

PARTY AFFAIRS

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The Elections CENTERPIECE OF OUR WORK

THE TEAM



**Gus Hall
for President**



**Jarvis Tyner
for Vice President**

THE TIME

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25th Congress of the CPSU

By GUS HALL

REMARKS TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND DAILY WORLD FORUM
MARCH 29, 1976, AT THE MARC BALLROOM, NEW YORK CITY

(Editor's Note: This issue of PARTY AFFAIRS is dedicated to the 1976 elections, our Party's role and our Party's campaign. The following analysis of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a fitting backdrop to any discussion of the class battles unfolding in our country through electoral struggle. It is important for all comrades to have the fullest appreciation of this most historic event which, in Comrade Hall's words, brought together the "people who are changing the world balance of forces." Comrade Hall attended the Congress as a fraternal delegate from our Party together with Comrades Henry Winston, National Chairman, James E. Jackson, Educational Director, and Helen Winter, International Affairs Secretary.)

Comrade Brezhnev's Report is, in many ways, an unusual document. It deals with great achievements but also with problems and weaknesses in the most honest manner. His assessment of the domestic developments is just tremendous, and he presents a rounded-out analysis of the world scene as well.

The Report is both positive and critical on all questions. This is a quality which speaks to the CPSU's sense of confidence. Comrade Brezhnev presents Soviet policy as it is related to every aspect of the world situation. I strongly suggest that comrades read and study the Report. It is a document of great immediate and historic meaning. It should be made available to millions of Americans.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU was historic because it took place at a dividing line of history in many ways, at a time when there is a qualitative shift in the struggle between the two socio-economic systems. It reflected a new level in the building of socialism and of integration of the socialist world more and more into one economic and political unit.

Each time I visit the Soviet Union I am amazed and in a sense surprised at the tremendous progress. But why should I be surprised that socialism is such a superior social system or that it is doing what we always said it would do? What bothered me was the possibility that somehow the surprise is related to the day-in and day-out anti-Soviet slander and propaganda in the U.S.



GUS AND ELIZABETH HALL, GREETED UPON ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW

I began to wonder if it is possible for one to become inadvertently influenced by such a campaign. Or maybe the reason for the surprise is a lack of appreciation of what great deeds people are capable of, what immense power is released when people have control over their lives, when they are not weighed down by an antagonistic social system. Perhaps there is a lack of appreciation of what can be done when the source of alienation of people from society is eliminated. I think we must always examine the unconscious influences the daily propoganda might have on our assessments.

DOUBLE DIGIT GROWTH

There is now a continuous double-digit growth in the Soviet Union in the standard of living, in the growth of science, technology and industry, in housing. Frankly, it is beyond description. For example, the railroad they are now building across upper-Siberia is a tremendous project, but it is only a very minute part of the total construction going on in the Soviet Union. The new territory they are opening up with this one new railroad would equal about half of the United States. They are building thousands of towns and cities, hundreds of mines and factories and tremendous new industrial complexes. It is one of the richest areas in the world containing ore, coal, diamonds, oil and gas. It is one of nature's wealthiest storehouses.

The Chairman of the Soviet Academy of Sciences announced at the Congress the opening that week of the world's largest telescopes.

Then, even more nonchalantly, he announced that the next great nuclear reactor which gets its strength from fusion will be a practical one that will produce energy. When that takes place, it will be, without doubt in my opinion, the biggest breakthrough in science in a thousand years because it will tap the center of energy that is the inexhaustible source: water.

There is a new quality in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. You feel it amongst the people and it was felt at the Congress. The building of socialism has now reached the point where it has its own inner momentum. Therefore, the element of a "forced march" that was necessary in the past is not present anymore. As you know, the Soviet Union had to have that element in order to build socialism, particularly the necessary industrial base, as fast as possible. The same fast tempo is still present, but it is not a "forced march" tempo. It has its inner momentum that has built up a force like in a fly-wheel, and it keeps moving.

When you don't have the element of a "forced march," you can begin to look into new questions, such as the quality of production, which is a big item now in the Soviet Union. They are exploring such questions as replacing old machinery rather than building new factories. They are putting great emphasis on labor-saving devices as well as new styles of products.

Some new expressions are appearing in Soviet speech to describe the new phenomena. For instance, because of the new level the production of goods has reached, they now talk about "the points of saturation." They have reached that point in a number of fields such as shoe production (three pairs for every human being every year). Instead of talking about more shoes, they talk about better shoes and nicer styles.

Little by little, yet at a very fast clip, the Soviet system is becoming concerned with the distribution of abundance. As we know, that is what communist society is all about. Capitalism is the distribution of shortages, and "planned obsolescence" has become a science in the United States. The day after the warranty is up the appliance breaks down. They have the obsolescence figured out almost to the day. This is a distinctive feature of capitalism. It is the most wasteful system society has ever had.

In his Report, Comrade Kosygin spoke of "reliability" and "planned longevity," the very opposite, the science of how to make things last longer and reduce waste. The two social systems are moving in opposite directions. Socialism is moving to the stage of goods with "reliability" and abundance.

There is no end to the developing culture in the Soviet Union. You can read the papers and see how many shows and plays there are and how much music there is. It is culture with such depth. There is a new dimension to Soviet culture, a unique feature which I sensed more this time than in the past. It is a culture of one hundred nations, but one Soviet people; that is, it is separate but also a blending into one Soviet socialist culture.

Comrade Casno, who spoke at the Congress, very well characterized the mood of the Soviet people when he said that he senses the same spirit, the same revolutionary enthusiasm that prevailed in October 1917. The sense of enthusiasm and spirit comes through in every way.

It is interesting that I heard only one comment in the Congress about the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The reason is that they have such confidence that it really is not a race any more. Of course, they know and we know that the competition between these two countries and the fact that they are showpieces of the two systems is the centerpiece of the reality of our epoch. The comparison remains, but the competition is disappearing.

The comparison is between 200 years of capitalism and 60 years of socialism. In that sense, capitalism should be way out ahead, but it is not. The Soviet Union is now number one in the production of a whole number of basic products: steel, oil, pig iron, magnesium, chromium, coal, coke, cement, potassium, salts, phosphates, tractors, diesel electric locomotives, cotton, wool, wool fabric, shoes, flax, mineral fertilizers, harvester combines and many, many others. The Soviet Union has now emerged as the number one industrial nation in the world.

Soviet agriculture is frequently talked about in this country. The truth is that the historic process of increasing agriculture goes on. Every once in a while there is a drought, but they are slowly conquering that problem. They are developing irrigation in a big way which will eventually guarantee the disappearance of droughts. But I don't think agriculture will ever reach the level of some parts of the United States. The reason is not in the Soviet Union but here. If you take the total arable area in the U.S., 1 per cent is of a kind that may not always produce because of weather conditions. In the Soviet Union, the figure is 60 per cent. They have a tremendous climatic obstacle to overcome to catch up, but they are increasing output even in drought years.

Socialism is one hell of a system, I'll tell you, and we have to do more to bring this knowledge to the people of the United States. For instance, socialism does not have the problem of the middle man, the profit grabbing between the farmer and the consumer. 75 to 80 per cent of all national products go toward the well-being of the people. 25 percent goes toward capital accumulation for the building of new machines and expansion.

As capitalism loses this competition, the big-lie of anti-communism more and more focuses on the centerpiece of this epoch. Anti-Sovietism is the main pillar of capitalist propaganda. That will remain and sharpen in my opinion. The New York Times recently stated, "Of the industrial countries, the Soviet Union has the lowest standard of living." That is like saying the North Pole is the warmest, balmiest place on earth. When they keep saying this, it effects people. We cannot close our eyes and pretend that it does not present a problem. Its aim is to turn people away from socialism.

The fact is that the overall quality of life, including the standard of living, in the Soviet Union is now first in the world. I have no doubts about that whatsoever. It has surpassed the United States and will do so more and more with each passing year.

You cannot weigh the U.S. standard of living of the upper-middle class against all of the Soviet people. We are talking about the people of the United States and the people of the Soviet Union, and in the United States you have to put the 10-15 million now permanently unemployed on the scales. You have to add the laid-off seasonal workers and the 30 million who live below the poverty level. You have to add racism and all its implications and effects. You have to put slum housing on the scale. You have to add the hundred dollar per day hospital beds and the outrageous doctors' fees and medicine costs. You have to put on the scales the 25 per cent of wages that goes to taxes and the other 25 per cent that goes for rents. You have to add the skyrocketing tuition fees and the retirees and pensioners who live on the verge of malnutrition. You have to weigh the sense of insecurity, the alienation. None of these exist in the Soviet Union except for the 3-5 per cent that goes for rent.

In the United States, a pregnant woman working in a shop still gets fired for getting pregnant. Now in the Soviet Union, mothers can get one year leave with pay. They realized that the 3 to 6 months leave they had previously had was not enough. That also goes on the scale of the standard of living.

A SPECIAL WORLD GATHERING

The 25th Congress was two gatherings in one. In total terms, it was a Congress of the CPSU, but it was also a world gathering in the full sense of the word. It was the biggest gathering of leading forces of the world revolutionary process that has ever taken place. It was the largest gathering of heads of state, presidents and prime ministers outside the UN. (It adds to the advantage of a Communist being President in the U.S. We're kind of on the ground floor in the world, more so than other candidates.)

The feeling you get from a Congress such as this is that you are "where the action is" in the world. The history-making process just comes alive. It was a gathering of people who represent the main political, economic and ideological force in the world, people who are changing the world balance of forces.

The Congress reflected the unique moment when colonialism is coming to an end. This was especially clear from the unprecedented number of delegates from the victorious revolutionary movements of Africa. It was a gathering of revolutionary fervor and of confidence as victors.

A young leader from Angola who spoke at the Congress had, just the previous day, raised the flag of victory over the forces of reaction--the CIA, South Africa and the Maoists in Angola.

A Chilean Communist leader spoke who had been in Chile only

three days before, organizing the forces that will overthrow the junta.

Comrade Cunhal flew in from Lisbon and gave a speech, only to return to the battle the next day.

Comrades LeDuan and Madame Binh both spoke, but for the last time on behalf of two Vietnams. They announced that from now on, especially after the April elections, it is going to be a united Vietnam building socialism.

Premier Castro of Cuba made an eloquent appeal for unity of the world revolutionary movement. Comrade Castro is a tremendous hero, not only in the Soviet Union but around the world. He commands tremendous respect.

One after another, the revolutionary leaders from Laos, Mozambique, Venezuela, Israel, Iraq--all spoke of victories, of progress.

In his speech, Comrade Berlinguer of the Italian Communist Party said that one out of every three Italians votes Communist now. The organizational Secretary of the French Communist Party said that one out of every five French voters votes Communist.

Witnessing this Congress, one is reinforced with the idea that there is no force on earth that can stop the progress of the world revolutionary currents. You get a clear feeling that this process will bury capitalism without any question. One realizes that, whatever problems or weaknesses there are, they must be placed within the context of this historic, victorious process, and we should never lose sight of that when we talk about problems.

