

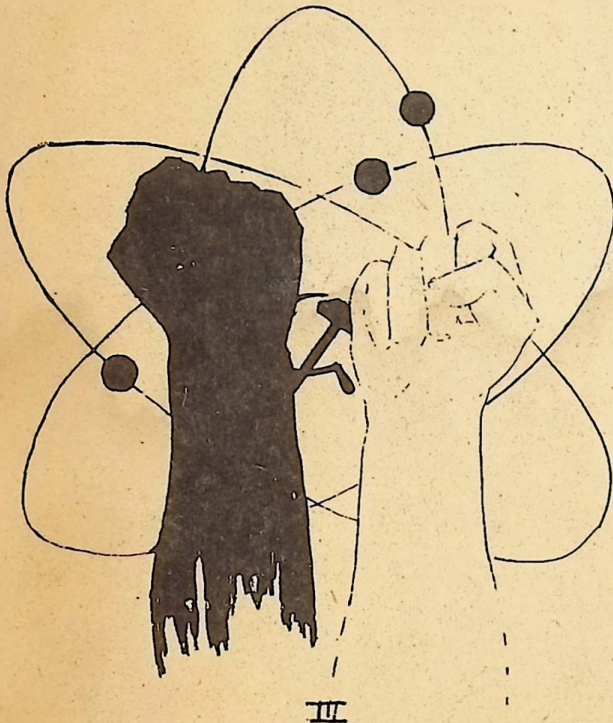
# PARTY AFFAIRS

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Note: Illustrations of designs submitted are scattered throughout this issue. Their order of appearance and numbering is no indication of any preference. The membership will be the judge. Possibly the best design has yet to be submitted.

## AN EMBLEM FOR OUR PARTY

Dear Comrades:

As you probably know, we have been seeking an emblem for the Party. We have printed those submitted so far. Your ideas and responses to these designs would be most helpful. We would also welcome submission of additional designs.

An emblem would be used for many purposes - as a button, pin, on stationery, for the ballot in elections, for banners and posters. Therefore, we have to consider such factors as:

1. Whether its political content conveys what we want to convey about us.
2. How will it look when it is reduced in size for buttons or stationery and how will it look in forms where it will be much larger?
3. Whether it is easily recognizable as our emblem, whether it will be viewed as something up to date or solely from the past, etc.

We are aiming to resolve the question of an official Party emblem by May 15 so please send in your designs and responses as quickly as possible to the National Organization Department.

Comradely,

Daniel Rubin

# COMMUNIST



# PARTY U.S.A.

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## REPORT FROM PARTY BUILDING PANEL (EAST COAST CONFERENCE)

By Sonia Chaikin

The panel on the Party and press building drive had a very interesting discussion with many examples of new kinds of initiatives and experiences including around the election campaign that led to new respect for the Party and recruits. There is no time to report these examples here, but we felt that it is extremely important to have such examples written up in Party Affairs so that the Comrades around the country can get ideas from concrete and specific experiences as a supplement and elaborations to the overall reports we print.

One of the points that emerged in one form or another in speaker after speaker was the relation between Party building and mass initiatives. A good Communist cannot be simply a "good mass worker" or only a good, devoted Party worker, but must be both.

The best examples of Party and press building came from areas where there is involvement in mass issues and movements, but with an independent role for the Party, a proud role.

A well-developed Communist will build toward the Party's goal of anti-monopoly coalition, using as a starting point the deep and basic Party positions on the prerequisite of the fight against racism, especially now, of the central role of the working class, of the unity needed within the working class and with its allies, and of the Party as the leader, uniter and teacher. Starting from the point that only the Party has the basic answers, many of our problems around the building drive work themselves out by the demands of being steeped in struggle. We can find a role for every Comrade in this effort, in fact we will be forced to.

Open work, Party-type mass work, in community organizations, in unions, shops, mass issue organizations, in building rank-and-file groups, etc., leads toward several results that are not gotten by working for the lowest common denominator. It exposes the

role of the Party as a uniter and organizer. It helps clarify our differences with the forces we work with and wish to recruit so that we can tackle these hangups with those close to us and thereby advance the work of the movement, whatever it is, and break down barriers to joining that these advanced forces within a movement may have.

It was pointed out that where the Party grows in influence and size in an area, so does the mass movement grow even more rapidly. Examples were given that where the Party is driven "underground" within a union or community organization (also would be true in the peace movement, etc.) either by real suppression, or by red-baiting ourselves, underestimating ourselves, or a combination, the organization shrivels and dies or becomes crippled in its functioning in the long run. We can find various creative ways to help each Comrade make steps in this direction.

There was one clear-cut example given of how a white Comrade tackled racism in his shop whenever it occurred on a person-to-person basis and thereby recruited a Black worker into the Party and helped begin the basis for a shop club there. (Of course, this example must be expanded to include attacking racism in a mass way and finally of recruiting white workers also on the basis that we were so right on this question.) I just cited this to point out that our principled program is not sectarian or divisive but is actually the heart, most fundamentally needed injection in the mass currents.

However, the weakness was that many of these examples come without even a district or club plan, but as a result of some good mass work and a general good Party orientation.

Each district was to have come with a written plan for recruitment. Few did. In fact none came with a collectively prepared, finalized, full plan. Therefore the first order of business is to draw up a plan in the district for now to the end of the year, with quotas on recruiting, press, literature, P.A., projections for helping the League in its drive, new clubs, concentration shops, etc. and with some ideas on how to do this. This is a new way of doing things for many districts and it is difficult. But point is within the districts to tackle this problem fully, concretely and collectively, finalize something and fight for its implementation, rather than continual "planning" that isn't finalized and can't be used for check-up, evaluation, etc.

During and especially at the end of the drive, we will

be able to evaluate the plans based on experience and get better and better plans. It will help to force out problems and directions for solutions, to collectivize our estimates and efforts.

By the way, the need for rationalizing effort around things like planning, classes for recruiting and new members, hitting a key shop, coordinating the struggle against racism in its manifold forms, in the different aspects of the budget cuts, etc., will be very much helped by a central plan.

#### HELP FROM NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

There were many requests for a recruiting pamphlet to give to prospective recruits with various ideas on what should be in it. This is a long-felt and unmet need that this time, in the context of this drive, the center has made the turn needed, set up a drive committee, so that it will be forthcoming.

There were other requests, such as pamphlets on "what it takes to be a good Communist," "the Party and the united front," and "how to recruit" manuals.

There is a Party building committee set up in the Central Committee office made up of representatives from the Organization Department, Daily World, YWLL and Literature Commission. Material on the building brigades is planned as well as concretization of the Central Committee decision to institute candidate for membership status for those who we don't know who request to join.

The Education Department with help from the Drive Committee, is in the process of preparing new members outlines. We would like districts and clubs to send us any outlines they have used.

Individual attention and help by national cadre to districts and clubs is singled out as most essential.

We felt that certain experiences show that we have a new level in the work of community clubs, including on the linking of community and trade union forces and that we should pay attention to this and publicize it within the Party, perhaps

by putting out an outline on work in community clubs, how to vitalize it.

We are also revitalizing a central cross-file list of contacts for recruitment into the Party, League, readers groups in the states and districts.

#### WORK ON DISTRICT LEVEL

The district plan was already mentioned. Just briefly, three other things were cited. The need to assign personnel to the drive, the need to work closely with the clubs, especially selected concentration clubs, and the need for the districts to become centers of cadre development with special schools as the national schools have been in the past.

#### ON THE CLUB LEVEL

A plan of work and concentration is needed in each club.

Much discussion centered on club life and the relation between bringing in new people and improving club life. It was felt by some that many weaknesses in club life can be solved by the process of adding new people, the need for education. This will create the additional ties and possibilities that will be opened in the mass fields, and finally the need to raise internal standards especially on the understanding and struggle against the infiltration or acceptance to any degree of white supremacist attitudes, both in order to spur the mass initiatives needed to recruit, and the ability to hold onto new members.

Within the discussion, one young Comrade from a small, scattered and relatively inactive Club said that she learned a lot, got a lot of ideas and realized that she had to an extent been opportunistic in accommodating to certain problems and now saw ways to begin to move out of that situation.

