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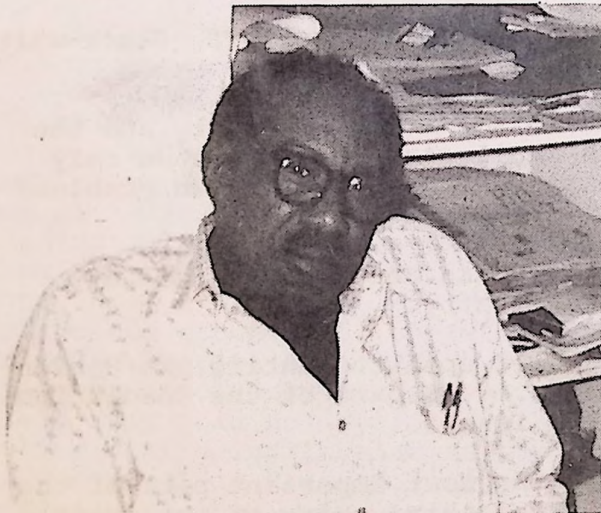
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INTRODUCTION TO RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM AND FOR BLACK LIBERATION



Report by Roscoe Proctor to
December 7-9, 1974 Meeting
of the Central Committee

In the expanding economy of the 50's and 60's a massive Black popular upsurge wrested significant gains from the ruling class.

The past few years have seen an across-the-board counter-offensive aimed at wiping out these hard won victories, aimed at turning back the clock. We have witnessed major campaigns aimed at elevating racist theory and practice. Reaction, in consort with government at every level, is waging the battle on all three major fronts--ideological, legislative and economic. Their main strategy is to take advantage of racist ideas and attitudes among white workers in order to build a mass base for continuing reaction.

Racism continues to be the

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main ideological weapon of the ruling class in fostering divisions within the working class and in weakening the fight-back on the part of the people.

One of the four resolutions being submitted by the Political Committee for pre-Convention discussion is concerned with this racist thrust. In the outline of this draft resolution on the struggle against racism and for Black liberation five points are singled out: (1) The intensification of racism since the 20th Convention. Here we single out five areas. The (a) Ideological, (b) Legislative, (c) Public Education, (d) Economic and (e) Police Repression.

Point 2 makes a reference to developments and trends which tend to counter this intensification of racism. We single out:

- (a) Growth of Black elected officials.
- (b) Favorable court rulings in the communications, steel, trucking and tobacco industries.
- (c) Developments in the anti-imperialist movement, including the actions of the U.M.W. around South African coal and the refusal of some U.S.W.A. locals to unload chrome.
- (d) The role of Black caucuses in labor in developing Black-white unity.

In point 4, we speak to the chauvinism within the Party and the problems we have as a result of such manifestations. Here we rely upon contributions from each district (based upon their own problems and experiences) in formulating this entire section.

Point 5 deals with program and the tasks ahead covering the period up to the 22nd Convention of the Party.

This section we hope to develop based upon the entire pre-Convention discussion period and to formulate it as part of the Resolution to be submitted to the 21st Convention itself.

Apart from the program of action, the most important part of the outline for our Party at this time is the third point of the draft, i.e., the section probing for a deeper theoretical analysis of racism and methods of struggle against it. In the course of the discussion we must answer questions: Why does our class, the working class, the most revolutionary class in society, lag in the struggle against racism and why is it that our own Party propaganda has not been more effective?

The main problem is ideological. There is a need to deepen the prevailing level of class consciousness on all fronts: The unions, mass movements and the Party.

The dominant level of trade union consciousness in the country today does not confront racism, not even at the point of production where it is most apparent that a conflict of common interest exists between

all the workers and the boss.

In this regard, we can say that unions by and large are not measuring up to their most elementary task, the elimination of competition among their own members. To accomplish this, class struggle trade unionism is necessary. Class collaboration moves in the opposite direction.

An even more consistent, higher class consciousness is called for in the struggle against racism as the commonality of interest becomes more abstract as, for instance, when two separate communities are pitted against each other. Therefore, the entire draft is based upon the assumption that, in order for us to deepen the struggle against racism, we must deepen the level of working class consciousness. If one does not see the existence of social classes, class interest and class struggle in our society, it is virtually impossible to see the role of racism.

In a nation with a multinational and multiracial background and a working class reflecting such racial and national composition, the existence of racism presents difficulty in recognition of class identity and class interest, the distinction between friend and foe is confused.

The dominant psychology among all whites in this country is that of racism, and we speak of growing racism. But we must also recognize that there exists a very important distinction between bearers of racist ideas and attitudes. On the one hand, there are whites possessing a highly sophisticated and well thought out racist ideology. They are highly organized and becoming more active, with racism as their main focus. They enjoy the support of the nation's leading politicians and elected officials beginning with the President and backed up by official government propaganda.

On the other hand, there are white workers who have not been exposed to working class ideas who are also racist, but most of them are not consciously racist. Racism is not at the top of their agenda, i.e., they hold no developed theories about white superiority and even resent being labeled as racists, bigots, whatever. Many will and do vote for Black political candidates and leaders in unions, especially at the lower level of trade union leadership--grievors (members of grievance committees), stewards, delegates, etc. Therefore we can still out-organize the conscious and ultra-Right racists if we get concrete in our approach to the real problems bugging the people and if we move into struggle with full confidence that white masses will respond.

Many white working class communities around central cities of predominantly Black populations are also very old communities. The major problems facing them are economic: Unemployment is often high. Housing is deteriorating. Health and recreation facilities are all very much needed.

White workers feel that there are not enough jobs, schools and housing to go around and that every house a Black or other oppressed person moves into is one less house or job or classroom for them.

Those who own property think that Blacks moving in will depreciate the value of their property, that Blacks coming into the schools will lower educational standards even more. Moreover, they believe that Blacks are getting all of the "goodies" from the government, while white workers are being ignored.

The sources of racist incidents are to be found in the frustrations and economic insecurity of white workers. At the moment, it seems easier to attack Blacks than to fight "city hall," the big politicians, and the federal government.

RACISM IN BOSTON

In Boston, the center of the organized racist, anti-busing offensive was in predominantly white, working class, poor areas: South Boston (adjacent to Roxbury, a Black community), Hyde Park (next to Mattapan, a Black community) and Charleston. It was in these areas that rallies, demonstrations, fights between Black and white high school students and violent attacks against Black people took place (e.g. the racist, lynch-like beating of Andre took place in South Boston. The fight involving 100 high school students occurred in Hyde Park.)

Conditions in these areas are very bad, almost as bad as in the Black communities: poor housing, bad schools, not even a Y.M.C.A. exists in South Boston. In Charleston, in a given year, there was only one high school senior graduate who qualified for college.

The economic scene in Boston is generally bad. It has the highest cost of living of any city in the country. Furthermore, it has the highest unemployment rate of any state. This is the situation; this is the level of consciousness; these are the notions and ideas that we must take into consideration and deal with if we are to successfully combat racism. From a class point of view, these are the selfish self-interest attitudes which run counter to the interests of the class as a whole and also counter to the long-range interests of white workers themselves.

George Wallace can appeal to most of these people because he talks about their problems. He gives them the impression that he is challenging big government, that he is not afraid to speak his mind, that he is on the side of the white working people. He appears to be their champion. In Boston, the base of Louise Hicks is the same as that of Wallace's American Independence Party.

