

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

SPECIAL ANTI-BAKKE SUPPLEMENT

This special supplement is a contribution to the effort to mobilize national resistance to the Bakke decision, and, in particular, to the decision of the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition to build a nationwide organization. This is an important step. The ABDC has drawn a good line of demarcation with reformist and revisionist forces who wanted to reduce the Bakke struggle nationwide to one for petty reforms. ABDC has insisted on relying on the struggle of the working and oppressed masses rather than the maneuvers of courts or liberal politicians and exposed national oppression as the source of the current wave of racist attacks spearheaded by the Bakke decision.

In order to provide orientation for the articles which follow, we would briefly like to sum up our overall view of the struggle.

THE BAKKE ATTACK OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The Bakke attack is part of a stepped up effort to pass the burden of imperialist crisis on to the backs of working and oppressed people. The scope of the attack is extremely far reaching, threatening all gains made in the democratic struggles of women and oppressed nationalities in the last generation.

Central to the attack also are intensified war preparations of US imperialism. The Communist Party of China recently said:

"As each frenziedly strengthens its costly war machine, the Soviet Union and the United States are bound to intensify their oppression and exploitation of the people at home and thus aggravate contradictions in their economies and internal contradictions between the different classes and between the different nationalities." (PEKING REVIEW, #45, 1977)

In other words, the Bakke attack of US imperialism is part



of a chauvinist offensive to intensify domestic oppression and aggravate national contradictions in preparation for a new imperialist world war.

The second point which requires special emphasis is that although the Bakke attack began in the schools, its most important impact will be in the workplace. For example, one for one hiring quotas to remedy past discrimination (programs under which an employer must hire one woman or national minority for every new male or white employee) are under attack as examples of "reverse discrimination".

In sum: the conditions of the Bakke attack mean that we must take our struggle aggressively to the working class and place our resistance in the framework of the struggle against the imperialist crisis and war preparations of US imperialism.

democracy. In the last analysis, the struggle of women for emancipation depends on the struggle of the working class to overthrow private property and the struggle of oppressed nationalities for liberation depends on the struggle of the working class against imperialism. These democratic struggles are therefore close allies of the proletarian struggle. As Lenin said:

"Just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

COMMUNIST POLICY IN A MASS CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The articles collected in this supplement put forward a communist policy toward the Bakke decision. In our view, Marxism-Leninism is the only world outlook that belongs wholly and completely to the working and oppressed people.

Does this mean that we want to build a coalition of only communists? No, not at all! We will oppose any effort to narrow the vast scope the anti-Bakke campaign is capable of developing. We must mobilize resistance among the broadest sectors of the US people. But we will strive to guide that work according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In the course of day to day struggle we will demonstrate to friends who are not communists the correctness of our principles and policies. If we do our work well, they will be persuaded by their own experience.

We must ensure a foundation for our work adequate to the increased scope of a national campaign. We are confident the articles in this supplement can contribute to strengthening our efforts to mobilize national resistance to the Bakke decision.

AN ATTACK ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

On September 16, 1976, the California Supreme Court ruled that a special admissions program for minorities at the University of California's Davis Medical School was unconstitutional. This program, which was a reform born out of the mass upsurge of Blacks and students in the 1960's, allowed for 16 minority students out of a class of 100. But in response to a suit filed by Allan Bakke, a white male student who applied but was not admitted to the medical school in 1972 and 1973, the California Court ruled that this token program discriminated against white students with relatively better academic ratings. In essence, the Court ruled

"... that the program, as administered by the University, violates the constitutional rights of non-minority applicants because it affords preference on the basis of race to persons who, by the University's own standards, are not as qualified for the study of medicine as non-minority applicants denied admissions."

This reactionary decision by the political servants of the capitalist class that sit on the Supreme Court of California totally ignored the past practice of the Medical School, which like most universities around the country, had discriminated against minority students. In 1968, the year the medical school opened, there were no Black or Chicano medical stud-

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STAND FIRM ON PRINCIPLE

This article is re-printed from THE COMMUNIST, V.IV, no.2.

In the anti-Bakke movement as in every other democratic struggle communists must ensure that work unfolds on a sound basis of principle.

In this case, the starting point from which there can be no deviation, is the policy of equal rights--no national privileges and no national inequality.

Since the Bakke case also represents an attack on the democratic rights of women, it is also necessary to raise the principle of the absolute equality of the sexes.