Elitism was attacked—the idea that we can understand our weaknesses, we can take the frustrations and demands of Party membership, we can learn, accept and understand Party policies, but others can't and therefore cannot be brought into our Party. It was pointed out that potential recruits are no different than we were before joining, and that if we have the ability to withstand some of these pressures, it is only as a result of the good influences and knowledge that were bound to win that were received from actually being in the Party. New people are not stupid, they are working class people for the most part, and will be

willing to pitch in to help solve problems and to raise their own level of development. This of course should not be taken to mean that we wait on the struggle to improve standards of club life and work until we have recruited.

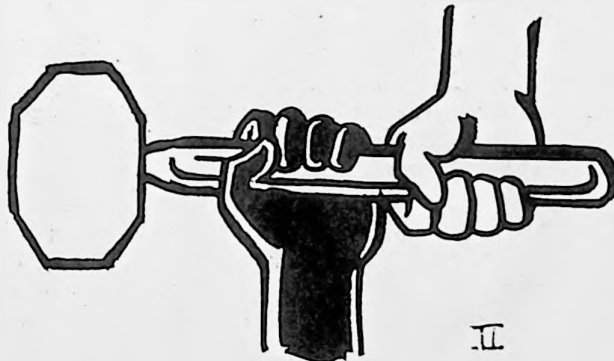
The emphasis in the course of work should be on tackling all obstacles to building, consolidating and maintaining purity of principle and not artificially creating "intellectualized" standards and obstacles, which would actually mean giving up in some ways, seeing only certain parts of the picture and not understanding the overall picture and direction we are heading in.

Finally, we felt that the discussion and the conference has helped us and built self-confidence, greater concrete understanding, ideas and enthusiasm for getting on with our 1973 Party Building responsibilities.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Each district is to submit its plan
2. Each district should draft a recruiting leaflet and submit it to the Central Committee office for approval (as a form of checkup)
3. Each district and club assign a person to head recruiting drive
4. Checkup on all levels be instituted
5. The National Center takes on special responsibility to send comrades to the South to help in this drive.

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# REPORT FROM WORKSHOP ON PARTY BUILDING

by Peggy Goldman

The panel discussion about Party building was quite full, a very rich experience that is difficult to relate here. I was hoping that some of the experiences in the areas of Party building and in the fight against racism that the comrades had could be sent in to Party Affairs to be published.

Comrade Krchmarek opened up the workshop and gave some very interesting and deep analyses of what their experience had been in Ohio, in the whole area of rebuilding the Party among workers, the electoral campaign, and relating it to what's happening in the unions.

The lack of effect of red-baiting today was cited. The workers are so much in struggle at this point that red-baiting is not going to deter them when their mind is made up and they're actively involved to change things.

Red-baiting was used quite a bit in the Miners' elections. This was Tony Boyle's only real weapon in trying to fight Miller. George Morris and Gus Hall were accused of taking over the union. There were ads to that effect. You know what happened as a result of the union's elections. This red-baiting wasn't effective. Comrade Krchmarek talked about how they have recruited and re-recruited new people in Youngstown and Warren. They built a club in Columbus, Ohio, out of a group of young people who worked on the election campaign. In Toledo they had no Party club but there was a Committee there that worked on the campaign. Also, there—future recruits for the Party. One person has already been recruited there. The Ohio comrades are talking about



the need to develop new methods of work now, that they can't go back to the old ways of working. There's a whole new perspective, a plan of work, for building the Party and really reaching out for the potentials that exist right now. So, a conscious effort is being made by the Party right now to play a very open and public role. One thing that was cited is that Gus Hall is going to be on the radio, 15 minutes once a week and that we should begin to use the mass media in this way—it's going to cost money. But where we could get on free we should, and investigate the possibilities for a regular mass media outlet.

There were examples of comrades who work in the steel mills who are open Communists and how they have been able to recruit, bring new people into the Party. There were a lot of these kinds of examples.

Some of the comrades felt that certain literature and pamphlets are really important. One comrade said that there were several books that were especially useful when talking to workers, books that really brought workers closer to the Party's views and closer to the Party.

The comrades who had the most hesitations about recruiting people were the comrades that were not in mass work and were not involved with other people and ideas and in struggle.

It was the people who were involved in mass work and struggle who were anxious to recruit and build the Party. There were certain differences on this question of how people who are not involved in mass work have certain attitudes in building the Party.

The Illinois district said that 125 people had written in through the election campaign asking for information, wanting to join the Party. They have a project now of breaking the list into geographical areas where different clubs are and making assignments to the clubs to visit these people and to develop a working relationship with them. During the election campaign, also, the Illinois League recruited 50 to 55 new people which we thought was really exciting. One of the ways that it was done was they had League classes and brought some of these comrades in.

Other comrades described how it is necessary to establish relationships with people that we might have just a passing acquaintance with by visiting these people and bringing them the paper. We have to begin to establish relationships with them outside the plant gates, where some comrades described how they collect petitions, they would get names of workers there and

make up a list. One particular comrade told how he had the names of people from the steel plant. He went to visit them. In particular, one steel worker, after buying a yearly \$15 sub, wanted to volunteer to go out and help distribute the paper. We have to develop this one-to-one relationship, where there are people assigned to go visit contacts or somebody who might be interested in the Party, and not just leave them on a sheet of paper that is sent from New York or wherever it comes from.

We got into an important discussion on the need to fight the influence of racist ideology on the Party as well as in the mass movement and how we approach that. Some comrades discussed how comrades felt there weren't enough Black people coming into the mass movement they were active in. So the question was taken up in a very deep way and pointed out that is is the particular mass movement that is majority white that has to take on the struggle against racism and, by virtue of a concrete struggle around that question, Black people will gravitate into that movement and toward the Party. There was a very specific example.

There was one comrade who talked about organizing a union where he worked. They couldn't get the Black women workers there to join the union because there were certain attitudes that the union wasn't going to do anything for Black people anyway. So then the comrades looked into the by-laws of some other unions and found one particular union which had struggled on this question already, and one of the by-laws of the union was that there be proportional representation. If there is a certain percentage of people in that industry who are Black women, for example, this group would be represented on all leadership bodies on a proportional representation basis. By fighting to bring that kind of by-law into the struggle to have a union in that place, they were able to bring Black women into that struggle for a union. Only by fighting racism openly wherever we are working are we going to bring people closer to mass movements we're in, like the peace movement and other struggles, as well as into the Party.

Comrades had the pleasure and the honor of having Danny in the workshop and we had a chance to discuss the major responsibility of leadership in building the Party and in setting the tone and attitude of drive particularly in the area of the struggle against racism and the need for higher standards in our Party. We cannot accept the fact that there are all-white Party clubs that exist either in integrated communities or Black communities or where there are a majority of Black workers in the shop. And that we have to examine this really concretely, how we can change the situation, in the comrades' mass work from that club, whatever it is.

We discussed candidates status, but since Danny already mentioned that I'll go on. There were several questions people had or points that they thought should be made. One idea was making lists of people known to club members as a club project as a part of a district plan of work. Other ideas were that, where possible, we

have open Communists in the shop; that we make attempts to visit readers of the paper who are not in the Party; that as part of a plan of work we split up the non-Party readers among the clubs and go out and visit them, discuss the Party with them and discuss the question of a readers group or candidate status in the Party.

There is a definite need for check-ups on the drive. It was suggested that where it is possible we set up committees made up of leading comrades who are responsible for the building drive campaign. The point was made that building rank and file forms cannot be separated from Party building. You have to build both. You can't separate them. The point was made that to do this we have also to develop trade union consciousness because there are many young trade unionists who may be radicals and socialists to a degree and still don't understand the need for fighting among trade unions for economic demands and defending the rights of and need for trade unions.

There was emphasis placed on the importance of club life and the need to have a purpose and a central focus for clubs. We discussed the idea of one comrade in a club being assigned to build a new club in an area where we may have contacts in order to expand and reach out to the people that we have contacts with. There is also a need for comrades, especially some older comrades, to become more open. It was pointed out that we expect an awful lot of younger comrades in terms of their openness and activity but not enough of older comrades. It was also pointed out that when we recruit new people we expect much higher levels of development, commitment, and ideological knowledge than we do of some of the comrades who are in the Party now. And it was pointed out that in a way both are wrong. We have to find out how to raise the level of comrades in the Party without being quite so stringent of the new people coming in because now it is sometimes a contradiction that we don't expect as much of those who are experienced in class struggle, in mass activity, as those who are new. We thought that this deserved discussion.

