

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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PHONEY TAX REVOLT

The overwhelming victory of Proposition 13 by a two to one margin in California early this month demonstrates the dramatic growth of a movement to slash taxes and cut government spending. Faced with high unemployment, spiraling inflation and the effects of the general crisis of US monopoly capitalism, homeowners have responded to a major national campaign which claims to attack high taxes, excessive government spending and waste. The California Initiative promised to bring a 60% tax relief immediately by limiting property taxes to 1% of the full cash value of the property.

But the real result of Proposition 13 is not what is claimed. Facts show that homeowners will benefit only slightly from Proposition 13. In fact, depending on the allocation of surplus state funds to local communities, the effect on the quality of life for many Californians will range from significant to disastrous.

The actual thrust of the "tax revolt" has been to appeal to the chauvinist sentiments of homeowners squeezed by capitalist crisis in order to focus their dissatisfaction on "special programs," "handouts," and "unnecessary social services." In the same way as the Bakke attack is part of a stepped up efforts to pass the burden of the imperialist crisis on to the backs of working and oppressed people, Proposition 13 also threatens gains made in the democratic struggles of women and oppressed nationalities.

It reflects the frustration of the homeowners towards government, towards politicians, and toward social programs that redistribute income to the poor. One taxpayer summed up this chauvinist sentiment, "It's those social services that annoy the heck out of me - social services for the colored, the Mexicans and so forth. Who wants to pay it all in taxes for

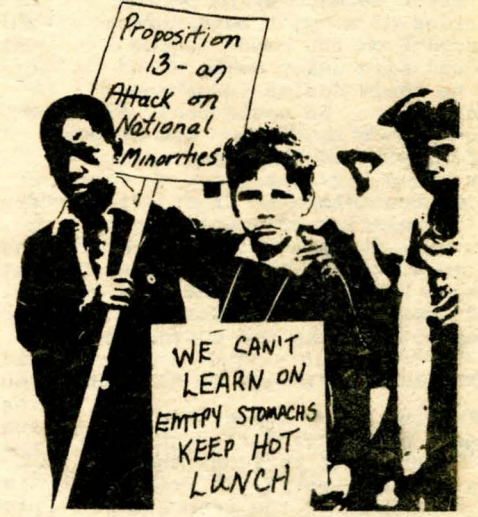
things like that?"

This focus on "attacking" high taxes and government waste by eliminating governmental services to oppressed nationalities through such phoney "tax reforms" as Proposition 13 only intensifies national oppression. It plays into the hands of those who seek to promote divisions among nationalities. It diverts attention from the struggle for multi-national unity necessary to take up a genuine fight against inflation and against the general crisis of imperialism.

"TAX REFORM" ATTACKS EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE

School districts are heavily dependent on property taxes for financing. The mandated loss of revenue under Proposition 13 reduces school budgets by 35% to 50%. In Los Angeles even if the state turns over \$300 million, the county will still lose over \$1 billion. In that one county over 20,000 school district employees face termination. With overall economizing necessary under these conditions, Blacks, Chicanos and other oppressed minorities have recognized that as government turns more frugal, they will be the most hurt.

In a pre-election speech to petroleum executives at a plush LA restaurant, Ed Davis, former LA police chief and former candidate for governor, outlined how, if Proposition 13 passed, state government would have to "tighten its belt" and "strip California education of all non-



essential programs - such as bilingual education and hot lunch programs". He criticized schools for providing hot lunches to poor children instead of cold box lunches.

"I don't think there is a person in this room who had a hot lunch in school. I had a sandwich, an apple and cookie and a piece of celery that I threw in the rubbish. Yet we have to hire cooks and get refrigerators and stoves." Instead of an extravagance, hot lunches are a response to the problem of malnutrition among oppressed nationalities and the poor that prevents educational progress. Because of segregation and national oppression, education continues to be unequal. With the drastic reduction in school budgets called for by this "tax reform", the quality of education in schools in oppressed minority communities will suffer the most. Public health care is another

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CHINA UN SPEECH EXPOSES SUPERPOWER DISARMAMENT FRAUD

On May 29th, Huang Hua, Chairman of the Chinese delegation to the UN and Foreign Minister of China, addressed a special UN session on disarmament. The session was called on the proposal of the third world and other non-aligned small and medium sized countries in response to the intensified arms race between the superpowers and to their increasing struggle for world hegemony. In his speech, Huang Hua exposed the duplicity of both superpowers who call for the peoples of the world to disarm, while they frenziedly step up their own military capabilities. He pointed out how the superpowers have been preaching disarmament for years while actually carrying out arms expansion and military aggression on a massive scale.

Huang Hua pointed out in his speech that today, despite almost 10 years of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), both superpowers are armed to the teeth as never before in human history. Their military arsenal includes chemical, biological, nuclear and conventional armaments. And, the amount of military spending by the two superpowers roughly equals the sum total spent by all the other 150-odd countries combined.

In particular, the Soviet Union has made the biggest gains in the arms race. Since 1961 the Soviet Union has increased the number of its strategic missiles by over 14 times, more than doubled its naval tonnage, and increased its military force by almost 10,000 tanks, several thousand aircraft, and more than a million men. The Soviet Union, which has taken the offensive in the superpower struggle for spheres of influence and arms superiority, is the most dangerous source of a new world war.