If our leadership is not based firmly on principle, it is easy to limit the struggle of the masses for democracy to the narrow practicality of bourgeois reformism. If we fail to unfold our work on the basis of principle, how can we distinguish our positions from the positions of the bourgeoisie? Suppose, for example, the bourgeoisie "overturns" the Bakke decision? What is the perspective of our struggle in that case?

The criteria for evaluating the struggle in Bakke must be what best prepares the conditions for the class struggle of the proletariat. Imperialism is reaction all down the line and the democratic struggles of the masses can be mobilized as a powerful force to weaken the imperialist system and strengthen the struggle of the proletariat. We can build mutual confidence and solidarity among the working people, both men and

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS MUST GUIDE THE ANTI-BAKKE CAMPAIGN

There are three basic policies which should guide resistance to the Bakke decision. The first is the principle of equal rights. The anti-Bakke struggle is essentially a struggle for equal rights of oppressed nationalities and women. This is not a matter of equal individual rights, as we have brought out, or "reverse discrimination", but of social and political inequality rooted in the systematic oppression of nations and of women.

Second, in mobilizing national resistance we must seek to unite all who can be united. Since the Bakke decision is far reaching in its effects, we can confidently mobilize extremely broad resistance.

Third, we rely on the working class as a vanguard fighter for

women, of all nations only if the whole working class takes up the struggle for equal rights.

It is the struggle for equal rights that exposes bourgeois hypocrisy about "reverse discrimination". The call for equal rights is not a call for privileges for any nation. Imperialism rests on the superexploitation of oppressed nationalities and women. The struggle for equal rights is aimed at the heart of national and sexual inequality by attacking this double oppression. It is a demand that oppressed nationalities and women have every social and political right applicable to men of the oppressor nation. Thus it is not a struggle that calls on the laboring masses of any nation to give up anything but national and sexual privilege or advantage. No nation is free if it oppresses another nation, and therefore workers of every nation, and particularly of an oppressor nation, support the just struggle for equal rights. In order to prepare the conditions for its own emancipation from exploitation, the oppressor nation working class must take the lead in the struggle for equal rights. For the same reason laboring men must stand at the forefront of the battle of women for liberation.

What are the tendencies in the anti-Bakke movement that undermine our firm stand on the principle of equal rights?

Some forces talk a lot about "equal rights" but they completely oppose the revolutionary dem-

ocratic content of the slogan and apply it in a bourgeois reformist way which emphasizes formal equality and ignores national oppression. The stand of the CPUSA against "racism" and "poor education" is an example of that. Openly reformist in character, these forces promote reliance on the bourgeois state through the courts, civil rights commissions, etc.

In the same fashion, the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision isolates the question of racism from the question of national oppression and writes: "racism against whites is no more tolerable than when practiced against minorities". This is the "reverse discrimination" line all over again. Putting whites and national minorities on the same plane, it obliterates the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nationalities. Both racism and national chauvinism are tied to imperialism and represent the ideological superstructure erected by the bourgeoisie to maintain national oppression.

Some who identify the question of national oppression still fail to take up the struggle for equal rights as a matter of principle. On the one hand there is a tendency to counterpose the national struggle to the class struggle. Ignoring the struggle for equal rights, this position says that since the source of national oppression is the capitalist system itself, what we need is to develop unity between whites and national minorities in order to over-

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MOBILIZE NATIONAL RESISTENCE TO THE BAKKE DECISION

This article is taken from a leaflet distributed in October, 1977

This week the Bakke case is being argued before the US Supreme Court. It has been appealed from a California Supreme Court decision a year ago which ruled that the constitutional right of Allan Bakke and other white applicants to the University of California at Davis Medical School had been violated by "preferential" treatment afforded to minority applicants because of a special minority admissions program.

The California court ruled that under present admission standards, race or national origin cannot be a factor for admission. They held that since some of the minority students admitted had lower test scores or grade averages than white applicants denied admissions, the constitutional rights of white applicants with higher scores had been violated.

The Bakke decision is a sharp attack by the government on the democratic rights of women and oppressed nationalities. We must mobilize national resistance to it on the part of all working and oppressed people.

THE REFORMIST TORTOISE AND THE CHAUVINIST HARE

As reformists painfully drag this case step by step through the court system, the bourgeoisie has lost no time in putting it into effect. Recently a federal court ordered Rita Clancy, a white woman, admitted to the U.C. Davis Medical School after she charged that she too was "discriminated" against by the minority admissions program at the school.

WHAT IS GREAT NATION CHAUVINISM?