There was also the point raised that we should examine how comrades, particularly the leading comrades can allow time for Party recruiting, because of the time schedules and so many meetings. Perhaps people could meet as though for a meeting and that time be reserved for going out for Party recruiting. You get together for the meeting then everybody disperse to recruit people. The point here is that we should examine how we can organize Party building into our time in proportion to its importance. The question of the need for Party Community Centers, League Community Centers, was raised and how this is important for being a vehicle for bringing people around and discussing things.

The question was raised how do we hold on to recruits. Many comrades had questions about this and felt it deserved deeper discussions. It was pointed out that in the recruiting campaign that classes would be very necessary, recruiting classes, new members

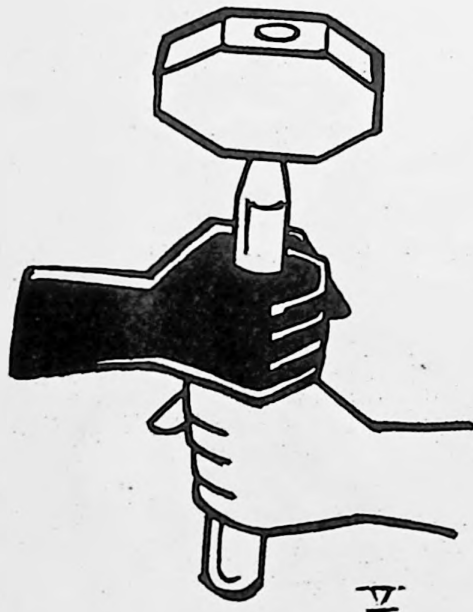
classes and so on. Clubs have mailing lists which they could use as contacts to send out stuff as well as to go visiting these people.

We should combat elitist attitudes we have about people outside the Party, about them not being good enough to be in the Party, but we are.

On industrial concentration: it was felt that we should discuss more concretely how do we achieve this in the Party besides in helping put out shop papers, possibly, on a broader scale, conferences on exploitation, speed-up, health and safety and so on. How we should discuss this much more concretely in a plan of work, total plan of work for Party building in all these areas, particularly in industrial concentration

Then one final aspect was that there should be a rule or put right into the constitution one of these days that every comrade of the Party should, must have, at least two people who know that he is a Communist in the mass organization in which he works. (Laughter.) No, I mean, that's a minimum. Perhaps you're laughing but - (Gus' voice: besides husband and wife. More laughter) - this was placed, as you know, because there are problems. Comrades should be required to take a fair share of the quota for selling the Daily World, books that come out. But I think that in terms of Party building we need to raise and fight for the standard that a lot more people know you're a communist and for that reason the minimum was brought up in the discussion.

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# REPORT FROM THE *DAILY WORLD* AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITY WORKSHOP (MIDWEST CONFERENCE)

By Charles Hunter, Illinois

Our workshop dealt with the Daily World circulation in our community work. We had a rich discussion. People expressed their ideas and experiences in circulating the paper in the communities and in their mass organizations.

First of all, I'll bring out the ideas and experiences of our comrades as reported. It was indicated that these experiences are mostly experiences of individual comrades and not of any organized activities like clubs or other collective bodies. One comrade told of circulating the paper and selling it in one mass organization. He thinks the best way to sell the paper in the street or mass organizations is that you ask people questions and you pick a topic in the paper that deals with the question. People just can't give you a "yes" or "no" answer. They have to stop and open up a discussion. When this happens then nine times out of ten, you get a sale. And if you don't get it, it is usually because people don't have the money, don't have change or something like that. This was considered the most effective way of selling the paper out in the street, or at rallies or organizations.

As I found out this was individual initiative and not initiative taken by the clubs.

Other individual comrades had the experience of going into communities on a door to door basis and distributing the paper and then going back and getting subs. This was very fruitful. Other comrades had taken the paper into the shops. (Maybe this comrade should have been in the discussion on shops.) She had a real good experience there where they also had a worker inside the shop who worked in conjunction with her.

The same thing goes on in Chicago. There were two cases where a distribution took place in shops where you had comrades inside. I think it was in Detroit where we had people on the inside and they opened up discussion with the workers on the content of the paper.

On the content itself, some comrades found that in the community it would be much more helpful if the paper dealt more specifi-

cally with the question of socialism. That is, it is not dealt with concretely enough, both in the case of how it works in the socialist states and how socialism would affect the workers in our country and in a particular shop. We found that most people asked questions how socialism would affect that particular area, how it affects the schools. The concrete results for workers of socialism was considered necessary for our paper to discuss.

Another thing is that they felt that headlines played a very important role in selling the paper on the street and in the plant. Most of the time, the headlines in the paper did not necessarily have the kind of appeal to the working class that it should have. They mentioned especially one that was put out a couple of weeks ago on peace about the scientists, the Nobel Peace Prize winner coming out for peace, they felt that this wasn't the proper headline to sell and circulate the paper at shops and in the working class communities.

Getting back to participation in clubs, they felt that there has to be a real ideological struggle from the district level down to the clubs, getting the clubs to participate in the circulation of the paper, and not only circulation but also contributing to the paper in the form of news and articles. There is real hesitation on the part of clubs, lack of consciousness on the part of clubs to make an effort to circulate the paper in the communities.

Also, one correspondent for the Daily World said that since writing for the paper, she didn't get any input from the club about examples of what was going on in the community. So, to even facilitate articles coming from the different areas there should be reports from clubs on activities and issues so we can get the kind of functional information that we requested yesterday to help improve the content of the paper or to make the paper deal more with local issues, representative of all districts.

In terms of circulating the paper, a lot of comrades, whether they are individuals or from clubs, do some real hesitating on going out with the paper and selling it; distributing it would mean identifying with the Party. It was discussed that this was an ideological question that had to be fought and that to really achieve the goal that was set forth in the Central Committee meeting and what was brought out yesterday to this meeting to increase and bring forth the image of the Party or to facilitate the independent role of the Party, the clubs will really have to get out and do the work. It just shouldn't be the individual initiative of certain comrades.

In terms of press organizations one district reported that certain attempts were made to set up press bodies, like Daily World forms and other bodies but they weren't successful and in a short period of time they disbanded. There wasn't any discussion from other districts on whether or not these kinds of bodies were functioning, or successful.

One main thing, as others reported from their workshops, that was running through the discussion was that to achieve the kind of breakthrough that we're attempting to in terms of building the Party and the press, we need consistency. A lot of reports were made where certain initiatives were taken over a period of time and then fell through. If these initiatives had been on a consistent basis then we would have already achieved some of the goals that we are projecting now.

So, we ought to really also fight for when we initiate a drive or when we initiate some of the projects around the paper, that it be carried through to its fullest. And one way to insure this is that we have a real consciousness of carrying through these decisions on the press by all the districts.

In terms of just in the general discussion, comrades that haven't had any experience in circulating the paper were inspired from other discussions of experiences that other comrades have had. They were inspired and said they would go back to their particular districts and get involved in circulating the paper.

Also, it was pointed out the need for club participation, that on the basis of individual initiative that like the example in Illinois when something happened to a couple of comrades that had a community route in a housing project and the activity had to be discontinued because of illness or other reasons, that since this was from individual initiative, after these comrades left, the route completely went to ruin because no club was responsible for it.

Also the comrades felt that in terms of the content of the paper that the paper should have a series of articles dealing specifically with Nixon's new economic policies, how they would affect the communities, and how people should organize the fight against this type policies. And that in conjunction with this there be large community mobilizations to get these papers to people in the community. And that this should be one of the issues that would be put out in the course of the weekend mobilizations.

One other thing that was discussed was that since it is impossible for the Daily World to deal with all the issues that relate to particular issues in particular districts, that leaflets should be used as supplement to the Daily World itself, that in this way, this would enhance the possibility of people's responding with some of the things that we are dealing with. When we're having street corner sales in the communities we should have petitions, introductory subs to get people's names and addresses, so we can have a mailing list and a future reference list. We pose that when we go out on street mobilizations or anything representing the community or large organizations or rallies that we use introductory subs to get names of people and these be the dollar subs. It could be in the form of the special introductory forms we have or we could mimeograph a sheet, and ask people to sign up for introductory subs to the Daily World.

