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TO ORGANIZERS AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION DIRECTORS

Dear Comrades,

The enclosed report was adopted by the Political Bureau, November 3, 1978. This report will be made available to all comrades in the next Party Organizer, which will be coming out before the National Committee plenum in December. Before then, this report should be distributed as widely as possible to all comrades.

Comradely,

*Wendy Lyons* (EF)

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# EVALUATION OF THE NOW CONFERENCE AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION PERSPECTIVES FOR THE SWP

By Wendy Lyons

[The following report was adopted by the Political Bureau, November 3, 1978.]

This year's conference of the National Organization for Women showed that significant changes are taking place in the organization which reflect a shift in the broader political situation the party faces.

The ruling-class campaign to drive down the standard of living and rights of all working people is now meeting with resistance. The 110-day coal strike marked the beginning of a new mood of militancy and willingness to fight back. The victorious fight for the extension of the ERA ratification deadline was part of this new resistance.

The NOW conference showed that women are becoming more concerned with broad political questions under the impact of the rulers' attacks and the growing response against them. Many NOW members saw the need to make alliances with the labor movement and Black and Latino organizations in a common fight for justice, and there was a growing feeling that mass actions are an effective method of struggling for women's rights.

To see how much progress this represents it is useful to look back at the reaction to the strategy we and others who became part of the Defending Women's Rights caucus put forward at the 1977 conference.

## Needed Strategy

To combat the ruling-class offensive against women's rights we said it was necessary for NOW to:

- Fight for the rights of the most oppressed women and win Black, Latina, and other working women to the ranks and leadership of NOW.
- Forge alliances with the labor movement and the organizations of the oppressed nationalities.
- Chart a course of action including mass demonstrations, picket lines, and speak-outs—actions that would rely on the independent power of women and their allies rather than the capitalist politicians.

These proposals, which remain the necessary strategy for NOW, won a favorable response from only a small minority of the 1977 conference. Among those most favorable were Black and Latina women who were being hit hardest by the attacks.

But a majority of the gathering was not yet convinced that there was an offensive taking place against women and other working people. In fact the opposite idea was put forth by sections of the central leadership of NOW. A theme of the 1977 conference was that women's rights were pretty much won except for the ERA. Now it was time to go on to win the ERA and use the rights women have won to gain influence in capitalist electoral politics. Political action committees were instituted for the first time.

While the majority of the 1977 conference did not yet recognize the government offensive against women's

rights, they felt the pressure of the government-inspired campaign against the ERA. The NOW leadership's response was to back away from issues such as abortion rights and forced sterilization, for fear that association with such "controversial" issues could jeopardize support for the ERA.

A similar retreat was seen in response to the right-wing campaign to pin the "antifamily" label on the women's rights movement. The NOW leadership reacted by glorifying the role of "homemakers" and housework. Eleanor Smeal, who was elected president at the 1977 conference, pledged a major effort to recruit housewives as the backbone of NOW, stressing her own credentials as a "homemaker."

In the year and a half between the 1977 and 1978 conferences two things happened that profoundly affected the thinking of NOW members and masses of other women. On the one hand the attacks against women and all working people intensified; on the other, decisive sectors of the working class began to fight back against the attacks and win some victories, inspiring others to follow suit.

After the 1977 conference the attacks against women came fast and furious:

- Poor women were denied abortions when the Hyde amendment went into effect cutting off government monies for abortions. A new round of restrictive state laws began to curtail abortion rights for all women.
- Gay and lesbian rights were dealt a blow in Dade County, Florida and later in other cities with the defeat of antidiscrimination ordinances.
- The *Bakke* decision was handed down by the Supreme Court after a vicious ruling-class propaganda campaign against affirmative action.
- The pitifully inadequate child care that existed continued to be cut back.

Finally as the March 1979 deadline for ratification of the ERA approached, it became clear that through the backstabbing of the capitalist politicians the amendment was going down to defeat.

All these attacks against women were taking place in the context of the broader ruling-class offensive aimed at all working people. The rulers had carefully calculated, beginning the attacks with the most oppressed and least organized to fight back. This included the major assault on the public employees unions begun in New York City. Emboldened by the virtual lack of response to these initial attacks from the organized labor movement, the rulers then decided to take another, bigger step—to attack an established industrial union to probe the possibility of breaking its power. They targeted the United Mine Workers, which they considered to be the most vulnerable. But here the rulers miscalculated.