The Bakke decision is an example of the great nation chauvinism of the US bourgeoisie. Imperialism means the oppression of the overwhelming majority of the peoples and nations of the world by a handful of the world's "great" powers. In the US it means the constantly increasing oppression of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian, Native American and other oppressed peoples by a small group of imperialist bloodsuckers. Great nation chauvinism is the policy they use to whip up support for the extension of exploitation, racist brutality and oppression. Great nation chauvinism is the policy they use to justify privileges for the oppressor nation.

The fact is that everywhere in the US white men have preferential access to medical and other professional schools. The other side of the coin is that oppressed nationalities and women are discriminated against in the delivery of health care. In cities throughout the US infant mortality is over 150% higher for oppressed nationalities; lack of prenatal care is twice as common. States in the Northeast have twice as many doctors for every 1000 people as do states in the Black Nation in the heart of the Black Belt South.

The Bakke decision will eliminate affirmative action programs that guaranteed some access for women and minority students to higher education. It will also be used to push women out of industry and to end quota programs that gave minority workers and women at least minimal access to more highly skilled jobs. It is part of an intensified wave of national chauvinism. The reason for this stepped up attack has to do with the worsening position of the US monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie which is deep in the midst of economic crisis and locked in preparations for a new imperialist war to extend its exploitation and oppression. It tries to pass the burden of this off on the backs of the oppressed nationalities, women and all working people.

BOURGEOIS EQUALITY IS EQUALITY FOR THE OPPRESSOR AND INEQUALITY FOR THE OPPRESSED

Imperialism is reaction all down the line and the negation of democracy. But the bourgeoisie pretends that the Bakke decision is protecting individual "rights" and "democracy" in opposing "reverse" discrimination. "Reverse" discrimination is supposed to mean that Bakke as a white person is discriminated against. This shows how bourgeois equality is used as a tool of national oppression. Opposing minority admissions programs means to continue the present policy of preferential admissions in fact for whites to go to colleges, universities and professional schools. This is the reality behind the liberal rhetoric about "reverse" discrimination.

The bourgeoisie is trying to reduce national equality to a question of individuals, ignoring their nationality. This is done to obscure the fact that imperialism means national inequality for the oppressed and privileges for the oppressor nation--not national equality. They try to spread the concept of bourgeois equality as if there were no distinction between the oppressed and oppressor nations.

This exposes the formal character of bourgeois equality. Bourgeois equality is always a mask for real inequality. It is always a cover for exploitation and oppression of women, minority nationalities and the working class.

THE STAND OF THE WORKING CLASS

Against great nation chauvinism the working class puts proletarian internationalism. Against the imperialist negation of democracy, the proletariat puts thoroughgoing and consistent democracy. Against national privileges and discrimination the proletariat puts the struggle for self-determination and equal rights.

As communists it is our duty to mobilize the working class to a staunch defense of the democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities and women. We oppose privileges for any nationality and demand equality in fact for all nationalities in schools, housing, jobs, etc.

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



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The concept of "reverse" discrimination belongs on the racist garbage heap.

MOBILIZE NATIONAL RESISTANCE TO THE BAKKE DECISION

We oppose every effort to restrict the political significance of the Bakke decision in a way that isolates the democratic struggle of the oppressed nationalities and women from the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The democratic struggles of the oppressed nationalities and women for emancipation are a firm ally of proletarian revolution and it is the duty of every class conscious worker to come to their firm support. We need to demonstrate this connection in our work.

We also oppose every effort to restrict the scope of activity to one region or area such as the South or the Southwest. Bakke is the concern of working and oppressed people in every corner of the country. We need a nationally coordinated campaign which reaches to every community and every factory and which utilizes the resistance of the working and oppressed masses as our only reliable support.



WHILE THE BAKKE DECISION WILL ELIMINATE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS IN HIGHER EDUCATION, IT WILL ALSO BE USED TO PUSH WOMEN OUT OF INDUSTRY AND TO END QUOTA PROGRAMS THAT GAVE MINORITY WORKERS AND WOMEN AT LEAST MINIMAL ACCESS TO MORE HIGHLY SKILLED JOBS.

ATTACK ON DEMO RIGHTS

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

ents and the following year only one Chicano and two Blacks. Now, as the US Supreme Court has agreed to hear the case, the return to these blatant and openly discriminatory practices is threatened on a nation-wide basis.

