

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

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LIMITED BUSING BEGINS IN L.A.

After 15 years of court battles, a minimal busing plan has been implemented in Los Angeles. The plan barely scratches the surface of the largely segregated L.A. School District. Nevertheless, though limited, it involves legally enforced busing of both white and minority nationality children -- two way busing -- and from that point of view must be regarded as a positive step.

Even the current gains are clearly tentative. Whether or not there would be busing at all remained unclear until the week before classes were to begin. Just before school was scheduled to start, anti-busing forces succeeded in obtaining a court ordered stay of the busing plan. This move was supported by the L.A. School Board whose role has consistently been to work to undermine desegregation. The intended result would have been to delay busing for another year. However, a further appeal by pro-busing forces succeeded in overturning the stay.

Another last ditch maneuver by anti-busing forces has been to boycott schools affected by busing. This plan had limited success for the first few days of school in some white communities. However, among oppressed nationalities attendance was at normal levels, reflecting clear support for the desegregation measures that have been taken. And among whites the boycott can have only temporary success. Most must rely on public education for economic reasons. Make-shift schools being operated by an anti-busing organization such as Busstop cannot provide a long term alternative to public education and are largely being used as a propaganda tool.

THE LIMITED IMPACT OF THE L.A. BUSING PLAN

The L.A. plan is severely limited in a number of ways.

First of all, only grades 4 through 8 are affected by

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PALESTINIAN PEOPLE CANNOT BE DEPRIVED OF THEIR NATIONAL RIGHTS

As an example of sheer political hypocrisy the Camp David accords on the Middle East have set a new low. Carter underwrites a "peace" treaty by agreeing to build two new modern military air-fields in Israel to protect Zionist aggression and gets proposed for a Nobel Peace Prize.

The US, Israel and Egypt make serious sounding agreements for Jordan and the Palestinian people who were not present or bound by the negotiations and pass this off as a big achievement. Even the concrete agreement actually made-- the return of the Sinai to Egypt -- turns out to depend entirely on the vote of the Israeli Knesset which has yet to be taken.

Such is the "breakthrough" and "political coup" supposedly engineered by Carter at Camp David. More accurately what he achieved were vague agreements which liquidate the fundamental issues underlying the conflict in the Middle East -- the conflict between Zionist imperialism and Arab and Palestinian national rights.

In fact, the two documents signed at the conclusion of the 13 day summit falsely



called a "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" and a "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel" attack the essential framework for any just resolution of the conflict in the area. The first document does not support Palestinian self determination in their own homeland -- without which there can be no Middle East peace. Nor does it even recognize the national unity of the Palestinian

people. The second separates the question of Israeli occupied Egyptian land from the occupied lands of Jordan and Syria. Both documents strive to consolidate US hegemony over the region in the short run at the expense of Arab and Palestinian unity.

The documents purport to address three major issues: the return of the Sinai to Egypt, the conditions necessary for Israeli security, and

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POSTAL ARBITRATION ATTACKS JOB SECURITY

On September 15, the terms were announced of the binding arbitration settlement between the postal workers and the United States Postal Service (USPS). Not only is this contract worse than the negotiated one postal workers rejected in August, the rank and file opposes binding arbitration itself. In this contract struggle, postal workers have militantly defended their right to vote on their contract, as well as their right to strike and their demand of "no good contract, no work". They have done so in defiance of federal law and the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 which outlaws strikes and calls for binding arbitration to settle contract disputes when negotiations fail.

The USPS, Carter and the media now say the contract struggle is over, that the arbitrator's decision is binding and eliminates once and for all the threat of a postal strike.

But postal workers see it differently. They passed resolutions at the national conventions which are forcing their unions to send out ratification ballots on the new contract. It is still possible that a "no" vote backed by militant rank and file activity will force the unions to call a strike.

RESULT OF BINDING ARBITRATION-- A WORSE CONTRACT

There is still talk of a strike because the arbitrator's agreement is worse than the first negotiated contract. While it's advertised as a pay raise, what it does is exchange a few more dollars for the loss of job security in the new no lay-off clause.

The first contract offer included a cap on the cost of living allowance (COLA) and added up to only a 19% raise over the three year period. The arbitrated contract increases wages a little and removes the ceiling on the COLA. But the total increase would come to only about 2% more than the first offer-- still far behind the rate of inflation.

Under the current no lay-off clause, the USPS eliminated 60,000 jobs in the last contract period. So workers have been demanding a stronger clause that prohibits excess overtime, bid abolishment and other methods management used to reduce the work force.

But instead they are now offered a clause in the arbitrated contract which further attacks job security by not covering any worker hired after September 15, 1978. Although there is a provision that gives them job security

if they work for six years without being laid off, there will be few who fit this category. Workers will instead be hired on and off under the total control of management. Within several years, a large portion of the work force could lack protection against lay-offs. At the same time, workers with job security will face increased harassment.

In addition, it is total deception to say the contract guarantees lifetime job security for those already working. Not only does the USPS retain ways to get rid of workers, when the contract expires in three years, so does everything in it. If the USPS is successful in taking away job security from some postal workers this time and further dividing the workforce, it can be expected to try to totally eliminate the no lay-off clause when the next contract comes up.

WHAT IS BINDING ARBITRATION?

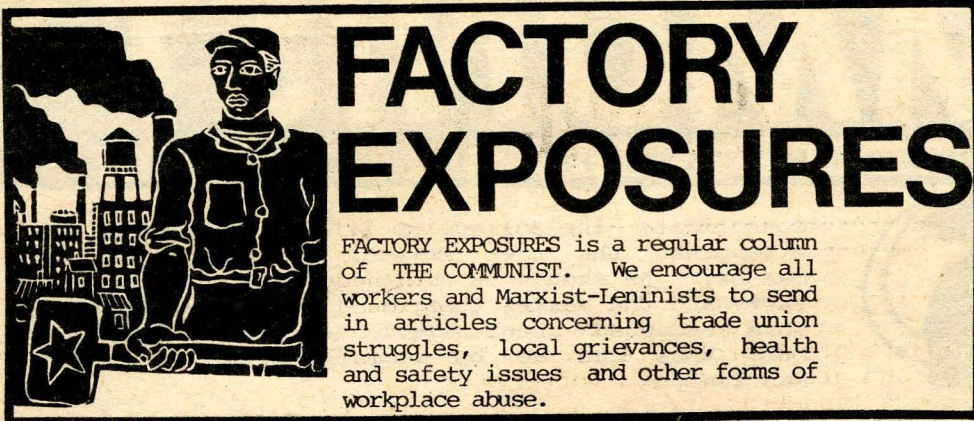
After workers rejected the first contract, Postmaster Bolger raised the possibility of binding arbitration, saying "a peaceful way still exists to settle this dispute". Supposedly it is a peaceful way to deal with class conflict because the two opposing

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FACTORY EXPOSURES is a regular column of THE COMMUNIST. We encourage all workers and Marxist-Leninists to send in articles concerning trade union struggles, local grievances, health and safety issues and other forms of workplace abuse.

BOYCOTT TACTIC USED IN IAM ELECTION

This factory exposure comes from a district in our own organization where comrades were involved in a union election campaign. They sum up why they decided to boycott that election and the agitational campaign they conducted to build a conscious boycott.

 What should we do when it's union election time and it's a case of hack versus hack?

This was the situation confronting us last year in our district of a large international union-- District 50 of the International Association of Machinists.

We began with a general line on how we work in trade unions as communists. We want to mobilize the rank and file. We want to turn their discontent with current leadership into a conscious movement to capture the trade unions from the control of class collaborationist bureaucrats. Our goal is to build the unions into organizations that fight for the rights and interests of the working class.

To give leadership around this election we had to decide what this meant in practice. We needed to develop a policy based on Marxist-Leninist theory and a materialist analysis of the objective conditions.

BUREAUCRATS WERE BUSY CAMPAIGNING

There were two slates running for the offices of district president, secretary-treasurer, and several business agent jobs. One slate was the bureaucrats presently in office; the other was the clique that had been ousted in the previous election.

Their electioneering began long before the election date. Candidates were coming out of the woodwork to campaign at meetings and plant gates. Union officials and their challengers started to show up at local meetings where they got introduced, shook hands and smiled. The last

couple of meetings before the election were devoted to accusations and name calling by rival candidates at the expense of legitimate union business. In another typical example one chief shop steward, who was a candidate for business agent, left his office and stood conspicuously at the plant gate every morning and afternoon, as if to remind us of his existence. His opponent, the incumbent business agent, began showing up at the plant too, oozing concern for the workers' well-being and using the new health and safety committee he set up as a tool to get elected.

But, for the most part, neither slate spoke to the issues. The challengers raised "fiscal responsibility" as their battle cry, but never said what the money should be used for. The incumbents said their record stood for itself.

