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DRAFT THESSES:
THE WOMAN QUESTION

"The emancipation of women is a question of great importance. Women make up half of the world population and no great social change can be accomplished without their participation. To win emancipation, the oppressed women of the world, together with the rest of the oppressed people, have fought long and heroically, advancing wave upon wave in countless moving deeds that propelled the continuous advance of society. Today, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, waged by the people of the world, particularly those of the third world countries, is developing vigorously. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution - this has become an irresistible historical trend. In this great struggle, the broad masses of women are becoming increasingly awakened, the women's movement is developing in depth and women have become a great dynamic revolutionary force. In every country, women form a part of the whole nation and people. Their fate is invariably linked with that of the whole nation and people. Their emancipation, therefore, is an inseparable part of the struggle of the whole nation and people. Right now, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are still carrying out oppression and plunder; particularly the two superpowers are practicing hegemonism and power politics everywhere. In the breaking of one influence, seriously disturbing upon and menacing the sovereignty, independence and basic rights of the people of many countries. All this also endangers the existence and security of the broad masses of women and children in these countries. Under these circumstances, women cannot win emancipation without taking part in the main struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly against hegemonism of the two superpowers... Clearly, the primary task at present in the struggle for women's emancipation is to fight imperialism, colonialism and particularly hegemonism of the two superpowers. Only when this struggle is carried out successfully, while giving due attention to and solving the special demands and problems of women, can the cause for women's emancipation be pushed ahead steadily." (From Speech by Head of Chinese Delegation Li Su-wen at International Women's Year World Conference in Peking [Beijing], July 4, 1976).

As Li Su-wen pointed out at the International Women's Year World Conference of the United Nations, the struggle of the world's women against their oppression, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and especially against superpower hegemonism has become a dynamic revolutionary force. In the Third World, women are playing heroic roles in the revolutionary struggle. Women of socialist countries have taken giant strides toward transforming the centuries of oppression and exploitation. The rise of the women's movement is part of the overall spontaneous struggle against monopoly capital. In the U.S. the limitations of the women's movement are those of the spontaneous movement in general. What is needed is to transform the spontaneous resistance to imperialism into a class conscious movement with a Marxist-Leninist party at its head.

## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. INITIAL PRINCIPLES</th>
<th>PAGE 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IA. PARTY BUILDING AND THE WOMAN QUESTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IB. Features of the Woman Question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. HISTORICAL POINTS</td>
<td>PAGE 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIA. Two Forms of Social Production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIB. The Family and Capitalist Production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIC. Women, Capitalist Production and Domestic Slavery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIID. Women of Oppressed Nations and National Minorities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIE. Male Supremacy: Its Origins and Economic Basis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIF. Fascism and the Woman Question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION</td>
<td>PAGE 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIA. The Women's Movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIB. The Women's Question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIC. The Women Question in Practice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIID. Democratic Rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIE. Political Education, the Party, and Women Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIF. Sexual Offen Hemisphere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIH. SLOGANS AND DEMANDS</td>
<td>PAGE 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
weakened family unit. No human being is a self-made, self-maintaining individual: each one's existence is dependent on the products of the labor of others. "The labor of production", "labor power" will be determined by the cost of production, by the labor-time necessary for production, i.e., "labor power"..." (Engels, INTRODUCTION TO WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL, p. 6) The labor of the woman in the home to maintain and reproduce the labor power and future laborpower is a servitude to the capitalists, unless we say that this particular form of labor is exempt from the laws of Marxist political economy. This is living Marxism-Leninism that it is possible to say that women's labor in the home is unpaid. The fact that the wages of the laborer include the cost of his maintenance and reproduction which necessarily includes that person who maintains and reproduces the commodity labor-power itself.

Marx equates pay with subsistence, demonstrating that wages for wage labor under capitalism and the doling out of subsistence under various forms of slavery, directly conceals important aspects of the worker's exploitation. With the rise of capitalism, the supremacy of the male based on private property was transformed to meet the needs of bourgeois society. The woman's subsistence, for her domestic slavery in the home, is included in the wages of the man under capitalism, and is dosed out to the worker in the needs of the production and maintenance of labor-power. 