## The Miners Fight Back

Through measures of union democracy that the miners

had fought for earlier and won, they were able to use a portion of the vast potential power of their union to stalemate the bosses attempt to break them.

Because the membership of the miners' union had the right to decide on their contract and were using that power to reject deals made between the Arnold Miller leadership and the bosses, attention focused on them.

A dramatic confrontation took place in front of the whole American population. Night after night rank-and-file miners were interviewed on television explaining why they were refusing government back-to-work orders. They were able to tell their side of the story and win sympathy and active support for the justice of their cause. The miners' stand inspired everyone who was under attack.

The later actions of the postal workers and rail workers showed that the miners were no exception. Fueled by the miners' example, there was a new mood of willingness to fight back.

This was reflected in a whole series of protests. Last spring, Washington D.C., was the scene of large marches to free the Wilmington Ten, protest the *Bakke* decision, demand jobs for youth, and in solidarity with the freedom fighters in southern Africa. The majority of marchers were Black.

Last spring we also saw large demonstrations against nuclear power and weapons—the largest antiwar protests since the U.S. government withdrew from Vietnam. Struggles against university investments in South Africa swept many campuses involving thousands of white and Black students.

In this atmosphere, and with the imminent defeat of the ERA looming, the NOW membership was anxious to act. This impelled the NOW leadership to issue the call for women and men to march on Washington for the ERA July 9.

The broad backing for the march—especially from the unions—and the massive outpouring approaching 100,000 demonstrators was dramatic testimony to the depth of support and willingness to fight for women's rights. The action also showed that the fight for the ERA had become a symbol for many—a place to stand up and say, "Enough!"

In the face of this show of strength, the ruling class was forced to pull back and concede extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA. The rulers had had no intention of allowing extension to pass until the mass mobilization. They fear adding an amendment to the constitution that raises the expectations of women that they will get equal pay, job opportunities, and extended rights. This doesn't fit in with the rulers' campaign to intensify the exploitation of the working class, to drive down its standard of living.

Raising women's hopes that they will improve their situation and gain new rights cuts across the austerity mentality the rulers are trying to impose on the whole working class.

At the NOW conference, Eleanor Smeal and others explained how the congressional vote was stacked against extension until the last minute. The Democratic-controlled 95th Congress rejected virtually every other proposal put forward by organized labor.

### **ERA Is Victory for All**

But the rulers had to reevaluate their options when they

saw the outpouring on July 9. Passing the extension became a lesser evil for them than fueling the mood of militancy among women in a situation of growing protests on the job and around other social issues.

Winning the extension was a crucial victory for women that gives them renewed confidence to continue fighting. The demonstration clearly showed that supporters of women's rights—not government-inspired right wingers like Phyllis Schlafly—speak for the majority.

The concession on the ERA and the way it was wrested from the government was also a victory for the whole working class. It helped show that it is possible to fight back and win and it set an example of how to win—by mobilizing the power of our numbers independent of the government.

While NOW organized the action that won the extension, it was the 110-day strike by the coal miners that altered the political climate and began to create the stand-up-and-fight-back atmosphere that set the stage for the victory.

As Willie Mae Reid explained in a report on women's liberation perspectives at the February 1978 meeting of the SWP National Committee, occurring in the midst of the miners' strike:

"As far as the women's liberation movement is concerned, the most important thing happening in the country today is the coal miners' strike. The miners' resistance to the operators' offensive and the outcome of that battle will have an impact on winning the ERA, reclaiming abortion rights for all women, securing affirmative-action programs and other women's rights. . . ."

The changed political situation and the role of NOW in helping to bring it about has had an impact on the thinking of the organization from top to bottom.

Changes are occurring that help reinforce the efforts of those forces in NOW who are fighting for NOW to be an effective and unwavering movement for women's rights—a movement that will encompass oppressed and exploited women and ally itself with the struggles of the working class as a whole.

The 1978 NOW conference was highly political compared to the last one. More political discussion took place on the floor of the plenaries, and very lively debate occurred at workshops. While many of last year's workshops tended to be consciousness-raising or countercultural self-help seminars, this year the workshops dealt with the political issues facing the women's movement.