SUPPORT GENUINE DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

In the face of this growing danger, people are calling for disarmament in the hope that it will reduce the threat of war. But since it is the two superpowers who are the main source for this growing danger, any disarmament must begin with them.

Thus Huang Hua pointed out that we must judge disarmament measures not on their face value, but on

their real effect,

"Any measure that helps to safeguard international peace and security and postpone the outbreak of war should be supported; conversely any measure that serves the interests of either superpower in seeking hegemony and preparing for war must be opposed."

It was on this basis that Huang Hua reaffirmed China's resolute opposition to another world war and support for all genuine disarmament proposals, as well as China's commitment to thoroughly expose the disarmament hoaxes of the superpowers.

Answering accusations that China is warlike because it is actively preparing for war Huang Hua pointed out that it is not China that has thousands of troops in foreign lands, naval fleets in far off oceans, or wages offensive military maneuvers in different parts of the world. Huang Hua stated,

"Our preparedness is not for aggression but for defense against aggression."

SUPERPOWERS PROPOSE SHAM DISARMAMENT

It is the superpowers, Huang Hua explained, who have seized on the genuine desire for world peace expressed by the third world and other countries and produced disarmament proposals that try to turn attention away from their own hegemonic strivings as the source for the coming war. Superpower disarmament proposals are based on such measures as "complete prohibition of nuclear tests", "consolidation of the system of nuclear non-proliferation" and "cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction."

But, as Huang Hua summed up, these disarmament proposals are nonsense. Through such proposals the superpowers raise the question of disarmament as if it were an end in itself. The superpowers divorce the issue of disarmament from the current relationships of force in the international

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LABOR LAW REFORM STALLS IN SENATE

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!

The trade union bureaucracy has been carrying on a frantic political campaign to get Congress to pass the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978. In local, regional and national publications, in meetings, conferences and special rallies, trade union officials have tried to impress workers with the importance of this reform. Union business agents who have scarcely been seen on the shop floor except at election time have been going around handing out form letters and post-cards to "send to your Senators and Congressmen".

The bill, which was approved by House of Representatives last year, is now before the US Senate (S2467) and is stalled by a Senate filibuster. If it gets past this hurdle, opponents plan to attack it with an endless round of amendments. In the face of difficulty, Democratic Party leaders who backed the proposal are preparing to abandon it as a lost cause.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

Basically this legislation is designed to revise existing federal labor laws to make it somewhat easier to organize non-union workplaces by speeding up the election process and by providing tougher penalties for labor law violations. The main provisions of the bill are as follows:

- it enlarges the National Labor Relations Board from five to seven members so it can handle more cases;
- it requires the NLRB to hold representation elections from 21 to 75 days after a majority of employees at a work-

- place request union representation;
- it enables NLRB judges to streamline their decision making;
- it authorizes back pay orders for employees equal to what would have been received if the contract had been signed earlier when a company refuses to 'bargain in good faith';
- it permits union organizers limited access to company property to refute anti-union speeches by companies during organizing drives;
- it authorizes the federal government to withhold federal contracts from companies that repeatedly violate NLRB orders.

A NARROW SOLUTION TO A SERIOUS PROBLEM

For the trade union bureaucracy the Labor Law Reform Act is an answer to the steady decline in union membership in recent years. It is put forward as a means to organize the unorganized.

In fact, the decline in union membership reflects grave weaknesses in the trade union movement. Total union membership has gone from about 25% of the labor force in the mid-1950s (not in itself high) to about 20% today. Despite a growing workforce, AFL-CIO membership alone has dropped by over one-half million in the last two years. To labor officialdom, this represents lost dues and pension payments. To class conscious workers

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Organize the unorganized

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faced with sharpening class contradictions in the context of widespread crisis, it represents a dangerous vulnerability to ruling class attack.

We can support provisions of the proposed legislation such as access to company property during organizing drives, quicker representation elections, stronger rules for reinstatement and back pay when a worker is fired for union activity, and so forth. But legislative proposals of this sort do not address the underlying problem and are not our main concern. Instead, they serve to expose the narrow solutions of a union bureaucracy divorced from the needs of the rank and file union members and deaf to their desire for strong organization. We would badly misuse the Labor Law Reform Act proposal if we allowed the opportunist trade union leadership now in control of the unions to front off this legislation as a solution to the steady decline in union membership or to divert the attention of the rank and file from the need to build broad and large scale campaigns to organize the unorganized.

IMPERIALIST CRISIS AND TU RESPONSE

Falling union membership involves a number of different factors. Overall it reflects the deepening of the imperialist crisis and the inadequacy of the response of the trade unions under their present class collaborationist leadership.

For example, where industry has intensified production, forcing one worker to do the work of two, union leadership does nothing. In steel, faced with stepped up foreign competition, one company after another has said that jobs could be guaranteed if production were carried out with fewer workers. More injuries, less money and harder work to save fewer jobs, and the union bureaucracy does nothing, acting instead on the premise that what is good for monopoly capital is good for the working class. The United Steel Workers Union leadership has endorsed productivity drives, forced the no-strike ENA agreement on the rank and file and peddled the companies' argument that foreign imports are the cause of unemployment. The result has been an increase in production of steel and a loss of union jobs -- over 100,000 in the past 20 years.