The source of the recent attack must not be seen as the isolated court suit of an individual. The source lies in the present economic and political crisis facing the US capitalist class. The bourgeoisie and its political leaders attempt to create widespread sentiments of great nation chauvinism by belittling the severe discrimination and lack of democratic rights that the bourgeoisie perpetrates against the national minorities, as well as the national oppression against the Afro-American Nation in the Black Belt South. The government attempts this vicious campaign despite the evidence in its own "Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders," published in 1968, which showed that the Black median income was 58% of white median income, that the unemployment rate was double, and that minority school children had achievement levels three or four years behind those of whites. Now the bourgeoisie seeks to attack reform quota programs that guaranteed minimal minority student access to more highly skilled jobs, and to attack such programs nationwide. In California, the directors of the university, many of whom are capitalists themselves are willing partners in this backward drive. Even though they "fought" the case on the surface, they were in reality most cooperative with Bakke's suit. First, an admissions official at the school encouraged Bakke to file the suit and gave him access to the academic records of the minority students who were admitted. Secondly, once the case was filed, the university denied past discriminatory practices and only made the most feeble gestures to defend the program.

Reformists played a negative role also. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL) and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) opposed an appeal to the US Supreme Court on the grounds that the reactionary US Supreme Court would rule in favor of the decision and therefore special minority programs would

be struck down all over the country, not just in California.

It is correct not to promote reliance on or recourse to the courts. The court system is one of the chief instruments of the bourgeois state apparatus, which also includes the legislature, police forces, the military, prisons, etc. This apparatus is used by the capitalist class to maintain and reinforce its rule over the working class and the oppressed nationalities. The members of the Supreme Court are chosen by the chief executive of the state and approved by the Senate. The men who sit on the Court establish law that defends the class interests of the bourgeoisie. While it is correct not to rely on the courts for 'justice', which can only be a class justice, it is cowardly and illusory to fail to state the national scope of the present attack on women and oppressed nationalities and not to call for a national response. Attempting to hide this reactionary ruling in one corner of the country won't prevent the bourgeoisie from extending its attack nationwide.

In clear opposition to this gutless and liberal stand, thousands of students and revolutionary-minded people have taken up the struggle in a militant fashion. On January 15, 1977, over 400 students at UC Berkeley met to plan demonstrations and actions against the Bakke decision. The demands they agreed upon were: overturning the Bakke decision and establishing proportional admission and hiring of minorities; acknowledgement by the University of California of past and present discrimination; a reversal of the present cutbacks by increasing funds to minority students in all schools; that control over their programs by minority students themselves be strengthened; an increase in the number of women students and faculty and that this increase in funds for programs for women does not mean taking away funds from minority programs. On February 25, at the same time as demonstrations were held at other college campuses, over 2,000 people at UC Berkeley gathered to show their clear determination to get these demands answered in full.

This struggle for the democratic rights of women and oppressed nationalities must be extended beyond California to the entire country.

NATIONAL ANTI-BAKKE CONFERENCE FEB. 19

This article is re-printed from THE COMMUNIST, V. IV, no. 7.

The first national conference of the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition is set for Sunday, February 19, 1978, in Los Angeles. This is an important first step in the campaign to mobilize national resistance to the Bakke decision. It is an important opportunity for revolutionary and democratic forces to coordinate their efforts to turn back the reactionary attack of the ruling class on the democratic rights of oppressed nationalities and women.

The Bakke decision holds that a white applicant to a medical school cannot be denied entrance because of a special admissions program for national minorities or women. Consequently, it represents the spearhead of a chauvinist attack on all affirmative action programs.

As we set up the ABDC nationwide, more than ever we must ensure that work unfolds on a sound basis of principle.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

The anti-Bakke struggle is first of all and above all a struggle for equal rights. This point must be brought forward in a militant and unambiguous way in all our propaganda and agitation. On the national question, Marxism-Leninism makes clear that equal rights is the basic democratic demand of oppressed national minorities. It is also essential to the solution of the woman question. Therefore, it is on the basis of the principle of equal rights that we can point clearly to national and sex oppression as the focus of the Bakke attack of the bourgeoisie; it is on the basis of the principle of equal rights that we can show systematic national and sex oppression in all aspects of social life and connect it with the world-wide struggle of oppressed nations and peoples against imperialism; and it is on the basis of the principle of equal rights that we can best show the connection between the democratic struggle of the oppressed nationalities and women to the class struggle of the proletariat.

Equal rights means the abolition of all forms of economic, political or social oppression or exclusion in every sense of the word against women or minority nationalities. It opposes any sexual or national narrowness or privileges whatsoever. If we ignore the

struggle for equal rights or bring it forward only by innuendo or as an afterthought, but do not base our work on that foundation, our coalition is bound to be narrow, confused and disorganized.

DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PRINCIPLE AND THE AIM OF PROPAGANDA

In coalition work it is important to distinguish between the principles around which we organize and the aim of our propaganda. The principles should reach as broadly as possible to include all those who can be united. On the basis of those principles our propaganda should raise the level of consciousness and struggle of coalition members and give orientation to our work.

Equal rights is a principle that reaches all those who can support the struggle for equality. At the same time on that basis we can unfold propaganda to show from a Marxist-Leninist and anti-imperialist perspective the systematic oppression which makes a sham of the bourgeoisie's pretensions to formal equality. On each practical question faced in the struggle, we can show the difference between a revolutionary and a reformist solution.

On the other hand, if we do not connect the struggle to overturn the Bakke decision to the struggle for equal rights, we have no basis to oppose reformism and our campaign becomes a tool of the bourgeoisie. If we focus only on the decision itself, and not on its connection to all reactionary policies of national privilege and inequality, we will sooner or later promote reliance on the bourgeoisie.

UNITE ALL WHO CAN BE UNITED!

Our struggle to build the ABDC must be guided by the mass line of uniting all who can be united to overturn the Bakke decision. We must say so straightforwardly and anything less is too narrow. If we base our work on a revolutionary presentation of the principle of equal rights, we can do this with confidence since we have a weapon to take up the fight against reformist tendencies which inevitably arise among the broad masses in struggle. If we fight these tendencies by excluding the masses from our coalition, we will be guilty of closed doorism under pseudo-revolutionary phraseology and accomplish nothing. Even if we limit our struggle to the working class and oppressed nationalities the scope of our work is too

narrow. Forces who could be won to our fight will be driven into the enemy camp or adopt a stance of passivity.

On the other hand, we rely on the working and oppressed masses. We rely on the working class because it is a vanguard fighter for democracy--the only thoroughgoing and consistent democratic force. We rely on the oppressed masses because they are the specific target of the Bakke attack. Furthermore, both the struggle of women for emancipation and of oppressed nationalities for national equality and liberation are closely allied to the struggle of the proletariat for social revolution.

which are not directly a part of the official state apparatus, but which have a big role to play in the policies of repression unleashed by the Bakke case. We must oppose all reactionary policies of national privilege and inequality.

DEVELOP A DEMOCRATIC STYLE OF MASS WORK AND OPPOSE ORGANIZATIONAL AMATEURISHNESS

We must ensure that the national conference insists on professional methods of leadership for the anti-Bakke work. In our mass work organizational amateurishness leads inevitably to lack of democracy and must do so. It leads necessarily to confused struggle without clear result. Our work to

MOBILIZE NATIONAL RESISTANCE TO THE BAKKE DECISION

OPPOSE NATIONAL INEQUALITY AND PRIVILEGES FOR ANY NATION!

CARRY THE ANTI-BAKKE CAMPAIGN THROUGH TO ITS END!

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND EQUAL RIGHTS!



We must insist particularly on stepping up work among the working class. The Bakke decision's impact has been felt first in the schools, but its greatest impact will be in the workplace, taking back gains won in recent years in the struggle against job discrimination. At the same time, while students are often the first to take up struggle, in this as in other struggles, it is the working class which is capable of carrying it through to the end. We need to take Bakke to the workplace and union hall--to shop cores and nuclei, to rank and file caucuses and trade union fractions.

EXPOSE THE REACTIONARY AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM

As we deepen our work among the working class we need to emphasize the role of the trade union bureaucracy and other reactionary forces such as the Ku Klux Klan

overturn the Bakke decision can succeed only if we pledge ourselves to an unrelenting struggle against organizational amateurishness.

BUILD A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BAKKE DECISION

We call on all comrades and friends to build a nationally coordinated campaign to overturn the Bakke decision which places the decision squarely in the framework of the struggle for equal rights, which opposes all reactionary policies of national privilege and inequality, and which, utilizing the resistance of the working and oppressed masses as our only reliable support, unites all who can be united to defend and expand affirmative action programs for women and oppressed nationalities.

BUILD THE NATIONAL ABDC!



SEX, NATIONAL, AND CLASS DISCRIMINATION IN MEDICINE

For the bourgeoisie to talk about individual "rights" in the Bakke case is a sham and a fraud. What the Supreme Court of California focused on in its reactionary Bakke decision was the opportunity of non-minority individuals to get into medical school. What they ignored is the need of minority and working class communities for medical care. Allan Bakke will not practice medicine in the ghettos and barrios of California. Medical students like him may be academically qualified, but they don't, for example, speak Spanish.