THE RANK AND FILE WAS FED UP

The majority of the workers readily recognized these tactics as election maneuvers. "Must be election time again" was a common response to the increased visibility of union officials. Though many workers mocked the campaign leaflets, they also read and discussed them. Often the leaflets sparked bitter tales of sell-outs, year old unheard grievances and general frustration with the union.

OUR PLAN OF ACTION

We saw our task was to build on these just concerns in a way that exposed the cause of the apathy and frustration of the rank and file and built the movement for class conscious unions.

We began with an investigation. As Chairman Mao said, "Seek truth from facts". Our facts came from our experiences in the district, from researching back issues of a local workers' newspaper, and from talking with other workers, especi-

ally with old-timers.

We found that the two slates had long histories in the district. Their rivalry was long standing and neither stood for the interests of the rank and file. While the incumbents talked a more militant line, their record was no less sell-out.

Based on this evaluation, and because we were in no position to put forward an independent slate of candidates, our line had to be boycott the district elections. We laid out this line in verbal agitation and in a leaflet we distributed throughout the district. In contrast to the empty campaign slogans and promises of the candidates, we put out the facts. We laid out what they had done in the past, how both slates had essential unity on the majority of issues confronting the union membership and how their "leadership" served the capitalists and not the working class.

In our investigation of the slates, we found two basic trade union issues that most clearly exposed their opportunism. First, they had failed to mobilize the rank and file to fight and instead they relied on polite negotiations and legal channels. Second, they had promoted national chauvinism instead of providing leadership to the struggle for the democratic rights of national minorities and the multi-national unity of workers in the district.

BUREAUCRATS REFUSE TO MOBILIZE THE RANK AND FILE

The incumbents had consistently refused to build and rely on the direct mass action of the rank and file. During strikes they opposed mass picketing. In one strike, they made a deal with the police to limit picketers even before the company went to court to get an injunction. In another strike, the rank and file organized mass picketing, but the "leadership" called it off after two days, saying the workers had "made their point". But, as we said in our leaflet, "The purpose of mass picketing isn't to make a point, but to stop production and keep out scabs. Direct mass action is the lever that forces the company to negotiate on our own terms." The bureaucrats' refusal to mobilize the rank and file resulted in the betrayal of the workers' interests as contracts were negotiated on the companies' terms.

The other clique running for office was no better as was shown in our investigation of their years in office. In one plant they worked out a deal to split the workers into two bargaining units. Thus they weakened the workers' ability to fight the attacks by the company

which soon followed. In another example, when union members refused to cross the picket lines of a second union at their plant, these traitors blocked the use of union funds for strike benefits. They were also notorious for behind the scenes deals with industrial relations.

Neither slate was worth voting for because they were both looking after their own interests instead of the workers as a whole. For example, the challengers raised the issue of financial responsibility in the election. But, we said, "What's missing is any program of trade union activity to defend and improve the conditions of workers. While the IAM International considers a fat bank account the mark of a good union, that's because our dues pay their fat salaries. For us, the most financially sound union won't be enough if the leaders refuse to unify and mobilize the members to actively struggle for their own interests."

We explained that fat salaries weren't the only things the bureaucrats were looking for in running for office. "In exchange for keeping the rank and file struggle ineffective", they can get prestige, clean jobs, seniority, the chance to move up in the trade union bureaucracy or the opportunity to get a job in the company or government. For example, the last district president had campaigned for Governor Brown of California and in return got a soft government job. The consistent support of the business agents for the International (who pays their salaries) against the workers in the district has exposed their future ambitions.

BUREAUCRATS WON'T FIGHT AGAINST NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Who the bureaucrats serve was also clear in their stand on the issue of national oppression. Neither side raised this issue in the election campaign, even though Blacks, Chicanos, Mexicanos and Filipinos make up a large part of the membership.

There were many important issues that none of the candidates ever raised. No one spoke to the on going struggle locally against the KKK and its stepped up harassment of Blacks and immigrant workers. The KKK had even come to one of the plants in the district shortly before the elections as part of their campaign against immigrant workers and demanded to see personnel files. A couple of years before, one company had tried to require reen stripes on the hard hats of green card holders (immigrant workers). This effort was only de-

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BEHIND THE DRAMATIC RISE IN PUBLIC WORKER STRIKES

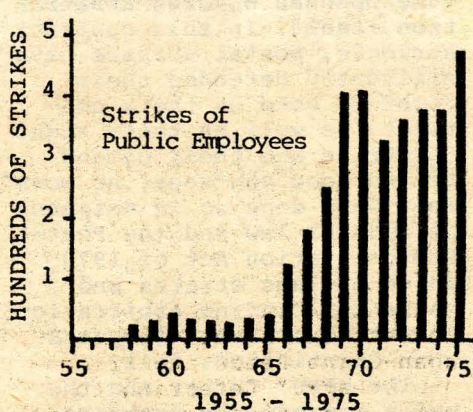
Where once back-to-school advertisements of children's clothes heralded the end of summer vacation, today teachers' strikes are a front page news item and a sure sign that the new school year is about to begin. Where once the public hardly took notice of a new city budget, today the stench of uncollected garbage and picket lines of sanitation workers forecasts the end of one fiscal year the the beginning of another.

This summer, sanitation workers in New Orleans, San Antonio, and Tuscaloosa walked off the job. Over 4,500 Washington, DC transit workers wildcated for their cost of living increases. The 4,200 members of the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority staged a one day work stoppage for a similar reason. Philadelphia's 20,000 municipal workers struck for 8 days in July demanding a 9% pay increase and no lay offs. In Detroit 3,500 city workers wildcated to protest mandatory overtime. Thousands of State employees staged a work stoppage in Boston and marched to

demand pay checks for 25,000 workers that were being held up due to budget debates. In Louisville 600 firemen struck for better wages.

As the school year began a wave of teachers' strikes closed schools in 13 states. In New Orleans 2,000 teachers walked out. In Philadelphia 13,000 teachers were on picket lines instead of class rooms. In Bridgeport, Conn., over 150 teachers have been jailed for picketing. In Chicago a strike of City College teachers threatens cancellation of one entire fall semester. Nationwide in the first week of September 50 teachers' strikes affecting 420,000 students were occurring at the same time.

This massive strike activity is the continuation of a dramatic growth of trade union consciousness among government employees. It follows the rapid growth of public sector employment. It develops with the greater socialization of public service labor and in the face of the bourgeoisie's attack on public employees.



PUBLIC SECTOR GROWTH, ITS UNIONIZATION & STRIKE MOVEMENT

As the graph above shows, strikes by public employees have risen dramatically since 1965. In 1975 for the first time in history the percentage of public workers participating in a strike equaled the percentage in industry at large. In that year 318,500 public employees walked off the job in 478 separate strikes. Forty five percent of these strikes involved teachers and 25% involved sanitation workers and other production and main-

tenance government employees. This strike activity follows an equally dramatic growth of government employee unions and employee associations. In 1962 roughly 900,000 government employees belonged to unions and employee associations. By 1974 1.4 million federal government employees had enrolled in unions, as had 1.5 million State employees. An additional 2.4 million state employees were members of employee associations.

Between 1960 and 1974 the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) tripled in size. The AFSCME, which in 1955 had 100,000 members, is today the largest union in the AFL-CIO with over one million members. It is growing at a rate of 1,000 new members a week.

This big increase in public employee unionization follows an unprecedented growth in government employment in the last

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1st TREATY WITH ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE

CHINA AND JAPAN SIGN HISTORIC PACT

The China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship signed in Peking last month reflects a significant advance in building a world wide united front against the two superpowers.

First the treaty will promote the development of friendly relations between China and Japan and make a positive contribution to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond. In addition, this agreement represents the first time that an international treaty has contained a clause opposing hegemony.

In Article II, the treaty stipulates:

"The Contracting Parties declare that neither of them should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony".

At a time when the Soviet Union is embarked on an all-around offensive in its contention with the US, threatening the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region as well as other regions of the world, the anti-hegemony clause of the treaty will have an important impact on developing the common defense of countries in the region against encroachment, interference and bullying of either superpower, and especially of the USSR.

Also the treaty conforms to the common aspirations of the Chinese and Japanese people to establish peaceful and friendly relations. To this end the treaty incorporates in Article I the five principles of peaceful coexistence:

"The Contracting Parties shall develop durable relations of peace and friendship between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each others internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence."

AN INNOVATION IN THE WRITING OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

Viewed in historical perspective, these two clauses make the treaty a remarkable document bound to have a far-reaching impact on world affairs.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were first introduced into international affairs by Chou En Lai at the Bandung Conference in 1955 to govern relations between countries with different social systems. The provision against hegemonism has characterized international documents before-- for example the Shanghai Communiqué between the US and the People's Republic of China in 1972. But this agreement is the first time it has been embodied in an international treaty.