In terms of proposals, there was a proposal that in content the Daily World establish a Woman's page to deal with the women's movement and the ideological questions around it, that would be broad and not just relating to inner Party life.

The second proposal is on the terms of the content of the paper that the editorial board really consider dealing more with socialism, how it affects workers in this country, in that particular area and also in the socialist countries.

The third proposal is really that starting the second week in February and each second Sunday thereafter, we designate a RED SUNDAY day. And this is throughout the whole course of the year. That is the second Sunday in February. Those are the three proposals.

Any individual that takes a bundle of 15 or more will receive the Soul Shot poster. You have to take 15 or more on a consistent basis to do whatever you want with them, but you have to deposit \$5 on your bundle to receive these Soul Shots. So districts or individuals that want them can see Ken Newcomb. That's the essence of what was discussed in the workshop.

The main thing is that to achieve the kind of breakthroughs that we want on the paper, we have to get the clubs involved. Individuals can go out and get out a set of papers but it takes the club to really achieve the kind of political fruitfulness that we want. So each district should really have an ideological struggle within the clubs. A press director needs to be assigned to be responsible for getting the paper out in the area, involving the club as an organization.

Question from floor: On individuals taking the initiative to read the Daily World and then going out. I would like to see the club take the responsibility of taking at least a half an hour for each member to read the paper and raise a little discussion before going out.

Hunter: It was mentioned for discussion that at each club meeting the agenda should include a spot for the press. And you could use that however you wish to whether in discussion form or activities around the press.

Question (same person): What I'm trying to indicate is that the weekend paper has a lot of information in it and let's say on Saturday a club decides to go out, I think that club should read it together. Each individual read it and then have a little discussion before going out. I feel that way, when you go out, you'd be more apt to sell the paper because you'd be selling the content of the paper.

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# REPORT FROM LITERATURE WORKSHOP (MIDWEST CONFERENCE)

By Betty Smith, Minnesota

We had a very rich workshop discussion. The comrades who participated in it showed a high level of commitment to the whole question of our literature and its use. We discussed what we have to do and how we have to win our whole party to a collective and organizational approach to the use of literature, to reach out to people by the tens of thousands. We think this needs to begin with the whole national set-up, with the districts, the sections and the clubs. That there has got to be a collective, all-Party approach to the use of our literature rather than, in many districts, being handled on an individual basis with some comrades using it but in some instance the Party organization does not make literature sufficiently a part of all of its work and all of its discussion.

We think we ought to do something to improve the communication from the districts and with their experience with the National Literature Commission and the comrades who do the writing. We feel there is a low level in the Party of appreciation for literature for the whole ideological struggle and what our literature can contribute.

We say without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary action. We think of literature as being issue pamphlets but we have to think of it also in terms of Marxist-Leninist classics; what are we doing to regularize reading and discussion and develop comrades ideologically beyond the limits of the first pamphlet they read. We need to really win the Party to this approach. And that includes of course the whole question of plans and check-up on how it is used.

We really have to fight in most districts to even get literature on the club agenda. This is often true. Many clubs don't have literature at their meetings regularly.

That isn't the only problem. It is important to do that. But what we really have to do is fight to have the use of literature a part of every single political point on that agenda. How does it fit in, how does it contribute; what are we going to use; what do we need and how are we going to do it.

We discussed the proposals on Political Affairs. We generally agreed with them. We thought that it is kind of a first test, whether we could begin to come through on those proposals for Political Affairs. We thought there was insufficient attention in that document to the rather limited audience of Political Affairs as it now is, particularly in relation to workers. We questioned whether it is a magazine that workers are going to read in its present content.

We raised the question as to why we can't have many more reprints from Political Affairs, particularly on those articles that deal with the Trade Union movement. For instance, there was Jim West's article on the Steel Convention. You can't sell the PA to many workers because it's got that article in it but if you had it in a reprint, it would be possible to put it out relatively cheaply, and the Districts could pay for it. And we could have gotten it out at that Convention. There have been other articles and developments in rank-and-file movements, which could have been used in similar ways.

Another question is to get some of the material out to workers so that a certain feeling can be built up for Political Affairs and a certain attention to it that will also build its circulation. Some comrades have had that experience on the basis of reprints, that you begin to sell the magazine more regularly. We think it should be used more at educational at club meetings, with outlines. We think that would help. And we noted there was no mention of getting PA to teachers and people who can use it and who respond. Libraries - it's all right, you can put it in libraries, but that is kind of limited. Nobody is going to know it's there, in fact. It's one of the problems. But there are teachers, junior college teachers, college teachers, and students and teaching assistants who will buy Political Affairs, who will use it and will tell other people it's there if we pay attention to organize some of that initiative.

We found we couldn't really discuss literature and its circulation without talking about the content, and you will notice many things that I say are the same as the comrade who just reported on the Daily World. And there seems to be a lot of general agreement on many of the things we need. Because how you use literature is very much in line with where it's going and what's in it, and what are we trying to say.

We need a popular piece on wages and whether increase in wages causes inflation. We need writings that deal with the question of whether workers in our country benefit from U.S. imperialism. You know, what's good for General Motors and the I.T.T. is really good for the country and this whole argument that comes from the new left and from other places. We need to deal with that very concretely. But on the question of self-interest of white workers and the struggle against racism, we still have to struggle with a more concrete treatment of the question of self-interest. And sometimes our arguments start from a higher level of class consciousness or assume a higher level of class consciousness

among white workers than is really there and we have to start even before that to develop the argument about class consciousness and self-interest. Sometimes we've taken too much for granted even in the arguments we've raised. We need to struggle to be much more concrete with this question.

There was a feeling that workers will want socialism to the degree that they know it is working in socialist countries and we need these comparative things about how it works. What does it mean in education, in health and recreation and housing and freedom and so on?

We talked about whether it's possible to popularize the Communist Manifesto. Some of the terminology is a hang-up for workers. They don't know what some of the words mean. Is there some way to develop a popular way to use it, because the content is terrific. We need to treat questions of drugs and homosexuality in some way that we haven't been doing.

There is a further question that comes up among workers in shops that was discussed in the workshop, that is, that many workers wonder about religion. What is our attitude? What is this whole question about the Communist Party and religion? It is used a lot against us. Maybe we can do something that would show, first of all that we don't have disagreements with the so-called positive things from religion and brotherhood and so on. Many religious figures have fought for peace and for socialism. There are also many negative examples. And in that way we could put out our whole position that would tend to clear away some of the cobwebs.

We have to deal with questions as to how is socialism a realistic goal in the United States. A worker would say well, all right, there are sixteen or twenty thousand communists and two hundred million people in our country. Here there is the strongest capitalist class or it appears that way. What are you talking about? And you're talking about socialism! And it's related to this whole question of anti-monopoly struggle that has already been discussed, to make a connection.

A most important pamphlet to have should be on "what is the Communist Party? Why should a person be in the Communist Party?" Much of our material should deal with why one should join the Communist Party.

We talked a little bit about attention to Spanish literature and literature in Spanish; we didn't really have proposals but we did have some discussion and we think that much more needs to be done on this question. The pamphlet Black Workers in the Class Struggle had an introduction about 4 pages long about classes, about exploitation, a certain basic approach. We agreed that is very important, we should have more of that in our pamphlets, that give a little more than the issue itself, either as an introduction or as an appendix. A certain basic discussion of classes and the class struggle and the history of this and exploitation, what it all means, is decisive.

We also felt that some of these issues can be dealt with by the Daily World. There is that reprint on the prisons. That's a sixteen page pamphlet that sells for 15¢ and it is cheaper because it was already set in type. It was already done once and was re-run. We think the Daily World should have three articles, a series of four articles, five articles on many of these ideological questions and then reprint them. Maybe we can get 8 pages for a dime this way. But reprint them so that we could really use them. They don't all have to be pamphlets. Some of them could be done to help build circulation of the paper and advertise it at the same time and thus they fill a very immediate need.

We also talked about the question of more initiatives on local leaflets. There are problems of lack of equipment. But we should try to use our resources and our source material to do more leaflets on local questions.

