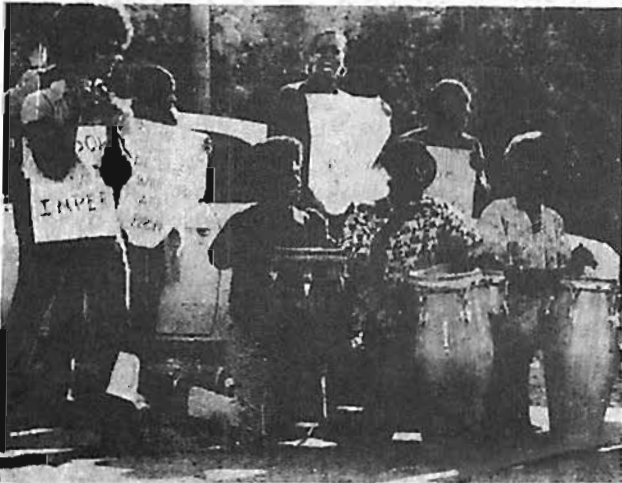
took from traditional theater ideas and techniques that could be used and rejected bad ideas and techniques.

The upsurge of the 60's also produced cultural workers who have struggled to take a stand with the working class as well as with oppressed nationalities against imperialism. By this we mean that by the end of the 60's and into the 70's, intense differences between various trends within national movements emerged. Malcolm X left the Black Muslims. The Black Panther Party denounced Karenga's U.S. organization. Universities like Stanford in California hired Chicano administrators who complained about Latinos stealing Chicano admission slots. The media focussed on Cesar Chaves's non-violent philosophy and catholicism while many farmworkers struggled in the fields by any means necessary. Women of every oppressed nationality had to confront the tendency of some men to glorify our "great traditions" like Confucianism and the myth that TW women in the past did nothing but make babies, tend fires and wait for their men to come home from war. The list is too long to even include just the representative examples. But as a last note, in 1972 the movie "Super-Fly" came out glorifying the *Black Pusher Man*, and hair straighteners and skin lighteners were hip again, filling the pages of *Ebony* magazine.

These are not random contradictions. They fall into a pattern of two opposing sides. Culture has been a key arena of struggle between them so much so that often one side has been called "revolutionary nationalist" while the other "cultural nationalist". It is the revolutionary nationalists who have asked themselves "how to serve the people" and "art and literature for whom?". Perhaps they even have read and taken to heart Mao's answers to those questions in the *Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*:

"Indeed literature and art exist which are for the exploiters and oppressors . . . Literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art . . . then literature and art which serve the imperialists . . . we call traitor literature and art. Today anything that is truly of the masses must necessarily be led by the proletariat."

Increasingly revolutionary proletarian ideology has led the struggle for gains in the area of culture and art. This must be seen as an advance in the struggle against national oppression, both in educating the masses as to the nature of imperialism and also in inspiring and strengthening their determination to keep on fighting. Cultural center, programs and groups benefited greatly from the reforms won



ALSC members demonstrate in support of Black workers at Hunter's Point

through revolutionary struggle because resources training wrested from the bourgeoisie made possible more widespread production and dissemination of progressive ideas. These gains helped cultural workers to more effectively fight forces of bourgeois elements which seek to kill the cultural life of the masses, to deepen the chauvinism and racism which already seriously divided the working class and pit men against women and to encourage the development of a sell-out comprador class within oppressed nationalities in order to subvert and betray the

national movements.

PART III THE ANTI-BAKKE MOVEMENT MASS MOVEMENT AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

We must see that the masses everywhere are concerned, active and on the move. As Lenin pointed out, the eve of imperialism is also the eve of socialist revolution. But while the trend for revolution is rising, so is the trend for facism. The objective and particularly the subjective weaknesses of the revolutionary forces are responsible for the success that the bourgeoisie has had in promoting facism.

Objectively the mass movement has mainly a spontaneous character to it. Resources like presses, cultural centers, media access are scattered among organizations, unavailable to some. People are many times unaware of others' struggles and base their organizing on what can be achieved with the limited resources and numbers they have. Although many workers' struggles are extremely militant and consistent economic struggles for the rights of workers (wages, insurance, the right to unionize, etc.) they do not generally have an anti-imperialist character (taking up political demands such as the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination). On the other hand, struggles like the anti-Bakke movement, struggles to free political prisoners like Gary Tyler and Dessie Woods, some struggles for women's rights (anti-forced sterilization, for social services) have a strong anti-imperialist character but have weak working class participation and leadership. In short, these struggles can remain isolated, unaware of their connection to the over-all system of imperialism or unable to achieve even their immediate demands against it.