But it is true only for women of the proletariat, as proletarians are the only class which exists primarily for the production of private property, which is consumed in the capitalist production of other commodities. Bourgeois families do not regard themselves as working to produce the remnants of slave, feudal and capitalist ideology and practice. And yet, bourgeois society still exists and reacts against the continued existence of bourgeois interest and would mean a setback for the revolution.

IIA. TWO FORMS OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION

We start with the Marxist theory that there are two forms of social production: "the labor of life and the production of life's material requirements." (Engels, KAPITEL 1: PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, Preface, p. 6). The importance of this in taking up the Women's Question, is that it relates to women's specific role in the family. In addition to commodity production outside the home in capitalist society, women also engage in "the production of the commodity labor power, inside the home, also for the capitalist. The ability to reproduce consists solely in the woman in the bearing of children, and usually on the woman in the maintenance of the laborer and laborers themselves. It is socially necessary production in the sense that every working class child born and raised, every meal bought and prepared, every article of clothing washed and mended, is only possible by the effort of the working class in total, even while these individual acts take place within an individual family unit. No human
The question of state power. As Lenin put it, "The masses are not new, they (like all the material prerequisites for socialism) were created by large-scale social production and under capitalism they remained, first, a rarity, and second, and which is particularly important, a poor, isolated, and passive element."

Engels, "For the Emancipation of Women," CW, Vol. 29, p. 429. We must expose demands that objectively perpetuate the exploitation of women, prevent them from entering socialized production, recognizing that this will only be fully possible under socialism.

IIIA. THE FAMILY AND CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

According to the materialistic conception, the determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this involves a twofold character. On the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing, and shelter and the tools requisite therefor; on the other, the production of human beings and their reproduction as members of the species. The social institutions under which man has a definite historical and social character as a being are conditioned by both kinds of production: By the stage of development of the laboring classes, and of the family, on the other.


With the rise of class society the family lost its natural form. Its development sums up the growth of the contradictions in the family up to and including the capitalist stage. It is natural that the struggle of the working class is to change the family structure.

"The administration of the household lost its public character. It was no longer considered a public service. The wife became the first domestic servant, pushed out of the production in social production. Only modern large-scale industry again threw open to her - and only to the proletarian class - the avenue to social production; but in such a way that, when she fulfills her duties in the factory, she remains excluded from public production and cannot earn anything; and when she works outside the factory, she earns relatively little and earn her living independently, she is not in a position to fulfill her duties in the family. But the real relation of the woman in the factory applies to her in all the professions, right up to academe and to the aristocracy. The family is based on the open or disguised domestic enslavement of the woman; and modern society is a mass composed solely of individual families as its molecules.

...In the bourgeois world, however, the specific character of the economic oppression that weighs down the proletariat stands out in all its sharpest form only after the special legal privileges of the capitalist class have been struck down. The complete social equality of both classes is established. The democratic republic does not abolish the social distinction between the two classes; but, on the contrary, it provides the field on which it is fought out. And, similarly, the struggle over the domination of the woman in the modern family, and the necessity, as well as the actuality, of the real sexual equality between the two, will be brought out into full relief only when both are completely emancipated."

Engels, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

The emancipation of women requires the abolition of the family as an economic unit. Equality for women remains an impossibility as long as they are restricted to private, domestic labor. But their full participation in social production is, in turn, dependent upon the abolition of private property, the basis for the existence of the individual family. This is because the individual family unit, under class society, is responsible not for the reproduction, but for the development of its members, rather than this being a genuine responsibility of society as a whole.

The importance of the family, therefore, the rise of modern society, and the fundamental role it plays in social production as a whole is generally not understood from a Marxist position, and even less so, in terms of an analysis of the goals of socialist revolution based on a concrete study of the current conditions.