We discussed some other questions, those of mass promotion and use and how we get some of the information from a book on a leaflet or card. On the other side is an order blank for the local bookstore. The publisher's name should be on it. We could use these. They are small enough to put into almost any kind of issue mailing; for instance Gus Hall's work on Ecology, Claude Lightfoot's book on Racism and Human Survival, Gus Hall's book on Imperialism. People would have them with them. We can't always carry books with us, no matter how conscious we are of books, we just don't. There are enough of them. But you can have these cards. You can take orders from people you know, you are working with, and bring the books back to them. Some of them would come to the bookstore as a result.

It's important to do more selling door to door. When we go with the Daily World we should try to take certain literature and see what our experiences are and get a certain body of experience and feed back that we can all use.

(cont. bottom p. 25)

# REPORT FROM LITERATURE WORKSHOP (EASTERN SEABOARD CONFERENCE)

By Joelle Fishman, Connecticut

The workshop was very positive. It dealt with new initiatives, what we can do and how we can do it.

We discussed how to get literature out that will help move people into action. We discussed the need for integrating literature into our mass work, and using literature for education and recruitment.

Focus on simply written mass pamphlets that speak to specific issues of the day. These are in addition to pamphlets we use in our own circles. With the greatly weakened position of U.S. imperialism internationally, there is a stepped-up racist and reactionary drive here at home. We need cheap, mass-produced popular literature that will counter the racist attacks of the Nixon Administration, and that will mobilize public support of labor. We need pamphlets in Spanish. Many, many specific suggestions were made in this regard, including taxation, Nixon's Budget cuts, fight against the economic stabilization act, and what socialism would mean for workers in this country, to name a few. These are pamphlets that are needed in our mass work, that are needed for our Party to develop a broad influence among workers, Black people, Spanish-speaking people, women.

We should ask, "How will this aid our shop comrades in building the Party?" when these pamphlets are prepared. The welfare pamphlet and Daily World pamphlet on prisons as well as Black Workers in Class Struggle and Women on the Job were successful in this way.

In our Party, there has been a separation of literature from mass work. Our issue pamphlets will serve no purpose if we do not use them to reach masses of people, and bring them closer to us. Every comrade should make a habit of carrying pamphlets and Political Affairs all the time. This will improve the comrade's work and will help in recruiting. A major roadblock to this in the past has been a hesitancy of many comrades to be associated openly with Party literature. Our new drive must include a new attitude toward literature.

The experiences of Comrade Hosea Hudson which we all heard yesterday about how he has recruited from a study group of Black construction workers - a study group set up around his book - are an indication of how literature can be used. In the workshop he also told how this group of young Black workers studies various articles in Political Affairs. We need guides to how different books, pamphlets and articles should be used in the districts. We should be using our literature to develop study groups and rank and file groups in the shops and communities.

In addition to building forms outside the Party and recruiting we should use our literature for internal education. This is especially true for Political Affairs, which is our Party theoretical organ, which is not now adequately read or discussed. We should have literature displays at all our meetings and functions to encourage comrades to read and take several copies to sell to friends. In this way we can begin to follow-up on the election campaign literature.

We should integrate pamphlet sales with Daily World and Political Affairs and books distribution. Flyers on immediate issues like those in the election campaign also came up as an idea.

In order to insure proper distribution of our pamphlets, it is necessary for districts to establish a literature apparatus separate from the Bookstores. There should be a literature director in each club and in large enough districts there should be a literature commission to help with direction and checkup. The districts must also develop a responsible attitude toward orders and payments for literature received.

In our discussion of Political Affairs it was emphasized that the best way to build the magazine is through subscriptions, but that clubs should get bundles for distribution. We have to help build Political Affairs also through mailings, and general bookstores. Communications to raise criticism and give experiences are needed. There is a major need for Political Affairs to be taken on as something to be pushed and fought for.

Our bookstores have been important in creating centers for our books. Examples were given of how bookstores can be action oriented and not just passive. Literature tables and forums are means for this. Bookstores have found tables at community colleges and universities very successful. Ideas were briefly presented concerning how bookstores and publishers can work cooperatively on promotion.

Other proposals were:

1. More attention must be given to the problems of the League in the production of their own literature and pamphlets.
2. (FLYERS) The Party should investigate the possibilities of printing 4-page leaflets, similar to those used in the election

campaign, for special distribution on short notice. For example, stating our position on the significance of the peace agreement.

3. (POPULAR PAMPHLETS) Emphasis should be put on the pushing of low-cost, popular pamphlets.

4. (PART OF CAMPAIGN) Our literature must become a part of every Party campaign.

5. (LITERATURE PACKETS) Party literature packets should be put together for contacts and friends in organizations of intermediary forms and contacts should immediately be informed of new publications.

6. (CARRY LITERATURE ALWAYS) Each member should always carry pamphlets and Political Affairs for distribution and sale.

7. The Districts should establish a plan of work for mass use and distribution of literature.

8. (LITERATURE APPARATUS) A literature apparatus should be set up to guarantee distribution.

9. (5 COPIES PER MEMBER) The Districts should guarantee that 5 copies of issue pamphlets per member as an average minimum.

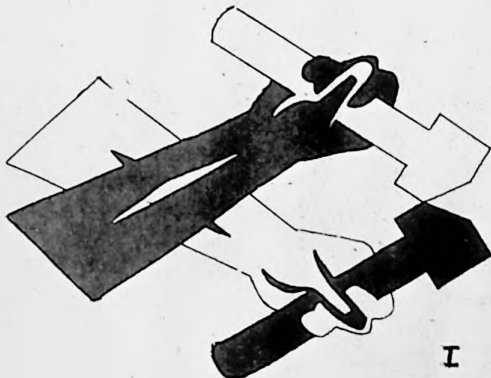
10. (BOOKSTORE CONFAB) A conference of bookstore personnel and persons in the Districts responsible for literature should be held in the near future.

11. More responsibility should be established toward the circulation drive and fund drive of Political Affairs in order to fulfill the quota of doubling the PA circulation.

12. (GUS HALL AND CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT BOOKS) The special campaign to circulate Gus Hall's books and Claude Lightfoot's book should be carried out to the greatest extent.

13. We should give more attention to visual means of communication in addition to written pamphlets.

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# PROPOSALS FROM WORKSHOP ON Y.W.L.L. BUILDING (EAST COAST CONFERENCE)

1. That the Party-Building Brigades be conceived of as joint League-Party Brigades, with a fight to guarantee that comrades from older age categories of the Party be assigned to participate in these Brigades. That there be a division of labor within the Brigades, with at least one member of each 3-member Brigade being a YWLL person whose main assignment would be to work on League recruiting. If the Brigade is larger than 3 people, more be assigned to League recruiting. At the same time all members of the Brigade should be equipped with League literature and recruiting materials and should be conscious of the need to direct youth to the League. Special approaches to be worked out with how these Brigades will function in University situations. (And in other "youth" communities.)
2. That all plans-of-work for the upcoming campaign (National, District, Section and Club plans) include specific goals and plans for helping to build the League at the parallel level (i.e., Party club plans should talk about help to an existing League branch in the same community, or to helping to create one if none currently exists.) These plans should include the following four areas:
  - a) Help to the mass campaigns of the YWLL (Nguyen Van Troi Hospital, World Youth Festival, youth unemployment, National Youth Act, etc.).
  - b) Supplying contacts to the League of youth with whom older Party members are in contact through mass work, family, etc., and helping to bring such youth contacts to the League. Where no League branch exists in the parallel level, the Party club should plan to help create one.
  - c) Financial aid to the League, not to be underwriting the League's projects, but helping to create an independent financial base for the League.
  - d) Support for the circulation of the "Young Worker." All Party organizations should discuss and work out specific sub and bundle goals. Without this, proposals A, B, and C will not be possible.
3. That the Party undertake (through the National Education Department and in consultation with the YWLL) a program



of club education on youth work and League-Party relations using the recently issued "Memorandum on Youth Policy" as a guide, but also dealing with some key theoretical and strategic concepts, such as all-youth unity.

4. That in the upcoming Party-building drive, all recruiting plans include proposed minimum goals for recruiting in older age categories, especially in the so-called "missing generation." All plans must include not only these age goals, but concrete plans on how to achieve them.
5. That Building Kits being prepared for all Party members include material on the League.

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(Party Affairs has not received all Workshop reports. We are publishing those received, eliminating some portions that were repetitious.)