At the same time the imperialist bourgeoisie *does* have a conscious plan. They do look at things strategically and world-wide. When Carter talks about energy, he ties in the Middle East and unemployment. When Bakke filed his suit against "reverse discrimination" in education, the bourgeoisie immediately extended it to protect its superprofits against Affirmative Action in the workplace.

Most weaknesses of the mass movements continue to remain unsolved because of the absence since the late 1940's of a revolutionary anti-revisionist communist party capable of organizing all the nationalities within the U.S. Without a revolutionary CP, the

connection between the ideas of scientific socialism and the movements of oppressed nationalities, workers, and women can not help but remain relatively weak. As Lenin said in "A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy":

"The separation of the working class movement and socialism gave rise to weakness and underdevelopment in each: the theories of the socialists unfused with the workers' struggle remained nothing more than utopian good wishes that had no effect on real life; the working class movement remained petty, fragmented, and did not acquire political significance, was not enlightened by the advanced science of its time."

"When this fusion takes place the class struggle becomes the conscious struggle of the proletariat to emancipate itself from the exploitation by the propertied classes, it is evolved into a higher form of the socialist workers' movement—the independent working class social-democratic party."

Without a communist party, it is inevitable under imperialist rule that workers' struggles are limited mainly to trade unionism (the struggle for a better contract). While the struggles of some oppressed nationalities for national liberation may succeed, there still will remain problems with imperialism, economic domination and underdevelopment. For other oppressed nationalities, the end to national oppression cannot be separated from the struggle for socialism. The women's movement is now led most by vacillating petite-bourgeois or even backward bourgeois women. It cannot liberate the great majorities of women until it is led by working class women and fused with the struggle for socialism. Without a true communist party, the masses are left open to the maneuverings of the bourgeoisie. The contradictions within the working class (white/male supremacy) play an increasingly dangerous role and in fact help provide the base for facism. We must remember that both Dimitriov and George Jackson agreed that one of the prerequisites for facism is a *weak* communist movement.

The main objective factor in the U.S. during this period is the intensifying crisis of imperialism and all that it involves. The main subjective weakness at this time is the same as it has been for decades in the U.S.—the absence of a revolutionary communist party.

Given these objective and subjective conditions, the central task of *all* communists whatever their mass base or specialization is building a new communist party. This party would give both the masses and its own cadres their greatest weapon in turning the

imperialist crisis into the revolutionary situation needed to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat—the rule of the oppressed and working majority over the exploiting minority.

The new CP cannot be brought about by just filling the pages of Marxist-Leninist journals and making occasional speeches. Communists must use the scientific theory of Marxist-Leninism-Mao tse Tung thought to analyse the various contradictions within the U.S., how they relate to each other and build a revolutionary organizing strategy based on that thorough analysis. (For an example of how STT sees this process, read "Seize the Time of the Principal Contradiction in the U.S." August 1977.)

The party must be built on the working class. The working class is the only class that can build and lead an unshakable alliance between the three great mass movements (national, workers' and women's: STT's formulation recognizes that there is great interpenetration between these movements. On the other hand we also recognize that each movement has its own distinctive character, history and dynamics). The anti-Bakke movement will be greatly strengthened by basing itself on an alliance of these three great mass movements and linking up with proletarian leadership in all three.



MINERWORKERS ARE FIGHTING EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION BOTH HERE AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

How do we build this alliance? We would like to quote East Wind organization:

"a) Educating and mobilizing the entire class (particularly the oppressor-nation proletariat) to fight against national oppression, and for the specific demands that arise from national oppression and the material division in the working class. The dual oppression of Third World workers and the deep and all-sided material division in the working class make the creation of internationalist consciousness and practice among the oppressor-nation proletariat a strategic task.

"b) Fighting white chauvinism among oppressor-nation workers and communists, and narrow nationalism and small-nationality mentality among the oppressed nationality masses and communists, with the main strategic emphasis on the former. (At particular times and places, narrow nationalism may become the main danger—e.g. errors that East Wind has made in the past.)

"c) Building working class leadership and a proletarian outlook within the revolutionary national movements. This is crucial, for narrow and reactionary nationalism is the outlook of non-proletarian classes within the oppressed nationality communities. The outlook of the proletariat is internationalism, (though programatically and as a development process, revolutionary nationalism plays an important and positive role). This is particularly important in the struggle for the unity of oppressed nationalities which Stalin termed "30% of the national question". (The other 70%, the main problem, being the struggle for principled unity between the oppressor nation workers and oppressed nationality masses). The building of unity among the oppressed nationalities is done through a full and principled struggle for specific needs, demands and rights in the context of fighting against the common enemy, the same capitalist-imperialist system, and for proletarian socialist revolution and national liberation in the U.S. It is not built through glossing over the differences or the specific needs and demands that grow out of the real material and historical reality of every specific oppressed nationality in the U.S."