Comrade Brezhnev, reporting on the international arena, emphasized the comprehensive program for peace. This includes the world disarmament conference which the Soviet Union is fighting for, the concept of the whole world beginning to reduce military expenditures and the stockpiles of accumulated arms, including nuclear arms. He called for the deepening of the relations of detente as well as ending all discrimination in trade--which means mainly the United States. He called for ending the development of new weapons and a world treaty on the non-use of force. Brezhnev's proposals are both general and concrete, and once they become known to the people, they become a force which will in turn force the U.S. Government to respond.

Brezhnev also made it clear that the struggle for peace and detente take place in today's world, not in some abstract world. He declared unequivocally that the Soviet Union's official policy is to fight for the end of colonialism and racism in all parts of the world. He said that the struggle against imperialism and the struggle for peace are not contradictory processes. In fact, there can be no successful struggle for world peace without a struggle against the force that drives for war, colonialism and racism.

A LENINIST STYLE OF WORK

There are some special features of Comrade Brezhnev's Report including a new demand for a Leninist style of work. A new struggle against red tape and formalism was discussed repeatedly.

There is a new sharpness in how Brezhnev places the question of criticism and self-criticism. He said there must be objective evaluations and no liberalism toward shortcomings on any level. He stated that every incorrect response to criticism must evoke a sharp and quick response, control and verification of adopted decisions. Second and third decisions on the same subject themselves become concessions to liberalism, he pointed out.

The developments in the Soviet Union are history's most significant achievement--280 million people building a totally new social system with enthusiasm, confidence and loyalty. But in the United States, we hear only about a handful of "dissidents," a handful of misfits. For instance, much has been made of some mental misfits. Maybe it is a shortcoming, but socialism has not yet fully conquered mental illness. Maybe its attackers expect that by now socialism should have conquered it. Some say that these mentally-ill people are political people. All people in the Soviet Union are political. There are no non-political people there. It is the most politically conscious country in the world! So obviously, if you are mentally-ill, you are also political.

A number of these mentally-ill misfits have been permitted to go West (as it were). And that is really where they belong. You know, some came West a year ago, some a few months ago, but you don't hear about them now. They have disappeared from the headlines--and do you know why? It is because of where they are today. Outside of one, they are in mental hospitals in the West. But nobody calls for releasing them now so they can go East. Nobody says now that the West is using mental institutions for political repression.

"We are not going to pattern our policies to accomodate attacks against our class, our party or against socialism."

Gus Hall, 25th Congress, CPSU

As you know, there were all those headlines and a lot of noise in France and England about the film about the so-called political prisoners in the Soviet Union. But then the truth came out, and it turned out to be a work crew from an ordinary prison. It was proven that the film had nothing to do with political prisoners. Then nobody said anything. All I can say is that I saw that film, and knowing the prisons in the United States from personal experience, the prisoners here should be lucky enough to be on such work crews.

They would consider themselves fortunate.

A PARTY THAT NEVER WAVERS

It is impossible to separate the achievements of the Soviet Union from the work and leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The achievements of the USSR are not accidents of history. What gives such stability, such effectiveness to the CPSU? The answer is that it rests solidly on the science of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU sees the world from the viewpoint that the centerpiece of history is the class struggle. Proletarian internationalism has always been a principled question for the CPSU on which it has never wavered. If you waver on that, you waver on everything.

Comrade Suslov, in a speech since the Congress, placed it in a very interesting and correct fashion: "Proletarian internationalism is not just one of the elements or aspects of Marxism and Leninism. It permeates the entire content of the theory and practice of scientific communism." The CPSU has always rejected and fought bourgeois nationalist influences in the Soviet Union. That is why the Soviet Union is the main power base of the world revolutionary movement.

The Soviet Union is the power base of the world national liberation movement. The Soviet Union has never bragged, but it is no secret that it is the source of most of the assistance that goes to the world revolutionary movement in every continent of the world. It is a great sacrifice for the Soviet people, although they do not view it that way. They could move toward communism so much faster if they did not make these sacrifices. They do not get paid for the arms or equipment most of the time. The United States, on the other hand, sells more arms to foreign countries than all the rest of the world combined, at an enormous profit. The Soviet Union does not gain any riches for itself whatsoever. It does not want and does not receive political control in any country.

The question then is: Why does it play this role? They consider it their responsibility. The Soviet Union lives by class principles and taking the working class side is a principled question. That is proletarian internationalism. The Soviet Union has resisted all kinds of opportunist pressures to "give us a little bit here" and get something under the table. They are not corrupted by opportunism in their policies.

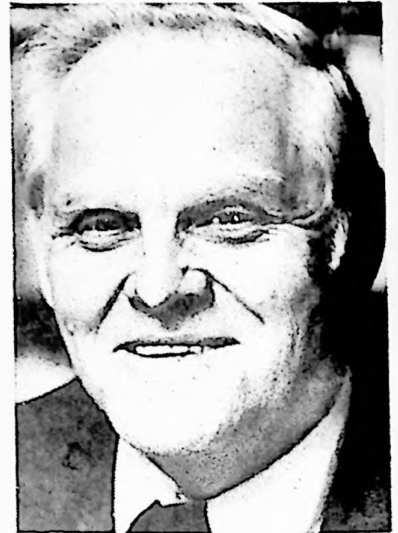
The opposite of this, of course, is Maoist bourgeois nationalist opportunism. Maoism has no proletarian internationalism whatsoever, no concept of the class struggle or working class loyalty. Opportunism leads to the opposite side of the class struggle as in Angola and Chile.

It seems to me that some Communist parties would like to have it both ways. On the one hand, they are against interference in the internal affairs of other parties, except if it happens to be the

Report to the National Council Meeting

BY GUS HALL, C.P. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
GENERAL SECRETARY, C.P.U.S.A.

THE FOLLOWING REPORT WAS DELIVERED
TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE C.P.U.S.A.,
MARCH 27, 1976, NEW YORK, N.Y.



Dear Comrades:

The agenda for this meeting of the National Council is the 1976 elections. It is the focus, the only subject of this meeting. So if you are tuned in on some other matter, reset your political dials and tune in to the 1976 elections.

This focus is based on the conviction that, if we are going to be a factor in the 1976 elections, we have to be a factor starting now. It is based on the conviction that we can have an historic impact on the political and ideological currents in the United States.

In nature, the fruit, flowers, berries and nuts that will be harvested in the fall are but the products of the pollination and cultivation in the spring. That is also true of political work, especially of work in the electoral arena. If we want to gather a political harvest in November, this is the time for political pollination and cultivation. As in nature, the

political arena requires priorities and focal points of concentration. The focus from now until November 2nd must be the elections.

Comrades, this is one of those moments when it is necessary, more than usual, to keep in mind and to separate that which is short-termed and transient from the more basic and longer-range direction of currents in economic and political developments. Without such a separation one can be diverted and spun around by the currents of the changing momentary events. For example, the economy is slowly moving out of the cyclical crisis, but serious long-term aftereffects remain. Some of the cyclical elements are receding, but the primary essence of this epoch, the general crisis of capitalism, continues along its prescribed course of decay. We must focus our attention on the aftereffects of the crisis and the long-range, many-sided patterns of the general crisis.

We are in the midst of the

Presidential elections, but the political lines are not yet clearly drawn. Much of the election rhetoric in the primaries is geared to win the votes of minor sectors who in most cases are not an accurate reflection of the voters in general. We must keep our eye on the more basic sectors of the population in our electoral approach.

The capitalist world shows some signs of overcoming the economic crisis, but England, France, Italy, Spain and Japan are being buffeted by a new wave of monetary instability. The capitalist world monetary agreements of two months ago that were heralded as historic achievements have gone up in smoke. The inflationary storm continues in force. The U.S. policies of support for detente continue, but under the pressures of the election campaign there is hesitation and retreat. Ford and Kissinger have retreated while leading senators are taking the lead in the struggle for detente. The sentiment of support for new forms of political independence continues to grow, but the "swarming" has so far not taken place.

In coming to conclusions, it is necessary to take into account both the short-term and the longer-range developments, but it is necessary to keep the two unmixed and to give each a balanced assessment. We must avoid overdrawing from events that have no real roots in objective, long-range reality.

How should we then view this present moment? What should be our reactions to these events? The answers should come from this meeting. It has become a cliché, but the truth is that the moment is both a challenge and an unprecedented opportunity. And it is a cliché but also the truth that parties and their leaderships are judged mainly by how they respond to challenges and how they use the opportunities that objective reality presents.

There are a number of ways that we can view the period between now and November. We can decide that the 1976 election is a very important task. Or we can say that the election work must be integrated into everything else we do. Or we can say it is the most important of all our tasks. Or we can decide that we will do what we have to between now and July and that after the Republican and Democratic Conventions are over--and after we take our own summer vacations--then we will move into the election campaign with a full head of steam.

If any of the above is our approach to the election period, we will not meet the challenge or use the opportunity. The issues in the campaign are being discussed now. Peoples' thoughts are being molded now. If we are to influence mass patterns of thought, we have to be in the campaign now. This is the springtime of pollination and cultivation of the 1976 elections.

If we are serious, if we really believe we can have an effect on the political scene, we will decide to make the elections the centerpiece of our work from now until November. We will relate all of our work to and through the elections.

If we are serious, then the next seven months will be a period of the most intense political mass work in our history, of propaganda and agitation on a scale without precedent, of circulation of the

press in millions of copies, with breakthrough mass meetings, maximum use of radio and television, leaflets and pamphlets in the millions of copies and hundreds of street corner meetings. We will organize house-to-house canvassing on a continuous, mass scale.

Campaign committees are necessary, but if we are going to meet the challenge, then it means that the Communist Party, the State and District Committees, the officers of the clubs and every member of the Party is going to give this task the number one priority.

We must decide now. Any exceptions to this rule must be for good reasons and by agreement. Mass political work is hard, practical work, but it is also the most meaningful and fulfilling work. It is the most politically invigorating work that we can do. And, comrades, if we fulfill our responsibilities, if we meet this challenge, come November we should all be many pounds lighter, but also healthier and happier. The election campaign offers us an opportunity to do what we should be doing in any case--mass political work on an unprecedented scale.

What are some of the overall characteristics, underpinnings and problems of this moment? What are some of the areas in which we can have a solid impact through which we can influence the thinking of millions? This campaign presents us with the opportunity not just to talk to tens of millions of Americans but to influence their patterns of thought.

The economy is sluggishly moving out of the economic crisis phase of the cycle. However, monopoly capital shows a continuing lack of confidence in its own system by holding back on commitments for capital expansion and a reluctance to expand on its inventories. They are apprehensive because of the deeper, longer-range problems of capitalism, the longer-range developments that are affecting the economic developments of today.

The Ford Administration, while continuing its posturing against "big government spending," behind the scenes has released a flood of economic pump priming, including funds from bills which he vetoed and Congress overrode. These have a short-term effect on the economy.