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(cont. from p. 20)

I think I covered most of the main points that we discussed. There is one other thing that hasn't come up and as long as I'm here I'd like to emphasize it - this is in relation to the Daily World Fund Drive. Of course we'll take money in all the sizes that we can get, we have no choice. But Lenin made a big point with respect to the Party press, that it is not so much the funding that is very important, but the number of contributions. And actually they did charts of how many workers contributed in a certain year. And the number goes up as the Bolsheviks had a certain leadership of struggles and movement. And I think we really need to pay attention to that. Not only how much money you are raising, how many people are you getting it from; how many people are being seen and whether that number is going up. This can be a measure of the progress we are making.

\* \* \*

In preparing the Party Building Conferences, which encompassed building the Y.W.L.L., press building, expansion of our literature distribution and better utilization and promotion of Political Affairs as our Party's theoretical organ, several committees presented guidelines for both the conference and workshop discussions.

We are publishing these guidelines so that all our members may be familiar with them. We consider they may be of help in developing club plans of work, as well as provide a degree of guidance for the activity of individual comrades.

## LITERATURE PROPOSALS FOR THE BUILDING DRIVE

Presented by the National Literature Commission to the Regional Building Conferences

In his summary of the discussion on the reports at the last Central Committee meeting, Comrade Gus Hall declared:

"Now we face a problem: how are we going to continue speaking to millions as we did during the election campaign? I think it is here that the press and literature come in. These have to carry much of the burden, although we should continue to utilize the mass media."

And Comrade Hall re-emphasized this point a few sentences later, saying: "...mass circulation of the press and literature will mainly have to take its place."

It is obvious that as a result of the election campaign millions of people have become aware of our Party and that hundreds of thousands of these people want to learn more about the Party. These people will provide the material for the successful development of the Party Building Year. And the manifold increase in the circulation of the press and literature will be a most potent force for the achievement of the year's goals.

When we reach those hundreds of thousands of prospects for our Party with our press, they will feel the Party's presence daily, weekly and monthly. It will be as though our Party members are present at all times in the homes of the prospects, discussing with them the basic burning issues of the day and the Party's position and program in relation to these issues.

But many of the prospects will want to know more about specific issues and programs than can be provided in the space afforded by our press. That can be only supplied by our literature—by our books and pamphlets. These can be vast amplifications of our voices, of our persuasiveness in bringing these prospects into the Party. (cont. bottom p. 36)

## **DAILY WORLD AND SHOP WORKERS**

The purpose of the workshop should be to solicit District and Club plans for increasing circulation among shop workers as well as ideas and experiences for achieving the goals set.

1. The selection of the shop for circulation must be based on the local industrial concentration plan.
2. The purpose of distributing the paper is to help in building militancy, class consciousness, to present the face and views of the Party and to aid in organizing movement and the Party in the shop.
3. Shop news in the paper or in an insert is essential for building good circulation.
4. Techniques for shop circulation building:
  - a) Long term consistency is essential for making a political or organizational breakthrough. Our approach must be to use the press at a shop so as to get the maximum readers and the maximum names of the readers.
  - b) Sales at plants where workers walk in have the advantage of greater opportunity to get introductory subs. It also solves the problem of financing the circulation. The most successful method, perhaps after a free distribution introducing the paper to the workers, is to be able to walk along with the worker a few steps and tell him or her about a particular article or about "the paper that fights against Nixon's war and wage freeze." Thrust the paper into the worker's hand like you know he or she is going to buy it.
  - c) Free distribution has the advantage of getting a mass circulation in the plant, usually with fewer people required to accomplish it. The problem of financing the distribution can be solved in part by inserting a leaflet that asks for contributions to be mailed or to put into a handy container at the point of distribution.
  - d) Major emphasis at all shop gate sales or distributions must be put on converting the reader to a subscriber. It gives us a name and address with which to work. Techniques for getting

names should include inserts in every issue that offer introductory subs, invite workers to meetings, socials, rallies, etc. Coordination with our friends and comrades inside as to who likes the paper and who can be involved in some way is crucial. Shop comrades should be encouraged to take papers into the shop themselves so they are able to enter into discussions on the paper with their co-workers. Another successful way of getting names is combining the collection of signatures on petitions with the selling of papers.

e) Plans for plant gate sales should be for a minimum of six months, goals should be set for the number of new contacts to be made, methods for involving readers into intermediary forms.

f) A good way to establish contact with workers is at the restaurants and bars around the factories before and after shifts, as well as at lunch time for certain plants.

5. The role of the club is essential to all press work. First of all a club, including shop clubs, must have a press director that is responsible for the club's press work plan, mobilizing for RED SUNDAYS, check-up, fund raising, etc. The plan should include:

a) A list of friends, contacts and co-workers that we are immediately going to sell subs and pamphlets to as well as a more long-range list. Comrades should be asked to set immediate goals for the number of extra papers they will circulate individually now and by the end of the campaign. The list should be checked up on and added to at each meeting of the club.

b) Participation in some kind of RED SUNDAY activity by all club members. Participation in the building of a Friends of the Daily World, Marxist discussion groups, etc.

c) Regular fund raising activities that reach out to new readers.

d) Regular visitation of expiring subscriptions.

e) Each point of a club's agenda should include how the press will be used, who will send a story or report to the paper, etc.

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## SOME AIDS FOR CLUB PLANNING

The workshop should solicit the district plans and goals as well as ideas and experiences helpful in achieving them.

1. Content and circulation are closely related so it is very important that district and local organization be involved in sending in stories and reports of their activities and struggles.

2. Building the circulation of the paper in a certain community or in a given mass organization or movement serves the purpose of introducing the ideas of the Party, building class consciousness, militancy, giving ideological leadership that is necessary for winning struggles. A primary goal of circulation building is Party and League building.

3. Community Circulation. 1973 should be the year that we get back into the RED SUNDAY habit. Things to do on RED SUNDAYS:

a) Routes can be initiated in many ways, an initial free distribution, going door-to-door with a petition and selling papers, or just starting off cold. We should view routes as ways of establishing contacts and eventually saturating communities by converting route readers into subscribers. Route readers should be constantly approached to become involved in discussion groups, socials, political activities.

b) Street corner/super market sales. Consistency and regularity are essential in seeing the same people more than once. Special emphasis must be placed on getting names and addresses either through introductory subs or with petitions. The plan of action should include going back to the same place at the same time. Other good places for this kind of ~~to imprisonment~~ offices, mass transportation sites, etc. <sup>side the prison, e.g.</sup> read left-wing publica

4. Inserts in all copies that the victims of harrasment enhance the possibility of getting a s such activity results in might be a local Party statement, in determine sentencing pe,t, political event, Marxist discussion of "good time" and subje would be advertisements for local bookstore when they have become per pamphlets, etc.

5. All RED SUNDAY circulation ac the racist nature of th to include the sale of pamphlets, Politics is a system which puts

6. In mass movements and organizations.

a) Demonstrations and picket lines should always have sales or distributions of the paper. Whether you sell or distribute should be decided on the basis of the number of people that are available and what we want to put into everybody's hands. Free distributions should always be accompanied by tables and teams that solicit introductory subs. Mass meetings of all sorts should be covered with the same ideas and approaches.

b) Work within organizations involves taking the paper to meetings, selling or giving it to certain individuals along with other literature, Building a group around us in a mass organization that reads the paper, Political Affairs, literature, etc. is the way to build the Party and get the needed new cadre the movement must have.

7. The role of the club is essential to all press work. First of all a club must have a press director that is responsible for the club's plan of work, mobilizing for RED SUNDAYS, check-up, fund raising, etc. The plan should include:

a) A list of friends, contacts and co-workers that we are immediately going to sell subs and pamphlets to as well as a more long-range list. Comrades should be asked to set immediate goals for the number of extra papers they will circulate individually now and by the end of the campaign. The list should be checked up on and added to at each meeting of the club.

b) Participation in some kind of RED SUNDAY activity by all club members. Participation in some kind of RED SUNDAY activity by all club members. Participation in the building of a Friends of the Daily World, Marxist discussion group, etc.

c) Regular fund-raising activities that reach out to new readers.

d) Regular visitation of expiring subscriptions.

e) Each point of a club's agenda should include how the press will be used, who will send a story or report to the paper, etc.