Taken together both clauses reflect the creative contribution socialist China has made since its founding in 1949 to the development of the law of nations. This in turn could only occur because the favorable development overall of the struggle of the world's people against imperialism.

International law, as embodied in treaties and other agreements, reflects relations of force in international class struggle. The inclusion of both the five principles of peaceful co-existence and an anti-hegemony clause in an international treaty reflects a shift in the balance of forces in favor of world revolutionary struggle in recent

years. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. That has become an irresistible historical trend. The provisions of the China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty are a by-product of that revolutionary current.

SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS ATTACK TREATY

While overall the treaty has been acclaimed worldwide as a positive contribution to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world, the Soviet Union has launched an all out propaganda campaign against it. The Soviet paper IZVESTIA on August 14 called the treaty a "shady deal" between Peking and Tokyo which has caused serious concern" in the Soviet Union. But actually it is the anti-hegemony clause that has ruffled Russian feathers.

Referring to the USSR, the Japanese newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN said:

"If it really thinks that the Japan-China treaty is hostile to it and therefore tries to apply pressure on Japan to do 'something disgusting', then it will prove to be a 'hegemonist country' as pointed out by China".

For their own part, the Chinese ask,

"The China-Japan treaty is a bilateral treaty and no article or provision in it has referred to the Soviet Union by name. But why does the Soviet Union feel that the mention of opposition to hegemonism is meant to oppose it? If Moscow does not pursue hegemonism, why should the anti-hegemony article have caused 'serious concern'? There are more than 150 countries in the world and only the Soviet Union is sensitive to this article. Why? The reason is very simple. The anti-hegemony article has touched the Soviet Union to the quick." PEKING REVIEW, #34, 1978.

For proof, the Chinese go on to detail the diplomatic, economic and political pressure brought against Japan in a futile effort to obstruct the treaty. "These manoeuvres," they emphasize, "have only served to further confirm Soviet hegemonism."

Other newspapers throughout the world commented on the significance of the anti-hegemony clause as well. A newspaper in West Germany commented, "It is clear that the Soviets who are seeking world hegemony have found themselves caught red-handed." And a newspaper in Sri Lanka observed that the "reasons for the pain in the mind of the Soviet Union may be its fear of its intentions in Southeast Asia being affected by the clause about hegemony in the treaty. Radio Democratic Kampuchea said, "the people in Asia, especially the people and countries in Southeast Asia, greet with pleasure the signing of the Japan-China Peace and Friendship Treaty." Referring to Soviet expansionism, the commentary added that this was because "they have seen clearly that the conclusion of the treaty means a shameful failure of the expansionist power in the political and diplomatic fields."

SOVIET THREAT TO JAPAN

The Soviet Union presently illegally occupies Japan's four northern islands and poses a direct military threat to Japan. In June the USSR began large scale military exercises

on Etorofu Island. This was a comprehensive exercise involving 2000 army, navy and air force troops, including airborne and marine units. Also it has announced that the waters off Etorofu are a dangerous area to be used for live ammunition practice. It has reinforced its military bases in all of the islands.

In the face of these attacks it is necessary for Japan to strengthen its unity with other second world countries and with the third world. As the Chinese have pointed out,

"History has repeatedly shown that unity in the struggle forged by the people of all countries is the main force in defeating the war instigators."

THE KEY LIES IN THE UNITED STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE

Of course Japan is a second world country and has a dual character in international political struggle. Historically it has engaged in deep rooted exploitation and control over third world countries, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, and this continues today.

Therefore it must not be supposed that Japan's signature on an international doc-

ument is sufficient to liquidate its own imperialist strivings in the region. But the main hegemonic threat to this region does not come from Japan, but from the two superpowers, especially from Soviet social imperialism. In addition, like the third world countries in the region, Japan is also subjected to superpower interference, control, bullying and war threats. Russian occupation of its four northern islands is a telling example.

The significance of the China-Japan treaty is that it enlists Japan in the struggle against hegemonism. But there should be no illusions on this score. Whether in the struggle against superpower aggression, interference, and control which is the main focus of international struggle, or against Japanese striving for control of the region, the struggle does not come primarily from concluding agreements. Enforcement of the clause against hegemonism in the China-Japan treaty depends on united struggle of the people of all countries against hegemonism. Used as an instrument in that struggle, the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship can play a significant role.

COMMEMORATE MURDERED AZANIAN PATRIOT



September 12 marked the first anniversary of the death of Steve Biko, "Father of Black Consciousness" in Azania, at the hands of South African police forces. Although the inquiry last year determined Biko had been tortured, chained and kept naked for long periods of time, and that he died as a result of head injuries inflicted by brutal police interrogation, the racist regime found no one could be held responsible for his murder.

In a widespread effort to prevent any ceremonies marking the death of this great national leader, eleven family members and friends were arrested on the eve of the anniversary of his death.

Another leading national spokesman, Dr. Nthato Motlana, often called the Father of Soweto, received a banning order only hours before he was going to deliver a major address. Banning orders only allow a person to be in the presence of one person at a time. They are frequently used against critics of South Africa's apartheid system.

Biko's death last year touched off worldwide protests and renewed anti government rioting that led to a massive crackdown on all pro-Black movements on October 19. In the past two years 26 Blacks have died in police custody.

The recent arrests and bannings in connection with the anniversary of Biko's death are only part of the racist regime's moves against the Black majority in their struggle against the intolerable conditions in South Africa. On September 14, hundreds of armed riot police attacked a Black living area outside Cape Town, killing several residents including an infant tied across its mother's back in Black African manner. Residents armed with sticks and stones resisted this

effort to demolish their homes. Over 400 were arrested as a part of the regime's attempt to eliminate Black squatter camps. The racists claim these violate laws restricting the movements of Blacks and constitute a health danger.

The continuing effect of the apartheid repression of Blacks was shown in a separate event. A white man killed a Black man because the Black man brought him the wrong brand of cigarets. He was sentenced to pay a fine of \$115 or serve 50 days in jail. This is the value of a Black life in South Africa.

It was to fight against such brutal fascist repression that Steve Biko devoted his entire life to the liberation of the Azanian people. He was an organizer of the 1976 Soweto uprising and president of the Black People's Convention. His murder was part of efforts of the regime to control the struggle of the Azanian people by killing their leaders. But the determination and courage of the masses to eliminate the Pretoria regime and establish Black majority rule cannot be swayed by repression.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has declared September 12 as South African Martyrs Day. They said:

"The OAU observes September 12 not only as a day of solidarity with the fallen heroes of South African struggle, but also as a day of reaffirmation by free Africa of the need to increase material, moral and political support to the people of South Africa.

Beliefs cannot be silenced by death and destruction, but from the ashes of martyrs there arises renewed dedication among the living. Impetus to further struggle has been added by the massacres perpetuated by the South African racists."

THE EXAMPLE OF PANAMA

REVOLUTIONARY USE OF REFORMS IN INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE

A major source of confusion in the application of the theory of three worlds concerns the role of reforms in international class struggle. For instance, the struggle for a new international economic order, for regional economic cooperation, an integrated commodity program, the 200 mile exclusive maritime jurisdiction, nuclear free zones, etc. are all examples of such reforms.

On the one hand there is an opportunist line which says that reforms in international struggle are everything and that with the development and accumulation of such reforms we can transform the structure of international society itself. Peacefully at that.

Disarmament, for example, is put forward as a means to eliminate war rather than as a means to make it more difficult for the superpowers to carry out their plans of arms expansion and war preparations. The reformist position obscures the fact that as long as imperialism and social imperialism exist war is inevitable and general and complete disarmament is an impossible goal.

Another view, equally incorrect, says that reforms in international struggle are nothing because they do not resolve the principal questions which face the international proletariat and oppressed peoples. In fact, this view holds that they are harmful to the development of international struggle because they sap the revolutionary initiative of the working and oppressed people and divert their attention from the fundamental problem of world wide revolution. Therefore, according to this principle, there is no reason to support proposals for a new international economic order or regional economic cooperation, for example, since such measures can promote reformist illusions and are subject to superpower manipulation and interference anyway.

Marxist-Leninists reject both views. In international struggle as on the domestic front we oppose both the view which adopts a contemptuous attitude toward reforms as well as the view which glorifies them and treats them as the be-all and end-all of our work. Just as in domestic struggle, we can use reforms in the international arena as a springboard for further advance. To do so, each particular struggle must be linked to the general interests of the working and oppressed masses worldwide in the overthrow of imperialism, social imperialism and all reaction.

BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR MAKING REVOLUTIONARY USE OF REFORMS

The principles which guide communist policy toward domestic reforms can also be applied to the question of reforms in international affairs. Stalin said:

"To a revolutionary . . . reforms are a byproduct of the revolution. That is why with revolutionary tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating that rule, into an instrument for strengthening the revolution, into a strongpoint for the further development of the revolutionary movement." (Stalin, FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Pek. Ed., p.100)

We can take from this three points.

First, legitimate reforms are the byproduct of the revolutionary activity of the masses. In international struggle they depend on and reflect the relative strength of oppressed and oppressor nations and

classes. They are concessions by imperialism and social-imperialism that improve the situation of the oppressed nations and peoples and their ability to wage further struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, and all reaction.

Some laws are put forward as reforms by the bourgeoisie which in fact do not reflect the aspirations of the masses and are not an advance. Proposition 13 in California is a recent example of this kind of phony reform in domestic policy. (See THE COMMUNIST, v. IV, #14.) Superpower disarmament proposals are an example of a sham reform in international affairs. (See Huang Hua's speech to the Special UN General Assembly Session on Disarmament, May 29, 1978, reprinted in PEKING REVIEW, #22, 1978.)

Second, reforms are limited because of "bourgeois rule." The bourgeoisie can manipulate reforms because it is still in power. This means that not only is every reform limited in character, but that no reform can be taken for granted, that is, consolidated to such a degree that it could never be taken back. The struggle for an eight hour day goes back 100 years, but is still not secure. In international relations, this means that while reforms are being won and regardless of any partial gains in the struggle against hegemonism, the domination of the superpowers in world affairs will lead to continuing efforts to deepen the exploitation and oppression of the world's people and to extend superpower spheres of influence and control.

Third, revolutionary tactics can make a reform an "instrument of disintegrating bourgeois rule, for strengthening the revolution, into a strongpoint for further development of the revolutionary movement". Every step must serve as a springboard in further struggle. In international struggle reforms must be a means of disintegrating superpower domination and strengthening the revolutionary movement of the people against imperialism, social imperialism and all reaction.

THE EXAMPLE OF PANAMA

The Panama Canal Treaties are an example of reform in international class struggle.

In the first place they are a byproduct of the revolutionary struggle of the Panamanian people against US imperialism. The Panamanian people have been resisting US colonial rule of the Canal and the Canal Zone for seventy-five years, ever since the Hay-Buena-Varilla Treaty stole the territory from Panama in 1903. This resistance reached its peak in Panama in the 1964 riots which were directed against US imperialism. During one week of rioting, over 700 people were killed or injured and US property damage was estimated at over \$2 million. Without a doubt it was the revolutionary activity of the Panamanian masses that forced the US to begin negotiations at that time for a new, more equitable treaty.

Of course, the treaties signed by Carter and the Panamanian leader Torrijos are limited in their impact. They do not solve the fundamental contradiction between the people of Panama and US imperialism. They are not a means of expelling US imperialism from Panama or a means to end US ex-

ploitation of the Panamanian people. They do not break the ties which bind the reactionary bourgeoisie of Panama to US imperialism.

But on the other hand, the treaties are definitely a step forward for the Panamanian people in their struggle against US imperialism and can not be called merely a sham reform.

The basic advance made is to restore Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Formerly US imperialism claimed "perpetual use, occupation and control" over the region. US law applied and a Panamanian could be arrested for breaking a foreign law, tried in a foreign court and punished by foreign authorities, all on his own land. Also, Panama had no control over the introduction or use of US troops into the zone or over the use made of them.

Under these circumstances a people has nothing which can be called sovereignty over its territory.

The new treaty signed between the US and Panama puts an end to this unrestricted colonial rule of US imperialism over the Canal Zone. Panamanian law will replace US law and Panama will exercise jurisdiction over immigration, customs, postal services and other matters. Revenue and full control over the Canal will also pass to the Panamanian government. US military forces will be immediately reduced and eventually withdrawn completely.

These provisions, while incomplete, definitely represent a real, not a phony, advance.

SUPERPOWER "TAKEAWAY" POLICIES

Because the treaty does not put an end to US imperialist domination of Panama, there can be no doubt that US imperialism will never cease in its efforts to take back any advance made in the struggle. The DeConcini reservation is a good example. While signing a treaty turning over sovereignty of the Canal Zone to Panama, by that reservation, the US purported to reserve for itself the unilateral right to intervene to ensure the operation of the Canal, even if the interference came from a strike or other internal disruptions in Panama. Such a provision is completely inconsistent with Panamanian sovereignty and was flatly rejected by Panama. In the end, although the reservation was not withdrawn, the US position was weakened by its adoption of another amendment which affirmed that in spite of the DeConcini reservation, the US would not intervene in Panama's internal affairs or violate Panamanian sovereignty.

The struggle over the DeConcini reservation confirms the point that a reform can never be taken for granted. Whether US imperialism will use this provision to intervene in Panamanian affairs after the year 2000, which is the date it would come into operation, depends on the development of the struggle in the intervening period of the people of Panama and the US together with the people of Latin America and the world against US superpower hegemonism.

A SPRINGBOARD FOR FURTHER STRUGGLE

The best guarantee against the advances made in the treaties being subject to superpower "takeaway" efforts is the use made of them as a

basis for further developments of the struggle. For working and oppressed people of Panama, as well as for US revolutionaries, every dispute stemming from the continued US presence and the control of the zone until the year 2000 must be used to agitate for the immediate transfer of all control over the zone to Panama. Every US military uniform on Panamanian soil must be used to explain the continuing domination of US imperialism over the whole of Panama and its neocolonial exploitation and oppression of the Panamanian people. These and other examples must be used to demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of all US troops. In this perspective, the treaties become a basis for further advance, not an end in itself concluding the struggle.

The treaties are also an instrument for strengthening the revolution to the extent that they reflect unified struggle with the full support of the countries and peoples of Latin America and the third world against US imperialism. For example, in 1973, the foreign ministers and delegates of 23 Latin American countries declared the Panamanian struggle a common concern of all Latin American countries. Again, last August, the leaders of Columbia, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Panama, Mexico and Jamaica meeting in Bogota gave resolute support to the Panamanian people's struggle and denounced US imperialism's colonialist policies. Later, at the time of the DeConcini reservation last March, Torrijos sent a letter to all members of the UN protesting the reservation and asking support for the original treaty provisions. Among third world countries and some second world countries there was solid unity in support of the Panamanian position, and the US was quickly isolated on the question.

AN INSTRUMENT FOR DISINTEGRATING SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISM

Because they have strengthened the position of the people and weakened the position of US imperialism, the new Panama Canal treaties have contributed to disintegrating the hegemonic strivings and war preparations of US imperialism. US military officials have said that US war plans require unrestricted US control over the canal. The US has established its Southern Command in Panama, with 10,000 occupying troops. The fourteen military bases the US maintains there are used to train US and foreign troops in counterinsurgency warfare used in Indochina and Latin America. The Canal Zone is the only refueling center for US ships in the Americas that is south of California. It is a base for US naval and air operations vying with Soviet naval forces for hegemony in the Caribbean and surrounding area.

Of course the treaties do not put an end to US war preparations or US contention for world hegemony. They do not prevent the US from using the treaties in an effort to consolidate greater ideological influence in Latin America and the Caribbean. But without a doubt, they do upset to some degree the deployment of US imperialism militarily in Latin America and attack its colonialist control over an important portion of Panaman-

ian territory. This is a concrete contribution to the effort of the people of the world to frustrate the superpowers' interference and control of other countries.

OPPORTUNIST VIEWS OF THE CANAL TREATIES

A reformist line on the question of the Canal treaties views them as the basis for an essential resolution of the conflict between US imperialism and the Panamanian people. Making the treaties an end in themselves, such a view ignores the effort of US imperialism to use the treaties as a mask for more indirect domination through foreign aid, international banking, military assistance, CIA subterfuge, etc. Promoting harmony between an oppressor and oppressed nation, this view sees the potential for US neo-colonialism to deepen its exploitation of the Panamanian masses in new forms and hides the fact that US imperialism can be completely expelled from Panama only with the overthrow of US imperialism.

On the other hand, for the line which views reforms as nothing, the treaties are a worthless victory meaningless for the people of Panama.

Since they do not solve the fundamental question of US imperialist domination over Panama completely, this view sees in them no gains whatsoever. But in spite of revolutionary posturing, this view also belittles the fundamental conflict between US imperialism and the Panamanian people. Ignoring the fact that strength is accumulated through struggle, this view acts as if recognizing a concession forced from US imperialism would blind the people of Panama to the exploitation and oppression of US imperialism which persists in new forms and which is bound to give rise to new resistance.

CONFLICTING LINES ON THE ROLE OF TORRIJOS

These differences are also reflected in the evaluation made of Torrijos' role in the conclusion of the treaties.

A reformist position exaggerates his role and ignores the pressure of the masses of Panamanian people as well as of the countries and peoples of Latin America and the third world which forced the new treaties from US imperialism.