### **New View of Labor**

The biggest change reflected at the conference was the attitude of NOW members to the labor movement. While last year's conference held up "homemakers" as the most important section of society to win over, this year a theme of the gathering was the need to ally with labor.

This is a big shift in consciousness for the present women's movement, which was born during the quiescence of the labor movement and tended to look on it with hostility—a hostility that was often provoked by the antiwomen policies of the labor bureaucracy.

Today, under pressure from the attacks against labor and women's rights, the national leadership of NOW and some top union officials are seeking an alliance for the purpose of trying to gain greater influence over capitalist politicians. Regardless of the aims of the leadership in seeking such an alliance, their moves reinforce a positive

attitude toward the labor movement among the NOW membership.

On the one hand, this new attitude stems from a growing understanding that the enemies of women's rights are the same as the enemies of labor's rights. On the other, it is testimony to the attractive power of the union movement when it begins to fight. Other layers of society begin to look to it, are inspired by its power, and follow its lead. Women have been affected by the power they saw displayed in the strikes that have taken place and they saw how important labor's support was in the drive to win extension of the ERA deadline.

This new consciousness was seen at the conference in the presence of trade-union leaders as keynote speakers, in the labor workshops that were held, and by the overwhelming support the labor-workshop resolution received from the gathering. (See appendix.)

The political changes that have taken place in the last year have had an impact on the thinking of many NOW members on other questions as well. There is more agreement on the need to ally with the Black and Latino movements. This too was reflected in the list of speakers at the conference, which included Coretta Scott King, who received a standing ovation upon arrival, and Elisa Sanchez, president of the Mexican-American Women's National Association. In addition, Veronica Murdock, president of the National Congress of American Indians, spoke.

The discussion on sterilization abuse also indicated progress. While the majority of delegates voted against supporting a thirty-day presterilization waiting period to guard against forced sterilization, NOW went on record against sterilization abuse. In addition quite a few women were won to the position that a thirty-day waiting period is necessary to help prevent victimization of women of the oppressed nationalities at the hands of racist, sexist doctors. This support was impressive considering there is confusion around this issue and many were hearing the pros and cons for the first time.

Advances were made in winning women to see the need to fight around other issues besides the ERA. A resolution was passed calling for coordinated pro-abortion rights actions across the country on the weekend of January 20-21—the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

At this conference many NOW members were also quick to back defense of affirmative-action programs. There was overwhelming support for the fight against Brian Weber's challenge to affirmative action on the job.

There is also greater agreement on the need to oppose attacks on gay and lesbian rights.

### **Cheers for Action**

Many NOW members are becoming partisans of mass actions. Cheers rang out when keynote speakers made references to the march on Washington, reflecting the understanding of many that the action played a decisive role in winning extension of the ratification deadline.

This helped the discussion at the conference in other areas. It was in large part because of the July 9 protest that women saw more clearly the need for allies in the labor movement and among the oppressed nationalities, making it easier to argue that NOW must reach out to and win these forces to the organization.

The desire to forge links with the labor movement is being reinforced by moves of some of the top labor officials to reach out to the women's movement, such as Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers union with his attempt to put together a new liberal, labor, Black, and women's rights coalition. While the labor officials and some of the central leaders of NOW see reforming the Democratic Party as the major purpose of such a coalition, the talk of alliances combined with the objective need for women to gain the support of the labor and Black movements in the fight for their rights, is opening the eyes of many NOW members.

There is now greater opportunity to discuss what kind of *strategy* is needed for the alliance of women, labor, and the oppressed nationalities to win. Many women will see the need for a fighting alliance that relies on its own power instead of collaboration with the very forces responsible for oppression and exploitation.

The experience of July 9 gave many women a glimpse of the potential power of united independent action. While many NOW members presently accept the need for mass action as a means of winning women's rights, the majority does not yet see a contradiction between this and a strategy that includes relying on capitalist politicians by lobbying or backing capitalist candidates. Rather, they think that actions as well as involvement in capitalist politics are effective ways to win women's rights.

This mistaken idea is fostered by the central leadership of NOW. Their strategic view of how women's rights can be won stands in the way of their leading an uncompromising fight for women's equality. They believe that the capitalist system can grant genuine equality for women—that the institutions of this society can be restructured to accomplish this. This leads them to collaboration with or reliance on the very forces responsible for the oppression of women.