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## OFFICIAL POSITION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

At its last meeting, the Central Committee discussed and decided our Party's views with respect to the concept of "political prisoners." The Political Committee was then asked to make a final formulation based on the Central Committee decision. That formulation appears below as the official position of our Party on this subject.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

A political prisoner is one who because of his or her political activity or ideas is arrested and tried whether on direct political charges - as were the Communists under the Smith Act - or on trumped-up, framed criminal charges as are most of the civilian cases today. Further, those that because of their refusal to take part in aggressive, genocidal wars of imperialism, by resisting the draft, refusing to fight or go A.W.O.L. rather than take part in such wars and are court-martialed are also political prisoners. The term would also apply to those who actively resist racism and denial of civil liberties within the military.

Workers who are arrested and/or tried for fighting for their rights in strikes, against anti-labor injunctions, for the rights of their union and fellow workers at the point of production or who are framed by corporations who are themselves responsible for any violence that may occur are political prisoners.

The term political prisoner may be applied to prisoners who may not have been political activists prior to imprisonment, but who as a result of political activity inside the prison, e.g., work stoppages, strikes, attempting to read left-wing publications and Marxist literature, etc., become the victims of harrassment and intimidation and frameups. When such activity results in prolongation of prison time (such as indeterminate sentencing permits), denial of early parole dates, denial of "good time" and subjected to continuous solitary confinement, then they have become persecuted as political prisoners.

There are many who are victims of the racist nature of the police, court and penal systems. This is a system which puts

(cont. middle of p. 40)

## WHITE CHAUVINISM AND MALE SUPREMACY IN THE C.P.

The first annual dinner of Jewish Affairs, honoring its editor Hyman Lumer, was on the whole a notable success. It was a striking demonstration of the support of Jewish Communists and progressives for the internationalist policies of the Communist Party on the Jewish question, as well as of Black-Jewish unity in the struggle against racism and racial and national oppression in all their forms.

These highly positive features of the dinner were marred, however, by a failure to give proper recognition to the wife of the guest of honor, Dorothy Lumer, who is a Black woman. She was not formally introduced, nor was she presented with flowers, as was her husband. True, among the speakers tribute was paid to her by Alex Kolkin and William L. Patterson. However, this was no substitute for the tribute which should have been paid to her not only as the wife of the guest of honor but also as a comrade deserving of recognition in her own right. And this serious omission was compounded by the failure of the guest of honor himself to make any reference to his wife.

This cannot be treated as an oversight nor can it be explained away by circumstances. Failure to introduce properly the wife of a guest of honor is in any case an expression of male supremacy. Even more important, it is in the present case an expression of white chauvinism. Its effect was to negate the spirit of Black-white unity which permeated the affair, manifested in the attendance, in the composition of the speakers list and in the content of the speeches. It could only serve to raise questions in the minds of Black comrades and friends, as well as of the women present, as to our sincerity in these matters.



That such insensitivity could be displayed by comrades of many years of experience in the ranks and leadership of the Party shows how deeply rooted are these enemy ideologies among us. It shows that we can never afford to become complacent but must multiply our efforts to root out their influences within ourselves. Only to the extent that we do so can we truly give the leadership in the struggle against all forms of racism, chauvinism and supremacism which is demanded of our Party.

Above all, it is absolutely essential for us to develop that special insensitivity to the feelings of oppressed peoples of which Lenin spoke. He said:

...we, nationals of a big nation, have nearly always been guilty, in historic practice, of an infinite number of cases of violence; furthermore, we commit violence and insult an infinite number of times without noticing it...

That is why internationalism on the part of oppressors or of "great" nations, as they are called (though they are great only in their violence, only great as bullies), must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an equality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question, he is still essentially petty bourgeois in his point of view and is, therefore, sure to descend to the bourgeois point of view...

...nothing holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice; "offended" nationals are not sensitive to anything so much as to the feeling of equality and the violation of this equality, even if only through negligence or jest--to the violation of that equality by their proletarian comrades. That is why in this case it is better to overdo rather than underdo the concessions and leniency towards the national minorities. (Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 607-609.)

It appears that toward the attainment of this understanding we still have some way to go.

To Comrade Dorothy Lumer we offer our sincere apologies, and to her and the Party as a whole we pledge to strive

(cont. bottom p. 40)

## NO! ON 22

by Lorenzo Torrez  
Chairman, Chicano Liberation  
Commission

The farm workers struggle to defeat legislative Proposition 22 in the California election has been the subject of much discussion among progressives and friends of Chavez' Farm Workers Union. Of specific significance was the huge human billboard movement launched by the farm workers for two weeks prior to election day.

The Fair Labor Practice Committee, a front organization for the rich growers, had pledged to spend more than \$800,000 in their attempt to pass the Proposition. Judging by their extremely well-organized radio and TV, Madison Avenue-type campaign, it is generally assumed that they may have overspent their budget. This committee, posing as friends of the farm workers, launched an all-summer campaign to petition for the Proposition. They posed as protectors of the right to organize and the rights of individual farm workers. There was no end to their demagoguery. In fact, some individuals were charged by the Los Angeles District Attorney with fraudulent methods of obtaining signatures on their petitions.

The human billboard idea of the farm workers is a carry-over from the 1970 Boston grape boycott. In preparation for the action in California, a study was done of the busiest freeways in the largest counties in the state. Through the buying of city and county count books, a detailed pattern of auto traffic was designed, whereupon workers were stationed at each corner with their slogan "Farm Workers Say No on 22." The result was huge people-to-people contact so immense that it is inconceivable that great numbers of people would miss their appeal to voters.

The vote count after the election indicated that in such important counties as Los Angeles, and Orange which is considered

conservative, there was a 15% crossover of voters for Nixon (conservative) who voted against Proposition 22 (progressive).

As Communists, it is of extreme importance that we assess this all-important struggle correctly. It is, no doubt, an immensely important pro-labor and anti-monopoly struggle. However, it is of extreme importance to recognize that this battle is still within the framework of the right to organize for bargaining purposes. Politically, this struggle is within the framework of the fight for bourgeois democracy and not for a fundamental change. It is not in the scope of the land reform struggles that are so common in the Latin American countries. Therefore, to say that a successful defeat of Proposition 22 is an expression of overwhelming defeat of monopoly is simply overstating the fact; at best it is only a good blow at monopoly. The growers themselves put it quite bluntly, when they say, "We've lost only a skirmish and not the war."

In a Senate debate on the floor of Congress Senator Montoya (D.-N.M.) characterized the farm workers' struggle in this manner: "The farm workers are seeking rights which other workers have enjoyed for over thirty years."

This article is not an attempt to reduce the importance of supporting the farm workers' struggle but rather an attempt to put it in its right perspective. The problem that should concern us as Communists and as members of the working class is that the simple right to organize has to be defended with such demonstrative force. The struggle that had to be waged around Proposition 22 says something about the political weakness in the state of California. The right to organize is being challenged far beyond the farm worker struggle. It is being challenged daily in the sweatshops in the urban centers. As is indicated in our Chicano program, the most important battles remain and will continue to be in the urban centers where hundreds and thousands of minority workers—Black, Chicano and other Latins—remain unorganized and at the mercy of their employers. Here then lies a basic weakness for the labor movement.

At the same time it is important to note that when we compare the use of rank-and-file power by the Farm Workers Union as against the common no-strike Clause, limited picketing approaches, pro-employer productivity clauses and class-collaboration attitudes of the rest of the general labor movement, we must admit that the Farm Workers' approach is a radical and militant approach. When we consider also some of the monopoly growers (Del

Monte, Libby's) behind the drive for passage of Proposition 22, and their tremendous riches and political influence, we begin to see that this legislative defeat is of historical significance for the times. It couldn't have happened any other way; it had to be met by the Union's full rank-and-file force. This is indeed a lesson to all organized workers.

California's attempt to pass Proposition 22, its success on passing the anti-busing proposition, the attempted proposition on immigrants—illegal or otherwise—from Mexico and the failure to organize these workers all have a strong connotation of racism attached to them. We should not relax our vigilance. In fact, we should do everything within our power to sharpen the struggle on such legislative bills and attempt to move the labor movement to organize and defend all minority workers. The Leninist approach is a working class approach to the solution of all problems. The struggle around the defeat of Proposition 22 should serve us, both as a lesson of what is needed to overcome monopoly's attempt to suppress workers' rights and also as a barometer of the political situation within the state of California.