A competing view negates the role of Torrijos in the anti-hegemonist struggle of the world's people and condemns the treaties because he is a representative of the bourgeoisie working together with US imperialism. The attitude here reflects the point of view of the Party of Labor of Albania in commenting on the struggle in Nicaragua -- a bourgeoisie's a bourgeoisie that's that:

"Like the reactionary bourgeoisie of Ecuador or Iran, Bolivia or Poland, Indonesia or Britain, the reactionary bourgeoisie of Nicaragua is no exception to the characterization which Marx made of the bourgeoisie in general." (ALBANIA TODAY, no. 2, 1978, p. 59.)

But Marx frequently drew distinctions between the bourgeoisie of different European countries. And in our own time, Chairman Mao Tsetung has made a differentiation between the bourgeoisie of the two superpowers, of the lesser

imperialist countries and of the developing countries for the purpose of strategy in international struggle.

How do Marxist-Leninists view Torrijos' role? In his article, "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front," Mao emphasized the necessity for a revolutionary dual policy toward such leaders. In the case of a national leader such as Torrijos we should oppose those policies which suppress the revolutionary activity of the masses or which undermine the struggle of the third world and capitulate to imperialism or social imperialism. On the other hand, we should support his policies to the degree that objectively they oppose imperialism and social imperialism, favor the struggle of the masses and strengthen the worldwide united front against superpower hegemonism.

For example, we support Torrijos' stand in opposition to Soviet social imperialism when he stated that Panama would not bring down one foreign flag to raise another. But at the same time, we oppose Torrijos' suppression of anti-US demonstrators during Carter's post treaty visit to Panama.

VANGUARD LEADERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE

As Marxist-Leninists we must take the lead in fighting

REPRINT ON NEGRO NATIONAL CONGRESS PUBLISHED

There is an urgent need in our movement for developing clear political line and tactics for leading the mass democratic struggles. The anti-Bakke movement for affirmative action, the growing movement in the Southwest against police repression, the militant struggles in the Black Belt South against both discrimination and police repression, etc. all demand more conscious leadership on the part of communists.

Part of the task of leadership is to learn from past experience. For the Chinese revolutionary, Mao said,

"It is not enough for him to know ancient Greece, he must know China; he must know the revolutionary history not only of foreign countries but also of China, not only the China of today but also the China of yesterday and of the day before yesterday." ("Reform Our Study", MSW, p.22)

Likewise for any revolutionary in the US today, we need to know our own revolutionary history. Some of the best work of the CPUSA was done in the 1930's in the Scottsboro Defense Campaign, the Sharecroppers Union and the Negro National Congress. Communists need to study the CPUSA's line and practice in those movements. Harry Haywood has called the Negro National Congress the "greatest black united front movement of the period." (BLACK BOLSHEVIK, p.457)

Given our own lack of experience in united front work it is crucial to grasp the significance and general lessons from the Negro National Congress. For this reason, the Workers Congress (M-L) has

for a correct line on the question of the revolutionary use of reforms in international struggle. Guarding against the deviation that would make reforms everything as well as the deviation that is contemptuous of reforms and the struggle for reforms, we must use every action, every advance, however small, in order to connect it with our fundamental task. While gradually forcing concessions from the superpowers, as well as other imperialist powers, we should put before the oppressed masses of the world a clear idea of the source of the superpowers' policies of aggression, expansion, contention for hegemony and war. We must show that by strengthening the anti-hegemonist struggle, the people of the world can get better prepared and put off the outbreak of a new imperialist war, but that only the complete overthrow of imperialism, social imperialism and all reaction can solve the essential problems of world affairs.

This is not an easy task. As our Chinese comrades emphasize in their defense of Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of three worlds, which is the basis for revolutionary strategy in international class struggle today, "The struggle against the two hegemonist powers, which is an essential component of the world proletarian socialist

movement, is extremely arduous and complex. The proletariat of all countries must make an effort to study and disseminate Marxism-Leninism, play the exemplary role of vanguard in this struggle, fulfill their internationalist obligations and give all-out support and assistance to the people of all countries in their fight against imperialism and hegemonism so that this struggle can advance along the correct path and win final victory." (PEKING REVIEW, #45, 1977, p. 27.)

Such all-out support must extend to the struggle against hegemonism in all spheres -- to the legal or reform struggle as well as to the revolutionary armed struggle -- on the condition that each step is an advance along the correct path. It is an elementary law of strategy that final victory is prepared not only by the decisive assault, but also by innumerable preliminary operations which weaken the enemy and develop the strength of the attack. Whatever the form of struggle, the main test at this time is whether it serves or frustrates the interest of either superpower in seeking hegemony and preparing for war. Whatever serves the interests of either superpower must be opposed. Whatever frustrates their ambitions or deployment for war must be supported.

NEW PO BOX CORRECTION

IN THE LAST ISSUE WE ANNOUNCED A NEW POST OFFICE BOX NUMBER. THIS BOX IS FOR THE NEWSPAPER ONLY. THE WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L) CAN STILL BE REACHED AT THE SAME PO BOX- 1297, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60690

of Black people and also took a stand on the international issue of war and fascism. Communists gave it their full support as a part of the overall struggle against fascism and imperialism. The international significance of this movement was highlighted by a solidarity greeting from Mao, which called for "a united front, guided by the program of the militant Negro leaders which today raises its voice for a determined struggle for freedom." (Haywood, BLACK BOLSHEVIK, p.459)

We would be dogmatic just to mechanically copy the tactics of the 1930's in our united front work today. On the other hand it would be a sign of subjectivism to ignore the powerful lessons of our own revolutionary history. We urge comrades and friends to study these documents and write us about your views of that work and our current practice in the mass movements. To get these documents, please send 75¢ per copy to: WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L) PO BOX 1297 CHICAGO, ILL. 60690



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

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MIDDLE EAST

CONTINUED FROM P.1

proposals for "legitimate rights" of Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Carter, Begin and Sadat claim that their "frameworks" will permit resolution of the Palestinian question over the next five years. But what does the agreement actually hold for the Palestinians?

PALESTINIAN NATIONAL QUESTION LIQUIDATED IN AGREEMENTS

First the document addresses the Palestinians as a minority group within specified areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel agrees to deal with other Palestinians only as refugees. But this denies the essence of the Palestinian national question.

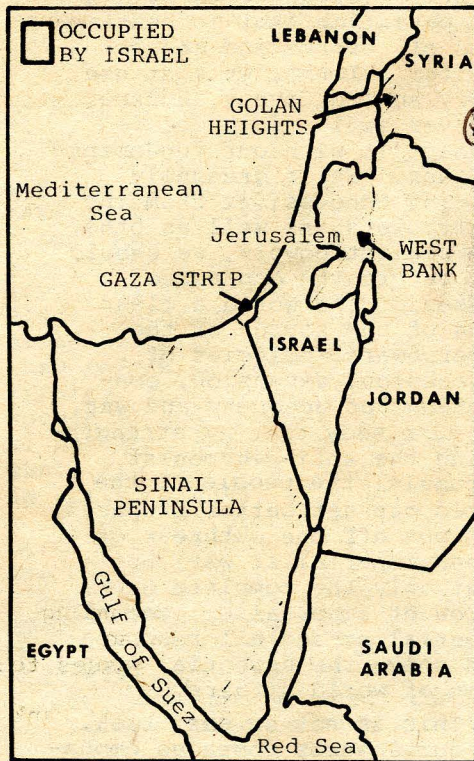
Over 2.5 million Palestinians live outside the occupied lands in southern Lebanon and elsewhere. They are there because they were driven from Palestine by armed Israeli aggression and robbery. National unity exists among these Palestinians and the other 1.1 million who live in the occupied territories. No agreement by anyone has the right to separate the Palestinian people into different groups in order to deal with those who live in occupied lands differently from those who have been forced from their lands by Zionist terror. This liquidates the national rights of the Palestinian people. Peace will only be achieved when there is established a homeland for all the Palestinian people.

The second way in which the agreements fall short of a just solution of the Palestinian question is the so-called full autonomy and local self government for the Palestinians on the West Bank. Israel is supposed to dismantle the present Israeli military government and elections are scheduled to be held within the next three months. This is window dressing. "Full political autonomy" for Palestinians on the West Bank happens to include a continuing Israeli responsibility for military and security matters, retaining 6000 of its present 11,000 military forces there. What kind of autonomy is there when an occupying aggressor army continues to control police functions?