Many of the features of the economic crisis, as we stated, were unique and for the same reasons that is true of the aftereffects. The aftereffects are influenced by and blend into the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism. They become a component of the general crisis. Unemployment is receding very slowly. Real unemployment hovers around the 10 per cent figure. In some of the industrial centers, especially in areas that do not have the new high-technology industries, the unemployment rates remain in the 15 and even 20 per cent range, as is the case in Newark and New York.

Most important are the problems of the people in the areas and sectors of the economic deep freeze. As the overall pressures on economic questions ease up, the plight of the people in those areas becomes more critical and hopeless. The drive of monopoly capital for austerity will continue full steam after the elections. We should not be fooled by the temporary electoral lull.

Those in the economic deep freeze include large sections in the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities. They include a large section of the young generation, but especially the millions of Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican youth who are excommunicated from the work force at birth. A percentage of each new generation is formed into the unlisted economic deep freeze.

The millions of retirees and elderly are in the deep freeze. Millions of women workers are now excluded as leftovers of the crisis. To these must be added the hundreds of thousands of laid-off municipal workers.

The aftereffects of the crisis that will remain as part of the long-range quality of life are the closed child care centers, hospitals and colleges, the high taxes, high medical costs and rents, and inflation generally.

Big business propaganda is working to convince the people that the economic problems are all disappearing with the limited abatement of the crisis. We must not fall for this deception. The nature of some of the problems will change, but the economic problems will not only remain, but many of them will remain on a crisis level.

As the overall features of crisis recede, the capitalist establishment tends to abandon the victims trapped in the economic deep freeze. We must increase our efforts in the struggle to keep the welfare of those people on the front burner. For example, we must now take initiatives in the struggle to end the discrimination in the hiring end of the economic cycle. The latest Supreme Court ruling on counting seniority from the day of not being hired because of discrimination may open up some new avenues in the struggle for ending the inequality on the seniority lists.

All of this must come through in our election campaign which provides the means through which we can raise these struggles to new heights. And we can win victories in these struggles, both economic and political.

To maintain the high rate of profit in the period of its decay and decline, monopoly capital pushes for policies that will freeze real wages into a pattern of continuing decline through inflation, attrition and speedup. A 5 per cent a year wage increase really means a decline in real wages by contract, by agreement, because of attrition and inflation. This will increasingly be the main factor in the struggle between the forces of class collaboration and the forces of class struggle trade unionism. This must be articulated and expressed in concrete terms in our election campaign. The fight for a 6-hour day and a five-day week without a cut in pay is an idea that meets the needs of workers, that reflects the problems of the new stage in technology and the general crisis of capitalism. It is an issue through which we can have an impact on the course of the class struggle. It is a winning issue and must be reflected in our election campaign.

FOREIGN POLICY

The elections have focused and brought to the surface a most significant split and a debate in the circles of U.S. monopoly capital. The

issue that has emerged into the open is: how do you conduct a foreign policy when the balance of forces is against you? It is clear that this is the issue that will increasingly be the basic cause for the divisions on foreign policy.

To expunge the word "detente" from the presidential vocabulary simply will not cover the split or end the debate. Kissinger asked, "How do you deal with an equal power?" The split is between those who believe the U.S. is forced to accept the new reality and deal with it and those who think the U.S. can have the policy of "stonewalling." This debate will remain a major issue in the election campaign. It is an issue that will remain for this period of history.

Like leeches the ultra-Right, the racists, the jingoists, the Maoist sects, the Trotskyites and the JDL have all attached themselves to this issue as a source for their sustenance. Like a scurvy rat-pack they live on the decaying body of big lie anti-communism.

This issue will remain with us. With each new victory against imperialism, especially when U.S. imperialism is forced to retreat, the debate will sharpen. It is a feature of the world-wide explosive transition to socialism. In a more immediate sense it is related to what Comrade Brezhnev said in his Report to the 25th Congress, CPSU:

"Consider as crucial the international task of completely eliminating all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, infringement of the equality and independence of peoples and all seats of colonialism and racism."

That puts the historic process of national liberation in its proper setting.

U.S. imperialism does not take kindly to such a perspective. The split and the debate sharpened when the people and the government of Angola crushed the forces of imperialist aggression. U.S. imperialism always bets on the losing horse because imperialism is a dying breed. The struggle in Angola brought to the surface some new elements. After the defeat of Portuguese imperialism, the aggression against Angola was carried out by the scabbiest, most discredited and wretched political conglomerate in all of history. It was the fusion of imperialism, racism and the opportunism of Maoism. These are the poisonous counterrevolutionary fluids excreted by a dying, decaying socio-economic system. The odious alliance--in the first place U.S. imperialism, but also British and French imperialism, South African racism and Maoist opportunism--cannot stop the revolutionary process in Africa.

The defeat of these forces is a defeat for imperialism, but it is also a defeat for Maoism. To align oneself with imperialism is to align oneself with a dying star. The debate and the division will sharpen when the racist regime in (what the white rulers named) "Rhodesia" is forced to evacuate. The days of colonial oppression on the continent of Africa are over. That is one of those solid historic facts of life.

The nervousness of U.S. monopoly capital increases as the Commu-

nists in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal and Greece move closer to taking their places in the seats of power. In most of capitalist Europe the concept of Communist and Socialist governments has moved to center stage. The mass media is having difficulty with the fact that one out of every three voters in Italy and one out of five in France votes Communist. The split will widen as the day of reckoning approaches for the fascist junta in Chile. The nervousness of U.S. monopoly capital is expressed in the arrogant threats of aggression against Cuba.

The private intentions of Ford and Kissinger are not the decisive questions. The threats to commit imperialist crimes have their own inner logic. Such statements set the forces of aggression into motion, and they move toward confrontation. Therefore, we cannot accept the concept that the meaning of these criminal statements is limited to electoral rhetoric. They are a threat to Cuban independence; they are geared to encourage the racist, imperialist forces in Africa; they are geared to frighten the forces of national liberation the world over; they are a threat to world peace.

The debate over policies of detente cannot be separated from the issues in this debate. It is not a question of detente in the abstract. Rather, it is one of detente in the context of a world moving against imperialism, detente in a period of history when colonialism is drawing its last breath. It is in this context that detente must be discussed and debated.

We must fully enter this historic debate. We have a unique contribution to make. This is one of the issues on which we can mold the thoughts of millions. Without us, the debate stands on the capitalist side of the street. Both sides argue that the shift in the balance of world forces is a defeat for the U.S., a setback for the people of the United States. We must expose this dangerous new fraud. We must explain that a defeat for imperialism is not a defeat for the people. We must expose the fraud that detente has been a one-way street.

The people who make that charge never talk about concretes. The truth is that in the fields of trade, science, culture and technology the flow is, if anything, favorable for the U.S. Some circles of monopoly capital are willing to cut off their noses of trade to spite their ideological faces. In this debate, we are on solid, winning ground.

The latest opinion polls clearly show that both Jackson and Reagan lost support because of their extreme positions on policies of detente, and Ford gained because of his moderate position on these same questions.

This debate and division will not be limited to foreign policy. It will be the ideological sewer for reactionary demagogy. Just as German fascism demagogically used the setbacks of German imperialism, reaction in the United States will demagogically use setbacks of U.S. imperialism. So we are dealing with a very basic issue of this period in U.S. history.

Therefore, even if we limit our electoral work to this debate, it

would be reason enough for us to go all out in this election campaign. The campaign provides a great opportunity to expose this imperialist demagogy.

"TOO HIGH OFF THE HOG"

But there are other issues. Monopoly capital's agit-prop machine is working overtime in a number of areas. The drive to make austerity acceptable "because there is no other alternative" is not limited to the period of economic crisis. It is related to the new stage of the general crisis. It is designed to make an overall cut in the standard of living acceptable, but it is directed in the first place against workers' wages, the unemployed and the poor. It has a sharp racist edge. It puts the blame for poverty on the poor. The idea that most of the unemployed are out of work because they don't want to work has made some dangerous inroads. This part of Wallace's demagogy has taken root in many parts of the country.

The austerity drive also hangs like a sword over the contract negotiations involving six million workers this year. But this is also an issue on which we can win mass support. We must set this drive in the context of the huge corporate profits, the 120 billion dollar war budget, the government gifts, subsidies and tax loopholes for the rich. We must concretely show what could be done if these funds were turned over and used for human welfare. This is a winning issue in this election, and we can change the thinking of millions by highlighting it. This by itself also would be reason enough to give our best to the elections.

However, there are still other issues. We must take note of the fact that the insidious and seemingly low-key racism has spread. This has happened around the struggle for the busing of school children. The slogan of defending neighborhood schools is a convenient cover for racism.

Some of the opinion polls indicate that the idea that Blacks are getting too many concessions has gained some ground. These are insidious but dangerous developments. They can set the stage for the not-so-low-keyed racism.

But a caution is in order. This is also an area where we can make a great contribution, especially when we relate it to the need for unity in the class struggle and struggles in general. We must brand racism as the oldest and most widely practiced brainwashing. Again, the struggle against racism would by itself be reason enough to accept the challenge of the elections as our central task.

But there are other issues. Reaction has made some headway in its phony campaign about "big government spending." This is a feature of the austerity drive. We must turn this into an argument against the big government spending for big business and the big military. This phony campaign has made such headway that it has become a major inhibiting factor in Congress, even amongst the liberals, in the fight for social welfare programs. President Ford and his spokesmen in Congress make speeches about "big government spending" while they pass the largest peacetime war budget in history. They now cringe before the charge of "big government spending" even on social welfare programs.

The political fat cats, the bloated military brass and the corporate government freeloaders who pocket some 80 per cent of the big government spending, push the cry about big government spending. The Lockheed executives are crying about big government spending. This would also be enough for a good election campaign by itself.

But there are other issues. The broad sentiment against the monopolies continues to grow. But there is also a counterattack. Because of his open anti-monopoly positions, Senator Harris has been effectively isolated in the Presidential campaign. As Vice President, Rockefeller has accepted the defense of big business as his full-time assignment. The new line of demagoguery is that, if you restrict big business, the whole economy will suffer. That is the line that Rockefeller is pushing full-time. The election campaign offers us an historic opportunity to articulate and to raise the anti-monopoly movement to a new level. It offers us an opportunity to give the movement form and structure because the anti-monopoly struggle is basically a political struggle. Again, if we had no other issue than the anti-monopoly struggle, it would be enough to make the election campaign a massive effort.

There are many more issues I cannot go into now, including such key issues as the defeat of S.1 and the struggle for democracy generally. If we do a job on S.1 in this election campaign, we can defeat this fascist-like bill.

There are arguments, even by liberals, that the minimum wage law is the reason young people are unemployed. There are even some progressive liberals who buy this line. They do not see that, if the employers could hire the youth for "peanuts," they would replace the older workers with them.



*Part of Youth Contingent,
April 3rd, Washington, D.C.*

My purpose in these remarks has not been to write a platform. Rather, it has been to indicate some of the broad, critical areas in which we can make a unique contribution. They are some of the areas that present the challenge, but they also present the opportunity.