One form this takes, among others, is reliance on the capitalist politicians to win women's rights. When the central leadership of NOW talks about women needing more political power they mean running more women as candidates of the capitalist parties and wheeling and dealing with elected capitalist politicians. The central NOW leaders share the narrow class-collaborationist view of the labor bureaucracy in this respect.

They have driven deeper in this direction since the last convention. The national ERA strike force set up at the last conference has been organizing NOW chapters in various states to focus on capitalist electoral politics, and more candidates than ever have been endorsed by NOW chapters.

The logic of this can be seen in what happened in the Phoenix chapter leading up to the elections. The primary activity of the chapter had been phoning registered voters to tell them who the Democratic and Republican candidates are who say they support the ERA. Members have dropped away from activity due to this uninspiring perspective.

In the game of "practical politics" put forward by the national NOW leadership, women's rights are sacrificed. Women are urged to work for the defeat of ERA opponents and elect "pro-ERA" politicians regardless of their views on other issues, including issues crucial to women such as abortion rights.

The invitation to Senator Edward Kennedy, a staunch opponent of abortion rights, to be a keynote speaker at the

NOW convention symbolized this approach.

The orientation of the NOW leadership puts pressure on them to function more and more as a small select group that can map out political strategy and make deals with politicians. With this perspective, the participation of the membership in decision making becomes a liability. This leads the leadership into attacking the democratic rights of the membership.

Part of that attack is the red-baiting campaign against socialists. The purpose of this campaign is to try to prevent and cloud over discussion on alternative strategy. But there is great resistance in NOW to the moves to curtail democracy. This was shown at the conference by the overwhelming rejection of the NOW leadership's proposal to amend the bylaws so that members could be expelled for violating NOW "policy."

Red-baiting was much less effective as a means of cutting off political discussion at this conference and many NOW members are seeing that attacks on the rights of socialists within the organization are a danger to the rights of every member.

The experience of July 9 also convinced many women of the need for democracy. They were inspired by the potential they felt July 9 to build NOW into a more powerful organization. They know that in order to draw new women into active participation democratic practices are necessary.

### **Contradictions for NOW Leaders**

The need women feel for a powerful organization to fight for their rights goes to the heart of the biggest obstacle facing the NOW leadership in carrying out its perspective of relying on the ruling class and its representatives to grant women's rights.

The rulers have made and will continue to make tactical shifts, granting some concessions when they feel the consequences of not granting them will lead to social explosions. But they are incapable of changing their fundamental strategy. They are compelled to continue to try to drive down the standard of living and rights of women and all working people. This strategy is dictated by the larger contradictions the rulers face in the overall crisis of the capitalist social system.

This has the effect of politicizing larger and larger layers of women, including the membership of NOW, and propelling them into action against the attacks. This is the same process taking place in the unions and the communities of the oppressed, and as one sector organizes to protest, this encourages others to fight back.

As women became angry about the attacks on their rights and disillusioned in the ability of the capitalist politicians to deliver on the ERA, this put pressure on the NOW leadership to act, as they did in calling July 9. That demonstration in turn became part of the growing resistance to the attacks and helps inspire women and others with confidence to act.

The misleadership of the labor movement—which consists of a longtime well-entrenched bureaucracy as opposed to the newer leadership of the women's movement—is feeling similar pressure. This is giving rise to splits within the union officialdoms.

There are moves to the left on the part of some lower-rung officials, who are closer to the membership, and growing disagreements among the top layers over how to

tactically adjust to a situation of growing militancy among the ranks.

The moves to the left on the part of some lower-rung officials have been seen in the program put forth by the team around Ed Sadlowski when he ran for the presidency of the steel union, and the militant stance of many local union presidents during the Iron Range and coal strikes.

Top officials like Fraser and William Winpisinger of the Machinists union have expressed in a different way the pressure they feel from the growing social crisis and the new moods among the ranks. They have responded by making *tactical* shifts within the framework of the class-collaborationist view they share with George Meany. This is what lays behind the militant ring to their speeches these days and Fraser's moves to pull together a new "progressive" coalition to reform the Democratic Party.

While the central NOW leadership shares the labor officials' political perspective of trying to reform the system, they face additional obstacles of carrying out a policy of collaboration with the enemies of labor and women's rights.