PLO ROLE DENIED

Politically the stamp of

Israeli interest is throughout the agreements as there is no mention of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the various forms of negotiations are organized in such a way as to prevent PLO participation. The commission



WHERE THE PALESTINIANS LIVE TODAY
Gaza Strip.....400,000
West Bank.....700,000
Southern Lebanon
and elsewhere.....2.5 million
THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE ONE NATION

set up to determine the future of the West Bank is to include representatives of the Palestinians living there. But Israel has the right to veto the participation on the delegations of Jordan and Egypt any Palestinians from outside the occupied territories. Israel will use this veto to exclude the PLO, which is internationally recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and so this is another attempt to divide the Palestinians and undermine their national unity.

ACCORDS DIVIDE ARAB STATES

Efforts to divide the Arab states are also fundamental to the agreements. The question of Israeli settlements in the Sinai is treated differently from the overall question of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

While the return of the Sinai to Egypt remains the one substantial concession, it is not tied to a general principle to guarantee the return of other occupied lands. And even this concession rests, as we have pointed out, on the construction of two Israeli military airfields to "replace" those to be left behind in the Sinai.

For this, full diplomatic recognition will be established between Egypt and Israel, including economic and cultural relations, termination of the economic boycotts and free trade.

Because these accords fail to address the fundamental contradictions, and set up provisions for dealing with common issues on a separate basis, support for the peace agreements does not exist among other Arab nations. In response to the outcome of the Camp David summit, Syria, Libya, Algeria, South Yemen, and the PLO met in Damascus and formed the Confrontation and Steadfastness Front. A spokesman for the PLO at the conference denounced the Camp David accord as "the most dangerous agreement since (the founding of Israel) in 1948." The PLO also said the group will continue its "armed resistance in the occupied territories and Sadat doesn't speak for the Palestinians."

Jordan and Saudi Arabia have also sharply criticized the pacts for failing to recognize Palestinian rights. The Saudi position said, "We do not consider that the results of Camp David guarantee a framework for peace. They do not contain a firm decision by Israel to withdraw from occupied (Arab) lands, nor mention the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in their own homeland." The Saudis have also made clear their support of the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians," and criticized Camp David for ignoring the "role of the PLO".

Jordan condemned "separate peace agreements" and also declared "that the Palestinian people are the first and most important party in the peace settlement". The United Arab Emirates said that the US sponsored Egyptian-Israeli peace documents "did not offer just and final solutions to the Arab-Israeli conflict".

SOVIETS DENOUNCE AGREEMENTS FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS

Like a wolf in sheep's

clothing, the Soviet Union has also denounced the agreements. Brezhnev called them a "new anti-Arab deal between Israel and Egypt - a deal that was worked out with Washington's active participation." Instead the USSR would have preferred to have a peace agreement worked out at Geneva where they would have shared with the US the ability to determine the future of the Middle East peace.

Although the Soviet Union continues to pose as the "natural ally" of the Palestinian and Arab people, in fact they do not care about the success of their just struggle. Behind the scenes they continue to support Israeli expansionism into Arab lands by their policy of continuing to allow Russian Jews to emigrate. Over 130,000 have emigrated in the last eight years providing Israel with substantial manpower to develop their illegal settlements in the occupied lands. All of the criticisms by the Soviet Union are merely designed to try and reestablish a peace process in which they can contend with the US for determining the results.

SUPERPOWER MANUEVERING PROMOTES WAR

Such maneuvering is the essence of superpower contention as both superpowers try to gain hegemony over as many countries and areas as possible. Every victory by one superpower strengthens its forces vis a vis the other. They view the people of the Middle East as pawns in this deadly game. Instead of bringing peace, the Camp David summit has intensified the contradictions and brought the area closer to war.

Relying on one superpower to resolve regional conflicts therefore cannot be the basis for peace. US meddling in the Middle East can only be part of the larger US strategy for worldwide hegemony. The fundamental reason the agreements attempt to liquidate the Palestinian question and divide Arab countries is that the unity of the Arab and Palestinian people is a barrier to US imperialist interests in the area.

Peace will only be built in the Middle East by the people of the Middle East themselves on the basis of the recognition of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination in their own homeland and an overall withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab lands.

BUSING

CONTINUED FROM P.1

the busing plan. This obviously limits its impact even in those schools which are involved in the program.

Secondly, out of 134 elementary schools with 95-100% minority enrollment, 107 are not even touched by the plan.

Third, white suburbs near minority communities involved in the plan are not included. Instead students are being bused across L.A. to and from the San Fernando Valley. This results in bus rides of over an hour each way. This feature of the plan is clearly intended to undermine support for busing.

Fourth, the treatment of bi-lingual programs which were won by the Chicano community after militant struggle are not adequately addressed. This also is an intentional maneuver to undermine support for busing, in particular in Spanish speaking communities.

Finally, individual schools are being allowed to pair up with other schools on

a voluntary basis. This practice is certain to allow for evasion of actual integration.

A HISTORY OF EVASION

These limitations reflect a long history of evading the responsibility for desegregating L.A. schools on the part of the School Board and the courts. In a 1963 suit brought by a coalition of 76 community groups, a Los Angeles court found the School District guilty of aiding segregation by the way it drew school lines and in the issuing of transfers to white students so that they could attend segregated schools. The court also pointed out that de facto patterns of housing segregation existed and had to be remedied as well.

Since then 15 years of court battles have gone by. Until this year the Board was constantly able to evade court orders to desegregate. At the same time, pro-busing

forces, led by the NAACP and the ACLU, limited their struggle to the courts and succeeded in largely dissipating organized mass support.

The anti-busing movement on the other hand has been building a base in the predominantly white San Fernando Valley. They have received considerable publicity from the bourgeois media. Unlike the NAACP, Busstop, the largest and most publicized of these groups, has taken concrete steps to mobilize support for its program. A School Board member, Bobbi Fiedler, is its spokesperson. Busstop members cynically claim that they support voluntary integration and are only against forced busing. Their concern, they maintain, is quality education for all. Busstop members like Bobbi Fiedler know very well that their concern is to undermine integration at every turn. Any review of conditions in the L.A. schools shows the substantial inequality between schools in white communities and in national minority communities. Since these very same people have played a

role on the School Board running the schools since the desegregation order was first issued in 1963, their social practice exposes their actual primary concerns.

Busstop is now mobilizing to defeat busing by saying that it violates the 14th Amendment to the US Constitution. According to this logic, to bus according to racial criteria is discriminatory. It is no coincidence that this parallels the reverse discrimination argument of the Bakke case. In both instances, the intended result is to deny the documented inequality suffered by oppressed nationalities in the US. The same twisted logic of color blind "equality" is being advanced to deny generation after generation of inequality and discrimination forced on minority children in segregated schools.

COMMUNIST CONFUSION ON THE ISSUE OF MANDATORY BUSING

Some communists also oppose the Los Angeles plan because it involves actual en-

CONTINUED ON P.7

A note: The plan is being followed about by the busing people. These suburbs are not in L.A. School district.

POSTAL ARBITRATION

CONTINUED FROM P.1

sides are equal in the process and the arbitrator is neutral. The President of the American Arbitrators Association said, "Arbitration requires a basic bridge of trust and respect by the parties for one another as well as for the process".

But there can be no peace between labor and management. There can be no trust and respect. Where is the trust of a supervisor harassing you every minute of the day to speed up production? Where is the trust when they discipline workers for being sick and having to take off work? Where is the respect when they treat workers worse than machines? When they call for forced overtime and push speed up at the expense of health and safety?

Binding arbitration is not a peaceful means of settling labor conflicts. There are no common interests between labor and management that can be peacefully resolved within the capitalist system. The bourgeois equality that says workers and management enter the arbitration room as equals is only a mask for the real inequality in society. What kind of equality exists between the bourgeoisie who owns all the means of production and the workers who can only exist by selling their labor power? What kind of equality exists between the postal workers and the USPS which is backed up by the whole state apparatus including the courts, the National Guard and the Carter administration? What kind of equality exists when workers' voices mean nothing? Postal workers voted to reject the first contract and then they are given an even worse one by management who speaks

through the arbitrator.

The neutrality of the arbitrator is another deception connected with binding arbitration. Supposedly, arbitrators take into account the needs of both sides and give and take a little to both. But in fact arbitrators are part of an intellectual work force that directly serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. The vast majority are lawyers and many are retired personnel directors from large corporations. The average one is paid between \$300 and \$500 a day for his services. This monetary reward alone sets arbitrators off from the workers whose future they decide.

There is no such thing as neutrality in class society. Arbitration is no different from the rest of the state apparatus; it serves the interests of the class in power, the capitalists. The actual results of arbitration shows who gets and who gets taken. 80% of arbitrated cases are decided in favor of management.

The arbitrator for this postal contract is James Healey from the Harvard Business School, the elite bastion of thinkers for the bourgeoisie. The last case he decided on was in 1963 in a railway labor dispute over job security. He ruled with management abolishing thousands of jobs. And now in the postal contract he again ruled with management eliminating job security for all future employees.