MASS ACTION AND THE COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN GO TOGETHER

It is the basic argument why we must make the period from now to November a period of the most intensive mass work of our history. Unless we create it, there is no contradiction between our electoral work and mass struggles. But we can create such contradictions by not relating the struggles to the election campaign. We can create such contradiction by relating the two struggles to broad electoral movements, but acting as if the Communist campaign does not exist.

There are a number of pending mass actions on many levels that will test our ability to relate the elections to mass struggles. To begin with there are the wage contract negotiations of six million workers. That will test how we are able to relate our electoral activities to mass movements. We must relate not just the campaign of the Communist candidates to these negotiations, but the total electoral policy of our Party.

The April 3 action in Washington around the economic questions will test our ability to relate the election campaign to such mass developments. The planned action on Labor Day in North Carolina against racism and repression will test our ability to relate our electoral activity to this mass struggle and action. There is the May 8th conference against the S.1 Bill. There is a national convention of senior citizens organizations on June 2 in Chicago. We have a lot of forces in this movement. It will be a test of our ability to relate our election campaign to these developments, not just in Chicago, but in the preparations for the Chicago convention.

Then, on a different level, there are plans for a broad mass action on July 4th in Washington D.C., called by the People's Bicentennial Commission. As you know, we had some experience with it in Chicago during our Convention. They were the ones that threatened to sue us. That experience was not all negative. There was a great struggle in that Committee as to whether they should act against us or not. What is important about this action is that it seems to be moving in the direction of an anti-monopoly position with its Declaration of Economic Independence.

In general, the mood of those in the economic deep freeze is for militant actions. While not altogether scientific, the public opinion polls do provide a basis for an assessment of what the patterns of thought are. They are especially useful in assessing longer-range thought patterns, and many of these polls are beginning to test the longer-range patterns.

Let me cite just a few findings from some of the latest polls on these longer-range developments. They are of importance to us in planning our mass agitational work. On the question of "confidence in institutions," only 9 per cent of the people expressed full confidence in Congress; 11 per cent expressed confidence in the Executive Branch. On the question of confidence in those running the major corporations, it dropped from 19 per cent to 16 per cent. On confidence in the mass media, 20 per cent have confidence in the press, 21 per cent in television. And 56 per cent say that the caliber of leadership in the country, government and otherwise, continues to decline. 75 per cent feel "the rich are getting richer and the poor

are getting poorer." This 75 per cent figure is up from 58 per cent in 1972 and 45 per cent in 1966. 61 per cent feel that the people running the country "don't really care what happens to me." 26 per cent felt that way in 1966.

The Harris Poll has an interesting concluding paragraph that reflects on this: "How long this level of disenchantment can go on before faith in the system crumbles is a question that should be of the deepest concern to those at the power centers of our society." That is a very legitimate question. It is very true that as the disenchantment and alienation grows, more and more begin to question the socio-economic system. That is some food for thought. It argues that the objective scene is ripe for a campaign to influence the minds of tens of millions, in fact the majority, on some basic issues. It argues that we can influence, to one extent or another, the thought patterns of the majority of our people. That is quite a challenge for our election campaign.

POOR PICKINGS IN THE PRIMARIES

Before going into our Party's campaign, let us take a brief look at the other parties and candidates who are also running. In looking at the primaries, we must keep in mind that only a very small section of the people vote. For instance, Jackson's 7 per cent was hailed as a big victory in Massachusetts. Less than 750,000 voted in the two party primaries in North Carolina. Less than 200,000 voted in the Republican primary for President Ford and Reagan. The great majority are not at this stage participating in the elections at all. This is one of the problems we also face in our campaign.

In spite of the difficulties, including the proliferation of candidates and the demagogy, the voters are sending political signals. It is clear that the people are not buying the extreme Right-wing positions on either domestic or foreign questions. Jackson has been trying to shed his anti-detente, cold war Pentagon armor, but very few believe him. Wallace is sinking in his old racist boat. In this confused situation, the peanut politician who speaks with four-way forked tongue has made some headway. Part of Carter's vote has been an anti-Wallace vote.



The Harris and Udall campaigns again prove that it is very difficult to run a winning campaign in the two old parties as long as the machines are not with you. Udall and Harris again prove that genuine liberals are on foreign soil in the two old parties. Harris' campaign proves that he who speaks out against the power of the monopolies is quickly labeled an extremist and isolated from the Democratic Party machine. The two old parties simply are not vehicles for honest liberals or progressives because they are vehicles of the monopolies. When the monopolies are in trouble, they do not tolerate liberalism.

It begins to appear more and more possible for the Democratic Party to open its Convention without choosing a first-ballot Presidential candidate. They may have ten candidates for the Vice Presidency but no Presidential candidate. This is, of course, what Humphrey, the slippery eel from Minnesota, is waiting for.

The big question obviously is: with such poor pickings in the two-party orbit, what are the prospects for that growing sector of independent voters, the liberals, progressives and the broad left? With each election this becomes a more critical and central question for all concerned in the elections.

There is movement in many sectors. They all reflect this growing sense that a new political movement, a new electoral vehicle is necessary. We are witnessing the birth pains of such a movement. They all reflect the growing sentiment of political independence. Most of them probe in the right direction. We are very much concerned and interested in these developments. We want to work with these movements on the question of political independence. We seek alliances, cooperation and unity. We will make possibly our biggest contribution if we work to raise the sights of these movements to the point where they can become integrated into a new, broad people's political movement based on the coalition of the working class, the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities, a movement that will sustain a new political party.

There is a growing section of the voters and non-voters who will not respond to anything less. They are turned off by the two old parties humdrum politics. That is why this becomes an increasingly important problem. It is becoming obvious that you cannot arouse these large sections with anything less than a new, independent movement, a new program, new priorities and a new party.

At this point it does not appear that such a development is in the cards for the 1976 elections. We cannot and should not rule it out, but it does look as if it is not in the cards. However, we must not give up on this question because it does not mean that the avenue of political independence is dead or closed, even for the 1976 elections. This is a moment when it is possible to build such coalitions, in states, cities, wards and Congressional and legislative districts. I think we should make this a mandatory feature of our mass work.

There are some very positive experiences in this regard. The New York experience proves that it is possible to still build such coalitions in the 1976 elections. It seems to me that we have to

reject the concept that it is possible to build a viable electoral coalition that does not rest on an organized local structure. This is not a moment when there will be spontaneous mass support for such top coalitions which do not have a grass roots base. We are not against such formations, but this is not a moment when there is spontaneous support for such national formations. Therefore, we should put more emphasis on building the grass roots in the legislative and congressional districts. That way we will lay a solid basis for the development of such coalitions.

Generally it is easier to build such alliances on a local basis. On a local level it is also easier to have victorious campaigns. In national politics it is difficult to convince people if you have to say in advance, "Of course we will not be elected in this election." But on community and local levels you can realistically project the idea of winning.

THE VOTE WITH THE BIGGEST POLITICAL CLOUT

We must also continue to master the art and the element of unity between what we call Party work and mass work. This continues to be a problem. It is not something we can establish and then forget. It is a style of work we have to struggle for in all situations. How well we have mastered this style of work will show up in this election period. We must reject the mechanical concept that the campaign around Communist candidates will be the "Party work" and what we do around non-Communist candidates will be the "mass work." There are such tendencies. It is a mechanical division between what is mass work and what is Party work. Such concepts lead to weaknesses in both areas. They lead to narrowness and sectarianism around our Communist candidates and to a liquidationist position around non-Communist candidates which liquidates the role of the Party.

We must also get away from viewing only the non-Communist candidates as the mass candidates. We have good examples that disprove this view. Comrade Alva Buxenbaum and Comrade Amadeo Richardson are winning mass candidates. We have to put an end to the idea that Communists are not mass candidates. We need to apply both sides of our policy to all situations. In a sense, our electoral policy is an extension of our overall policies of Party and mass work.

The moment calls for a basic reversal of direction. But the two old parties and the liberal progressive movement have not produced a leadership that would boldly call for such a reversal. Here is a vacuum which a flood of political mediocrity and less seeks to fill. There is a crisis of leadership which will deepen and sharpen.

Now let us consider the campaign around the Communist candidates. From what I have said, it is obvious we can fully meet the challenge and the opportunity only by getting into the fray with a campaign around Communist candidates.

But it is also obvious that we still suffer from some liquidationist hangups. So far we have not met the challenge. We have to say that very honestly. This weakness appears in many ways. Some see the elections as a Hall-Tyner campaign--not as a Communist Party

campaign. Many sit down to see what Hall and Tyner can do.

There are still some comrades who are for the Communist Party naming candidates--but only until something "better," something "broader" comes along. Some are wistfully watching the papers for something "better." And at the slightest movement towards political independence, some comrades wish to raise questions of whether we ought to be running.

Let us place the question on the table and see if we agree. We are going to stay in the electoral arena, with Communist candidates, at all times. We are not going to withdraw into a position of only supporting other candidates under any circumstances. In one way or another, whether separately or as partners in alliances, Communist candidates are a necessary and indispensable feature of the electoral scene. The question is not whether but how we can run Communist candidates. We must never revert back to the days of opportunistic abdication from electoral struggle.

Some comrades have difficulties because they see the Communist campaign too narrowly. They are victims of their own sectarianism. They approach the campaign from a narrow base. They do not see our campaign in relationship to broader movements, to the broader issues, to the broad patterns of thought and the impact we can have on such questions.

From what I said earlier about the issues and the forces, it seems clear that our program and candidates can become a realistic and meaningful alternative for a broad spectrum of the electorate. Our campaign can stimulate and help crystalize independent movements on a wide front. We can stimulate the Left to run for public office. Our campaign can give direction on a broad front. For example, in directing the main fire against the most reactionary and ultra-Right forces in the country, we can influence millions to move in an anti-monopoly direction.

We have to aim our campaign to the millions who are disillusioned and alienated from the two old parties. We have to present a meaningful alternative to the millions who have withdrawn from the electoral process as a protest or because of a sense of hopelessness. We have to talk to the shop workers on the issues that disturb them. We have to appeal to the millions of youth who are treated as cast-offs from society. We can make a mark in the struggle against racism.

We are unique. We present a unique alternative because of our class approach. We are the best fighters for reforms under capitalism because we see no reason why it should exist or continue to exist at all. We will get a broad hearing when we call for a reversal of the present course. Our literature, our committees should reflect this broad base.

But we cannot be satisfied with good propaganda, agitation and education. We must also seriously go out for votes. It is generally important to have votes, but there is a deeper reason. To vote for Communist candidates is an act based on a deeper political consciousness. To get a bigger vote we are forced to work to develop that

deeper consciousness. We must go out and convince people that it is the most meaningful vote they can cast. There is nothing more meaningful than a big Communist vote in the present circumstances in the United States. We must consciously build a Communist electoral constituency. We can do just that if we ourselves are so convinced.