Revolutionary Cause News Photo 10/77

To guide Marxist-Leninists in the task of building a new CP correct political and ideological line *in the practice of mass struggle is key*. Again to quote East Wind:

"For the development of mass struggle, the struggle among communists and advanced fighters for the correct line is

important, for without a correct line, the struggle will either not gain mass support from the ranks of workers and oppressed masses ("left" error) or will degenerate into reformist practice (right error), or result in the combination of both right and "left" errors. An example of the "left" error is the call by sections of the Black Panther Party to the black masses to wage urban guerilla war in the late 60s and early 70s. Examples of right errors are many: communists' role in the organizing of the CIO in the 30s, our own work in the Asian national movement in the drug abuse work, in building Pioneer Centers, and in fact, in much of our past work.

"A line gives us a certain direction in leading the struggle: it is based on a definite analysis of objective conditions including an analysis of who are our friends (the leading and the main force and our basic and secondary allies) and who are our enemies. It also gives us guidance in identifying the important issues in the struggle and gives us a framework and basis for determining tactics and alliances at different stages of a struggle. It also enables us to assess the actual and potential importance of a particular struggle with our long range goals of making socialist revolution in the U.S. as a component part of the world revolution.

"As the Chairman pointed out, 'everyone has a line, whether conscious or semi-conscious, whether systematic or fragmentary.' It is important to become fully conscious of our own respective lines, and to struggle for the correct line, if we are to serve the long range, overall interests of the working class and oppressed nationality masses by defeating imperialism."

It is on the basis of correct ideological and political line that Marxist-Leninists can unite and advanced workers, revolutionary nationalists and anti-imperialist women can be won over to the fight for socialism.

The struggle for correct political and ideological line is not so distant from Bakke work as it may first appear. It is critical in building the anti-Bakke struggle in a conscious revolutionary manner. On the one hand, some tendencies separate the struggle for political and ideological line/party-building from practice and testing in the mass movement and relegate the concerns of oppressed people and women to side issues or handy organizing tools in the march of the working class toward socialism. If they had their way the anti-Bakke movement would lose all contact with both the leading sectors and the broad masses of people.

On the other hand, other tendencies undermine the anti-imperialist character of this struggle and eventually lead it down the road to reformism. These right errors can cause a mass struggle to fall both short in realizing its immediate demands

and in developing as a major political force to realize its longer range goals. They try to base the struggle on the activity of a handful of politicians, lawyers and the like and relegate the masses to the position of hopeful observers. They try to narrow the focus of the mass struggle down to a few isolated institutions or individuals as the problem or the enemy (it's the racist Supreme Court").

In the anti-Bakke movement, the nature of revisionist organizations like the "CP" USA, CASA, Socialist Workers' Party and KDP was exposed by their attempts to say the Bakke decision is simply a manifestation of racism by the courts. They refused to link it up with both the systematic national oppression of Third World people under imperialism and the means of struggle by which TW people got those reforms now attacked by the Bakke decision. They hope to dupe the people into believing that total revolution is not really necessary to change society—that we can negotiate with the ruling class to "grant" us our civil rights if we have good lawyers and a twenty-foot long list of "prominent" endorsements.

The forces generally represented by the organizers of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) were unsuccessful in trying to stop the formation of the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition. They said we should wait to build the struggle because we had "narrow" representation. Over 70 organizations from throughout California took part in the ABDC founding conference. Many others have joined since. CASA and KDP as the main organizers of the later NCOBD themselves only brought a handful of people, despite claims of having nation-wide representation. They tried to dominate the Coalition with their politics: in viewing the struggle as primarily a legal one waged mostly in the courts and in therefore viewing the Regents as an ally because they happened to be the defendants in the suit. When the coalition overwhelmingly rejected them, they attempted to block the consolidation of the many anti-Bakke organizations into the ABDC. After failing to block the ABDC's consolidation, they walked out of a plenary session—making clear how serious they were about building unity within the anti-Bakke movement. While ABDC built for the state-wide demonstration held on Oct. 15th in San Francisco, the opportunists repeatedly tried to disrupt the movement by such moves as:

- trying to get the MECHA's statewide to reverse their commitment to leading and fully participating in the ABDC.