The social inequalities spawned by the capitalist system and by the imperialist oppression of nations are glaringly evident in the area of health care. In the US today, despite the fact that over \$100 billion dollars a year is spent on health care nationally, actual health care delivery is criminally negligent. This amount is roughly equal to government military spending and is close to 10% of the total Gross National Product, yet there is a tremendous concentration of health care for the wealthy and tremendous deficiency for the working class and oppressed nationalities. There is a much greater concentration of doctors and medical services in rich neighborhoods than in the ghettos, barrios and working class neighborhoods; more in the suburbs than in the inner cities; more in the cities than in rural areas.

Studies of the ratio of physicians to the population have shown greater allocation of doctors to more affluent states as compared to poorer southern states where the oppression of the Afro-American nation is an important factor. California, Connecticut, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts, for example, average 160 practicing physicians per 100,000 people, or almost double the 87 physicians per 100,000 people for Alabama,

Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina. The difference is even greater for doctors in a hospital based practice: 46 per 100,000 for the more affluent states as compared to 18 per 100,000 for the southern states. While overall in US society today there is one doctor for every 700 people, there is only one Afro-American doctor for every 3,800 Afro-Americans, one Native American doctor for every 20,000 Native Americans and only one Chicano doctor for every 30,000 Chicanos!

Medical care in the US is based on profit, not the needs of the people. One result of this is discrimination against minority and women medical students. Women, who make up 51% of the population, made up 6% of all medical students in 1961 and only 16% in 1973. Afro-Americans, representing approximately 12% of the population, made up 2% of all medical students in 1961 and 6% in 1973. Also, students from families earning not more than the median family income--that is, more than 50% of the population--have consistently accounted for only about 12% of medical students. In other words, the attack on women and minority students is part and parcel of an attack on the education of youth of the working class and oppressed nationalities as a whole. (Compare the scrapping of open admissions at the City University of New York, THE COMMUNIST, vol. II, no. 7, p.4)

¿DIGAME, DONDE SE DUELE?

High grades and good test scores do not guarantee a trained professional who is dedicated to serving the interest of the oppressed. Working class and minority students who do not have high test scores--often due

to the tracking system and other discriminatory practices in education--but who are dedicated to working hard to develop their skills and then work hard to use their skills for the benefit of the working class and oppressed nationalities will end up bringing better health care than the most "brilliant" Ivy-leaguer who is only out for his own gain.

Not all minority or women doctors, of course, that emerge from the universities return to their communities. Higher education of any sort, and especially professional education, serves the interests of the capitalist state. The education that students receive has a class character that promotes the ideology of the bourgeoisie. The result is a doctor who practices where he can earn the most money. While special admission or affirmative action programs do not prevent this, they do provide more favorable conditions for health care delivery in areas of greatest need.

The bourgeoisie would prefer students to enter medical school as individuals purely on the basis of "academic excellence"--among other things, in that way they are easier to integrate into the repressive and discriminatory health care system of capitalist society--and therefore the bourgeoisie opposes quotas. It ignores the needs of our communities for health care services.

As we fight for reforms in the educational system today and oppose the present attack on gains won in the past, we must win people to see that as long as the bourgeoisie controls state power, their corrupt and degenerate outlook will continue to dictate the character of education in medicine and all other fields.

Only by the forceful overthrow of this class of parasites and the establishment of working class rule can we abolish present social inequalities and lack of democratic rights that are inflicted upon the working class and oppressed nationalities. Only under socialism will the slogan, "Free and quality health care is a right," be realized.

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ONCE AGAIN ON QUALITY EDUCATION

This article is re-printed from THE COMMUNIST, Vol. IV, no. 1.

The bourgeoisie has launched an all around reactionary campaign to contain and suppress the struggle for national equality and democratic rights. Putting on a pious tone of high morality, one prong of this campaign complains that a 34 year old engineer, Allan Bakke, was subject to "racial" discrimination in being denied admission to the University of California at Davis Medical School.

"Reverse discrimination" is supposed to mean that Bakke as a white person is discriminated against. This shows how bourgeois equality is used as a tool of national oppression. Opposing minority admissions programs, which was the basis for Bakke's claim, means to continue the present policy of preferential admissions in fact for white males to go to colleges, universities and professional schools. This is the reality behind the liberal rhetoric about "reverse discrimination."

The bourgeoisie is trying to reduce national equality to a question of individuals, ignoring their nationality. This is done to obscure the fact that imperialism means national inequality for the oppressed and privileges for the oppressor nation -- not national equality. They try to spread the concept of bourgeois equality as if there were no distinction between the oppressed and oppressor nations.