In the earlier stages of capitalism, it would not be unusual for all family members to work for the same capitalist, in the same factory. This represented an increased exploitation of the working class. Today, the capitalist paid more wages to a family in absolute terms. Indeed, his profit has increased several-fold by the decrease in wage per worker. From this, not only the husband's, but also the wife's labor is reduced, but with the introduction of machinery it is possible for women and children to perform the same kind of work that was previously performed by men at higher wages. This is another distant example of how the introduction of machinery serves not to lighten the burden of the working class but is a tremendous lever for its further exploitation under capitalism.

The capitalist depressed the wages of the entire working class by the introduction of women and children into the labor force paying wages that were a fraction of the wages men workers received. Today it would be uncommon to find husband and wife working in the same workplace. The absolute same rule applies in the total picture of capitalist exploitation of the working class. It is an encouragement of the increasing impoverishment of the working class that both the husband and wife must work to obtain the means of subsistence of their family.

However, work outside the home does not exempt the woman from her responsibilities inside the home where, most typically, she must continue to care for the children, prepare meals, and maintain the house. These conditions make it impossible for the woman to produce as many of the items necessary to her own life, and more expensive food preparations in the home, and forces the family to consume imported manufactured products. In this way, the increased income of the family is already back in the pocket of the capitalist.

IIIA. WOMEN, CAPITALIST PRODUCTION AND DOMESTIC SLAVERY

Women have been oppressed as long as there has been class society, but excessive capitalistic exploitation of women has only been possible under capitalism. Capitalism, for the first time, forced women to leave their homes on a large scale, and enter into production. Women became wage slaves in addition to being housewives and mothers, or, women, being twice exploited, have been very oppressed under capitalism. Women today are not only the slaves of the bourgeoisie as part of the labor aristocracy, but also in their specific role in the family. There is a real material difference in the exploitation of women as compared to the proletariat as a whole. For, in addition to their status as housewives, women are also enslaved to household functions. The result of this is that women are held back in their cultural, political, and economic development not by the force of bourgeois ideology alone. There are also the social bonds of household and child-care responsibilities preventing women from participating in these areas, regardless of their subjective wishes.

"...the emancipation of women and their equality with men is impossible and must remain so as long as women are excluded from socially productive work and restricted to housework, which is private. The emancipation of women becomes possible only when women are enabled to take part in production on a large, social scale, and when domestic duties require their attention only to a minor degree. And this has become possible only as a result of modern large-scale industry, which not only permits the employment of women in production in large numbers, but actually calls for it and, moreover, strives to convert the hitherto domestic work also into a public industry."

Engels, op. cit., p. 158.

Women suffer special exploitation and oppression in addition to the general exploitation of all workers under capitalism. Women, historically, have had an inconsistent relationship to the process of production, determined by their restriction to private, domestic labor which makes them a component part of the reserve army of labor. The reserve army of labor serves to depress the overall living standard of the proletariat by pitting worker against worker in the struggle for jobs. Along with this, the mass of unemployed women is also available to step into expanding areas of capitalist production without taking workers away from existing sectors of industry. Jobs have only been opened up to women when it served the needs of the capitalist class. For example, many women were employed in the textile industry, during the Civil and World Wars. During these times, the employment of women in industry and military and in the factory, that fully equipped child-care centers were set up across the country to serve the military. The number of child-care centers fell short of the actual needs. Immediate production of food and raw materials shrunk in numbers, became less and less funded by the state, and existed to serve bourgeois and petty bourgeois women primarily. Capitalism has used the reserve army of labor, the employment of female workers, and dependents, and at times, even children, to depress the wages and conditions of the working classes.

Women today suffer job discrimination in many forms: 1. Inadequate job opportunities for women in traditional minorities, and at times, even children, to depress the wages and conditions of the working classes.

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III. WOMEN OF OPRESSED NATIONS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES

In addition to the special exploitation to which women in general are subjected, there are the particular forms for women in oppressed nations and national minorities. The oppression of nations under imperialism is a result of the instability of those nations to develop normally, gives rise to qualitatively different conditions for the people of those nations. Black women of the oppressed Black Nation in the Black Belt South, and women of national minorities, suffer the greatest degradation of all.