We must go into the question of how the ruling class views a Communist vote. The ruling class makes concessions where the mass pressures are felt. A big Communist vote in Detroit would become a serious concern for GM, Ford and the government in how they would deal with auto workers.

We can point to the hundreds of millions of dollars the United States spends in France, Italy, Spain and Portugal in its attempt to overcome the votes of the Communist candidates. So you can imagine what they will do here if they respond 3,000 miles away. A big Communist vote in New York City would make the Federal Government take notice. The banks would come to its rescue. In fact, it is the only way New York can get out of the present mess that it is in. The Federal Government and the banks would rush to save New York City from a "Communist takeover." We have to speak about the meaning of the Communist vote and how the enemy looks at it. These are the votes with the biggest political clout.

We must put forth slogans like:

"A vote for more of the same is a wasted vote."

"If you want the establishment to take notice, vote Communist."

"Would you vote for your boss to be a shop steward? Then why vote for his candidate for public office? Vote for candidates who have been shop stewards."

"Would you elect your landlord to the Rent Control Board? Then why vote for his candidate for public office?"

"Would you elect a banker to supervise welfare programs? Then why elect his candidate to public office?"

So besides the broadest propaganda and agitation, we must conduct a campaign to build a Communist electoral constituency. It is a campaign to develop a class consciousness. It is not just a matter of votes. It is a more basic political and ideological campaign that we have to conduct.

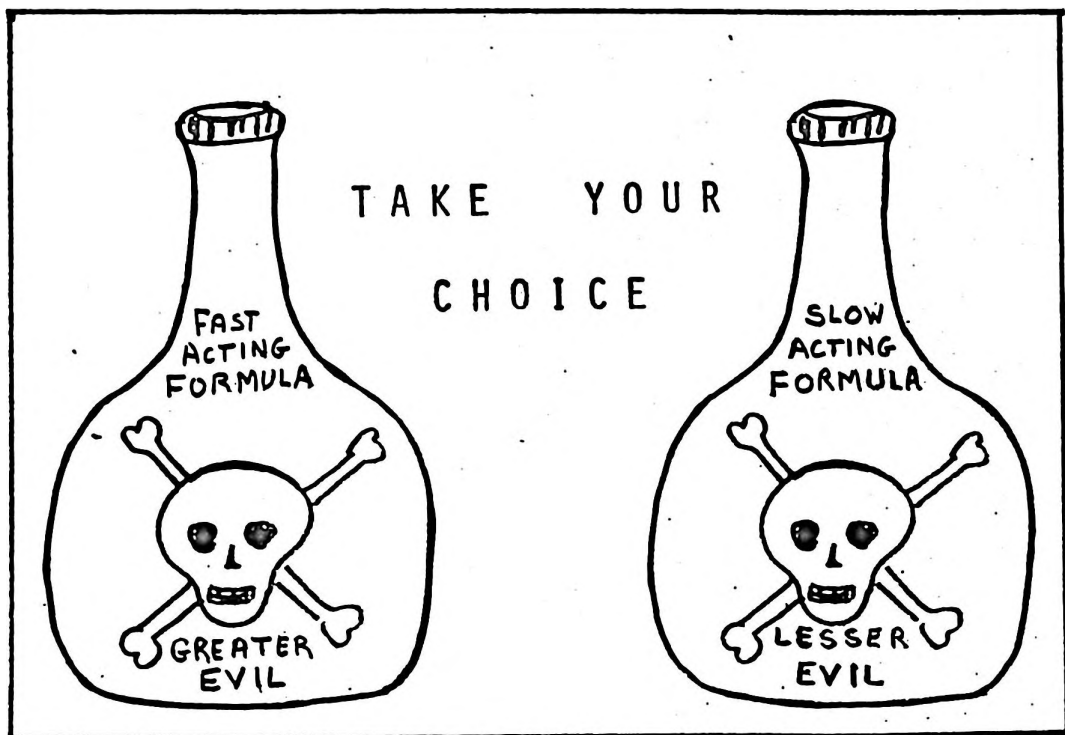
The Marxist-Leninist truth is that we must carry on this level of work even if we were not in an election campaign. The campaign only provides us with an additional way of doing it. In addition to national Party candidates, it is necessary for districts and clubs to think in terms of local Communist candidates. That should become standard procedure. It does not mean that we must run full slates where that is not required. It means that we should run local candidates wherever possible.

There are some very important advantages to running local can-

dates. It is easier to build broader supporting coalitions around local candidates because of the more intimate relations. Local candidates are the means for closer people-to-people contact which national candidates cannot have. The local candidates add strength to the national campaign in many other ways.

CHOOSING ONE'S POISON

We are going to have to wrestle with the habit of voting for the lesser of two evils. We ought to recall our experiences in the last elections on this question. We have to argue that, as a habit, as a system of voting, it is totally self-defeating because as long as one votes for the lesser evil one will remain at the mercy of evil. It is a tactic that can work only under very special circumstances. It can work as an exception, but not as a rule. As a policy of long-



term effect, it is the same as taking a milder and slower-working poison. We must speak to our own members again on this question. We have to say bluntly and openly that for a Communist to follow the folly of the lesser of two evils when Communist candidates are running for office is to exhibit behavior bordering on political idiocy. It is unfortunate but necessary that we have to speak in such a way to raise the ideological and political understanding of our own comrades on this.

The first practical task that we face is to get the Party on the ballot in as many states as possible. The comrades from Ohio, Michigan and other areas will give us the benefit of their experience--but it is already clear that we face some new problems. Besides the problem of fear, there are increasing numbers who do not sign our petitions because they have withdrawn from the electoral arena in disgust.

We have to appeal to them. As a feature of our campaign we have to convince these people that there is an alternative and that it is an effective form of protest to vote Communist. We must convince them of the need to register.

But by far the biggest obstacle is in the Party. One has to take into consideration the unusually bad weather and the flu, but I don't think that explains the sluggishness. The basic problem is that we have not yet politically convinced the Party. The root of the weakness is in the leading cadre. We should have seen the signals months ago. For instance, early in the campaign some state and district leaderships, more or less, decided and told us, "We will collect 'so many' signature, but if you want to put the Communist Party on the ballot in our state, the National Office will have to provide the rest." That was already an indication that we were not going all-out to mobilize our own membership. Michigan and Ohio have worked directly in the signature campaign, and many comrades from Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Oregon have gone to those states to assist.

Some states like Missouri have done a tremendous job. We cannot say that about our national cadre, although there are some outstanding exceptions. Comrade Bob Phillipoff is an example of a Communist attitude towards this kind of basic Party mass work. It is simply unbelievable how our cadre is tied to an inner bureaucratic existence. It comes out when we face a practical task like this. We even have young comrades who have come on the staff and have never since participated in practical mass work. I have never heard so many excuses of why comrades cannot participate in practical political mass work like collecting signatures. Leading comrades not only lead such a life, but insist on having around them a core who do likewise.

We must change our style of work. It is not a style of work of cadre of a mass party. It must become the responsibility of every leading comrade, no matter what the assignment--to fight for, to organize your work in such a manner that a part of your time each week is devoted to practical work--the kind of work where you come in direct contact with people, with workers.

Canvassing, distribution of literature on a mass scale, the continuous holding of mass meetings, street corner meetings, shopgate gatherings, must become a way of life for us. There is a need for youth committees, women's committees, neighborhood committees supporting the Communist candidates. We must all be involved in this work. Our struggle for the right to be on the ballot has emerged as an important factor in the struggle for democracy in general and for the democratization of the election laws nationally. This in itself is an important contribution.

The reports of the comrades who have participated in the signature campaign are most enthusiastic. They all say their experiences fully sustain our Party's assessment of the mass patterns of thought. Besides getting the Party on the ballot, they report on other results. The comrades have made new contacts. They have signed up new subscribers for the press, sold literature, and most important, they have already recruited people into the Party. The election campaign is an

cont. on p. 45

THE WARM SUN OF SOCIALISM

"Socialism is a rising sun on the horizon. It is already shining in one third of the world, and in another third it is warming them up too. People are ready to come in out of the shade. The objective struggle in the United States for a better life drives them toward the warm sun of socialism."

--Jarvis Tyner, Communist Party candidate for Vice-President, from his remarks at the opening of the national Hall-Tyner campaign office.



JARVIS TYNER, C.P. VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SPEAKING IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.



Plan of Work Hall - Tyner Campaign

By SIMON GERSON

CAMPAIGN MANAGER, HALL-TYNER

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

THE FOLLOWING IS A REPORT TO THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE C.P.U.S.A.,
MARCH 28, 1976, NEW YORK CITY



The Hall-Tyner Campaign Committee sees four major objectives in this campaign.

1) To develop the platform of our Party in a mass way, that is, to place our Party's position on the main questions of the day before millions and affect the political direction of the country. Our work should make its impact on the primaries as well as the general direction of the political debate.

2) To organize to get on the ballot in the maximum number of states, practically doubling the number of states where we had ballot status in 1972 and organizing for a substantial vote.

3) To build the Party and the press during the campaign and develop around us a body of new friends and supporters, particularly among the working class voters, Black and white, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American.

4) To develop a special youth division with emphasis on youth demands and special forms of activity.

We see roughly three stages in the campaign:

(1) The signature drive to get on the ballot; (2) campaigning for the ticket by the candidates and others; and (3) organizing for the vote.

While there will inevitably be some overlapping of these three stages, it may be useful to discuss them separately.

First Stage--The signature campaign: We have already filed in Michigan, Utah and Ohio. Our comrades expect to file the necessary signatures in Kentucky. They already have 1,400 signatures; 1,000 signatures are legally required. The next big drive is Alabama, requiring a legal minimum of 10,000 by May 4 (for protection, actually about 15,000).*

*Since the report, Kentucky filed 1,937 signatures; Alabama, 14,463; New Jersey, 2,009; and Idaho, 800. Previous filings: Michigan, 21,600; Utah, 675; Ohio, 9,490.

To carry through the signature drive, a number of teams and brigades will have to go into various states to assist the local comrades, as was done in Ohio and Kentucky. Some steps have already been undertaken in this connection, but much more will have to be done since the various states have steep signature requirements and deadlines up to mid-September. A special plan has been drawn up on this phase by Comrade Matty Berkelhammer, field coordinator for the committee.



COMMUNIST PARTY CANDIDATES, GUS HALL AND JARVIS TYNER WITH C.P. NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, HENRY WINSTON, HEAD OF THE HALL-TYNER CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, AND ANGELA DAVIS, CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN.

The signature drive also involves the speedy issuance of literature by the campaign committee for use by canvassers. Up to this point we have been using primarily the special issue of the Daily World containing the statement issued by Hall and Tyner upon accepting their nomination, as well as other material.

Finally, the signature drive requires close attention to the multitude of legal restrictions and a legal and public fight against them. John Abt, counsel to the campaign, is working on this phase along with other attorneys. Also, lines of communication have been opened up with the American Civil Liberties Union and we have been assured of their support in the fight for our ballot rights. In Louisville, the local CLU was very helpful. One of their associated lawyers is defending two of our canvassers arrested there.