The challenge to us is how to link up the struggle for the above immediate needs of white working masses with the interest of the entire class and oppressed people. Within this context, we must also link up the spiritual and moral appeal to whites in the struggle against racism.

How to win white workers to curb their racist notions, to join forces, unite around issues and to fight on the side of Black and other oppressed is our key task. We must not fail in this task.

In the immediate period (with deteriorating economic conditions), there will be increased motion among whites. The motivation behind the actions of whites in struggle is the same as that of all others who struggle and that is to improve their conditions of life. These activities, however, can go in a progressive or a reactionary direction depending on who the masses take leadership from. The bourgeoisie will do everything in its power to try to insure that whites move in a reactionary direction. Demagogues of the Wallace type will become even more plentiful with their ready made answers for the deteriorating conditions of the white masses. We must be on the scene to counter such demagogic appeals. To do this, we must know, concretely, the moods of the people.

What is it that whites are ready to fight for? We must know where they get hung up and what we must do in order to help them get over their hangups. This is where we must focus in order to move the whole process of building Black-white unity and working class consciousness forward in a progressive, revolutionary way.

The Resolution will stress the need to link the ideological struggle against racism to the concrete social and material conditions confronting white masses.

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE IN THE PARTY?

There are still many reservations in the Party when it comes to talking about racism. There are still far too few examples of initiatives being taken in the struggle against racism.

In some cases, our white comrades still don't quite see racism as being a danger to their own self-interest. In their minds the approach and the struggle is very much abstract. They do not feel confident that they can win white workers. Deep down it is a lack of confidence in white workers.

In the minds of some there exists fear of the struggle against racism, fear of being isolated, a fear of being rejected, a fear of hurting someone's feelings--fears which come from the social pressures of a racist society.

Then there are other fears--the fear of bodily harm, the fear of being physically assaulted by white racists if they openly identify with a true working class humanist position or even a consistent bourgeois democratic position on the question of racism.

In many instances, we have tended to engage in wishful thinking that the ruling class ideology of racism has not become a part of the consciousness of white masses. In our efforts to counteract negative views of the working class and to strengthen confidence in the potential of the working class, our polemics have often tended to accentuate the positive at the expense of distorting realities regarding the question of racism.

The tendency by some of us is to overestimate the role of practice in the development of consistent class consciousness and to underestimate the ideological role of our Party. Consistent working class

consciousness and socialist consciousness do not develop spontaneously. The dominant ideology of society is that of the ruling class which grows out of the exploitative economic system of society and expresses the interests of the ruling class as opposed to that of the exploited class. The only way workers can gain access to an ideology that expresses their class interests is through exposure to the working class ideology and theoretical concepts of Marxism-Leninism.

Another side of this problem is a tendency to underestimate the extent to which whites will struggle together with Blacks despite racist notions. There is no basis for such conclusions. Historically white workers in this country have been as militant as workers anywhere (given their low level of class consciousness). In the past five years, the number of strikes in this country have been the highest in history and continues to increase each year.

This lack of confidence in white working people has given rise to a tendency to moralize abstractly, to scold and agitate whites from afar for being so backward on the question of racism. Our reaction is a coverup for our own shortcomings in dealing with racism in its specific expressions in the shops and communities. The Resolution will make the point that whites have racism, that whites will struggle, that in the process of struggle we can help them overcome their racism, that the starting point of the struggle is where they are in their thinking at any moment.

CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

In the Resolution, we hope to dissect and analyze the different stages of the intellectual process which runs from racism to that of working class and revolutionary consciousness. We will try to show that the struggle against racism and for deeper class consciousness is a process. We will speak to the interrelationship and dialectical unity of psychology and ideology and show how working class ideology and working class struggles can change remnants of bourgeois psychology into working class consciousness. We will also show that this process is not just educational or theoretical but that struggle, the class struggle, is the key component in the entire educational process.

The draft will deal with the uneven development of consciousness within the working class. It will focus on the spontaneously developed anti-racist psychology and the higher level of the recognition of the need for unity on the part of Black and Brown workers and oppressed people.

It will single out the development and the unifying role of the Black caucuses within the organized labor movement.

It will pose for discussion the questions of how to further stimulate the growth and development of such caucus formations and how to work with them in such a fashion as to raise the consciousness of the entire class to their level.

The division of responsibility (between the white and nationally

oppressed comrades) working in the mass movement is discussed in the draft.

We also make a distinction between the interrelated but two separate tasks--the struggle for Black liberation and the struggle against racism.

In the struggle for Black liberation, Blacks will take the lead in the struggle for their own rights--ideologically, organizationally, politically, tactically and in all other aspects of the movement. Within this context, Black Communists have a responsibility to participate and to make their contribution from a Marxist-Leninist point of view especially regarding the ideological struggle against the bourgeois notion of separatism. Obviously, the Black liberation movement exerts a tremendous influence upon all movements for progress in this country.

However, in the struggle against racist ideas and practices among whites in the mass movement, our white comrades have a responsibility to take leadership initiatives. White comrades and white progressives have a responsibility to demonstrate ideologically and in practice that all whites are not the same in their thinking or in their actions, to show through their actions that many are ready to fight for justice, democracy, humanity and progress.

Theoretically such initiative on the part of whites is the only path by which the mutual trust within the working class and between the working class and nationally oppressed people can be welded into that unity which is a necessary condition for fundamental progress and revolutionary change.

Moreover, from a practical point of view (due to racism), white comrades are in the best position to relate to other whites in helping them to understand the source of their racism, how it affects them, as well as in aiding them to overcome such backward notions.

Obviously, in order to play such a role, our white comrades must possess a minimum level of consciousness on the question of racism and must be armed with some of the facts necessary for the development of concrete approaches to problems in any given neighborhood, shop-union organization, school district, etc. where the struggle against racism must be waged in practice.

How is such a consciousness to be developed? It can be developed with the aid of the Party collective, the comrades in the club (Black, Brown and white), in club discussions, in Party schools and through self-cultivation. Most of all, it is to be developed in the course of struggle.

Party leadership at all levels must make it clear that the Party is faced collectively with the task of moving white masses and developing the struggle against racism in the process.

Therefore, in the pre-Convention discussion there is the need to create an atmosphere within the Party whereby comrades--Black and white--feel free to discuss hangups and fears that stand in the way

(Concluded at bottom of p. 25)

FOR A LEAGUE OF MASS YOUTH ACTION

EVALUATION OF THE THIRD NATIONAL YWLL CONVENTION

When the Central Committee of the YWLL decided to launch preparations for the Third National Convention, certain concepts were projected as to the character of the Convention. It was generally agreed that it should be a convention of action, a convention that would make major advances in the fight against sectarianism.

The draft thesis for the Third National Convention elaborated on these concepts. The very title of the thesis, "For a League of Mass Youth Action," gave the direction for change. Moreover, the section on the fight against sectarianism spelled out the major manifestations of sectarianism to be tackled by convention preparations and the convention itself. They were the following:

"Sectarianism is manifested in two main ways. The first is the tendency to not be as fully involved in mass struggle as we should be. This is often reflected in the tendency to be overly critical of the masses of youth, to search for pure forms in the struggle, to demand too high a level as the basis for unity, to seek to correct weaknesses in the mass movement mainly by verbal criticism rather than by positively building the League's influence and concrete ties with other youth organizations." (page 10, #6.)