Union jobs have also been lost by the flight of US capital to the third world. For example, major US corporations have transferred the production of electronic components to Taiwan, Korea or Mexico in order to take advantage of low wages and government legislation restricting unions or prohibiting strike activity. Far from fighting this, officials of the organized labor movement have played an active role in maintaining low wages and superprofit conditions in third world nations. In cooperation with the CIA and through puppet organizations such as the American Institute for Labor Development in Latin America, US trade union misleaders have helped imperialists stifle militant or revolutionary trade union development and helped keep a tight reign on the labor movement in developing countries.

The transfer of capital to the US South and Southwest reflects the same phenomena. Today the US cities with the fastest job growth rates are in these regions -- Beaumont, Houston and Austin in Texas, Tampa and St. Petersburg in Florida, Columbia and Greenville in South Carolina, Albuquerque, New Mexico and Tucson, Arizona in the Southwest. 780,300 new manufacturing jobs in the last decade have gone to states which were wholly or partially areas of historic Black majority population and the homeland of the Afro-American nation. Additional hundreds of thousands have opened in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and California where the Mexican-American population is high.

It is throughout these areas, as in third world countries, that national oppression has been used to keep wage rates low and to support local legislation restricting union activity and strikes. Right to work laws, for example, which forbid closed or union shops, are mainly found in states of the South and the Southwest. Overall, between 1965 and 1975, 943,200 new manufacturing jobs opened up in the 19 states with right to work laws.

But organized labor's "campaign" to remove section 14b from the

Taft-Hartley Act -- 14b is the section that authorizes states to enact right to work laws -- was readily abandoned on the excuse of promoting support for the Labor Law Reform Act.

We could not expect much of present trade union leadership in the drive to organize in these areas anyway. Bribed by imperialism to complicity in the oppression of nations throughout the world as well as in the US, the trade union bureaucracy can provide no leadership in those regions where successful organizing demands above all a determined struggle against white racist and national chauvinist sentiments that are the main obstacle to multinational unity.

WE MUST ORGANIZE THE RANK AND FILE

But while factors such as greater labor intensity and runaway shops, as well as other factors such as automation, have cost union jobs, they do not explain the loss of union membership. They are external factors that condition union growth. They do not determine it.

The basic reason for the decline in union membership must be sought in the trade unions themselves and in the character of their leadership. In fact, those who run the affairs of our unions today

are, with rare exceptions, completely removed from the day to day struggles of the working class and have completely abandoned the practical activity required to organize and mobilize rank and file trade union work. Instead of a grass roots campaign to organize the unorganized, we get administra-

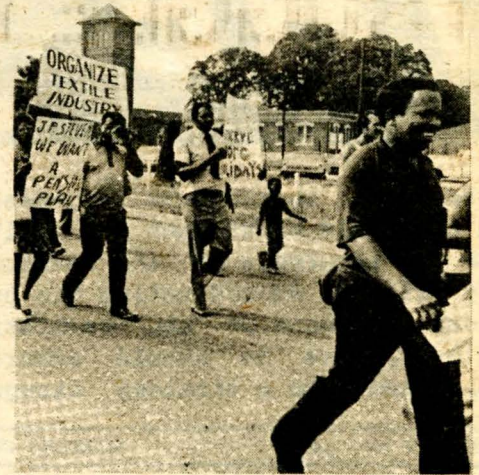
tive maneuvers and legal reforms. That is why, in itself, the substance of the Labor Law Reform Act is strictly insignificant. Without a broad and aggressive drive to mobilize the initiative, strength and courage of the rank and file trade union movement, no amount of labor law reform will make any serious contribution to expanding union organization.

THE EXAMPLE OF J.P. STEVENS

The JP Stevens organizing campaign, which has been an important reason for the union bureaucracy to seek new legislation, is a practical example of this point. Presently JP Stevens is charged with over 1,200 violations of existing labor laws, has been found guilty in courts of unfair labor practices at least fifteen times, and, has been guilty of the firing, harassment, and even murder of union organizers. Yet recently the corporation was permitted to "cop" a plea to the NLRB charges whereby it agreed to hire some fired organizers and make up for other harassment, but with no fine, no immediate elections and no admission of guilt. The AFL-CIO leadership complains that what we need to organize workers at JP Stevens is more legislation. But experience shows that another law will only lead to a new category of violations as long as organized labor refuses to mobilize the capacity of JP Stevens workers, and their supporters everywhere, for direct action in their own interests.

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!

The significance of the Labor Law Reform Act proposal is that it focuses the attention of the trade union movement on the question of union organizing. In union publications, in union meetings, and on the shop floor, where there is talk about the Labor Law Reform Act,



there is talk of the underlying problem -- organizing the unorganized. Everywhere the Labor Law Reform Act comes up, our job is to concentrate the attention of workers on that problem and on the real causes of union membership decline. We need to expose in every detail the futility of the tactics of the opportunist leadership now in control of the trade unions and show that their efforts are calculated to minimize the ability of the working class to expand its organized ranks. In particular we must not allow these issues to be obscured by a few legislative proposals.