In this context, the demands of household work cause women to enter the most excessive contradiction with the actual needs of the masses of women. The needs of women of oppressed nations, and national minorities are starkly different from those put forward by petty-bourgeois women of the oppressor nation. As a welfare mother puts it, "You murder me, women's liberationists, but you can't make it, because you are asking for is wrong, but because of what you leave out. Where is free child-birth in your platform, where is decent pre-natal care? Where is nourishing food for me, so my children will not starve and be pregnant? Do you have any idea what that means? So he doesn't die in infancy? Where is a decent place to live, enough to eat, health care, freedom from disease and filth?"

Now dare you mention freedom and talk about resistance on all your bills? Do you think because a cause your ask for is wrong, but because of what you leave out. Where is free child-birth in your platform, where is decent pre-natal care? Where is nourishing food for me...

I don't want to try and correct you ever so carefully, so they can be breath-taken, shared, filled with self-hatred and disgust...You're the cause of my rebellion and the merits of choosing celibacy. I'm supposed to live in forced celibacy now? Can you imagine anything more incomprehensible than this? And the women of our own bodies when we don't have the right to even keep our bodies from being controlled, any children we might wish to be free to live. I don't want to try and correct you ever so carefully, so they can be breath-taken, shared, filled with self-hatred and disgust...

You've had your share of freedom and the merits of choosing celibacy. I'm supposed to live in forced celibacy now? Can you imagine anything more incomprehensible than this? And the women of our own bodies when we don't have the right to even keep our bodies from being controlled, any children we might wish to be free to live. I don't want to try and correct you ever so carefully, so they can be breath-taken, shared, filled with self-hatred and disgust...

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Why do you ignore us? Where are our national minorities? Your movement is a farce and a travesty to us, because you uphold the forces that make use of us as an existence.


Non-white women workers are concentrated in the major urban concentration groups. In 1973, 12.9% of non-white women were employed as domestic workers in private households, as compared with 2.9% of white women. Non-white men were employed as clerical workers and 25.2% as service workers, excluding employees.

One aspect of the extent of the exploitation of Black women can be seen by looking at the data from statistics from 1972 showing that the annual median wage or salary income for non-white women was $4,730, compared to $6,131.00 for white women, $7,546.00 for non-white men, and $10,786.00 for white men. In 1973, a working woman could have earned what all men earned. The oppression of the Black Nation in the Black Belt South and the resulting denial of democratic rights throughout the U.S. is reflected in every aspect of life.

For the same initial suppression of the development of productive forces is most glaringly shown in the forced stitution of working women, particularly of oppressed national minorities. It is estimated that as high as one-third of all women in Puerto Rico have been forced to participate in the work of the bourgeoisie's socio-economic rationalization plan. The way in which the bourgeoisie's capacity to control and use them under capitalism is a product of the exploitation of the work of women as a whole.

The role of working class women is to supply the commodity labor-power to capital. Every relation reforming to women's right to control of reproduction has a limited and insincere existence under capitalism. The move to make abortion illegal again in many states, after having been only briefly eliminated recently, is an example. The fact that abortion is not free means that it remains a partial right. They say that if it is "free" it is denied to those who cannot afford to exercise it. At the same time, the freedom to work as a source of profits, yet scant research has been done concerning their safety and long-term effects. Even if these items are "free" and safe, they would still remain nartial democratic rights, as they are for distributional. It is not unusual to be unequal to other forms of formalist oppression and because genuine democracy can only exist under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when the majority of society controls state power.

Under socialism, all of these can be turned into their opposite. Birth control can be very exciive in allowing women to determine whether and when to have children, therefore allowing them to make other conscious decisions about their family, education, and work. But women do not have the ability to implement these techniques to their advantage under capitalism.