"The second major form of sectarianism is the tendency to have a youth vanguardist approach. Youth vanguardism is the tendency of youth to ignore the special problems of youth while attempting to take on the responsibility for the entire working class struggle. Youth vanguardism is an expression of a lack of confidence in the Communist Party, U.S.A., in the working class and in Marxism's ability to win the ideological struggle. It also reflects a lack of understanding of the youth question as a special question." (page 10, #7.)

The draft thesis also forcefully argued for the essential nature of the youth's rights campaign and in particular the struggle for jobs in the building of a mass YWLL and the youth movement in general. The section on the "Right to Earn, Learn and Live" states:

"The implementation of our youth's rights campaign is the most critical task ever confronting the League. If carried out correctly, it can

be a basic ingredient in the coming youth upsurge of the mid-70's. It can lay the basis for a new unity of this younger generation. It can bring real victories for youth as a whole and accelerate the development of a mass League."

Therefore, our goals for the Third National Convention were very fundamental. They were 1) to turn the League towards the mass of the young generation, 2) develop the fight for democratic youth unity and 3) to solidify the special youth role of the League. All these were essential aspects of the fight against sectarianism.

Related to these goals were the concepts of the convention as a youthful event, full of the enthusiasm and spirit of youth. Very closely related to this was the aim of permeating the convention with the cultural contributions of progressive mankind.

In order to be able to turn the League to the masses of youth and to build youth unity, we also realized the significance of further consolidating and improving the multi-national and multi-racial character of the organization and to make advances on the fight against racism. Integral to this was the need for furthering our understanding of proletarian internationalism and raising our international work to a higher level.

These were necessary goals. But to be completely honest, there were reservations in our own ranks on our ability to accomplish these goals. However, due to correct political understanding and hard work on the part of the entire organization, we can conclude that our goals were realistic.

The Third National Convention of the YWLL held in Philadelphia from December 13-16 at the Bellevue Stratford Hotel was, as had been predicted by Philadelphia Section Chairwoman, Felicia Coward, "definitely dynamite, and of course historic." This convention can be of extreme significance for the advancement of the youth movement and the class struggle in general only if it is assessed correctly: as a qualitative leap in our work, a breakthrough convention. We must not fall into the trap of underestimating this convention. I caution on this danger because there were weaknesses and serious ones which must be studied and corrected. But we must realize that all new developments burst into the light of history covered by the stains of the old.

Even before it began, the convention made history. A major victory was scored for our people, the Chilean people and all democratic people when the U.S. State Department was forced to grant a visa to the General Secretary of the Young Communist League of Chile, elected representative Gladys Marin. This victory had an immeasurable effect in highlighting the significance and raising the enthusiasm for the convention. By the time the convention opened Companera Marin had met with over 25 United Nations

delegations, over 15 U.S. Congressmen and their aides and had spoken before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's sub-committee on appropriations.

At the convention itself, Comrade Marin made a unique contribution to the understanding of proletarian internationalism and the fight against fascism. Furthermore, her speech at the international evening, where she elaborated on the building of the Chilean YCL into a mass youth organization of close to 100,000 members, was a brilliant educational on the youth question and the mass approach. We can never fully repay her for this historic visit, but we can try by doing our utmost to get U.S. imperialism off the backs of the Chilean people.

Before getting to more specific aspects of the convention, let me summarize the areas in which we made advances: 1) political acceptance of the youth rights campaign and beginnings of implementation--in general, a significant advance on the mass approach; 2) the concept was developed that the YWLL is an educational organization of youth. There was greater acceptance of the League as a youth organization with a specific role in winning youth to socialism; 3) the concept of the united front is beginning to take hold in the organization--understanding that the united front is not only good for masses but good for the League; 4) strengthening of Party-League relations. The heightened understanding of the youth question is the basis for this since then the division of labor between the Party and the League is grasped; 5) Strengthening of multi-national character of the League; 6) some headway on clarifying industrial concentration policy; 7) a big advance on the cultural front; 8) a development of a profound sense of internationalism in the League; 9) in general, a strengthening of the political unity of the organization.

The credentials report gives some indication of the growth of the League and the nature of this growth. It indicates an increase in membership although it is small and far from the goal of doubling the membership which was projected at the Second National Convention. However, the working class and multi-national composition of the League have been further strengthened. Also recorded is the broadening of ties of the League with other youth organizations.

The credentials report was not a complete one. It only includes registration as of Saturday afternoon December 14th. Thus, it underestimates the size of the convention. 626 participants were registered, but 700 is a more accurate figure. This represents an increase from the Second Convention in which 570 youth attended. Of the 626 participants, 219 were delegates, 34 alternates, 153 League observers and, very significantly, 220 non-League guests. Many of the guests joined the League during the convention or on the bus ride back home.

There were 29 sections including Washington, D. C. and 28 states represented. Members from over 60 branches of the League attended.

Over half (52%) of the participants were workers. There were 85 industrial workers accounting for 14% of the convention. Over 50 national unions were represented, including the UAW, USWA, CWA, UE, IBEW, IAM, Teamsters, rubber workers, ILA, TWU and 1199.

In terms of students, 28% of the participants were college students and 9% high school and junior high school students. The significant participation of junior high school students was something new.

One of the goals stressed before the convention was the need to further improve on the Second National Convention and its historic breakthrough in relation to its multi-national and multi-racial composition. That goal was achieved. 49% of the participants and 51% of the delegates were nationally oppressed youth. 38% of the delegates were Afro-American youth, 4% Chicano, 3% Puerto Rican, 2% Native American, 3% youth from various Asian nationalities and 1% Latin American other than Puerto Rican or Chicano youth. 47% of the convention participants were women.

Two significant categories were that of age and length of time in the League. The credentials report indicates that there has been progress in lowering the average age of the League. We have felt the average age has been too high indicating lack of attention to youth in the age range of 14-21 who are hardest hit by capitalism's special oppression of youth. 70% of the convention participants were under the age of 25, 24% between the ages of 14-20 and 46% from the ages of 21-25. 51% of the League members in attendance have been in the League less than two years.

Of great value in building youth unity was the fact that participants to the convention were active in over 110 national, community, social and political organizations. A sign of the maturing of the League's approach to youth was that organizations listed were not limited to left or "movement" organizations. Our members work in and belong to organizations such as the Student National Medical Association, National Student Association, high school drama clubs, Girl Scouts, bicycle clubs and united community youth groups. Some contacts from these organizations attended the convention.

The three major reports were instrumental in setting the tone of the convention and were key to its achievements.

The main political report by Jarvis Tyner provided the direction for the League's work in the coming period. The report was long but listened to attentively by all participants, and interrupted by applause and standing ovations on many occasions.

Jarvis' report gave the political time of day to League members and friends. It presented the world situation and the growing strength of the anti-imperialist forces. It elaborated on the concept and characterized the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism. The role of the USSR and the socialist community as the pacesetter in the progressive developments in the world was clear.

The meaning of detente and the urgency in fighting for mass acceptance of detente, and making detente irreversible was presented within this context. Jarvis' report stated: "The Soviet initiative of detente is in full accord with the present balance of forces in the world. It takes into account the deep-going crisis in the imperialist world and the growing pressure to retreat and compromise on the part of imperialism. It takes into account the bankruptcy of the cold war ideologies, alliances, etc. and gives new foundation to all the struggles of the present world majorities for peace."

Tyner stated that detente creates the basis for U.S. youth to step up their struggle to slash the military budget and the conversion of those funds for jobs, schools and other needs of youth. This theme was discussed throughout the convention, in the plenary discussion and in the workshops. The relationship of detente to the League's campaign for youth's right to earn, learn and live was clear as a result of the report and the convention.