By our example we must show that trade unions can be a school of struggle for the working masses. That is the way we can win them to revolutionary leadership. There must be a mass movement in the trade unions to organize the unorganized. Only in this way can we build a revolutionary trade union movement capable of defending the interests of the working class in the bitter struggles to come.

BUREAUCRATS WEAKEN STRUGGLE AT J.P. STEVENS

Labor bureaucrats are pushing the Labor Law Reform Act as a solution to the difficulties they've found in the organizing campaign at J.P. Stevens and other factories in the South and nationwide. The following contribution to THE COMMUNIST concretely shows how the bureaucrats have betrayed the struggle of the J.P. Stevens workers by limiting it to a consumer boycott. What's behind this tactic is the opportunist line that Stevens will be forced to sign contracts by the NLRB, courts, and other institutions of the state. The present trade union leadership advocates the losing strategy of relying on the bourgeois state instead of an effective plan of organizing the masses of workers at Stevens. The exposure shows that what is needed are not new labor laws, but new labor leaders.

For fifteen years the workers at J.P. Stevens have been fighting for a union. Though many plants have voted in the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), so far not one has gotten a contract. Stevens has used every trick in the book to prevent unionization, and then simply refused to negotiate in good faith.

J.P. Stevens is a billion dollar, multi-national corporation with subsidiaries in Canada, Mexico, Europe, New Zealand and Australia. In the US, it is involved in everything from warehousing (Black Hawk Corporation), to distribution of aircraft (Southeastern Beechcraft) to printing telephone books (Stevens Graphics). Besides, Stevens is the second largest textile manufacturer in the US. It employs 44,000 workers in 85 plants mostly in North and South Carolina. Stevens is in the South because only 10% of the 700,000 textile workers there are unionized, and because the average southern textile worker makes \$1.42 an hour less than the average American manufacturing worker. Stevens, like monopoly capitalists everywhere, is out to maximize its rate of profit.

To avoid unionization, J.P. Stevens has broken labor law after labor law. In 15 separate cases it was found guilty of violating the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) and had to pay more than \$1.3 million in back wages to 289 workers. It has wiretapped union organizers' phones; discriminated against union sympathizers, denying them raises, promotions and over-

time; and refused employment to union members' relatives. It has closed plants that went union, and threatened to close the one in Wallace, North Carolina. It has exploited national divisions to hinder a union drive. In one plant, 2 days before the union representation election it granted an 18 minute lunch break and raised wages and benefits. In Statesboro, Georgia, Stevens reduced wages after the union was voted in.

All this has been too much even for the bourgeoisie's own NLRB. Recently they again went to court to seek an injunction against J.P. Stevens. They asked a federal court to "restrain Stevens from unlawfully interfering with or discriminating against employees who exercise their right to join or assist a union or who seek to vindicate those rights through NLRB processes". In their eyes, Stevens' blatant disregard for the laws that serve to mask the domination of the capitalists was causing too much unrest. But this injunction would be just one more ruling added to the many J.P. Stevens has already refused to obey.

In contrast to the iron-fisted tactics of the company, the union bureaucrats appear almost pro-worker. The ACTWU, with full endorsement from the AFL-CIO, has supported the Stevens' employees. They've helped publicize the issue, printed literature, and made an excellent film, "Testimony: Justice vs J.P. Stevens". In addition, they've sent organizers, helped fight the legal battles, and now, are supporting the campaign to boycott Stevens' products.

While we certainly support these efforts, the question inevitably comes up, "Why not strike J.P. Stevens?" One of workers' levers at the bargaining table is their ability to withhold their labor power, the source of capitalists' profits. A boycott relies on the power of the consumer to not buy. While it's correct to unite all who can be united to support the J.P. Stevens workers, it is not correct to shift the center of the activity away from the workers' struggle to build unity and organization.

In fact, in this case a boycott is a very weak tactic. J.P. Stevens products are marketed under many different brand names. Of these only 30-40% are "visible", like Wonder-Glass, Astroquartz, Wool Press, Worumbo, Fruit of the Loom, and Utica. The "hidden" ones are sold under a retailer's own label, as is the case at Sears and J.C.

Penney's. Because the list is long and mostly hidden, even the potential of an effective boycott is limited.

The boycott organizers say a strike is impractical because if Stevens workers struck one plant, the company would just move production to another plant. They say you can't get the workers to strike because so many are sharecroppers who can't read and write and to whom even low wages look good.

Instead of buckling down to the hard work of organizing, the opportunist union leaders shrink from the task and blame sharecroppers for why there is no strike. Such an old line--if it's not sharecroppers it's blacks, or women or Mexicans, or students who are "unorganizable".

As for strike possibilities, at one plant enough signatures were collected in 2 weeks to hold a union election. It seems the workers are ready, but the so-called organizers have cold feet. No one would expect that organizing 85 plants would be easy, but think of the power of those 85 striking together!

Moreover, think of the union workers who transport and sell Stevens products. They could be called on to support this struggle. But the boycott organizers close the door on this possibility. The boycott committee refuses to appeal to Teamsters or Retail Clerks because this would go beyond the limits of bourgeois legality as an "illegal" secondary boycott. Fifteen years of hollow court victories haven't been enough to convince these opportunists that the state is not on the side of the workers!