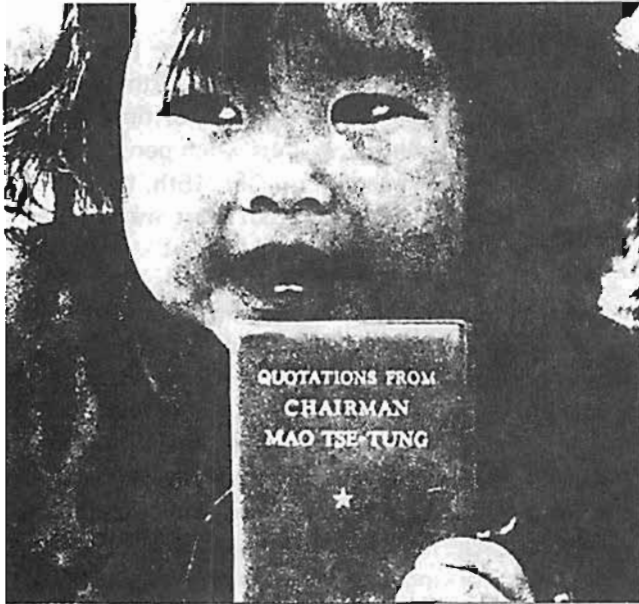
- by attempting to incite paranoia against the coalition saying it was just a front for ATM and IWK and red-baiting those organizations.
- preventing a representative of ABDC from announcing the Oct. 15th march at a Mexican Independence Day celebration in San Jose. threatening ABDC people who were leafleting outside the event.
- deliberately giving misinformation. For example, at the Oct. 8th march itself Oct. 14th was given as 'another march' and no place or time was given. On other occasions when people in mass organizations brought up Oct. 15th, they told them they were wrong, that there was no march on the 15th.

Other kinds of errors have been made within the ABDC itself. These aren't from the same consistently opportunist and revisionist politics of the NCOBD. But they continue to pose the main internal danger to the anti-Bakke struggle. The ABDC must continue to provide the strong effective *mass* organization that has distinguished it from the politics of the NCOBD. In the ABDC we are still struggling for stronger working class leadership and participation. But the view that the anti-Bakke struggle is "mostly a student thing" continues to interfere with ABDC's efforts. It shows up in how slow we have been to recognize, research and organize around how the Bakke decision will affect working people, women and community services. We must also begin to go down to factory picket lines at 6 and 7 in the morning and track down the hundreds of special training and service programs out in our communities to link up the ABDC to their struggles rather than wait for them to find us.

Developing working class leadership also means bringing the most advanced stand view and method of the proletariat—Marxism—Leninism—Mao tse Tung Thought—to those who participate in the anti-Bakke struggle. It will show activists in this particular struggle how to link up their immediate demands for democratic rights (reforms) with the overall struggle to overthrow imperialism (the fight for total liberation).

Marxist—Leninists have the primary responsibility for raising the over-all political and ideological consciousness of the anti-Bakke movement in such a way that the movement leads masses of people rather than tails behind the least active and conscious elements or isolates itself. In the course of building for October 15th, people were asking

openly "What is Marxism-Leninism?" "What is the role of Marxist-Leninists in the anti-Bakke movement?" Why does this particular communist organization think that we should organize this kind of program for ABDC?" Others said they would like to know more about socialism because communists have been fighting on the side of the people.



Young member of the Asian Coalition Against the War at a 1971 anti-war rally in Calif.

These questions are a very good sign of growth. They must not be sidestepped. To do so is completely counter to the task of party-building among ML's and the advanced and an insult to the masses themselves. We can reach the masses with the answers to these questions through consistent and widespread propaganda and agitation as communists. Doing both particularly around ABDC's principles of unity and demands is one means of connecting the immediate demands of the ABDC with a broader perspective of the struggle to overthrow imperialism. Communist propaganda and agitation allow us to reach broader sectors of the masses by connecting the immediate interests of those against the Bakke decision to the fundamental interests of all those oppressed and exploited by imperialism.

With all the different nationalities and sectors we must reach we can not narrowly limit the methods and styles of our agitation and propaganda. For example we cannot just rely on leaflets and posters and not use the electronic media. We cannot use dull language in our speeches or allow them to be barren of concrete illustrations.

Cultural work—teatro, music, lively visual works—has aided tremendously in popularizing and disseminating the political principles of unity which guide the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition. Cultural work has aided many struggles in the same way. Yet most often the political leadership of these struggles, some of whom are Marxist-Leninist, treat cultural work as merely "entertainment"—a break between speeches. But in fact cultural work has played and must continue to play an important role in spreading, struggling out and clarifying correct ideological and political line. As an example, the greatest work involved in putting together a skit is struggling for unified viewpoint between all the players. Without this unity the theater presentation will be a jumbled collection of ideas clumsily glued together, the audience gets confused and the theatrical group itself eventually disintegrates.

SUMMATION

The basis of the Bakke decision is national oppression. The way to overturn it is by building a strong mass movement that is broadly based and opposes all attempts of the courts, the colleges, companies, and government agencies—the imperialist bourgeoisie—to implement that decision, spread the myth of "reverse discrimination" and intensify national oppression.

**UNITE ALL NATIONALITIES TO
DEFEAT THE BAKKE DECISION!**

**END NATIONAL OPPRESSION, FULL
EQUALITY FOR OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES!**

**END WOMEN'S OPPRESSION,
FULL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN!**





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