POSTAL WORKERS NEED STRONG UNION ORGANIZATION

Workers can never rely

on arbitration to defend their rights and interests. This is why postal workers insist on the right to vote on their contract and the right to strike.

To enforce these rights they need strong union organization. But the postal workers' power has continually been sabotaged by the trade union bureaucrats who presently control their union. If the USPS is successful in forcing this contract on postal workers, their success will have been made possible by the collaboration of these class traitors.

The national leadership has worked hand and hand with management behind closed doors while refusing to organize the rank and file and prepare for a strike. They came up with a terrible contract and tried to pass it off as a victory. They even threatened the membership with binding arbitration and the possibility of a worse contract if they didn't approve the first one. Then, in total defiance of the will of the rank and file as voiced in convention resolutions, on August 28th, the national union presidents agreed to submit to binding arbitration. They also agreed to limit the issues to wages and the no lay-off clause, throwing out the rank and file demands for amnesty for wildcaters, effective grievance procedures, the end of the casual (temporary) workers system, and improvements in working conditions such as elimination of forced overtime, discipline for accidents and using sick leave, and unsafe conditions.

Postal workers around the country were so outraged by this new step of sell out by the national leaders, local presidents of the American Postal Workers Union were forced to meet in New York to figure out what to do about this widespread anger. They said then they refused to

accept binding arbitration, but they have since backed down. Their words are more militant than the national leaders, but their actions, or lack of action, has been the same. They will not provide the leadership for the rank and file in preparing for and calling a national strike.

The bureaucrats in control of the postal unions have shown their only real interest is in serving the bourgeoisie. They want to preserve their positions and privileges at any cost to the workers. When was the last time, if ever, that these people worked under the conditions of the contract that they are agreeing to? Instead they sit in nice offices making many times more than the wages of the workers they supposedly represent, with expense accounts and a host of privileges.

Postal workers must get rid of these trade union bureaucrats who have sold them out at every step of the way. These bureaucrats and other agents of the bourgeoisie try to divert the working class onto the so-called peaceful path of class collaboration. They are no different from the bureaucrats running the United Steelworkers Union, for example, who have sold out steelworkers with the Experimental Negotiating Agreement that gives away the right to strike and agrees to submit disputes to binding arbitration.

Instead, workers need leaders who will build democracy in the unions and an educated rank and file strongly organized to fight the attacks by the capitalists. With class conscious leadership, workers will be able to wage effective class struggle against the capitalists.



BUSING

CONTINUED FROM P.6

forcement of the right to desegregation by busing.

Basically these friends argue that while Marxist-Leninists favor the amalgamation of nations, this must be voluntary and not "forced assimilation." For example, Lenin says, "The proletariat . . . welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege."

Since mandatory -- as distinct from voluntary -- busing requires that oppressed nationality students be bused, this is assumed to be "forced assimilation," and contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

So the argument runs.

Is the actual enforcement of measures such as busing to overcome segregation in education "forced assimilation"?

The first point is that segregation in jobs, housing, education and other matters under imperialism is not voluntary. Here is the real coercion that we must deal with. Segregation is a policy of conscious forced social exclusion of an oppressed nationality by an oppressor nationality.

How are we to deal with this social exclusion?

Speaking to the national oppression of Black people in the U.S., the Communist International wrote in 1930:

"... the demand for equal rights means a continuous work of abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppres-

sion of the Negroes, as well as their social exclusion, the insults perpetrated against them and their segregation. This is to be obtained by constant struggle by the white and black workers for effective legal protection for the Negroes in all fields, as well as actual enforcement of their equality and the combatting of every expression of Negro-phobia." (CI RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930.)

The second point we take from this passage--communists must lead the struggle for "effective legal protection" as well as "actual enforcement" in order to overcome segregation in education.

In light of this, what do we make of Lenin's opposition to "forced assimilation"?

Here is the third point -- on the question of coercion involved in these matters it is essential to distinguish two very different kinds of things. On the one hand there is "forced assimilation"; on the other hand there is "forced social exclusion". An example of the kind of "forced assimilation" Lenin is talking about is the coercive imposition of the language of an oppressor nation in the schools, courtrooms and other aspects of public life. Imposition of an official language in a multinational state backed by the apparatus of state power, like English in the U.S., is "forced assimilation" which Lenin opposed. But to desegregate schools

is quite a different thing. What is required in that case is "effective legal protection" to break down social exclusion of the oppressed nation which has been erected by force.

In this light, it is clear that mandatory busing, which is a means to overcome forced social exclusion, has nothing in common with the coercive denial of equality of languages.

For example, if a Spanish speaking youth is bused to a multinational school, but denied the right to use his native language, then that denial is "assimilation based on force or privilege"--in other words, not the bus which got him to the classroom, but the official denial of the equality of languages.

For that reason there should be no question that communists have a special responsibility to defend programs, such as bilingual education, that address the special needs of oppressed nationalities.

LENIN'S VIEW ON NATIONALLY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

It is inconceivable that Lenin would have used arguments on "forced assimilation" to promote in any way the perpetuation of the social exclusion of oppressed nationalities in public education. His attack on the segregation of schools by nationality, including specifically Negro schools in the US South, is a harsh and consistent theme of his writings on the national question.

Nor can Lenin's unwavering opposition to any tendency to promote nationally segregated schools be ignored because

"he did not have to deal with the bus."

In fact, if a child must go to school by law, then school attendance is coercive, not voluntary. In addition, if, as Lenin always advocated, the state provides only multinational, and not nationally segregated schools, then this coercion could be called "forced assimilation". But there is nothing remotely resembling any such argument against multinational public education in Lenin. On the contrary, he wrote:

"One cannot be a democrat and at the same time advocate the principle of segregating the schools according to nationality. . . . From the point of view of the proletarian class struggle we must oppose segregating the schools according to nationality far more emphatically. . . . workers instinctively and inevitably realize that segregating the schools according to nationality is not only a harmful scheme, but a downright fraudulent swindle on the part of the capitalists." ("Cultural National Autonomy", LCW, v. 19, p.504-505)

In regards to busing, the basic issue is not "forced assimilation" as it is in matters concerning the right to use one's native language. Instead, it is whether or not we will fight for effective legal protection to overcome "forced social exclusion" and actually enforce desegregation in education.

For that reason, in spite of significant limitations, democratic and proletarian forces should give the L.A. busing plan their critical support.

Should
Some what
-un-likely
agreement

PUBLIC WORKER STRIKES

CONTINUED FROM P. 2

30 years. Look at curve "A" on the graph below. It represents the sum total of all federal civilian employees combined with state, country, municipal and school district employees. Notice the sustained and extremely rapid rate of growth of government employment since WW II. Since 1948 federal workers have almost doubled while state and local workers have tripled. Today, 15 million people or 17% of the civilian labor force are officially listed as government employees. As curve "B" shows, there are roughly as many government employees as there are production workers in manufacturing.

The actual number of workers whose salaries are paid by the government is far greater than those officially listed on government pay rolls. For example the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare pays the entire salaries of 87,777 university employees, 32,383 people in non-profit think tanks, and 113,919 people in private business such as 26,537 persons employed by Blue Cross-Blue Shield and similar groups that act as Medicare intermediaries. The federal government has 2.8 million people on its official civilian payroll, yet it actually pays the salaries of a least 3 to 4 million more through this kind of "outside the wall" contracting.

SWOLLEN STATE BUREAUCRACY INEVITABLE UNDER IMPERIALISM

As the contradictions inherent in capitalism intensify, it stands to reason that the bourgeoisie must strengthen its state apparatus to maintain its class rule over the proletariat. Lenin pointed out, "Imperialism -- the era of bank capital, the era of gigantic capitalist monopolies, the era of the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism -- has demonstrated with particular force an extraordinary strengthening of the 'state machine' and an unprecedented growth of its bureaucratic and military apparatus, in connection with the intensification of repressive measures against the proletariat both in the monarchical and in the freest, republican countries." (STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 38).

For the US the period following WW II and up into the mid 60's was a period of unbridled exploitation of the oppressed nations by US capitalism and the accumulation of fabulous superprofits. These superprofits were the financial foundation for the US bourgeoisie to buy itself out of its most serious domestic problems. The wild fluctuations in the cyclical development of the economy through recurrent periods of recession, recovery, production at high pressure, crisis, stagnation, etc., were reduced by massive government spending and the astronomical growth in public service employment discussed above. The powerful uprisings of women and oppressed nationalities of the 60's and early 70's were contained through police force on the one hand, and on the other, through the development of massive public welfare programs designed to maintain control over the impoverished masses.