They continue to put out arguments of bourgeois reformism. They want change that is acceptable to the ruling class. They rally around the cause of J.P. Stevens workers as if it were unique. They seek to arouse liberal sentiment to clean up this too obvious example of exploitation, without challenging the system that produces it. So they prefer the tactic of boycott.

The reformists are acting as a brake on the rising resistance of the J.P. Stevens workers. Though they claim to be leaders of the workers, in effect they protect the monopolists' interests. They cannot do both. The interests of labor and capital are not compatible. Only class conscious trade union leaders can give direction to the struggles of the working class.

--from a correspondent

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC PHILIPPINES

On June 12, the 80th anniversary of Philippine independence, President Ferdinand E. Marcos officially opened the "new interim assembly" of the Philippines. Elected last April under conditions of massive fraud and violence, it is part of Marcos' attempt to whitewash the brutal reality of the martial law being used to exercise control over the people of the Philippines.

This "move toward democracy" was forced on Marcos by the exposure and worldwide denunciation of the terror and torture in the Philippines under rule by martial law. This opposition to Marcos even includes a resolution by the US House of Representatives to cut off all assistance to Marcos in 1979 if "human rights" are not improved.

US ROLE IN THE PHILIPPINES

But, contrary to this high-sounding congressional resolution in "opposition" to Marcos' government, it is in fact US imperialism which is the main support and beneficiary of martial law in the Philippines.

Economically, martial law in the Philippines would have already collapsed without the more than \$175 million in direct aid provided to Marcos over the last two years by US imperialism. There has also been more economic aid provided to prop up the reactionary regime through the US controlled World Bank.

Militarily, Marcos has depended totally on US arms sales, military training, and military credit to defend his dictatorship. In addition, US imperialism main-

tains 20 military bases on the islands which actively assist Marcos in suppressing resistance to his dictatorial rule.

Clearly, "opposition" to Marcos' rule by the US ruling class is not motivated by any genuine concern for human rights. In the Philippines, as in other third world countries, the US must divert attention from the actual reactionary role that it plays, if it is to contend ideologically for world hegemony with its Soviet superpower rival. In recent years the significant gains by the Soviets in their own quest for world hegemony have been grabbed behind the false banner of socialism. In their attempt to regain lost prestige the US imperialists counter Soviet "social" imperialism with the "moral imperialism" based on so-called "human rights."

US IMPERIALIST DOMINATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

US ruling class opposition to Marcos is a sham because the basis for instituting martial law in the first place was to protect the interests of US imperialism.

The over three billion dollars invested in the Philippines by US monopoly capital has been a great source of super profits. Through this investment the US imperialists have been able to extract the highest rate of return of any overseas investment. This enormous drain of wealth out of the Philippines and into the coffers of US monopoly capital comes at the expense of super-exploited Filipino workers who have no guarantee of minimum wages, and through the plunder

of Philippine national resources.

These superprofits also come at the expense of the Philippine national economy, as fifty percent of all Philippine business assets are controlled by the US. Unable to compete with the powerful US monopolies, Philippine national business has been unable to fully develop and is in fact characterized by growing bankruptcy. It is US imperialist superexploitation that preserves the backward feudal character of the Philippines.

OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE

It was these very conditions created by US imperialist domination that led to a growing nationalist movement that continues today even under the harsh repression of martial law. Sparked by demonstrations in the early 60's against the presence of US bases, the movement grew to include workers, peasants, and students and attacked US imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism as the three main evils in Philippine society.

Hundreds of strikes and peasant revolts developed in the late 60's and early 70's as the masses protested spiraling prices, frozen wages, and the absence of agrarian reform. The widespread nationalist sentiment eventually affected even the Philippine Supreme Court. In early 1972 it ruled to prohibit US individuals and corporations from being the sole owners of land and certain enterprises in the Philippines.

The most critical development in this revolutionary mass movement, however, was the re-esta-

blishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1968. This party based itself ideologically on Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tsetung Thought. Under the leadership of the CCP a New Peoples' Army (NPA) was formed which took up armed struggle against US imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism.

MUSLIM NATIONAL MOVEMENT

During this same period the Muslim national minority, which has historically lived in the southern islands of the Philippines, primarily in Mindanao and Sulu, took up the fight for autonomy under the leadership of the Moro National Liberation Front and its military army, Bangsa Moro Army.

This struggle of four million Moros (Filipino Muslims) for self-determination is part of the struggle against the domination of US imperialism and Marcos' dictatorship. Over 80% of this national minority are landless peasants who are mercilessly oppressed by the alliance between local feudal landlords and US agricultural corporations such as United Fruit, Dole, Firestone, Goodrich, and others.

The poverty among the Moros caused by imperialist domination is so great that two out of five children die of malnutrition before they are four years old.

MARTIAL LAW INTENSIFIES

Under martial law instituted in September, 1972, Marcos dissolved

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Huang Hua speech

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arena and from the source for the current danger of war. They are deliberately confusing the issue by calling for nuclear disarmament by every country as if disarming all the countries of Africa, for example, would avert the danger of a nuclear war. Even if these "nuclear disarmament" proposals were fully carried out the superpowers would still be capable of launching an all out war since they already have all the nuclear weapons they need in their possession.