Jarvis' report also detailed the concrete situation in different world areas of struggle and singled out international tasks for the League. The Middle East, Chile, South Africa, Puerto Rico and Vietnam were emphasized.

In terms of the domestic scene, the report stated: "The United States is now in the midst of a full-blown crisis of overproduction. In short, not a recession but a depression which has as a unique feature the combination of outrageous inflation with massive unemployment. On both counts the youth are hit hardest."

Tyner's report detailed the deteriorating conditions of U.S. youth including the facts that 4 million youth from ages 18-24 are unemployed and youth are the first victims of the present wave of layoffs. The attempt to destroy public education and set back open admissions was stressed as part of the general onslaught against youth.

Ford's WIN program was condemned as a cruel hoax, and the Ford Administration's role as protector of record profits for the monopolies was exposed.

Racism was cited as the key weapon of reaction. Anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, drugs, and other bourgeois ideological traps against the youth were also cited. Special attack was levelled against Maoism as outright betrayal of the people.

The last section of Jarvis Tyner's report noted the mass response to the crisis. It also noted the accomplishments of the League since its founding in 1970. It then emphasized the fight against sectarianism as the key to the further growth of the League. It presented the youth rights campaign as the key to this. It stated: "Without this basic program, all other work will be out of focus, will be work in general and will be without real direction. Without the implementation of our youth rights program, we can't realize our long-range strategy of democratic youth unity... This

youth rights program is really the foundation for the existence of the youth League... the tendency to duplicate the Party is inherent in a situation where the youth League does not have a basic economic program for youth." Tyner also pointed to the youth rights campaign as the key to fighting racism among youth. In general he presented this campaign as our offensive thrust against monopoly.

He also linked this campaign to the building of the youth front: "I don't think there is any youth organization that pretends to speak to the problems of youth that would not support a bill to win one million jobs for youth. It gives us the basis for the broadest type of unity to be developed in our generation."

The development of the Youth United for Jobs (YUJ) in New York was characterized as a major development in our campaign. The significance of such formations in building an unemployed movement among youth, building the youth front and recruiting into the League was extensively dealt with by Jarvis and in the discussion from the floor, which included speakers from the West Side and the Brooklyn Park Slope YUJ.

Jarvis also pointed to the need for organizing choruses, drama groups, teams and other forms which serve the vital needs of youth.

The main political report reaffirmed the League's adherence to industrial concentration and emphasized the need to relate it to the youth rights campaign. The report concluded on the optimistic note of the possibility of socialism in the lifetime of this young generation.

The organizational report delivered by Matty Berkelhammer was excellent and reflected a growth in the thinking of the League on very basic questions relating to the nature of the League.

The concept of the League as an educational organization aimed at winning the young generation to socialism was very ably developed by Berkelhammer. Education in this context was broadly defined-- not simply as formal classroom education but also as education through culture, mass activity and struggle, social activity, sports and so on.

Related to the question of the League as an educational organization was the area of standards for membership in the League. In reality, standards for membership have been very rigid. In fact, a high level of commitment and understanding of Marxism-Leninism has been required. This of course reflects a false understanding of Marxism-Leninism. But even more harmful has been the high degree of personal discipline and the abnegation of basic youth needs that have been required due to long, tedious, unplanned meetings as well as lack of cultural, social, sports and other activities necessary for youth. The report documented these problems but also recorded the advances that have been made.

The report argued correctly for membership in the League to be opened to all honest youth interested in one or another aspect of our program. Dmitrov's formulation on this question is quite helpful:

"The decisive condition for a given person to enter the RMS (Bulgarian Marxist youth organization of that period) is that he should be honest and devoted. He may not be sufficiently prepared, but RMS is a school for the education of youth, isn't it? You will not prepare him outside the RMS, but you will take him as he is, with his shortcomings. The most important thing is that he should be honest and devoted, and the RMS will work for his improvement. In this respect the doors of the RMS should be held wide open."

Another basic concept dealt with in the organizational report was the nature of the League as a youth organization--the subject of the youth approach. The special task of the League, it was emphasized, is to win the young generation to the struggle against monopoly, for socialism, and as an ally of the working class. In this regard, the tendency towards a narrow conception of the young generation was argued against.

Historically we have had a tendency to discard non-proletarian sections of youth while at the same time not fully developing our approach to industrial working youth. Our organization's lack of attention to students and high school youth has been a major problem in its work.

The report emphasized the need for broad cultural and other forms which will enable the League to attract the young generation.

Related to the misconceptions of the special role of the League towards youth has been the tendency to see the League as a junior Communist Party, the tendency to youth vanguardism.

The organizational report also effectively argued for the need of the united front approach as a basic necessity for uniting the young generation and building the League.

The report also noted wrong attitudes towards finances, highlighted the importance of raising the level of our educational work and the building of the Young Worker, the Daily World and the People's World.

The report on the centrality of Black liberation and the struggle against racism was delivered by James Steele. The report was enthusiastically received by the entire convention since it dealt very well with many difficult questions.

Chief among these questions was the centrality of Black liberation. While the multi-national character of the League and the solid political foundations of the League are to a great degree due to a relatively high level of understanding on this question especially compared to other left youth organizations, a deeper understanding is necessary to insure the stability and growth of the League. Clarity on this question is key to advancing in the fight against racism and winning white youth to the side of progressive, democratic and revolutionary ideas. A related problem has been the posing of the struggles of other nationally oppressed youth, such as Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, against the struggles of Black youth.

Jim Steele's report began with some general comments on the world situation. He concluded that "there are new possibilities, but there are also new dangers generated by the deepening of the general crisis of world, and in particular U.S. state monopoly capitalism." The report pointed to the present ruling class racist offensive as the main danger in this period.

Steele stated: "Our convention is taking place at a time when Black and other nationally oppressed peoples confront one of the most vicious racist drives in U.S. history.... The paramount question of defeating the racist offensive of monopoly as the precondition to developing the anti-monopoly movement on a higher level is today's overriding task. This requires mass anti-racist action from white workers and youth."

The report dealt with the question of centrality in historic terms. "At every decisive moment in U.S. history," the report emphasized, "victory or defeat has been determined by the degree to which Black-white working class and democratic unity was built on the basis of fighting racism and for the national equality of Black people." The report drew lessons from the 1776 revolution, the Civil War, Reconstruction and the '30's depression. It showed the relationship of the struggle for Black liberation, its advance, and the advance of the general democratic movement. Conversely, the report pointed to the direct relationship between the defeat of Black Reconstruction and the worsening of conditions for working masses in general in that era. Steele dramatically asked, "If this was the cost of the success of the racist offensive in those years, what price will we be forced to pay if the racist drive succeeds today?"

The changes in the class composition of Black people was cited as enhancing the centrality of Black liberation. Black people, it was pointed out, are the most highly proletarianized--95-96%--working class, and nearly 43% of Black workers are basic industrial workers.

The report concluded that "strategic Black-white unity is the base of building a foundation of multi-national, multi-racial unity." It projected a correct approach to the struggles of Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and youth of Asian nationalities.

The report argued against the idea that centrality is based simply on population. "The historical material development of racism and national oppression in relation to the class struggle and the development of capitalism decided the centrality of Black liberation."

Steele emphasized that the League "rejects all notions of the inequality of national questions, of counterposing, for instance, Black youth against Puerto Rican youth, etc. The Leninist principle is the equality of all nationalities." The weakness, it was noted, in our work is lack of specific, concrete program and insufficient attention to and understanding of the liberation movements of Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and people of Asian nationalities.