The triple exploitation and oppression, slave, national, and sexual, is perpetuated by the bourgeois state and the dominant democratic rights, ranging from the denial of some form of reproductive care to the right of self-determination of oppressed women. Commune people recognize the material differences among proletarian women of oppressed and oppressed nations, and that Marseillan-Latin theory and practice are the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no room for the petty-bourgeois female to become a tool for complete ammoral.

IV. MALE SUPREMACY

In order to understand male supremacy there must be a brief history of its historical origins. At first the Division of Labor was a pure and simple outgrowth of nature; it existed only between the two sexes. The women were the hunters and gathered the raw material for food and the tools necessary for these pursuits. The men were the builders of the house, and prepared food and clothing; they cooked, weaved, and sewed. Each was master of his own field of activity; the men in the forest, the women in the house. Each owned the things he did not use; the men, the weapons and the hunting and fishing tackle, the women, the household goods. Upon this class structure grew a class society, the bourgeoisie, which was partly significant, partly profit, partly assistants, but they were driven in scores to work in the fields and work on the basis of forced labor into two great branches, agriculture and handicrafts, gave rise to production in exchange of commodities; with it came trade, not only in the interior and on the border but also, in the development of division of labor..."

Besides wealth in commodities and slaves, besides money wealth, wealth in the form of land is translated into family...

Now a society had come into being that by the force of all its economic conditions of existence it operated to split up the free man and slave states into a rich and a poor slave state. That was not only incapable of reconciling these antagonisms, but had to drive them more and more to a
head (p. 165)....The form of the family corresponding to civilization and under it becoming the definitely pleasant form of monogamy, the supremacy of the man over the woman, and the individual family as the economic unit of the class is the ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, p. 155-173 (Moscow, 1972).

Male supremacy is based on private property. This economic condition gave rise to monogamous marriage guaranteeing that the children were of only one woman. Thus monogamy does not by any means make its appearance in history as the reconciliation of man and woman, still less as the highest form of such reconciliation. On the contrary, it appears as the subsection of one sex by the other in the peculiarly distorted form of civilized society, in which we can already study the nature of the antagonism and contradictions which develop fully in the latter." (Ibid., p. 65-66) Throughout all class society male supremacy, and its institutional expression in monogamous marriage, have existed.

The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male." (Ibid., p. 66)

One of the most pervasive and flagrant examples of the inequality is the inequality in the family, the division of housekeeping work, or to be more precise, its non-division, the burden of the household work going mainly to the woman. Back from her work where she has had to work much and sweat, her husband, the woman has to tidy the house, clean, cook for the family, etc. etc. -by maintaining the inequality in the home the husband establishes himself as a bourgeois and converts his wife into his proletariat. Marriage thereby establishes the abolition of household labor (domestic slavery) with the setting up of a complete service system which will supply the needs of the family on a general social basis rather than as a private individual concern. This is a necessary condition for truly bringing women into socialized production and political life. Male supremacy will only be defeated by the removal of its base, that is, private property. This can only come about through the overthrow of private property's highest expression, monogamy, capitalism, and the establishment of socialism through socialist revolution, in which the liberation of women is a basic requirement for the savor, and a precondition for the victory of the proletariat in its battle with the bourgeoisie.

In the course of the transformation of society from capitalism to communism a deep-going struggle, against all forms of ideology from past class society will be carried out in order to insure the success of the revolution. New social relationships will be developed, characterized by comradely mutual help and cooperation, in which the break with outdated traditional ideas and the transformation of the outlook of every member of society will take place.

III FASCISM AND THE WOMAN QUESTION

Fascism enslaves women in order to hold down and stifle the revolutionary discontent of the masses. It removes women from power and turns them back into purely domestic slaves in their own homes and in the homes of the ruling class. It is a form of enslavement, and the removal from industry, women, in large numbers are driven into the service economy for their only economic alternative. This is the case in the U.S.S.R. today.

A. Women's Movement

1. The basis of women's oppression and exploitation is the family. This basis is in societies where the private ownership of the means of production is the family. This ownership is inherently revolutionary character, since it is a product of the objective conditions using all the contradictions, these conditions are even further aggravated under imperialism.