This, it should be said, has an importance beyond the particular ballot fight. Alliances we make now should help in the long-range struggle to democratize the viciously restrictive election laws.

The Second Stage--The actual campaigning by both the candidates and their supporters: This actually begins now and will peak in October. Our objective here, we repeat, is to reach millions through every possible medium--mass rallies, house meetings, TV and radio, press conferences, advertising, the distribution of literature, selective mailings, campaign posters, buttons and the expanded use of the Daily World and People's World, especially at shop gates and inside the shops.

The campaign committee feels strongly that the content of our agitational material must be strengthened in substance and at the same time be attractive and readable as well as factual. In regard to substance, the committee proposes to prepare about six or seven --more if needed--well researched position papers which will be made available to all state organizations. These can be the basis not only for speeches, but also for a number of basic leaflets, including one short booklet giving in brief our position on the main questions of the day, and, later, our platform, a longer document presenting our detailed alternatives to the positions of the two major parties.

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

From Ken Newcomb, collecting signatures
on the Boston waterfront:

I approached a young woman to sign, and she said she wasn't a registered voter in Massachusetts. She approached me later to ask which petition it was. When I told her it was for the Communist Party, she said, "Well I lied when you asked me if I was registered because I didn't want to sign just any petition. But I'll sign for the Communist Party."

LET'S HEAR YOUR EXPERIENCES.

In connection with methods of campaigning, the committee feels strongly that we must break with some practices of the past, especially in the irrational use of the time and energies of our two main candidates, Comrades Hall and Tyner. We are, for example, opposed to the one-shot method whereby a candidate will be asked to come into a district to speak to a meeting, generally composed by our people and close sympathizers, and then rush back.

We propose, on the contrary, something like this:

The candidate is to go into an area for a two, three or four-day visit--A VISIT WHICH MUST BE WELL PREPARED LONG IN ADVANCE AND WITH THE CONCEPT THAT HE WILL BE HEARD BY TENS OF THOUSANDS. That means that we must strive aggressively and resourcefully to get him on TV and radio talk shows; interviews with political writers and editors of the local press with special efforts to reach the Black press; at least one campus meeting; at least one fund-raising affair --dinner, luncheon, cocktail party, or any variant; and, finally,



one well-organized mass meeting where the candidate can make a major policy speech, a rally for which we should seek to get TV and radio time, buying the time, if necessary. (In respect to fund-raising, this must be elevated to a major political task. Workers well know that the big corporations and fatcats bankroll the old party politicians; they know that they are the sole source of our funds and they are prepared to support us if properly approached.)

Besides these public affairs, there should be organized at least one off-the-record meeting with trade unionists, rank-and-file members, local presidents, shop stewards, etc. who may not want to attend our mass meeting but are prepared to get together in an informal discussion with the candidate. These will undoubtedly include supporters of the Democratic nominee. No matter. Even if a discussion with our candidate does not change their voting approach, it is undoubtedly bound to affect their policy outlook.

We must already start to organize the schedule. Tentatively we suggest that the campaign conclude October 30 with a televised mass rally at Felt Forum in New York; October 23 in Chicago, and October 16 in San Francisco. These, it must be emphasized, are mass rallies to be preceded by days of activities as outlined earlier.

Finally, in regard to the campaign trail, we cannot put the sole burden on the candidates. Leading comrades must place themselves at the disposal of the campaign and become, in effect, circuit riders for the Hall-Tyner ticket. Comrade Angela Davis has already pledged her efforts in this respect. Others--Herbert Aptheker, James Jackson, Claude Lightfoot, Alva Buxenbaum, Gil Green, Hy Lumer, Carl Winter, Helen Winter, James Steele, Carl Bloice and others should stump for the ticket. We know that Comrade Winston will, of course, be as active in the campaign as health permits, stumping as well as heading the campaign committee.

The Third Stage--The actual organization of the vote. This is something that in the past we have too often left to spontaneous action, with a consequent loss of votes that should have come to us.

Organizing our vote should be divided into two phases:

- 1) registration;
- 2) getting out and recording our vote on Election Day.

On registration: we must make a systematic, organized effort to register all our comrades, sympathizers, fellow workers and their families. We must make special efforts to register the youth with close attention to 18-year-old first time voters. In this connection, we will have to overcome the understandable moods of disgust with the electoral process that affect even our comrades and sympathizers. (We should recall that our Party Constitution requires all Party members to register and vote. That clause was not put in accidentally. It arose out of a long struggle in the early days of our Party against anarcho-syndicalist tendencies.) To be systematic, the registration campaign must be done county by county, club by club. An old political axiom should be remembered: the person you register generally votes with you!

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

From Comrade Joe in Massachusetts:

There were these two guys in their fifties. I gave them the pitch and one of them started to sign. The other one asked, "Who are the candidates?" I said, "Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner." He said, "Gus Hall! Is he still around? He must be in his nineties. His friend was just finishing signing at that point and turned to him and said, "But he's got young ideas." I guess people think Gus Hall is old because he's been in the movement so long.

SEND US YOUR EXPERIENCES.

In preparation for Election Day, we must organize for every single vote, even as we did when we elected Comrades Peter Cacchi-one and Benjamin Davis. That means not only general literature and agitation but very specific things. For example, as soon as a county or district finds out where we will be on the ballot, a photo should be taken of the ballot and leaflets and advertisements prepared showing our ballot position with a big arrow pointing to it with a brief message calling for a vote on that line. Palm cards of the same type should be prepared to give to voters entering the polling places on Election Day.

On Election Day a number of comrades in each club should take the day off from work to get out the Communist vote, this based on lists of solid prospects prepared in advance. On or before Election Eve these solid prospects should be telephoned or visited. On Election Day, their names should be checked off as they vote and absentees called before the polls close. Arrangements for cars for elderly and handicapped people should be made wherever possible. Sitters should be organized for women with small children. Poll watchers should be arranged for at least part of the day and certainly at the end of the day when the backs are taken off the voting machine and the votes tallied. Special efforts should be

made to get quick access to the tallies, particularly in the key precincts, as reported to the county election boards.

In states where we do not appear on the ballot but do have some supporters, special preparations must be organized for write-in votes. Voters should be told specifically how to write in a vote for Hall and Tyner. (In 1972, although we were on the ballot officially in 13 states, we had votes recorded from 16 states, the three additional states being those where we had write-in votes.)

But the above plans will not be implemented unless there is a strong cadre of comrades concentrating on the election campaign, both nationally and in the various states, even as the election campaign becomes central in all our activities.

That means brigades for signature collection, speakers, researchers, fund-raisers, public relations workers, organizers for scheduling, technical workers, etc. In this connection, it should be noted that there are many sympathizers not yet prepared to join the Party but who are willing to aid in the campaign. Also, there are senior citizens who are willing to give many hours, former Party members who are not hostile to us and are ready to help in the campaign even if not yet ready to take the step of re-joining.

In short, there are many friends available to supplement the work of the cadre devoted exclusively to the campaign. We should boldly invite their cooperation.

Such an approach, making the 1976 campaign the centerpiece of all our work for the next seven or eight months, will make for a powerful campaign, a substantial vote, affect the political direction of our country in the direction of peace and progress, build the forces of the anti-monopoly front moving to the ultimate goal of socialism. And, last but not least, in the course of such a campaign we will advance the building of our press and a powerful Communist Party.

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ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Why everyone should learn to sing "The Internationale"

Among other extremely worthwhile reasons for learning to sing "The Internationale" is the fact that you can never tell when it will bring you an immediate return. A Boston petitioner approached a passerby to sign the Communist Party petition. The woman said, "If you will sing 'The Internationale' for me, I'll sign." Fortunately, our petitioner was prepared for her job in every way. When she completed the song, the woman kept her promise. (Note: the words of "The Internationale" are on the December page of the Daily World calendar.)

SEND US YOUR EXPERIENCES.

Veteran's 10 Petitioning Tips

By ROBERT PHILLIPOFF

COMRADE GUS HALL DREW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE EXCELLENT WORK OF COMRADE PHILLIPOFF IN HIS SPEECH TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING, PUBLISHED IN THIS ISSUE OF PARTY AFFAIRS. COMRADE PHILLIPOFF'S APPROACH HAS BEEN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL AS PROVEN IN HIS HIGH DAILY TOTALS. WE SUGGEST YOU TRY IT.

1. Have a good presentation! The following is a sample--a guide, not a ritual:

(Pen out in front so they may sign quickly. Smile. Be friendly and assuring.)

"Have you signed this petition?"

"It is for jobs, profits for the people, to get the crooks out of government..."

"It is for registered voters in (state) to sign to put Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President, on the ballot. On election day you may vote any way you want to, Republican or Democrat as you choose. But to get on the ballot in the first place, these candidates need _____ thousand signatures from registered voters in (state). Signing this petition does not mean you support these candidates. You may vote against them. It only means you support their right to run. It is for freedom of choice.

"Thank you very much for signing. This (literature) is for you. Thanks again."

(For the activists--"May we be in touch with you during the campaign? Thank you. Please fill out this card and return it to me while I ask others to sign. Thank you again.")

2. Look sharp! Pleasing first impressions are important! But also be practical; for example, wear a hat in winter.

3. Be prepared! Dress properly for the weather. This includes hat, sunglasses, long johns or leotards, two pairs of socks (to prevent blisters), sweaters, gloves, etc. whichever is appropriate. Have all your equipment with you when you start petitioning such as literature, shoulder bag, campaign button, file cards to record the names, addresses and phone numbers of the activists, at least two pens and pencils, a plastic cover or piece of literature to cover the petitions in the event of rain, boots and umbrella, etc.

4. Be in a good location! It should not be too crowded, empty or noisy. An indoor location should be well lit and people should have at least a few seconds to see you before you approach them. A steady flow of people--workers, students, super-exploited U.S. racial minorities, etc.--is key. The less walking you do the more time and energy you will save.
5. Make every second count! The more people you talk to, the more signatures you will collect as a rule. Keep your presentation short--10-30 seconds generally is sufficient.
6. Smile. Be assuring, friendly and polite. How you say things is important. In the event of hostility, it is frequently beneficial to be especially polite as well as to move away from the source of conflict as soon as you can. Be alert for provocations. Do not argue with people. The aim is signatures.



7. Try not to overwork or under-work! Pay attention to your physical needs and limits.

8. Turn in your filled petitions and file cards (containing the names, addresses and phone numbers of the activists) at the end of the day. Be in touch with your petition coordinator.

9. Get adequate rest and nutrition during the off hours! Make every second count here too. Late evening meetings and parties can create health problems.

10. Know the registration and other electoral laws and regulations in your particular state both from the point of view of helping people to register as well as increasing your signature tally!

Good luck! Good health! And a high total!

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PETITIONING IN
KENTUCKY

Petition Drive in Utah

BY WAYNE HOLLY

REMARKS TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING,
MARCH 28, 1976, NEW YORK, N.Y.