The report devoted much attention to the fight against racism in Boston. It cited the opposition to busing as the cutting edge of the present racist offensive. Busing has become the focal point because "the underlying issue of quality education is intertwined with the entire system, pattern and ideological tenets of racism and national oppression--segregated housing patterns, discrimination in social, health and safety services and most fundamental, jobs. To give your children a quality education so that they have it better than you is a widespread and justifiable aspiration of all parents. The need for quality education is intensified by the scientific and technological revolution." Given this, to deny youth a decent education is a crime and genocide in relation to nationally oppressed youth.

The anti-busing forces, however, argue that decent, quality integrated education for Black youth can only be achieved at the expense of white youth.

It is this pitting of the interests of Black youth against those of white youth, made possible by the influence of racism, which prevents the development of anti-monopoly unity.

In relation to Boston, Steele articulately exposed the maneuvers of the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance which is posing as a fighter against racism while all the time opposing the demand for busing. The YSA has parasitically attached itself to the progressive movement in Boston and, as the December 14th actions showed, will destroy this movement if not effectively swept aside. The YSA tried to score points against the League by demanding that we postpone our convention and instead mobilize for the December 14th march in Boston. Of course this was absurd, but we must be aware of the YSA's role in trying to prevent youth from coming to our convention. They did not succeed, although in some cases some youth were misled.

Our position--and history has proven it correct--was that our convention (which had been scheduled much ahead of the Boston march) and mass rally were not only an important contribution to the fight against racism in Boston but indeed politically on a higher level.

The report also emphasized the special problems of nationally oppressed women. The influence of male supremacy in the League in addition to white chauvinism continue to hinder the full participation of nationally oppressed women.

Extensive comments on these reports were necessary because they had a great impact on the convention. Also they reflect the collective thinking of the Central Committee.

The mass rally for youth rights and solidarity with Chile on Saturday evening, December 14 was in many respects the high point of the convention. More than anything else, this rally dramatically illustrated the growth and potential of the League.

The League has never organized a more successful event. Of

course, the Party was of immense help in making this success possible not only organizationally, but also in terms of speakers on the platform which included Gus Hall and Angela Davis.

The hall was jam-packed. All seats were filled; people were standing in the aisles, and some were not able to get into the hall. We estimate that at least 2,000 participated. It was a youthful crowd, and the atmosphere at the rally and indeed throughout the convention has been described as "electric." This audience proved that people are not only willing to listen to us but increasingly are looking for our leadership. They are willing to move with us. The participation of Black youth at the rally was also very significant.

The speakers platform was a broad one. A reflection of the new influence of the Party and the League was the fact that Lucien Blackwell, a Black state representative from Philadelphia and a leader of an I.L.A. local, Reverend Capizzi, a leader in the Chile Solidarity Committee in Philadelphia, and Bill Klamon, Legislative Director of the National Student Association spoke along with Gus Hall, Angela Davis, Gladys Marin and Jarvis Tyner.

The content of the speeches of the non-Communists on the platform was more than positive. Klamon and Capizzi openly stated their praise and respect for "this wonderful organization--the Young Workers Liberation League."

Representative John Conyers' message to the rally stating his support of legislation aimed at improving the employment situation for youth added greatly to the broad character of the gathering.

The speeches by Jarvis Tyner, Gus Hall, Angela Davis and Gladys Marin were excellent, and all were interrupted by standing ovations.

This rally was living proof to our membership that it is possible to build a mass YWLL, and that we can build the unity of youth in the fight for democratic rights and better conditions. Indeed, as a result of this rally, a whole new boldness and aggressiveness in implementing our program is emerging in the League.

In terms of internationalism, although much has already been said, we cannot overstate the profound sense of internationalism which was evident at the convention.

The international guests at the convention combined with the telegrams and greetings received, totaling over 30 fraternal youth organizations, helped deepen this sentiment. Greetings were received from the Soviet Komsomol, the Vietnamese youth from the DRV and the PRG of South Vietnam, the African National Congress, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the Amilcar Cabral Youth League of Guinea-Bissau, the YCL of Israel, the Portuguese youth, the YCL of France, the Socialist Youth of Chile, the Saudi Arabian Youth League and many others.

The International Solidarity Evening, which was held on Sunday

evening was very successful. Thami Mlambiso, African National Congress representative at the United Nations, Liz Hill, General Secretary of the Canadian YCL, Gladys Marin and Naomi Chesman, YWLL Executive Bureau member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth spoke. Other international guests that applied for visas were denied them by the State Department. These included representatives from the Soviet Komsomol, GDR Free German Youth, the Young Communist Movement of France, the Israeli YCL and others. Although the program started three hours late at 11 P.M., the speakers and artists were enthusiastically applauded.

A weakness in terms of international guests was the fact that a youth from the Communist Party of Puerto Rico was not able to attend the convention. This was due to unavoidable problems faced by our comrades in Puerto Rico, but it was nevertheless regrettable.

As mentioned earlier, the convention made advances in the area of Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and youth representing various Asian peoples. The convention itself reflected a growth, although very small and not adequate, in membership among these youth. Although the growth has been small, the quality of the youth recruited is of great importance. This was evidenced by the quality of the workshops in these areas as well as the workshop reports. Some of these youth have also prepared documents on these national questions which were on a high level. Some of these comrades are now on the new Central Committee.

In general, the workshops on Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and youth representing Asian communities advanced the theoretical and political understanding of the League on these questions. Concrete programmatic proposals, realistic proposals, were developed. In all these areas, the reports noted, much educational work is necessary. This is particularly true for Native American and the various Asian youth. It was stressed that these struggles have to become part of the entire organization, and not just the property of the youth from these national backgrounds.

The possibility of major breakthroughs for the League and the Party among these nationally oppressed youth is now evident. Immediate steps must be taken to insure this. In this regard, we must study the experiences of the Instituto del Pueblo in Los Angeles and the work of the League in Tucson, Arizona as very positive ones in building among Chicano youth. Also the work of the Jesus Colon branch in the Park Slope and other parts of Brooklyn has resulted in recruitment of a significant number of Puerto Rican youth. In Park Slope the key has been the building of a Youth United for Jobs organization.

The convention also broke through on the cultural front. The emphasis on culture which was projected as an integral part of the convention proved to be a very wise decision. This enabled in a practical way the significance of this area of struggle to emerge. The convention itself became an expression of the progressive culture of humanity and a stimulus for developing this work. Artists such as Suni Paz, Cruz Martinez, and Margaret Burroughs performed

at the convention. This in itself was a new step for us. League talent also emerged at the convention--for example, singer Jim Knutsen, poet Antar Mberi, the Mass Approach and the League-initiated Multi-National Arts Ensemble. The people's fair on Friday night and the exhibits highlighted talent expressed through photographs, posters and other forms. Films were also well utilized. Literature was also available throughout the convention from International Publishers and Imported Publications as well as the Daily World, Political Affairs, Freedomways, Labor Today, the Black Photographers Annual and so on.

The non-stop enthusiasm and spirit of the convention (there were standing ovations and prolonged applause even at 1 A.M. during the international evening) was inseparable from the emphasis on culture. Many have remarked that it is easier to pay attention to political reports if one knows that that's not all one will be hearing. Culture is another field in which immediate steps must be taken to seize the moment and make further advances.