Those who have been most exploited and oppressed, and subjected to the greatest social degradation are the revolutionary and progressive elements of society. On the one hand, there is the cruel political oppression and merciless economic exploitation of the proletariat, while on the other hand, there is its position as the majority organized at the point of production; practicing proletarian discipline as a result of the socialization of production: selling its labor power and producing surplus value) which makes the proletariat at the same time the most force and revolutionary force in the world.

The double and triple oppression and exploitation under imperialism, makes a woman a great revolutionary force.

2. Capitalism produces in the proletariat its own gravedigger; the only class that by freeing itself, frees all the oppressed, and abolishes all forms of exploitation. The emancipation of women being an integral part of general social emancipation, gave rise to organization of women's organizations were formed as part of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The First Socialist Women's Conference was held in Stuttgart in 1907, marking the birth of the International Worker's Socialist Movement. This organization represented the unity of proletarian women from all nations. Although it was weakened with the breaking up of the Second International, it was reorganized after the Great October Revolution and the founding of the Third International. This organization was based on the initiative of Clara Zetkin, then head of the women's section of the Third International, to mobilize a powerful international women's movement, based on a clear and precise theoretical basis, wherein to attract the masses of working women of all nations to the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism. (Tashko, Liri, "The Struggle Against Imperialism in the Women's Movement in the U.S.S.R.," p.270, PROBLEMS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, Tirana, 1973.)

As a result of this, special sections for work among women were set up in the communist parties of many countries, as well as separate organizations including communist and non-party members. With World War II, the international women's movement progressed to a higher stage. The necessity of uniting in the field against Fascism in defense of the organization, Women's International Democratic Federation, on December 1, 1945.

The WDF at its founding was based on a militant position. However, with the rise of modern revisionism, today it has been transformed into a tool of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world hegemony. At the Moscow World Congress, 1963, the revisionist leaders of the WDF put forward a program calling for the liquidation of all organizations for the emancipation of women, and China and from the Albanian Women's Union, the program was nonetheless adopted.

It is clear that the WDF has betrayed the interests of the masses of women throughout the world. But the just struggle for the emancipation of women continues in many nations. The women of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Burma, under conditions of liberation movements in Africa and Palestine, have become a great revolutionary force. All women of the world should consider as shining examples these comrades who have united with the masses in their country for national liberation and revolution.

3. The rise of the women's movements did not only produce revolutionary organizations. "The birth of genuine revolutionary movements is always accom-
III. DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

1. The struggle of working women against monopoly capital is a basic struggle for democratic rights, which are won in the course of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

2. The fight for democratic rights becomes necessary due to the reactionary struggle of the proletariat when each particular demand, whether it be child care or equal pay, is tied to the question of state power and socialism. Such demands which are not tied to the question of state power and socialism, turn out to be reformist.

3. By pointing to the final aim of the movement, one point out that there can be no complete solution under the rule of the bourgeoisie, and that all democratic rights can only be achieved in a partial, conditional form. Only socialism can offer genuine and complete democratic rights, because it is socialism that constitutes the rule of the majority.

1111. THE WOMAN QUESTION IN PRACTICE

Women are a great revolutionary force who are working in all fields of life from capitalism and feudalism to the New China. From capitalist exploitation and feudalism to the New China, women's participation in political, economic and cultural life is necessary. Women's liberation is the key to social revolution. The struggle of women for equal rights and freedom is a struggle for democracy.

1. The political education and liberation of women are closely related. Women's political education and liberation are necessary. Women must be educated and liberated in order to participate fully in the struggle for liberation.

2. The political education of women involves their education in the fields of politics, economics, culture, and education. Women must be educated in order to participate fully in the struggle for liberation.

3. The political education of women is a continuous process. Women must be educated and liberated in order to participate fully in the struggle for liberation.

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10. The political education of women is a continuous process. Women must be educated in order to participate fully in the struggle for liberation.
With the accumulation of private property, and a division of labor among men and women, capitalism and patriarchy were born. This division of labor has become more intense with the further development of capitalistic democracy. In the patriarchal, communist, women were the mainstay of life. But under capitalism, the role of women, even within the family, has been grossly changed, it has been distorted, belittled, and exploited.