As Huang Hua showed, the superpower nuclear disarmament proposals only hurt the countries of the second and third world. Many of the third world countries in fact lack even adequate defense capabilities. And in the face of growing superpower aggression and striving for hegemony, they need to strengthen their national defense. Thus to call for disarmament of all countries, as if each were 100% equal, flies in the face of reality. Huang Hua continued,

"As for the many small and medium sized countries, armaments are their means of defense to safeguard their independence and security against superpower aggression."

But, the Soviet Union turns this on its head by slandering the third world as being the "source of the arms race" and calls for vigilance against the "extent the arms drive has reached in the third world".

In addition Huang Hua stated China's opposition to superpower attempts to hamper other countries' development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes on the pretext of nuclear non-proliferation.

REDUCE CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS

In his speech Huang Hua raised that the issue of disarmament can not be restricted to nuclear weapons. The potential of each superpower in conventional war is also a serious threat to world peace. It is conventional weaponry that is currently being used by both superpowers in their expansion and aggression everywhere. For example,

"Social imperialism in particular, has been using tanks, airplanes, guns, and warships, and not strategic nuclear weapons in its many armed threats or military adventures in the Middle East, in Africa, and in Asia."

In Europe, the focus of superpower contention, we can see a gigantic conventional buildup, particularly by the Soviet Union, which has over 600,000 ground for-

ces stationed in Eastern Europe.

As Huang Hua said, "When the two superpowers, which are the only countries capable of launching a world war, come into conflict, they may fight a nuclear war, but it is more likely that they will fight a conventional war."

Thus any disarmament proposal put forward must include both nuclear and conventional weaponry.

Another important issue raised at this disarmament session concerned the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries. China firmly supported the demand that all nuclear countries agree not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and in the nuclear free zones that have been declared by the small and medium sized countries. Huang Hua pointed out that if the superpowers cannot even accept this minimum proposal it will only further expose the utter bankruptcy of their claims of supporting nuclear disarmament.

DELAY THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

While we should struggle for disarmament with the aim of postponing imperialist war and making aggression difficult for the superpowers, Huang Hua cautioned that we must not pin our hopes for the maintenance of world peace on disarmament. In the age of imperialism, the imperialists always seek to divide the world in proportion to strength, and

"the arms race is an indispensable means of their rivalry for hegemony."

Thus neither superpower will readily agree to reduce their armaments and weaken their war machines.

At the same time Huang Hua points out there are many other things we can do to postpone imperialist war.

First we must tell the people of the world about the danger of war. And we must prepare the people of the world for this war both materially and organizationally, always explaining the root cause of war. We must struggle against the Soviet Union's plan for detente and all other sham declarations for world peace and harmony issued by the superpowers. This includes explaining to the masses the fraudulent character of the SALT talks, their phoney disarmament schemes, and any other attempts they may cook up to lull the people of the world to the danger of war.

Second we must strengthen the anti-hegemonist struggle in all spheres.

"The people of the world can

upset the war plans and deployments of the two hegemonist powers and put off a new world war by waging a sustained struggle to frustrate the acts of aggression; that is, to stop their infringement on the sovereignty and encroachment on the territories and territorial seas of other countries, prevent their interference in the internal affairs of other countries by the threat or use of force or any other means, and thwart their attempts to set or redivide spheres of influence in any part of the world."

This makes clear that while the Soviet Union is the greater source of world war, both superpowers remain our common enemy and we must continue to direct our main blow internationally at both the US and the Soviet Union.

Finally, in order to put off the outbreak of war, it is also necessary to oppose a policy of appeasement. It is the Soviet Union which, flaunting the label of socialism, is moving aggressively to supplant the United States. Yet there are some in the West who are either afraid of war or indulge in a false sense of security. They underestimate the war capabilities of the Soviet social imperialists and even come out in support of the Soviet Union's own fraudulent line on "detente" and deny the existence of a serious danger of war.

CHINESE PROPOSAL FOR SUPERPOWER DISARMAMENT

--from Huang Hua's UN speech--

"The war machines of the two superpowers have reached unprecedented proportions in peacetime history and have become swords of Damocles hanging over the heads of the people of the world. It is imperative that the superpowers take effective disarmament measures, cut down their huge arsenals and reduce their military threats to other countries. The Soviet Union and the United States must first of all take the following action:

(1) Declare that at no time and in no circumstances will they resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones;

(2) Withdraw all their armed forces stationed abroad and undertake not to dispatch armed forces of any description to other countries; dismantle all their military bases and para-military bases on foreign soil and undertake not to seek new ones;

(3) Stop their nuclear and conventional arms race and set out to destroy by stages their nuclear weapons and drastically reduce their conventional weapons;

(4) Undertake not to station massive forces or stage military exercises near the borders of other countries, and undertake not to launch military attacks, including surprise attacks, against other countries on any pretext;

(5) Undertake not to export weapons to other countries for the purpose of bringing them under control or fomenting war or abetting threats of war.