The election law in Utah, on the face of it, looks simple. We need only 500 signatures. But those 500 signatures must come from 10 counties. And the farther out from Salt Lake City you go, the more conservative they become.

It also requires that the person signing state on this petition that he or she is either a member of the Party or intends to become a member. Now it sud-

denly appears to the authorities in Utah that instead of having a small party, we now have 675 members (applause). And some of our county sheriffs and other defenders of the status quo are getting around in Utah checking the signatures and seeing if some of these names can't be withdrawn.

We decided to concentrate on the counties. We went first of all to a remote community



George Meyers, National Labor Secretary petitioning in downtown Birmingham

close to the Utah-Colorado state line, and the first man we met was a man who was repairing the gate to his garden. We thought he looked like a good prospect. When the word "communist" was mentioned, he was so infuriated that he tore the gate off. (laughter)

Then he seemed to go into shock, and not knowing what to do, we stopped and helped him fix the gate. He then said he would consider the matter and if we would come back the next day he may even sign. His neighbor not only signed the petition but felt that we should not have to do this work at our own expense and he gave us \$10. We have all kinds in Utah. (laughter)

Late in the evening we came

to a house--most of the work in this area had to be house to house. An older gentleman was reading the Bible as good Mormons do, and we hesitated about going in, but did so. And when we told him what we were up to, he started quoting the scriptures. He was just reading about the second coming and he said, "If Jesus came back today he would be pissed because there are too many money changers in the world today."

But the humorous thing about this incident was that he said, "I just have one more question, how do you guys stand on women's equilibrium?" (laughter) I assured him that we were for it. He said he had some doubts but he would not remove his name. (applause)

"WOMEN'S EQUILIBRIUM"



Pace-setters in Massachusetts

By SYLVIA NEWCOMB

The signature drive is in high gear to place the Party on the ballot in Massachusetts. In addition to the 37,000 signatures required, the Party must win a court battle against an anti-communist election law.

"we've been looking forward to it," said Comrade Edward Teixeira, District Organizer of the New England District, "because of the offensive by reaction in Boston. This racist drive makes it extremely important for the Party to get on the ballot."

The campaign is everywhere in Massachusetts--on the streets, in the neighborhoods, in the parks and on the beaches. It is also being brought to the mass organizations. A comrade who is active in the parent's organization where her child attends school addressed the group on the need to put the Party on the ballot. Everyone present at the meeting signed the petition.

THE 1,000 SIGNATURE CLUB

New England is graduating several of its comrades of the Party and the League into the very prestigious national grouping known as the 1,000 Signature Club. We talked to one such comrade from the YWLL. Comrade Susan Majors, a League member for two years, works full time at a meat packing plant in Roxbury. She took a one week vacation and collected more than 500 signatures that week. She collected the remaining 500 signatures while working full time at the factory. She puts in full days on week-ends and an evening during the week.

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

Everyone knows that the Republicans are the elephants and elephants have very good memories. The Democrats are the jackasses. What happens is that the Republicans make promises to the rich and the Democrats make promises to the poor. But the Republicans remember to keep their promises, and the Democrats, not endowed with such good memories, do not keep their promises. They do what jackasses usually do--they kick you in the tender spot.

--Roque Ristorucci, Executive Secretary,
YWLL, in a speech on the elections at
a youth rally in Boston

We asked her what she considered key to her success as a petitioner. "The most important thing," she said, "is to ask everybody to sign. It's very important not to cater to pre-conceived notions of which types of people will sign and which won't sign. You end up with a lot of surprises when you ask everyone." Susan adds that, once people are considering signing, it is important to "not let them go too easily. You really have to try to persuade them to sign."

We asked Susan, though it is generally self-explanatory, why she puts in so much time on the Hall-Tyner campaign. She said, "In terms of Massachusetts and Boston in particular, it's such a beautiful opportunity to talk to literally hundreds of thousands of people about the situation here. It's an opportunity to put the Party and the League forward and to build them. People are really looking for organizations like ours. Especially now with Comrade Judith LeBlanc's campaign in Boston for State Senate (She is Chairperson of the Massachusetts-Rhode Island YWLL.), we have the necessary concrete handles for talking to people about the problems in Boston--the problems of outrageous unemployment, of public education, housing, health care, a total lack of future for young people and people in general, and the racist offensive which stands in the way of organizing unified movements of struggle around these problems.

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

From Comrade Joe, collecting signatures
in downtown Birmingham:

I walked up to this man who looked like the hundreds of other older business men (gray haired, suit and tie, shined shoes) in that area. I asked if he would sign to put the Communist Party on the ballot. He smiled and said, "I support you fully, but I am unable to sign. I am the Messiah." He then produced a business card with "The Messiah" and an address on it. I thanked him for his spiritual support and went on to others.

One day Susan asked an older man on the street if he was a registered voter. "I didn't ask you what kind of make-up you wear," came the reply. She handed him a leaflet anyway, and when he saw that it had a union bug, he voiced his approval. Susan began to rap with him about our attitudes toward the trade unions, and he not only signed the petition but asked to be put on the mailing list. He said, "The Communist Party is the only organization for working people."

NOT ONLY YOUTH ARE ELIGIBLE

In Boston, we also interviewed an older comrade from the

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Question to a petitioner in Massachusetts: What is Gus Hall's position on domestic pets?

Also to a Massachusetts petitioner: Tell Gus Hall to do something about evening television.

Mid West who was into her ninth week of full-time petition work in three states including a two week stint in Alabama. Comrade Margaret Sampson, a Party member for seven years, is in her late fifties. Despite a long history of heart disease, she puts in an average of seven hours a day, six days a week, collecting signatures. "I don't believe in worrying about my health," she says.

Comrade Margaret, as a Black woman, has been directly and crudely affronted on the streets of Boston. One white woman she approached to sign said, "You people should be happy you were brought over here. The reason you're not better off than you are is that you people don't work hard enough."

We asked Comrade Margaret her advice to others who want to join the 1,000 Club. "You have to have confidence in yourself," she said. "If you sound unsure of yourself, people won't take the time to talk to you."

She mentioned one experience on the street with a Black man who was hesitant to sign. Comrade Margaret said, "You want full employment? I do." "But in Russia..." he said. "In the Soviet Union," Margaret responded, "there is a job ready for you." "Give me the pen; I'll sign."

We asked Comrade Margaret how long she would be working full-time. She hasn't seen her family of two children and eleven grandchildren in quite a while. Her answer: "As long as I'm needed."

A young man who recently joined the League and has been collecting signatures for a week summed up the enthusiasm in Boston extremely well: The day this is done, I want to go to Texas and then California. I've never done anything like this in my life. I'm so hooked on it, I could do it the rest of my life. Where else can you meet so many people and get such a feel for what the American people are all about?

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ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

From Massachusetts:

A man on the street, described by Comrade John, the petitioner, as "ancient," said: The Communists? You guys have the best hospital plan than anybody. I'll sign.

Signature Drive Needs Communist Drive

By ALTHERNA MEDITH

COMMUNIST PARTY CANDIDATE FOR
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BOARD OF TRUSTEES

DO YOU KNOW

that the Party has a concrete program in the interest of the working class?

DO YOU KNOW

that this two-party system runs on the basis of who's going to exploit the working class next, not how the system can be changed?

DO YOU KNOW

that we are living in the major imperialist country in the world and that we must fight harder, more consistently in favor of the liberation of other countries that are victims of imperialism?

DO YOU KNOW

that the key to an anti-monopoly fight is to weaken monopoly economically, politically and militarily?

DO YOU KNOW

that our goal is socialism, a truly democratic system of society?

DO YOU KNOW

that the only Party this election year (or any election year) that really has all of this together is the Communist Party?

You say you know? Then why aren't you out there collecting signatures with the confidence, political awareness and drive of a COMMUNIST?

You say you have the drive, confidence and political awareness of a Communist? And you believe the Party will win an office this year or next? Then why don't you encourage others to feel that way too?

Too often I see comrades with defeatist attitudes in getting signatures or in understanding that our candidates have a winning approach. These comrades say, "Oh, we're just running to be seen and to get our opinions on the media." I'll admit that it's good to have coverage, but I ask you: Is this the frame of mind comrades should be in? I think Gus and Jarvis are running with a mind toward winning large sections of the working class to a program of struggle and to the Party and the League.

I appeal to the Party and League to hold mass educationals on why the Communist Party runs candidates and what should be our attitude toward the campaign. Why must the Party run candidates? The election period is the most crucial time of the year. Elections raise political consciousness. There are more discussions of the issues. The demand by people for answers to the problems they face is highest at this time.

The Party participates in elections to raise the issues, combat the most reactionary trends, promote the line of the Party to the masses, and to familiarize, prepare and direct the masses to the idea that socialism is the ultimate solution. The Party's participation in elections is part of the strategy to help achieve socialism because the struggle for detente, national liberation, an anti-monopoly coalition and working class consciousness all move in that direction. The fight against racism and anti-Sovietism among youth and other workers also moves in that direction.

The Party's participation in elections is vital. This is one of the most important avenues the Party has to help advance the working class and the oppressed. The Party's role is urgent in the fight against the racist austerity thrust of the ruling class.

A crucial difference in the Party's ticket and campaign is that it consists of workers, Black and white, men and women, young and old. Its composition was not designed to suit a trend or steal some votes. It comes about because we are the Party of the working class and we see the centrality of Black-white unity. The Party understands that in order to be a working class party it must fight racism, discrimination, struggle for Black-white unity and understand the need for Black and other nationally oppressed people's leadership.

The League must support Communist candidates because they speak best to the issues concerning youth; they best represent the interests of youth. League members run on the same slates with Communist candidates. We have fraternal relations with the CP. We base our struggles on the same science.

GOING AFTER SIGNATURES

Our overall strategy, it seems to me, is to get the easiest signatures first such as at youth centers, colleges, universities, nationally oppressed neighborhoods. Youth and nationally oppressed peoples are the first to recognize the system's deterioration. However, it is incorrect to always collect signatures where it is easiest. It is politically important to go into the more difficult areas, for example, predominantly white neighborhoods, to combat racist ideology and promote advanced programs of struggle. This task is the responsibility of white comrades in particular.

The signature drive should not be viewed as a burden. It is rather an opportunity to meet many new faces, express what we be-

Graphic Artists Get it Together

BY THE NEW YORK GRAPHIC ARTISTS CLUB

For a long time many of us with artistic skills have been called upon by the movement to produce various types of graphics such as book and pamphlet covers, buttons, murals, posters and banners. These assignments have usually been arranged on a catch-as-catch-can basis, too often falling on the same people with very short notice. Generally, not enough consideration has been given to the political and ideological importance of the artist's role in communicating ideas.

Within the past year, a group of us from the New York Artists Club formed a committee to build a Graphic Workshop. We had many meetings to discuss the nature and structure of such a group. At the same time we undertook some assignments as a collective: the Daily World calendar, the button for the Party Convention and the banners and art work for the Convention and mass rally. These experiences helped us to understand some of the problems we would encounter in creating a workshop.