In capitalist society, there is a stark contrast between the role of working women, and women of the bourgeois class. Women are educated to pursue the "finer things," to be "ladies," often the head of this or that corporation, first by having "his" children; second, by sociology as the ideology of this or that charity ball, and by making the best dressed list or society column of the newspaper. This role also applies to some of the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie. But it is also true that many petty bourgeois families, at this time, leading the fight for women's reforms.

Sexual oppression of women in capitalist society comes out most blatantly in the lives of working women and oppressed nations and national minorities. Women are used by the bourgeoisie as a reserve army of labor, and the mass of them are needed by the bourgeoisie, such as during a war, when not needed in the workforce, women are used by the bourgeoisie in a fascist ideology regarding the glories of home life. Women are told that all work is not the same, soft and fluffy and smelt like Downey, that our children need Jiffty, Hostess Twinkies, Big Boy Milkshakes, and not much encouragement to believe that joy consists of coming home after a full day's work and saying, "I've had a marvelous meatloaf dinner!". These are all aspects of a fascist form of bourgeois ideology which seeps into their families and into the home in order, to protect its economic interests and to suppress the growing revolutionary potential of the masses.

The bourgeoisie also pushes its fascist ideology, in sex, in marriage (prostitution), for the use of certain commodities such as cars, toothbraces, clothes, soaps, dentures, in order to seem sexier. All of the sexual attractiveness of the user. Only with capital has sex been raised to such a high place with movements such as on sex changes and implants, on advertising and packaging, than for the most vital medical needs of the masses. Marx recognized clearly that with capitalism:

"(the worker) only feels himself freely active in his animal functions-eating, drinking, procreating, or at most in his dwelling and in dressing-up, etc.; and in his human functions he no longer feels himself to be an animal, but a human being. What is animal becomes human and what human becomes animal.

"The work of drinking, procreating, etc., are also genuinely human functions. But taken abstractly, separated from the whole of human activity and turned into sole and ultimate ends, they are animal functions. (The Eight Millions of Enslaved, COLLECTED WORKS, Vol.3, p.274-5.)"

What is promoted by capitalism is not what is human, but an animal function which has become human. There can be no more violent indictment of capitalism.

In the struggle against fascism in the 1930s, Dithrov, leader of the Communist Party, stated:

"Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a brand of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the point of lunacy, was capable of having any influence at all. This was a great mistake.

Under no circumstance must we underestimate fascism's power of ideological infection, which can do so much for THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM, Sofia Press, p.68.)

It is this ideological infection which most clearly characterizes the nature of sexual exploitation and the character of oppression under imperialism, especially for women of oppressed nations and national minorities, and working women in general.

To understand the depth and brutality of women's oppression, we must look at the reality of women today. Women must work full time for less money than men; women must pay child care. Women are doubly exploited both on the job and in the home. This is particularly true for women of oppressed nations and national minorities—for whose capitalist exploitation and oppression is savage, has the vicious ring of the capital oppression of women is rape. The bourgeoisie, and bourgeois law, promote the idea that violence is justice, that rape, that rape, that rape, is just a way for men to let off steam, or express their love. In court, it is the woman who is to be the guilty party, not the rapist.

The fact is that women do not want, nor like to, work. This is a particularly brutal form of women's oppression.

The cases of Joann Little and Inez Garcia are a sad example. Joann Little while on trial in a Raleigh, North Carolina jail, was raped like other women before her, by the white sailor, Allgood. Joann defended herself against the attack, and killed the attacker. She was brought up on charges of murder, not simply because she defended herself, but because she was a black woman who had gone against the will of her white oppressor in the Black Belt South. Allgood, the rapist, then could not get away with raping Joann Little because he had succeeded in countless occasions before.