When major progress has been made in the destruction of Soviet and US nuclear weapons, the other countries should join the Soviet Union and the United States in destroying all nuclear weapons. It is high time that the superpowers demonstrate their sincerity for disarmament with actual deeds instead of hollow words."

Proposition 13

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

service which has been supported by local property taxes. Proposition 13 directly attacks the right of oppressed nationalities to health care. Two county hospitals in LA are closing, and the LA General Hospital will drop from 1300 to 300 beds. 78% of its employees, a large percentage of whom are national minorities, will be laid off. The people served by these hospitals are also national minorities who can often get health care in no other way. The emergency room at LA General already has a five to six hour wait, and with the mandated cutbacks hundreds of people will not be taken care of at all.

LAYOFFS LOOM

A major effect of the "tax reform" is the loss of tax-funded jobs. Estimates have varied on the total impact, with the possibility of as many as 450,000 jobs being eliminated, raising unemployment in California from 7.3% to 10.1%. National minorities and women are the ones most directly affected by these layoffs as many of them have gotten their jobs under affirmative action programs begun in recent years. Once again they face the traditional patterns of discrimination being the "last hired and the first fired".

Another effect of the tax cut will be the loss of local revenue necessary for "matching funds" that are used to attract large sums of money from the federal government to help in local communities. Child care services, that have developed over the last several years in response to the demands of working mothers, are primarily funded by such matching funds, and most are being closed. Matching funds are also necessary to fund CETA programs designed to provide training and employment for unskilled and unemployed people, many of whom are minorities and women. These programs are being cut back between 50% and 100%. In Los Angeles 5,500 CETA employees are being fired and as many as 50,000 CETA jobs are endangered statewide.

Other services which may be included in the cutbacks are police and fire departments, flood

control, libraries, lighting maintenance, sewer maintenance, paramedics programs, parks and recreational programs, human relations commissions, The Commission on the Status of Women, alcoholism services, senior citizens meal programs, drug abuse and prevention programs and others. When decisions are made about what to cut in all these areas, the brunt of the reductions will be felt in the working class and national minority communities.

WHO DOES PROPOSITION 13 SERVE?

The major beneficiaries of Proposition 13 are large landowners and monopoly capital. As seen in this chart, homeowners receive only a third of the "tax relief".

	Dollars in relief	% of total
Homeowners	\$2,391(mil)	34%
Business	\$3,940	56%
State of Ca.	\$ 700	10%

The average homeowner in the current year will have a reduction of approximately \$870. However, for the corporations the savings are far more substantial. The state's ten largest utilities and railroads alone will benefit by \$400 million. Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) may see a \$98 million cut. In addition Standard Oil will receive \$13.1 million, Lockheed, \$9.5 million, and the Bank of America will increase its annual earnings by 7 cents a share reflecting a \$15 million benefit.

Moreover, the individual homeowner does not actually reap the benefit of the tax cut he starts out with. Homeowners will lose the deduction in state and federal income tax that they formerly received for higher property taxes. 31% of homeowners' savings from property tax cuts will go out in increased state income tax of \$295 million and an increased federal tax of \$1.9 billion. The property "tax rebellion" claims to want to cut taxes in order to force government to be more responsive. But the net effect is to centralize tax funds even more in the offices of state capitals and Washington, further away from the direct influence of the tax-

payer.

In addition there may be new taxes passed as sources of revenue for the funds lost from reduced property tax. The main sources are most likely to be increased income tax or sales tax, both of which affect the working class most directly. If cities and counties seek additional charges for services like water, garbage collection, or sewers, the homeowner again gets the short end of "relief". Businesses can write off such increased expenses as tax deductible, while for individual homeowners they are merely additional costs.

EFFECT ON RENTERS

Howard Jarvis, the originator of Proposition 13, is the executive director of an association of 8,000 apartment owners in Los Angeles. Landlords throughout California, who will make millions of dollars in additional profits, are the chief beneficiaries of the "tax relief". Renters make up 45% of all California households and they get no benefits from this proposition. Although there will be substantial reductions in their landlords' property taxes, the rents will stay the same. There is no required roll back that would pass on any of the benefit to the renter. But whatever taxes are enacted to make up for the loss in property tax revenues will be born equally by renters. This is a clear double burden for renters.

PROPOSITION 13-OPPORTUNIST RESPONSE TO TAX BURDEN

Homeowners in California have faced a tremendous rise in their property taxes over the past several years. Pushed by inflation, property taxes in some neighborhoods have risen as much as 500% in the past three years. This is the result of a spiraling inflation rate that has characterized the American economy for the last decade. Prices of homes have been so inflated that property which sold for \$20,000 ten years ago may sell for close to \$100,000 today. While the inflated value of people's homes is not realized equally in their paychecks, it is reflected in their property taxes.

Property taxes are not the only taxes which have risen. There has been a continuing increase in sales and income taxes as well. But these taxes, although they are larger than property taxes, are not within the ability of people to directly control. Demagogues like Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann, the leaders of the initiative in California, focus the need for tax reform solely on property taxes. This "tax relief", which only lessens the burdens on property owners, supports the opportunist tendency among the middle strata to focus their frustrations on the oppressed nationalities rather than directly attack the source of increasing taxation in the halls of monopoly capital.