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(cont. from p. 26)

The awareness of the Party to the significant role that the Party press can play in this Party Building Year is indicated in the serious and magnificent plans being proposed in every club, section, district and nationally.

But so far there have been no concrete plans for increasing the circulation of books and pamphlets. We realize that planning in this area is difficult, because pamphlets and books do not appear at regular intervals as does the press. But we would like to suggest a minimum program.

1. That a concentration be made on the sale and distribution of two books: Gus Hall's Imperialism Today and Claude Lightfoot's Racism and Human Survival with quotas to be set for them.

2. That for each issue pamphlet that is issued, a minimum quota for every district of five be set on the average for each member.

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# BUILDING A COMMUNITY COALITION

By Carmen Ristorucci

In light of the intensified attack of monopoly capital on the peoples of this country, there is a pressing need to discuss and learn from experiences in building united fronts on a community level.

Shortly after the renewed bombing in Vietnam and two weeks prior to the successful January 20th March on Washington, the Brooklyn Party organization met to discuss the implementation policy of the past Central Committee meeting. The Crown Heights Club joined with two other clubs in initiating a community coalition to mobilize for the January 20th March. Since most of the activity emanated from Crown Heights, this report will center on that club's experiences and participation.

Prior to the Presidential elections our club had organized an anti-Nixon street fair in a local park. Although, due to rain and poor weather, the turnout was extremely limited, it aided in opening the Party to the community and in drawing a number of forces around us. Our club felt it could begin our new effort with this base. We proceeded to assign a couple of comrades to this work and draw in non-Party forces with the idea of a community meeting as a first step. The meeting was held in a local church and drew about 25 people. Despite many weakness, particularly in representation, the meeting overall was very productive. Two decisions were agreed upon: 1) to issue a community call with community sponsors for the January 20th March and work towards chartered buses; 2) to organize a car caravan for peace within a week.

## The Call

Within 4 days a list of 20 sponsors representing three neighborhoods was drawn up. The list included two state senators, six clergymen, and representatives from tenants' organization, civic associations, reform Democrats, parents associations and a representative of the Crown Heights Communist Party Club. It is important to note that the listing had the best Black, white and Spanish composition. In the process of organizing, we made contact with

three other coalitions in the beginnings of formation which we attempted to draw into our coalition. This aided in multiplying our ability to move out further than the Crown Heights area. Also important is the fact that many of these other forces were very well aware of the Party's initiative and were openly willing to participate. About 8,000 of these leaflets were distributed.

### Car Caravan for Peace

Within a week a caravan of twelve cars was organized. The caravan went through two neighborhoods with signs demanding that Congress assert its power to end the war and cut off funds. The response of passersby was good. Again this had weaknesses in terms of turning out community forces and in the level of organization. The caravan stopped at one rally point at which a state senator and a person from Women Strike for Peace spoke. It later linked up with a demonstration of 200 people in a neighboring community.

The limited amount of time was an inhibiting factor in mobilizing forces for the buses and in really activating the coalition. As we got more and more involved we found that many surrounding neighborhoods and organizations within them had chartered their own buses. We had an effect in spurring this on and in getting many people to go to Washington who had not considered it before. We ended up with only two buses from the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The PCPJ forces were insensitive to our need for our own chartered buses, demanding full payment right away from a community grouping. Our goal was to charter more buses and pack them with community forces that were not able to pay \$10 per person (the rate charged by PCPJ.) The chartered buses were a flat rate and would have aided in bringing community forces, particularly Black and Spanish people to the March.

Despite many weaknesses, the overall estimate of this effort was that it was a tremendous step forward. Despite the short period we had to organize, there were quite a few accomplishments: 1) forces in the community had been coalesced which provides a strong basis for future community action; 2) through our effort, people were spurred into activity and aided similar coalitions throughout Brooklyn for the January 20th March; 3) the Party club worked openly and boldly in initiating such an effort; 4) the Communist Party of Crown Heights was part of the coalition with a representative of the club endorsing it and a co-chairwoman of the coalition working openly as a Party person; 5) more importantly, our club worked quickly without losing our identity, working in a way that was a credit to the whole Party.

Yet, there were many weaknesses. I bring these up within the framework of constructive criticism. First of all, working within coalitions provides the basis for uniting the areas of mass work of all the comrades in the club. Ideally, this provides an opportunity to link up and cement the work of the club. Particularly in a club like ours which has about 20 members spread out in

areas of work such as parents associations, peace work, women, Jewish, senior citizens, YWLL and tenants. Our club has been weak in making strides into the community. There was no real reason why every member of the club could not link his or her work to this coalition, bring non-Party forces into it or just participate as an individual in one or another aspect of it. Yet, although the club participated more than ever before, it did not fully utilize this opportunity. Many stayed on the periphery because they were not assigned to the coalition.

This lack of collectivity led to a few other problems, namely whether or not we should publicly sponsor the coalition. It really wasn't "whether or not" but rather who would make the decision and who would put their name to it. There was no discussion in the club and there was no forethought as to who would sponsor it, making it fully an individual decision on my part. The evening before the leaflet was to be printed I received about ten calls asking whether we were going to put the Party on the leaflet, whether it might seem opportunist to do so at the last minute, or who was the right person to sign it. Finally I telephoned a Party functionary and asked what the policy was. This person said that a person with known links to mass organizations would be the best, least likely to be disputed. On that basis the decision was made.

In the future, such a decision should be made earlier, within the framework of the club's open participation at all levels of the coalition's work. Such a decision at the last minute was an easy way out and insensitive to the person who was asked to sign as a sponsor. It does not represent the whole club moving forward in relation to the role of the Party.

Basically this lack of collectivity and participation comes from conservatism and lack of confidence in the policies of the Party. This, in my opinion, watered down our ability to fight anti-Communism experienced basically by non-Party forces. There is some acceptance of it by Party people. The anti-Communism came from the liberal, not the grass roots, forces. It came in the form of "You have good initiatives; you do the Jimmy Higgins work, but I'm not so sure you should sponsor it openly, it might alienate other people and destroy all efforts. After all, aren't you basically interested in the formation of such a coalition? Isn't that what's important, not the name of the Party on a leaflet? Think it over."

Of course, this was fought through but on an individual basis, not a collective one. When brought up in the club, many said they had not recognized this or were not aware of it. Of course, if you are not aware of it, it means you are most likely divorced from the real activity. And then there was the tendency to apologize for the Party. "Oh, don't be concerned about having the Party's name on the leaflet because there are so many other names of mass leaders on it." This is the cancel-out approach based on the false assumption that the Party and its members do not represent mass struggle. Or when a Party person suggests an activity, the non-Party person will say that we must find out what the

community wants, not dictate it. These forms of anti-Communism come from fearfulness on the part of Party and non-Party forces, fears of having to defend the Party openly or in essence, show where you stand.

Fears on the part of Party forces come from conservatism, underestimation of where the mass of people is and what they are ready to accept. Of course, anti-Communism comes hand in hand with white chauvinism, especially when the few people to fight the anti-Communism are Puerto Rican and Black. Without the collective approach of the club in fighting this these few comrades were subjected to all sorts of insensitivities.

Despite all these weaknesses, the club made a breakthrough in implementing Party policy. A permanent coalition has now been established around the budget cuts and a community conference is being planned. But along with this development is more overt anti-Communism of the same liberal forces aimed at eliminating the Party. Basically what is at hand is a challenge to our program of action and struggle. The club is now collectively approaching this problem.

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(cont. from p. 31)

thousands upon thousands of Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican men and women in prisons daily. Many of them are not guilty of any crime and many are denied bail, denied decent legal advice and sentenced to long sentences for crimes that most whites are given suspended or much shorter sentences. The term "victims of racism and repression" would apply to such prisoners. While the term "political prisoner" does not properly describe such victims, it is impossible to overlook them, as they reflect the unjust, racist, political nature of the court and penal system in the United States.

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to the utmost to eradicate the weaknesses which led to commission of this error.

Lee Carr  
Esther Carroll  
Alex Kolkin  
Hy Lumer  
Seymour Schwartz

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