Many stressed the significance of progressive culture to youth in this period when moribund capitalism is pulling out all the proven decadence of the past and presenting it as "new." The workshop on culture made some proposals on how to develop our work in this area. We must also note the excellent work done by Victoria Missick and other comrades who headed this aspect of convention preparations.

The main political report and the workshop on young workers helped to clarify the question of industrial concentration for the League. However, much more discussion is still needed within the League and between the Party and the League.

The convention rejected all notions that the League is abandoning industrial concentration. The League has been discussing the following: What is the proper way for the League, as a youth organization, as an educational organization, to implement industrial concentration? Also, given present conditions, what is the proper division of labor between the League and the Party in industry and, in particular, what are the main tasks in this period? These questions are important in light of the Party's drive to reestablish itself more fully in basic industry and building the rank-and-file movements.

In his main report, Jarvis Tyner rejected the concept that the League has moved away from industrial concentration. He developed the following approach:

"Let me say that some of our shop work has been the most important work we have done since the inception of the League. In many ways it has offered a real breakthrough. We were able to develop shop work, rank-and-file work, move many young workers into industry and recruit young workers also. This work should be

continued, intensified and raised to a higher level. I think, where it is possible, the aim should be to build League branches in the shops. But, you know comrades, the majority of the organization is not in the shops. Does that mean that they do not have a basic program of industrial concentration? Absolutely not! And, if we are dealing with the younger generation, the majority of the younger generation is not in the shops. And, where they are in the shops, there is a very low level of union organization. That's one reason why we are projecting the question of organization around fast food chains. The majority of youth will not come to the League from the shops. In fact, the majority of the young workers that we have recruited have come from other local forms, not necessarily from work in the shops."

He also stated, "In a basic sense, industrial concentration means recognition of the central and basic role of the working class and its industrial proletariat. Every League branch should have an approach towards a shop...and even campus branches should have some relationship to campus workers where they take the Young Worker, the Daily World or the People's World on a regular basis."

Jarvis also drew parallels from the thirties. He noted that the YCL, even though it had an industrial concentration policy built community-based branches in the main. He also noted that there is a tendency to approach industrial concentration in the same manner as the Party, brushing aside the youth question. This is an example of seeing the League as a junior Communist Party. He added that "this total concept of industrial concentration will strengthen and give greater clarity to our work in the shops."

We can record major advances on the overall question of League-Party relations. If in the first convention the necessity of fraternal ties with the Party was recognized and accepted, we can say that the Third National Convention went way beyond that point. This convention reflected a deep sense of understanding of the absolutely necessary role of the Party, pride in the accomplishments of and association with the Party. But also a love for the Party and respect and admiration for its leaders was very evident. And this is as it should be since the growth of the League would have been impossible without the theoretical, political and organizational wisdom of the Party.

The actual building for the convention helped strengthen Party and League relations. In Philadelphia itself the relationship between the Party and the League is on a very high level. Comrades

Dickerson and Patrinos, in particular, deserve much credit for this development. The mobilization of the Eastern Pennsylvania district of the Party around the convention was exemplary. In particular, they were very helpful in solving concrete problems such as security, housing and mobilization for the mass rally.

The Party delegation to the National Convention, headed by Comrades Winston and Hall, was of a very high calibre, and its attendance throughout the convention was very important. Many convention participants were able to speak personally to members of the Party delegation, and this also was significant.

Comrade Hall's speech to the mass rally and Comrade Winston's greetings to the convention were of great value to the participants, many of whom were listening to these two comrades for the first time.

Both speeches were helpful in clarifying the present moment, building anti-monopoly unity, the fight for detente and the role of the Soviet Union. Comrade Winston in his remarks to the convention dealt with wrong notions on the "left" in relation to the working class and racism. He also aided in the understanding of the nature of the youth league.

Comrade Angela Davis was also extremely helpful to our efforts. She not only spoke at the mass rally but also was the featured speaker at a fund raising affair in New York before the convention.

The mobilization of districts for the convention was uneven. Some Party districts such as New York, Southern California and Western Pennsylvania were conscientious in aiding the League section in guaranteeing a good delegation. The Massachusetts, Ohio, New Jersey, Washington, D.C. and Arizona sections of the League had very good delegations at the convention. However, the midwest areas fell a little short of the projected goals for the convention delegations. We think that if the Party districts in these areas would have given some more attention to the convention that the goals could have been met. The mobilization in Washington State and Northern California was also inadequate although some last minute measures helped to guarantee respectable delegations. A closer look at the mobilization is necessary in order to get at the root of the problem. But we think that many districts and the Party as a whole do not fully appreciate the significance of the League. The New York district must be praised for mobilizing older comrades to help with technical work and security at the convention.

The statement of solidarity with the League convention was circulated among broader figures in the democratic movement and met with generally good response, but it could have been more energetically circulated by Party members.

The national center of the Party was of great help in preparing for the national convention. Several major discussions were held on the political direction of the League's work which helped in clarifying many questions. Also the Organization Bureau aided in the mobilization of districts and so on. Comrade David

Buxenbaum must be commended for his assistance at the convention.

However, we feel that in the Party as a whole there was an underestimation of the National Convention. In the clubs there was even lack of knowledge that the convention was taking place. The underestimation might have been partly due to the efforts around the anti-inflation fight and preparation for the Party's own upcoming convention. At the root of this underestimation, however, is lack of consciousness on the significance of youth work and the fact that the Party is responsible overall for the young generation.

We also think that the coverage of the League in the Daily World has to be discussed more fundamentally. Here again there is an underestimation of the role of the YWLL. There are concepts that the League is not a significant item for mass consumption, that coverage of the League is just "internal" stuff.

The major weakness of the convention was lack of concreteness on the implementation of the youth rights campaign. This is an indication that we have a long way to go in defeating sectarianism in the League. This lack of concreteness is a reflection of poor mass ties and inadequate attention to mass developments. The key problem is the low level of development on the introduction of a youth jobs bill on a federal level which we have projected as a major activity. We have not gotten beyond the stage of a rough draft of the bill and discussing it with several youth and religious organizations. Furthermore, we have not adequately taken into account other jobs legislation such as the Hawkins bill and its relationship to our bill.

This problem is a reflection of the tenacity toward sectarian approaches and lack of confidence and experience in moving masses of youth. It is also a reflection of our lack of close ties with democratic youth organizations.

Adding to the above problem was the insufficient time given to plenary discussion and workshop report-backs at the convention. To be sure, this was not the intention of the convention organizers. Yet the agenda was organized in such a tight fashion that inevitably time problems were resolved by limiting floor discussions. There was approximately one hour devoted to discussion of both the main political report and the organizational report. In addition, two hours were devoted to four workshop report-backs (Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and youth representing Asian nationalities). The workshops themselves were each two and a half hours long.

The lack of time for floor discussion prevented us from getting a clearer picture of local experiences in implementing the youth's rights campaign plus a better feeling for the strengths and weaknesses of the organization. This was very unfortunate since the workshops were on a very high level.

The lack of attention given to student work indicated the continuation of a wrong attitude on student work which has been present

since the inception of the League. The greater clarity on the youth question developed at the convention, however, will serve as the basis for improving our work among students.

A major area in which weaknesses were manifested was on the struggle for the rights of young women. This was reflected in the lack of attention given to the struggles of young women in general. This has been a longstanding problem in the League. Developments such as CLUW, progressive trends within the YWCA, the Women's Bill of Rights and the new women's organization have hardly been discussed at any level of the League. Certainly members have not been assigned collectively to develop work in this area.