In the absence of comprehensive political exposure of this demagoguery and the real causes of the economic crisis, homeowners are in general being swept along with this phoney "tax revolt". Rather than a genuine revolt against the oppressive levels of taxation which serves the interests of imperialism, they are pitted in a revolt against the renters, the poor and the oppressed nationalities.

Organized labor in California failed to lead the working class in a response to the need for tax

reform that would expose the conflicts between the overwhelming majority of people and monopoly capital. Instead they supported a moderate version of the same property tax relief.

SIMILAR EFFORTS SPREAD

Based on the show of strength in California, taxpayer groups have started similar actions to slash government spending or limit taxes in Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. Although the form is not the same in every state, the overall movement builds on the same sentiment of phoney tax reforms.

In Congress, the response includes a bill to limit federal spending to 1/3 of the national income for the past three years. Presently the federal government already spends over 35%. Carter has used the vote to support his proposed cuts in various budget items, and the House approved a 2% cut on all programs in the budget of Health Education and Welfare.

A related "tax revolt" occurred in Ohio where voters rejected 60% of the school bond issues on ballots across the state. This sets the stage for school closures around the state including Cleveland and Columbus, the state's largest cities.

BUILD AN ANTI-CHAUVINIST CAMPAIGN

Genuine tax reform should serve the interests of the working class and oppressed nationalities in the US. Proposition 13 shows how monopoly capital can use a phoney tax reform as a tool to bribe elements of the middle strata, including privileged sections of the working class, to serve their interests. Under the guise of popular reform, this movement makes an already regressive tax system worse. The greatest relief is granted large landowners and monopoly capitalists. For a crumb of tax relief, small property owners are bribed to support a measure that benefits the rich and gives absolutely no relief to the propertyless masses for whom the oppression and burden of taxation is the greatest.

Resistance to this tax revolt fraud which is spreading across the nation must also be nationwide. We call on the anti-Bakke movement to broaden its struggle in defense of equal rights for women and oppressed national minorities in order to take up the struggle to expose this phoney tax reform movement. For one thing, defense of affirmative action programs means nothing if we allow a so-called tax revolt to eliminate the funding necessary for affirmative action. In addition, the movement for "reform" kicked off by Proposition 13 relies on sentiments of national chauvinism and seeks to organize them. Unless we mobilize to meet this attack, we can never carry through the struggle for equal rights. The Bakke case and Proposition 13 are coherent pieces of a common reactionary front. They dramatize our urgent need for a broad, popular nationwide campaign with the capacity to defend the interests of the working and oppressed masses against every attack on our democratic rights and to push forward the struggle for equal rights.

Philippine struggle

CONTINUED FROM P. 3

Congress, made all government subservient to his absolute power, imposed military censorship on all press, radio and TV, and completely closed all papers. He declared all basic freedoms illegal such as the right to strike, to assemble, and to protest.

In one of his most significant moves Marcos exposed clearly why martial law was needed when he guaranteed the US and all other investors that foreign capital would be protected and that there would be no land confiscation. This negated the earlier ruling by the Philippine Supreme Court. Having delivered a free reign to US imperialism the Marcos government has since imposed a wage freeze. As a result wages are today 55% of what they were in 1969!

Terror against the masses is an integral part of the martial law that Marcos calls the "New Society". Over 60,000 people have been imprisoned, many without charges, for "crimes against the national security". These included labor leaders, students, intellectuals, opposition political leaders, cadre of the CCP, and other liberation fighters.

The Philippine military establishment is notorious for its torture of political prisoners and has been cited repeatedly by international commissions for human rights violations. At least 126 prisoners have been killed with no trial. On the battle front, Marcos' army has created "free fire" zones in areas of Mindanao. Over 40,000 Muslim peasants have been killed in the armed struggle and over 1.7 million Muslim refugees have been created as a result of the bitter fighting.

STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION CONTINUES

The people of the Philippines have waged fierce struggle against Marcos' martial law from the day

it began. It has taken the form of a steadily growing number of strikes, demonstrations, and boycotts in the urban areas and armed struggle and land seizure in the countryside.

In particular there were large May Day demonstrations in 1976 and 1977 where thousands of workers demanded wage increases, price rollbacks, and re-establishment of civil liberties. The struggle against martial law and for democracy has served to unite a broad united front of workers, peasants, students, clergy, and national bourgeois elements.

The leading force in this resistance has been the CCP. Its work was critical in forging the broad united front that worked to expose the phoney elections in April and the opening of the interim assembly. In the countryside the People's war continues to grow. The New Peoples' Army which began in 1969 with 60 men and 35 guns now numbers in the thousands and operates in 11 regions of the country with 20 guerrilla fronts and a support base of a half million or more.

This struggle against martial law in the Philippines is a revolutionary struggle. The purpose of martial law has been to protect the interests of US monopoly capital. A genuinely democratic and independent Philippines would be a serious undermining of the strength that US imperialism draws from its superexploitation of the Filipino people. Thus the struggle for democracy in the Philippines is an important aspect of our own struggle to overthrow US monopoly capital and establish socialism.

All the forces struggling for democracy in the Philippines and the multinational US proletariat share a common struggle against a common enemy. It is the task of communists to forge a common front and lead this struggle in a revolutionary direction.

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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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