The NOW leaders have clout with the capitalist politicians to the extent they head what is seen as a powerful visible movement. When the politicians respond to Eleanor Smeal it is because she is viewed as a representative of the 100,000 women and men who marched on the capitol on July 9. If the leadership were to bureaucratize and narrow NOW into simply an electoral operation they would cut off its appeal to large numbers of women and destroy it as an activist organization. This would destroy their own base of power. NOW and the leaders who represent it would become as ineffective as the Women's Political Caucus turned out to be. This places countervailing pressure on the NOW leadership—the kind of pressure that resulted in their calling the July 9 action.

At the recent gathering called together by Fraser to discuss a new coalition within the Democratic Party, Smeal expressed the view that other methods of struggle would have to be tried in addition to working within the Democratic Party.

The continued crisis of the capitalist social system will impel more and more women to fight back, and deepen the political understanding of those who have already joined the fight. This fact and the contradictions facing the present leadership of NOW will boost the efforts of those who are fighting to prevent the bureaucratization of NOW, and its subordination to the needs of capitalist electoral politics, and other expressions of the liberal-reformist strategy of the current leadership.

### **Socialists in NOW**

The presence of socialists within NOW, helping to lead the fight for an effective women's movement can be decisive in whether NOW becomes a more powerful women's rights organization.

Our understanding that women's oppression is rooted in this social system makes us uncompromising fighters for women's rights—unwilling to subordinate them to anyone.

Since the upsurge in activity around women's rights, the July 9 march on Washington, and the extension victory, the size and authority of NOW has grown. It is viewed even more than in the past as the preeminent organization fighting for women's rights in the country. This affirms our view that all serious fighters for women's rights should

be members of NOW. It increases the stakes in the debate within NOW over what kind of women's movement is needed to win our rights.

We can expect that in the changing political situation, more and more NOW members will come to agree with the strategy we support for building an effective women's movement.

The big changes in thinking that have taken place between the 1977 and 1978 conferences show the importance of continuing the discussion within the local NOW chapters now that the conference is over.

### Conference Decisions

Implementing some of the important decisions of the conference will aid this process. An action focus for the chapters is the best way to draw the many new women into participation who came around NOW for the march on Washington. It will also help convince new women to join, especially women from the Black and Latino communities and the labor movement.

The conference voted to call for "coordinated local actions on the weekend of January 20-21, to be accompanied by a national press conference in support of the right to choose abortion." Many chapters have already begun discussing this important date for action. The gathering also voted to support the November 13 Karen Silkwood memorial protests and the J.P. Stevens boycott actions.

Wherever possible we also want to encourage local actions for the ERA, and continue the discussion begun at the conference on the need for a national demonstration or demonstrations to win the ERA now that we have won the extension.

We won the extension through a national effort and a national mobilization. If the women's movement goes back to reliance on lobbying and electing pro-ERA politicians, the ERA will be jeopardized once again. The same national effort and mass-action approach that won the extension is needed now if we are to win the victory of the amendment itself.

Public forums and premeeting programs can help win new women to NOW and educate NOW members around the important political issues discussed at the NOW conference. These include such things as NOW's opposition to the abortion rights attacks, the *Weber* case, sterilization abuse, and support to labor struggles.

NOW can help educate about and gather support for the fight against the *Weber* case. Forums cosponsored by local unions or featuring union speakers and speakers from the Black and Latino communities would be a blow to this threat to affirmative action.

As the most prestigious women's rights organization, NOW should make known its opposition to sterilization abuse. This is important if NOW is to win more Black and Latina women as members. There is also a crying need in the organization to educate around the facts about forced sterilization. Forums—especially those featuring Black or Latina women—could go a long way to filling this need.

### Labor Task Forces

The national conference voted to urge local and state bodies of NOW to set up labor task forces. Such bodies could aid in organizing NOW support for the labor-related campaigns the conference voted to back. These included

boycotts, strikes, and the campaign against the "right-to-work" laws. In addition, labor task forces could aid in reaching out to union women, including the many Black and Latina women who are unionists, and convincing them to join NOW. The conference also voted to sponsor a national conference in 1979 on women in unions and worksite organizing.

The increased willingness of women to struggle to defend and extend their rights is being reflected in the unions. Women's committees are springing up in some unions and in others already existing women's rights or civil rights committees are becoming reactivated to help defend women on the job. In several cases the march on Washington for the ERA was the catalyst that began this process.