Many people have expressed interest in the workshop, and as a result, we have extended the range of services we think it can perform: 1) production facilities, silk screen and other reproduction for the graphic work needed; 2) preparation of educational and art exhibits for Marxist centers and teaching aids for instructors, to help make them real centers for cultural activity; 3) classes in layout and other technical skills, i.e. silk screen, etching, etc.; 4) art classes taught by leading artists, in painting, drawing, sculpture, murals, etc.; 5) seminars and forums on art, Marxist esthetics and their relationship to struggle; and 6) a library of reference material and books on art and a file of work produced in the workshop.

We plan to service a wide range of organizations, the Hall-Tyner election campaign, institutions and publications in addition to the Party and the League. This will include the Marxist-Leninist centers and bookstores, the Daily World, Political Affairs, Black Liberation Journal, Jewish Affairs and Party Affairs. (Readers will hopefully notice the original cartoons in this issue of Party Affairs, courtesy of the Graphic Arts Workshop, and future improvements.--Editor) We will also offer our services to a wide range of organizations and publications whose struggles we support.

Towards this end, we are in the process of working out a sys-

tem of organization to guarantee a schedule of hours with responsible people on duty, a system for obtaining the services of the workshop, payment of fees for materials, rent and maintenance, fundraising, a system of membership and leadership functioning, cleanup and maintenance and the development of a collective method of work.

These plans were recently presented to a meeting of some 25 Party activists including representatives from the district leadership, Young Worker and W.E.B. DuBois Community Center. The purpose of the meeting was to make the workshop fully the property of the whole Party and to arrive at a collective decision as to its nature and functioning.

The idea of the workshop was greeted with great enthusiasm and the discussion was very fruitful. It was generally agreed that the workshop should fill the visual void which has handicapped the Party by stimulating the production of a rich variety of posters, banners, buttons, leaflets, pamphlets, etc. By approaching this work scientifically and collectively, we can present the face of the Party in new ways, expressing the beauty of its ideas and the relevance of its program. At the same time, it is precisely by building a firm foundation of work for the Communist Party and its fraternal and friendly organizations, by developing visual work to the highest political and artistic level, that we will be able to attract a broader spectrum of artists to the workshop and the Party.

Membership would be open to anyone in agreement with the statement of purpose which will clearly express support for the struggles against the economic crisis and racism, for women's equality, for peace and democracy. A committee was formed to draft this statement.

It was stressed that many young people, especially Black and Puerto Rican youth, have no opportunity to develop and express their talents. In close cooperation with the YWLL, the workshop could give such an opportunity to YWLL members and other youth. Workshop classes would inspire and train people, young and old, to participate in the production of all types of visual materials.

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ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

From Jill Furillo, collecting signatures
in Harvard Square in Boston:

Citizen: You couldn't get away with this in Russia. You
wouldn't be allowed to do it.

Jill: Are you kidding, for the Communist Party?

cont. from p. 9

Soviet Communist Party. Then they are for interference.

They are for "autonomy of parties," yet they are critical of the Soviet Union when, to their way of looking at events, she does not mold her trade policies and diplomacy to fit the political policies of these parties. On the one hand they say, "Don't touch us," and on the other, they say, "Please do." You cannot have it both ways.

The Tenth Five Year Plan was put forth like a film of the future, an historic step of tremendous scope toward a communist society. In the next Five Year Plan, the level of socialism will reach such a level where capitalist propagandists will run away from any comparison; they are running away now. Socialism is winning the historic race.

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ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

From a petitioner in Massachusetts who wishes to remain anonymous:

After a day of running your mouth full-time, you can get a little tongue-tied. I approached a passerby and said, "Would you sign for the communistic right of the Democratic Party to be on the ballot?"

cont. from p. 25

effective way to break out of political isolation.

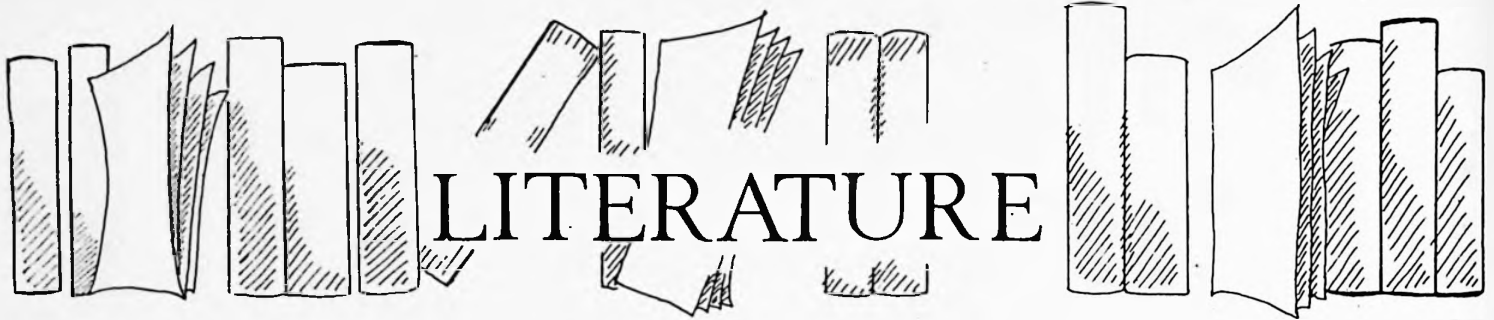
I would like to emphasize again that this is not a time for a routine method of work or work as usual. It must be a crusade, a drive; otherwise we will not fulfill our responsibility, meet the challenge or take advantage of the great opportunities. With a correct approach, the Party can make itself really felt in the election campaign and can greatly advance its strength and influence.

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ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

From Joe in Massachusetts:

I ran into this man who just didn't look like a signer. But I made the mistake yesterday of not asking everybody, so I decided to approach him. He was middle aged and I soon learned that he was a worker. His response was, "I wish I could sign your petition a thousand times. I'm sick and tired of the government in this country. I'm sick and tired of the people in Washington who lie. I'm sick and tired of Ted Kennedy and all the people running this state."

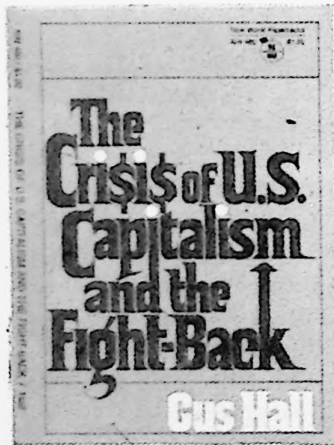


In this 1976 election period our Party is speaking to millions of people. Questions are being asked arising out of the great issues facing us. In addition to the specific campaign literature, the Daily World, Peoples World, Voz del Pueblo and Political Affairs, we wish to call attention to various other publications, published by Marxist publishers and mass organizations, that should be used extensively in this campaign. This material should be part of the petition work and canvassing. It should be sold at meetings, forums, on street tables and should be readily available for use in the campaign.

--National Literature Commission

THE CRISIS OF U.S. CAPITALISM AND THE FIGHT BACK By GUS HALL

LA CRISIS DEL CAPITALISMO EN E.U.A. Y COMO COMBATIRLA por GUS HALL



The report to the 21st Convention of the CPUSA presents the overall position of our Party on the world and domestic situation today and offers a fighting program for victory. (International Publishers)

"SOCIAL DEMOCRATS-U.S.A." IN THE SERVICE OF REACTION By GEORGE MORRIS

A timely pamphlet exposing the class collaborationist role of social democracy and its leadership, their racism, anti-communism, sell-out of the workers and ties to the CIA. At this time, with millions of union workers facing new contract negotiations, all efforts should be made to reach them with this booklet. The author is the foremost labor reporter and expert in this field today. (New Outlook Publishers)

Reach the millions with our Literature

BLACK LIBERATION JOURNAL Published by the **BLACK LIBERATION COMMISSION, CPUSA**

This highly acclaimed journal is important in this election for its contribution to the understanding of the current stage of the Black liberation struggle in the United States, the victories in Africa and the fight against racism. The magazine contains valuable source material on Africa, Maoism, the peoples peace budget as well as many cultural features, art and poetry.

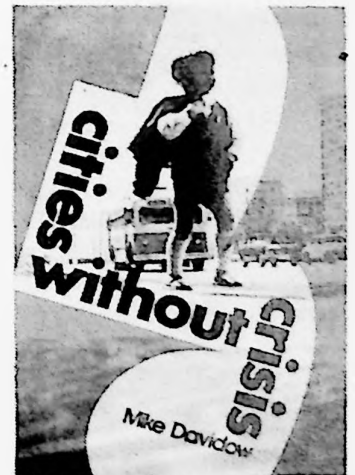


NEW WORLD REVIEW - SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE 25TH CONGRESS, CPSU

The meaning of this event which Comrade Gus Hall said marked the beginning of a new era of socialist construction must be made known to all the people. This double issue devoted entirely to the Congress will contain extended summaries of the main reports, economic plans and pre-Congress discussion in the Soviet Union. Many prominent Americans have written articles and comments for New World Review on the Congress and its meaning to the United States.

CITIES WITHOUT CRISIS By **MIKE DAVIDOW**

The question of U.S. cities is a main issue in this election. How socialism solves these problems is the subject of this book by the former Moscow correspondent of the Daily World. He compares the major aspects of life in the cities of the United States and the Soviet Union--housing, transportation, health care, pollution control, education, culture and much more.
(International Publishers)



YOUNG WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE



YOUNG WORKER Published by the YOUNG WORKERS
LIBERATION LEAGUE

The May issue of the Young Worker is devoted to the Hall-Tyner campaign and is now available in all areas in large quantities. It should be used extensively to reach young people. The June issue will contain additional material on the election campaign including a lead article by its editor, Jill Furillo, "Election Year Circus," which exposes the anti-youth programs of the major party candidates. It also contains additional material on the Hall-Tyner campaign.

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO LABOR By GIL GREEN

A detailed examination of the labor movement today and its future prospects. With an organized labor movement of 18 million confronting a severe economic crisis, increased attacks from monopoly, a growing rise of militant rank and file activity, this book is crucial reading to an understanding of the current developments in the central area of U.S. society today. (International Publishers)

WHAT'S
HAPPENING
to
LABOR
by
Gil Green



ECONOMIC NOTES - STEEL NOTES - METAL NOTES Published by LABOR
RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

These publications provide an excellent base for source materials for facts and figures, trends and analysis for club discussions, leaflets, speeches, articles, etc. Maximum use should be made of this material so we can be knowledgeable in our presentations.

ALL LITERATURE IS AVAILABLE THROUGH YOUR LOCAL LITERATURE CENTER

Note: The literature bulletin will become a regular feature of Party Affairs. We hope you will find it useful in planning your literature activity. In future issues, we aim to reflect experiences of clubs and individuals around the use and distribution of literature. Please send us your experiences and any thoughts on how to improve the use of our literature in the work of the Party.