We have to probe the reasons for this problem. One reason is the tendency to see the struggle for women's equality as completely divorced from League work. We have not probed the connections between youth work and this struggle. There is also the tendency to see the movement for women's equality as hopelessly in the hands of the feminists and therefore a diversion. Indeed, whenever the question of work among women is raised in the League, many comrades begin to look for traces of feminism.

Related to this problem was the evidence of male supremacist errors committed during the preparations and at the convention itself. Male supremacy was evident in weaknesses in projecting leading women comrades during the convention. Victoria Missick, Jill Furillo and Judy Edelman Gallo, in particular, had tasks which kept them from participating fully in the convention. The dias during the convention proceedings (not the mass rally and the international evening) was all-male most of the time. There were many other examples of male supremacy. In general there was a lack of a conscious approach on the part of the Central Committee and the leadership in general in avoiding male supremacist errors.

Another weakness was the lack of press coverage. There was a policy on the part of the bourgeois media not to cover the League convention. Although press conferences were organized and press releases were sent, we could not break through the media. However the onus for this weakness has to be placed on ourselves. The bourgeois media will never cover our activities, especially if they are successful, if we do not develop a professional approach to the press and other media. We must be more creative in thinking of special angles that would force the press to give us coverage. For example, we had decided to take legal action against the FBI demanding that they be enjoined from bugging our convention. This would have been significant since Jack Anderson had reported after our Second National Convention that the FBI had bugged our convention. But we were not able to follow through on this decision. Neither did we consistently and systematically approach honest and sympathetic contacts in the press (including college and Black press), radio and television.

It is worth mentioning that while the League convention received no coverage from the bourgeois press, the YSA convention held two weeks later received much pre-convention coverage in the New York Times. Indeed, the Times went out of its way to make news

for the YSA. It is clear that the Times wants to present the Trotskyites as a "left alternative."

Organizational and discipline problems were also evident in the preparations for the convention itself. Due to organizational immaturity, most of the workshop leaders were asked to lead workshops only two or three days before the convention. Major reports were being worked on up until the last minute which made it impossible for the reports to be mimeographed and given to the participants during the convention. In general the national staff had a problem in meeting during the last two months of the convention. The meetings that did take place were not as productive as they should have been. The scope of our projections for the convention which were unprecedented for us contributed to these problems. Although we were prepared politically for these tasks, our level of organization was not up to par.

We are in the process of discussing how to improve collectivity on the new staff and central committee. One general aspect that we must probe for the entire League is the tendency to put personal problems and considerations above the necessary work that a collective must do. While it is true that very often we do not consider personal problems in a collective way, in real life individual considerations override collective needs. This is never done consciously. However, there have been periods of time when the central committee of the League and the national staff failed to give ongoing leadership to the entire membership. This has been admitted self-critically. How can this be possible if we had the collective responsibilities to the organization and the entire young generation uppermost in our minds?

This lack of collectivity is part of a general problem of petty bourgeois influences in our style of work. In many cases this not only leads to lack of direction, but also bureaucratic methods of work. Working class style of work is not fully imbedded in our organization. A fight for discipline, productivity, and a higher organizational level is part of the fight for a working class approach in our leadership.

The convention elected a new, larger central committee. This was necessary in order to facilitate communications in the organization and take into account youth who have taken leadership roles in the last two years. The majority of the members are women. This probably makes the YWLL the only Communist youth organization in the world with such a central committee. More than half of the members are Black youth; 3 are Chicano, 2 Puerto Rican, 2 Native American, 2 youth from Asian nationalities, and there are many white youth. More than half are workers and 10 are industrial workers. The new national staff is the following: James Steele, former chairman of the Ohio section, was elected National Chairman; Roque Ristorucci, former chairman of the New York section, elected Executive Secretary; Matthew Berkelhammer continues as organizational secretary; Victoria Missick continues as student secretary; Jill Furillo is the new editor of the Young Worker, (she was formerly

organizational director of the Southern California section) and Jay Schaffner, former chairman of the Illinois section is the new education director.

We are now in the process of setting up commissions, dividing the work on the national staff and preparing for the first full meeting of the new central committee. We are also discussing implementation of some key activities adopted at the convention. We need to closely coordinate some of these activities with the Party. These include the development of the unemployed movement among the youth, the activities for April 4th, international day of solidarity with U.S. youth fighting against racism and other immediate questions. We also must coordinate our international work more closely with the Party, and more discussions are needed with the Women's Commission in order to improve our work in this field. The question of industrial concentration is another area in which much more ongoing discussion is required.

The Party as a whole, beginning in the clubs, must begin to familiarize itself with the work of the League and the developments in the youth movement in general. The building and consolidation of League branches must become an item on the agendas of clubs, district boards and so on. A mass League is a key guarantee for the future of our Party.

Let me conclude with some comments by Gladys Marin. Comrade Marin was very much impressed with the League convention. She cited three characteristics of the League which gave her great confidence that the League will grow: 1) a profound sense of internationalism; 2) close unity with the Party; and 3) the enthusiasm of the membership. She mentioned that these were characteristics which reminded her of her own Communist youth of Chile and this is a great and very generous compliment.

Comrade Marin also noted the fact that at our last convention we vowed to have then imprisoned Comrade Angela Davis at our next convention and that came about. Comrade Gladys then promised that the Chilean comrades would make every effort to insure that at the next convention there will be a free Chile. Such a prospect makes us look forward to fulfilling our present tasks and complementing our Chilean comrades' efforts so that next time Gladys Marin will come to our convention as a representative of a people free of fascism.

* * *

(continued from p. 7--Proctor)
of moving among white masses and fighting racism.

The Party club must become that collective capable of guiding this work through comradely criticism and self-criticism, through patient probing and the exchange of ideas and experiences.

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PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

By Arnold Becchetti

The Constitution of our Party is one of its basic documents. The Preamble lays out, in abbreviated form, the concept of the strategy and tactics of class struggle in the United States. The main body of the Constitution gives the concrete expression of the form of democratic centralism of the CPUSA. Thus, discussion of draft changes in a document of such fundamental importance is an essential part of pre-convention discussion.

A number of ideas guided the work of the committee which drafted the proposed changes to the Constitution. The most basic of these concepts was the idea of strengthening the working-class character of the Constitution. For example, in Article V, Section 2, of the draft being placed before the Party for discussion there is a call to maximize representation of industrial workers, especially oppressed peoples and women, in elections to all Party committees, conventions and conferences. In Article VII, Section 2, paragraph 3, the concept is raised that among the rights and duties of members is "the obligation of all Party members to strive for the unity and other needs of the working class." In Section 5 of the same Article, the duty of all Party members working in mass organizations to strengthen the leading role and unity of the working class and the fight for the unity and needs of the working class and its allies is raised.

The concept of strengthening the working-class character of our Constitution necessarily includes the strengthening of the Leninist concept of the Party, including the vanguard role of the Party, democratic centralism and collectivity. The places in the draft where this is done includes the Preamble, especially paragraph 11, Article III, Article IV, Section 3, and Article V, Section 1, among others.