Wherever such committees exist we should participate in them and where they do not yet exist we should be open to the possibility of helping to initiate them. Now would also be a good time to check out the activities of CLUW chapters in various cities.

We want to encourage members of union women's committees and other co-workers to become members of NOW, which is the most authoritative nationally organized women's rights organization.

Increasing the party's strength in the basic industrial unions will aid us in our goal of building a more effective labor movement and women's movement and forging links between both movements.

Campus women too are taking action against their oppression. Thousands marched on Washington for the ERA, July 9. On some campuses women are members of NOW campus task forces or campus NOW chapters. On others women have come together around a particular issue or have formed unaffiliated campus women's liberation organizations, or women's centers.

We want to participate in the women's rights organizations that exist on campuses, regardless of the forms, putting forward our strategy for winning women's rights. We want to explain to campus feminists the importance of linking up with forces beyond the campuses in order to wage an effective fight. Central to this will be encouraging campus women to join NOW, and urging unaffiliated campus women's liberation groups to participate in joint activities with NOW.

The recruitment of more trade unionists, women of the oppressed nationalities, and students to NOW will aid the organization. NOW must encompass thousands of these women in order to become an effective social movement, and those individual women who join at this time can help this become a reality.

They can help convince other NOW members of the need to reach out to unionists, Blacks, Latinas, and students, and they can be important links in forging the necessary alliances with the labor movement and communities of the oppressed nationalities.

Participating in the important discussions going on in NOW and in its activities—being part of the women's movement—will also help unionists, students, Latinas, and Black women in other struggles.

As the ruling class continues its attacks on the rights of women and all working people, and as women go through the experience of fighting back, many are looking for comprehensive answers to the cause of this growing social crisis. More and more women will come to the conclusion that the problems they face are rooted in the capitalist

system and that a new society is needed.

We should do everything we can to aid these women in their search for answers and conclusions about the roots of their oppression. We can do this by seeing to it that the *Militant* and other socialist literature gets into their hands

and that they are invited to our forums and classes.

We can urge the growing numbers who are coming to the conclusion that a new society is needed to truly end women's oppression, to join us in the fight for such a society by joining our party.

## Appendix

### ECONOMIC RIGHTS

**BE IT RESOLVED** That the National Organization for Women will take the following steps toward closing the wage gap and improving the status of women in the work force:

1. Continue to work cooperatively with the organized labor movement on our common goals and against our common enemies;

2. Take action to stimulate and support the organizing efforts of women and men workers into bona fide collective bargaining units;

3. Utilize, on the National level, only materials carrying the union label, and urge our members, local and state NOW organizations to do the same;

4. Actively work with organized labor to repeal section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act and to defeat efforts to pass "Right to Work for Less" legislation;

5. Work with the organized labor movement to renew and win the fight for labor law reform;

6. Pressure the EEOC and U.S. Department of Labor to implement the concept of equal pay for work of comparable value;

7. Make an immediate request to the leaders of the Senate-House Conference Committee to meet with our President to discuss the importance of passing Pregnancy Disability legislation in this session of Congress;

8. Endorse and support the WINN-DIXIE Boycott in 14 states, thereby supporting the rights of their employees—

over 50% female—to the benefits of unionization;

9. Support women who are fighting sexual discrimination within their unions and remain sensitive to their situation;

10. Urge local and state NOW bodies to form Labor Task Forces;

11. Take an official position against Weber and file an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief with the United Steelworkers of America in the Supreme Court and reaffirm our support of affirmative action as a method of overcoming the effects of past discrimination and immediately begin a national education campaign through articles in NOW Times and local NOW press on the Weber case and extend this campaign to programs, reports and public activities;

12. Plan and sponsor a national conference to be implemented in 1979 on Women in Unions and Worksite Organizing;

13. Continue to support and urge active participation in November 13 Silkwood Memorial Day actions and the national rally in Oklahoma City, thereby upholding the right of workers to health and safety protection on the job and redress under the Civil Rights Act for severe harassment of union leaders;

14. Continue to support the Boycott against J.P. Stevens products and urge active participation in planned actions around the country against J.P. Stevens, the United States' most notorious Labor Law violator, on November 30.