This exposes the formal character of bourgeois equality. Bourgeois equality is always a mask for real inequality. It is always a cover for exploitation and oppression for women, minority nationalities and the working class.

It is a chauvinist lie to say that Bakke, a white male, has been subject to discrimination. Any differentiation on any basis is a discrimination, but what does that elementary lesson of logic -- which the bourgeoisie pretends is the height of social wisdom -- have to do with overcoming economic and political oppression, the perpetuation of insults and social exclusion to which minority nationalities are subject in the United States?

In order to buttress this weak reed of "reverse discrimination",

The term "third world" has considerable importance in our movement. In view of the present controversy over its use, comrades would do well to use it scientifically. Any capitulation to loose bourgeois usage of the term undermines the strategic significance of the concept and makes the drawing of lines of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism more difficult. Students most directly affected by the liquidation of special admissions programs are not "third world" students, but minority nationality students of the first world subjected to great nation chauvinism and exploitation by US oppressor nation monopoly capital. A "third world" student is a foreign student from the third world.

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STAND FIRM ON PRINCIPLE

throw capitalism. Since there never can be full equality under capitalism, the oppressed nationalities should throw their full energies into the struggle for socialism.

This trend forgets to ask what is necessary to develop unity between whites and national minorities. Staunch support for the struggle of oppressed nationalities for equal rights is the sole basis. Isolated from the revolutionary struggle (though not necessarily from the mass struggle), opportunists do not appreciate the contribution the struggle for equal rights makes to preparing the conditions for the class struggle of the proletariat.

Another chauvinist tendency fails to recognize the connection between the struggle for equal rights and the struggle for the self-determination of oppressed nations and make this connection a matter of principle. In failing to make this connection, they cannot identify the source of national inequality and end up talking about "human rights" and "equality for all". These concepts are easily used for all sorts of bourgeois demagoguery about the rights of the individual and are a way to liquidate the fundamental question of the inequality of whole peoples as oppressed nationalities.

bourgeois hypocrisy has marshalled another high-minded goal -- "quality education." We are familiar with "quality education" already -- it is the shibboleth of every racist reactionary force striving to perpetuate segregation by opposing school bussing.

Having done good service on that score, "quality education" is now trotted out as a necessary antidote to affirmative action.

UC REGENTS UPHOLD "QUALITY EDUCATION"

On October 21, the governing body of the University of California system, the UC Regents, in effect confirmed that it had no intention from the beginning of putting up a substantial defense in favor of affirmative action or special admissions programs in the Bakke case. Moving to the offensive, the Board adopted a new admissions policy which gives greater weight to standardized test scores as a corrective to "a decline in the quality of preparation among incoming freshmen." This new plan for "quality education," according to one study, will exclude less than 2% of white freshmen, but almost 9% of black students and 9.5% Latino. This would be in addition to the effect of the Bakke decision which, according to one UCLA admissions officer, would disqualify 4 out of 5 applicants now accepted under special admissions programs.

What are these standardized tests so decisive to the bourgeoisie for measuring "quality"? It is well known that college and professional school entrance exams as well as employment tests used throughout the economy test the commonly accepted "middle" class values of the oppressor nation culture. An exam based on the underlying assumptions of great nation chauvinism is being legitimized as a means to screen minority nationality candidates for education and jobs. This kind of "quality education" lends the same racist stench to the market for jobs and education that liberal handwringing about "property values" brought to the search for decent housing.

THE DECEPTIVE LIBERAL GESTURE OF A SLY SLAVE OWNER

The Carter administration is second only to the UC Regents in two-faced defense of affirmative action. With the "deceptive liberal gesture of a sly slave owner," (CI Resolution on the Negro National Question, 1930), the Justice department filed a "friend of the court" argument in the Bakke case taking a position against quotas, but in favor of targets, and anyway suggesting that the case be sent back to California without a decision because all the preliminary issues haven't been adequately resolved.

What does all this doubletalk amount to? Vagueness on this issue allows the bourgeoisie to deepen its attack on affirmative

action programs in exactly the fashion the UC Regents have done. This offensive will unfold in all areas -- as it has begun to -- jobs, housing, etc. Under court order a white woman has already been admitted to UC Davis Medical School because she had better test scores than some of those admitted by special admissions. Yet as long as the question is not finally decided, reformists will still work to hold back militant opposition in hopes that the ruling class will finally have a "change of heart".