CHANGING WORLD SITUATION BEHIND CUT BACKS AND ATTACKS ON PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

However, since the mid 60's the economic foundation to maintain the vast bureaucracy has been undermined. Defeated in a costly war in Indochina, confronted by the struggle of third world countries to gain control over their economies and natural resources, chal-

lenged by the second world economies of Europe and Japan, and crippled by a weak dollar, the US economy had been driven deeper and deeper into convulsions of crisis.

Progressively the bourgeoisie finds itself with less financial resources in relation to the growing size of the problems. More and more federal, state, and local governments are running in the red with huge budget deficits. More and more the bourgeoisie is resorting to cut backs in social services and wage freezes, hiring freezes, overtime, speed-ups, and lay-offs of government employees to reduce the cost of operating the swollen state bureaucracy.

In addition, the crisis has sharpened imperialism's striving for new markets, new spheres of influence, and greater exploitation of the oppressed nations. As the US pursues its world wide hegemonic ambitions in rivalry with the USSR -- which itself has become an even more aggressive hegemonic imperialist super-power -- the two are bound to go to war sooner or later.

In the face of this the US imperialists must place their priorities on war preparations. This gives rise to their attempts to cut back on social services and to intensify their attack on state employees who provide such services.

The growth of unionization of state employees is in definite response to these attacks.

FIRMLY SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF STATE EMPLOYEES

As part of the broad masses of toiling people there is no contradiction between the majority of government employees' desire for a decent living and the similar demand of the entire working class. We must oppose every effort of the bourgeoisie to say that such a contradiction exists.

State employees are themselves propertyless workers

who have no means of making a livelihood other than to sell their ability to work. They too are part of the tax paying public which is outraged over high taxes and inflation. In the last 5 years public employees' wages have increased by 29% or ten percent less than the 39% average for all workers.

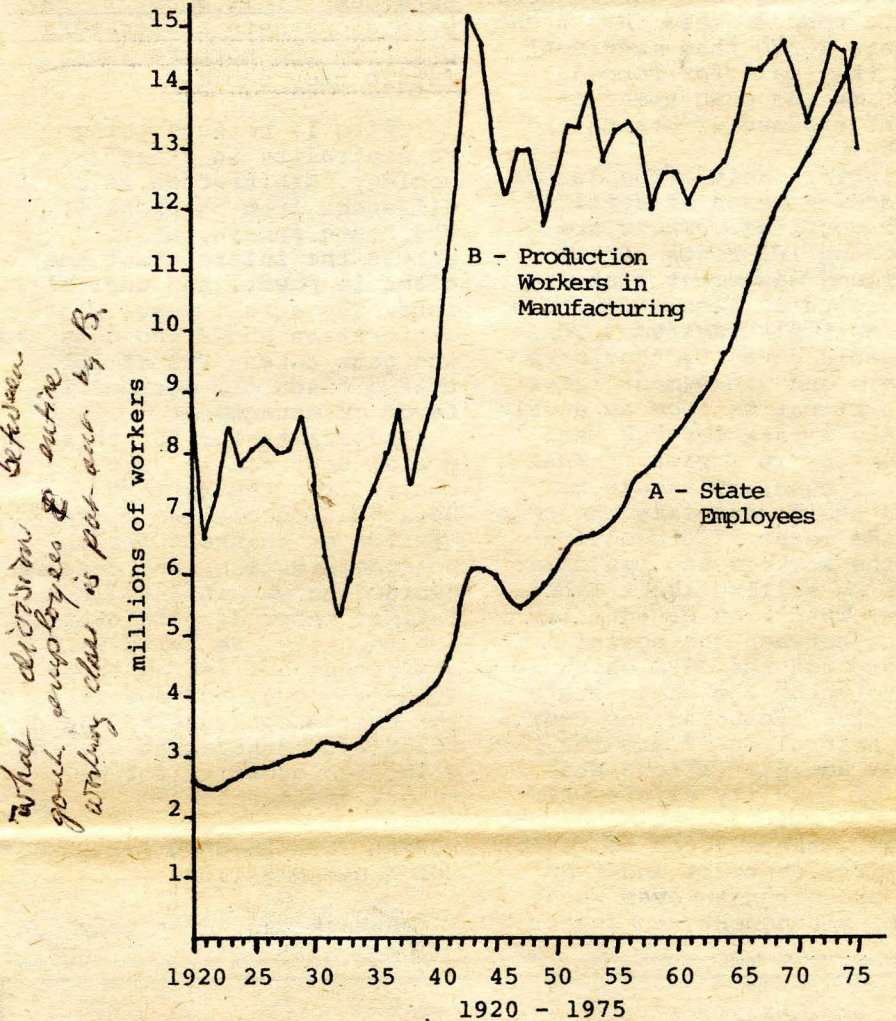
In the face of their attack on the broad masses of toiling people, it serves the bourgeoisie to promote any conceivable division among the people. It is only in the bourgeoisie's interest to create a division between government employees and other workers.

With the exception of the police, the courts, the prisons, and probation departments, etc., which are part of the special bodies of armed men which function to maintain bourgeois rule, the broad lower

strata of government employees are in some cases indistinguishable from the proletariat and in most cases allies of the proletariat. They deserve our firmest support.

The fact is the bourgeoisie's attack on government employees is part of a broader attack on the masses of toiling and impoverished people. California's Proposition 13 is an example of this. Government workers are playing a major role in standing up and resisting this attack.

As in any trade union struggle the unionization and strike activity of government workers represents consciousness in embryo. Communists must be active in their struggle and draw them in as another conscious battle field of the broad front of toiling people in combat with the bourgeoisie



FACTORY EXPOSURE

CONTINUED FROM P. 2

feated by the opposition of the workers.

While the bureaucrats kept silent on these and other important examples of national oppression, they instead endorsed the imperialists' "Buy American" campaign, which blames unemployment on foreign and immigrant workers. We explained that "The struggle of the multinational working class demands the unity of the whole class and the broad masses of oppressed peoples. We can build mutual trust and solidarity among the working people of all nationalities only if the whole working class takes up the struggle for equal rights. The programs of any candidate on this question is crucial because the divisions among the nationalities are a major block to the unity we need in our struggle. Those who oppose, ignore or merely give lip service to the struggle for equal rights in reality serve the imperialist they pretend to fight."

VOTING AND TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY

The biggest opposition to our line went something like this: "Not voting is undemocratic. If you don't vote, you can't complain about the results. By not voting, you are giving up the struggle to change the union."

In our agitation we answered that voting is not all there is to democracy. More important is equality, full information, and a real say in how things are run. This is not how our district is set up. The International President, one man, not elected directly by the rank and file, has veto power over

all decisions in the local. In regular monthly meetings, the chair controls the agenda, who speaks and what motions are "in order". It takes a well-organized group of many determined members to challenge this bureaucracy. Who is eligible for office is likewise tightly controlled. Voting for one of two hacks running in this race is hardly an expression of democracy.

We think that our line of boycott was a correct tactic for building trade union democracy. In this case, voting for either slate would have only strengthened the class collaborationist bureaucrats' hold on the union. Our campaign for a boycott rejected the limits that the bureaucrats impose on our struggle.

It was the boycott campaign that most clearly laid out that the principal obstacle to our waging effective class struggle at this time is the trade union bureaucracy. And, through a boycott campaign we could draw the connections between union elections, the bribery of the labor bureaucrats, and imperialism. It was only the line of boycotting the election that could arm the rank and file to fight for proletarian democracy.

In addition, it was in the struggle to win people to consciously boycott the election that the advanced came forward. To the extent that we win them to communism, they will become the core of future union battles. No longer hack versus hack, but proletarian leaders against class collaborators.

Although there was a lot of positive response to our campaign, a major weakness was the timing of the leaflet. We didn't get it out

until the day of the election. Though we'd been putting out the line verbally, the leaflet reached far more people. There was just not enough time before the voting to follow up the leaflet and to answer the arguments people raised. So while the educational purposes of the leaflet were served, it fell short of the aim of mobilizing people to boycott the elections consciously. This timing was a result of our inexperience and poor organization. It was a lesson for us on the importance of careful planning of all tasks, including printing and distribution.

In sum, the weaknesses in our work reflected the general state of our young communist movement. Our work was weakened by our inexperience and amateurishness in organizational work. Our ability to give leadership was limited by our lack of strong ties with the advanced and masses in the plants. We weren't yet able to mobilize a conscious mass boycott of the elections nor to run a slate of candidates ourselves.

On the other hand, the strengths of our work lay in putting Marxist-Leninist ideology in command and developing an independent communist policy that we put out in the district. Our line and agitation on boycotting the elections was one step in the process of building the trade unions as a mass force in the struggle for democratic rights and socialism. It was one step in exposing the local trade union bureaucrats and weakening their hold on our union. It gained us respect among the advanced and other workers in the district. It further developed our understanding of our trade union line and how to put it into practice. On the whole the campaign was a positive move forward in our work in that district.