The case of Joann Little, like literally hundreds of thousands before her, reflects the triple oppression of Black women; as workers, as members of an oppressed nation, and as women. The history of Black women, as members of an oppressed nation, from slavery through white supremacy, is a history of extremely severe injury and heroic struggle against oppression and exploitation.

For instance, at the present time, North Carolina has the highest percentage of Black prisoners on death row in the U.S. Many of other labor movement in the U.S. and the Black women roost in the jails of North Carolina. They are daily attacks similar to Allgood's rape of Joann Little. In this particular case, because of the growing revolutionary movement that was built to support Joann Little, she was acquitted, but told others never to receive similar treatment.

Inez Garcia is a young Chicana, who at gun point, was forced to submit to sex by a man. After she fought for her freedom and hearing of further threats against her life by these two men, she returned home, armed herself, and went after her attackers. She was tried for murder and convicted. The case is now on appeal.

Joann Little and Inez Garcia are the exception, not the rule, in the sense that their cases rallied the working class and its support. Rape victims are more often than not the victims of being looked upon as the one who is faulty, who is the source of the sexual harassments and chauvinist treatment by the state apparatus (police, lawyers, courts) leads to their victimization.

Women are intimidated into feeling guilty until they risked life and limb, and even going cold, stabbed, or in some other way show themselves to move that they "did not invite the rape." Rape in a violent crime against women, aimed at terrorizing and disempowering women of the rule of private property. The increasing rate of rape stems from the world's vicious, degrading and decadent nature of monocapitalism and the nature of monopoly capitalism and in a reflection of a society in which "what is animal becomes human as in human becomes animal," as Marx stated.

Rape in ghettos and barrios, Black and Chicano women, generations accepted the conduct and communications of their brothers as part of the culture. Young women take as growing part of the world of boys with rubber bands, comments such as "say mama, what's yo name...nasty, say mama, shit," or the ever popular "say, sister." These expressions of sexual oppression are not simply "cultural differences," but our way of promoting it. The bourgeoisie to further oppress women of oppressed nations or minorities.

Sexual oppression is widespread in the family or on the streets, but is widespread on the job. As the crisis of imperialism forces women to seek employment in production, and women in turn take up the fight for sexual liberation, but do not seek the sexual harassment by men becomes pronounced.

Male co-workers constantly throw sexual and racial slurs at women, try to pat and squeeze or pinch them, and to trick them into revealing anything only overcome by ignoring these degradations or threats with bodily harm. However, with the supervision of women, to know they can deter rape by hiring and firing, work loads, and other demands, and to seek sexual satisfaction from women in exchange for job security, light work loads, and other favors.

However, more and more women, particularly women of oppressed nations and minorities, are becoming increasingly involved in the fight against imperialism, for self-determination and for their freedom.

In New York, petty bourgeois women have taken an active role in setting up women's groups, and in organizing into affirmative action programs, to fight for protection against "unfair abuse of power." This is the beginning of a movement along the first step which has little effect on most working women.

The situation remains that most working women have not systematically taken up the fight against their exploitation. They are slow to recognize the struggle against sexual harassment. This, however, is not surprising, for it reflects the animal character of our movement. It is only a genuine vanguard party which can transform the situation. This party must be a conscious revolutionary movement against capital. It is the task of Marxist-Leninists to take the initiative and lead the existing women's movement, to transform its demands, and to link the women's movement to the general movement of the working class for its emancipation.
Support the Revolutionary Struggle of All Working Women Against Double and Triple Oppression: Class, National, and Sexual!

Political Line is Key and Theory is Decisive on the Woman Question!

Special Demands for Special Oppression—Fight for Genuine Democratic Rights for Women!

End Job Discrimination Against Women:

1. Provide Adequate Child Care, at Low or No Cost;
2. Job Training for Women;
3. Equal Wages for Comparable Work!

End Forced Sterilization - Free Abortion On Demand!

Build the Vanguard Communist Party!

Build a Revolutionary Women’s Organization!

Build Communist Leadership of the Women’s Movement!

Mobilize the Masses of Women for Proletarian Revolution!

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