Reformism is a big enemy in the anti-Bakke campaign. From slick



"Just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

administrators who throw sops to students of oppressed nationalities for whom their contempt based on class and national arrogance is matched only by their shallow fear of an unruly individual or mass movement, to the student or community activist willing to use the campaign to grab a sop or so for himself, reformism seeks to contain the resistance of the masses within a framework acceptable to the bourgeoisie. We must unflinchingly show the connection between the struggle against national oppression and the fight for proletarian revolution and demonstrate that these two struggles are closely allied in a common battle against the same enemy. What this means is that we must apply the fundamental tactical rule of THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO constantly in our work -- to connect the short term interests of the movement with its long term interests. We must demonstrate that the proletariat is a vanguard fighter for democracy and the only thoroughgoing and consistent fighter for democracy. Making no concessions to opportunism, it is our job to put forward a proletarian revolutionary line to lead the mounting resistance of the masses and to expose bourgeois or social democratic reformism. MOUNTING RESISTANCE TO THE BAKKE DECISION

Opposition to the Bakke decision in the recent period has been strong and is steadily growing in strength. Over 3,000 people demonstrated against the decision on October 15 in the Bay Area in a rally called by the Anti-Bakke for democracy."

While great nation chauvinist errors are the main opportunist tendency in a struggle like Bakke, we must also oppose narrow nationalist and national exclusive tendencies. It is the duty of communists of both the oppressed and oppressor nationalities to put forth the demand for equal rights.

The tendency to national exclusiveness seeks to limit the anti-Bakke struggle to minorities only and to only this or that minority at that, and seeks national privileges, not equal rights. National privileges however do not benefit the laboring masses of the oppressed nation. They are attempts by the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation to bribe the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation into containing the national democratic struggle.

This point can be illustrated by the example of the special admissions programs under attack in the Bakke case. We support those programs and demand that they be maintained and expanded. But special admissions programs can function either as a tool in the struggle for national privileges and national exclusiveness or in the struggle for equal rights, depending on the leadership of our struggle. If we are successful in overturning the Bakke decision and we have not connected the struggle to the struggle for equal rights, we risk promoting bourgeois reform-

Decision Coalition. Well over 1,000 demonstrators marched in Washington D.C. the night prior to Supreme Court arguments in the case. Other meetings have been held in Los Angeles, Boston, New York, Atlanta, Denver, Chicago and other cities. During the week of September 11, a march was held from San Jose to Sacramento, California, a distance of 150 miles, to call attention to the Bakke decision and emphasize its impact on the day to day lives of working and oppressed peoples.

THE PROLETARIAT AS A VANGUARD FIGHTER FOR DEMOCRACY

How can forces in our movement

who have held the struggle for democracy up to such scorn with their struggle against the ERA, bussing, etc. measure up to the task of leading the resistance to an all around attack on national equality and to a general campaign designed to suppress hard won democratic gains of the working and oppressed masses?

How can forces which bow to the motion of the spontaneous movement, to what exists, and who fail to connect the struggle for partial demands as in the Bakke campaign to the fundamental long term interests of the proletariat provide proletarian leadership for the democratic struggle?

We oppose every effort to narrow the political significance of the Bakke decision in a way that isolates the democratic struggles of the oppressed nationalities from the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The democratic struggle of the oppressed nationalities for liberation is a firm ally of proletarian revolution and it is the duty of every class conscious worker to come to its support. We need to demonstrate this connection in our work.

We also oppose every effort to narrow the scope of activity to one region or area such as the South or Southwest. Bakke is the concern of working and oppressed people in every corner of the country. Our campaign must reach every community and every factory and utilize the unyielding resistance of the masses as our only reliable support!

If we have developed that struggle on the basis of a principled stand for equal rights, we have laid the foundation for continuing and broadening the struggle. Bakke itself is only a drop in the sea of national and sexual inequality.

By equal rights we mean the abolition of all forms of economic, political or social oppression or exclusion based on sex or nationality. By demanding equal rights we demand that women and oppressed nationalities possess all the social privileges and advantages enjoyed by men of the oppressor nation.

The significance of the struggle for equal rights is that it attacks male and great nation chauvinism, which is the main barrier to building the democratic struggle of the masses and the class struggle of the proletariat, and at the same time attacks petty bourgeois deviations of national exclusiveness.

By our leadership in connecting concrete demands such as the demand for special admissions programs to the struggle for equal rights and connecting the struggle for equal rights and self-determination to the class struggle of the proletariat, we create the basis for class solidarity and mutual confidence of the workers of all nations. It is in this way that we support the stand of the proletariat for consistent democracy.