In order to strengthen the concept of collectivity and the idea of the responsibility of leaders to the committees they are responsible to, we are proposing a change from the concept of recall of officers and members of leading committees to be replaced by the concept of their being released or removed from said offices. The idea on the one hand is to eliminate the concept of unilateral action by such leading comrades in the form of resignation, and on the other hand to strengthen the concept of collectivity by the release of comrades where there is good reason for such action and which does not involve disciplinary action against leading comrades. Release would come about where both the leading comrades and the collective feel that it would be best for the Party. The concept of removal on the other hand would be based on disciplinary action taken against leading comrades, including a refusal to make correction in his or her work after discussions.

Further proposals for changes in the Constitution include some structural changes. Some of the more important of these include the concept of having an annual club conference, the definition of club officers, the elimination of the dual category of state and/or district organizations. Another structural change which is proposed in Article V, Section 4, is the right of the Central Committee to set up regional organizations.

The draft changes for the Constitution also include a proposal to change the maximum time between conventions, both district and national, from two to four years. A widespread feeling was expressed for such a change when the Party was polled on postponing the 21st Convention to 1975, and for a number of reasons: the factional period is behind us and we have a united party; it allows more flexibility in calling other kinds of national meetings around given problems; it corresponds to the practice of political parties in the U.S.A., and is more in line with the practice of other Marxist-Leninist parties; it will help to focus more on the struggles for implementation, and it in no way excludes the possibility of calling a convention at any time if one is needed before a four year interval.

In Article VIII, dealing with controlled disciplinary procedures and appeals, some changes are introduced. One is the idea that a person may be dropped from the Party. A second is that factionalism is explicitly made a basis for disciplinary action. A third proposed change is that the Constitution explicitly spell out the obligation to inform any member of disciplinary action taken against that member. Fourth, the concept of control tasks is introduced into the Constitution.

In the Preamble to the Constitution we're proposing adding the concept that the fight for the full equality of women is also the struggle of the whole Party. This is missing in the present Preamble.

Some other concepts also guided the work of the committee. Among them was an attempt to develop a better organization of the Constitution. For example, two paragraphs which under the present Constitution are in Article VII, which deals with the rights and duties of members, but which two paragraphs had nothing to do with that question, were moved to Article III, Principles of Organization.

Other changes are being proposed based on trying to clarify language, to introduce greater internal consistency within the Constitution, to improve terminology, and to update.

It is impossible and impractical here to deal with every change which has been proposed for the Constitution. What has been done is to point out some but not all of the more important proposals. In order to properly discuss the draft changes in the Constitution, it should be compared with the present Constitution in detail. This is especially important because we felt it impractical

to try to indicate every proposed change, whether of addition, elimination or reorganization.

Finally the idea has been raised that when the Constitution, as approved by the 21st Convention of our Party is published, it should have either a table of contents, an index, or both.

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PREAMBLE

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is the political party of the working class and is dedicated to the interests of all working and specially oppressed people. Its aim is a socialist society.

Such a social system will act in the interests of the people rather than for private profit of capitalist corporations. Only through abolition of the capitalist system and the socialist reorganization of society can exploitation of one human being by another be ended, and with it the evils of oppression, war, racism, and poverty.

Under socialism, capitalist "democracy" based on domination of our economic and political life by the owners of the multi-national and other immense monopoly corporations will be replaced by socialist democracy based on public ownership and operation of the means of production, within a state led by the working class. In eliminating private profit, socialism will end the cause of national and racial oppression of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian and foreign born peoples, as well as the cause of anti-Semitism, and of the special oppression of women.

The heart of the Communist Party's day-to-day program is the struggle for peace, democracy, equality, against racism and for improvement in the living conditions of all working people. The fight of the people of our country for detente and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, in support of struggles of oppressed peoples for national liberation and against imperialist aggression is our fight.

The fight of workers for jobs and full employment, improvement of their living and working conditions, for organizing the

unorganized and defending their unions against attack by monopoly capital and its government is the fight of our Party.

The struggle for equality for Black people and against racism is central to all social progress. It is central to the fighting unity of the working class, and to the struggle for the equality of all other specially oppressed minorities. The fight of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other specially oppressed peoples for full economic, political, social and cultural equality is the fight of our whole Party.

The fight for the full equality of women is also the struggle of the whole Party. The struggle of the working people, urban and rural, for improved living conditions, against the crushing burden of taxes, for better housing, health, education, child care, cultural and recreational facilities, the struggle of the youth, the senior citizens and of the farm laborers and small farmers for their special needs--all these are our fight.

Monopoly capital and the government it dominates continually press in a reactionary, repressive direction, curtailing the democratic rights of the vast majority and increasing the threat of fascism. Our Party continually fights against this danger and to expand the democratic rights of the people.

All these struggles weaken capital and particularly challenge the monopolies that dominate the system. They are also the struggles through which the necessary conditions are created for the working class and its allies to curb the power of monopoly and proceed to take power and build socialism.

The working class is the only class capable of leading the people against the monopolies and to socialism. It faces the ruling capitalist class daily at the point of production and on all other fronts of social struggle. Because of its position in the system of production, the working class has the basis of great power and organization.

The Communist Party is part of the working class and a partisan of its interests. In the course of daily struggle, it works to increase the class and socialist consciousness and the political independence of the working class, to unite the class to defeat the main instruments of capitalist division, racism and anti-communism, and to bring the workers to the leadership of a growing people's alliance of all class and social strata whose interests clash with those of the monopolies. Only such a popular majority alliance, with the working class and the Black people as a whole at its center, is capable of curbing the power of the monopolies and opening the path to a socialist reorganization of society. The Communist Party is able to play this leading role because it is based on the science of society known as Marxism-Leninism and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

Our Party strives for socialism through peaceful expression of the majority will. Whether this will be possible depends on the

workers' ability to prevent the U.S. ruling class from using violence to block the people's will.

The Communist Party recognizes and fights for identity of interests among workers of all lands, an identity which is also in the true national interests of each country. In this spirit of working class internationalism, the Communist Party cherishes its solidarity with the world Communist movement and the socialist countries, especially with the first country of socialism, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It also seeks the closest bonds with the working class in the other capitalist countries.

In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the world's most powerful imperialism, our Party works to build the solidarity of the U.S. working class with developing countries, the national liberation movements and especially with the victims of U.S. imperialist aggression, exploitation and domination. Only through world working class solidarity and anti-imperialist unity can peaceful coexistence be assured and the world saved from nuclear war.

The historic cause of the working class determines the goals of the Communist Party. That cause is the cause of all working people and therefore of all humanity. To that end the Communist Party fights shoulder to shoulder with all who struggle for peace, democracy, equality, against racism and for improvement in the living conditions of the people. The historic destiny of the working class is, in alliance with all working people, to replace capitalist exploitation and oppression by a socialist system of common effort for the common good.

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For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party, U.S.A., establishes the basic rules of its organization in the following Constitution:

ARTICLE I

NAME

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of the United States of America.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSES

Section 1. The purposes of the Communist Party are set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution.

ARTICLE III

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The system of organization of the Communist Party

is based upon the principle of democratic centralism, which guarantees the unity of will and action of the membership and leadership. Collectivity is the basic concept of the style of work of the Party.

Democratic centralism combines the maximum involvement of the membership in determining policy and in the democratic election of leading committees with responsible direction from one national center coordinating the activity of the entire Party along common agreed-upon lines of policy.

Section 2. After a thorough discussion in any club, committee or convention, decisions are arrived at by majority vote. All members, including those who disagree, are duty bound to explain, fight for and carry out such decisions.

Decisions of leading committees on major questions shall be reported to all other Party bodies. Any member, club or committee disagreeing with a policy has the right to appeal a decision to the next higher body and request that the question be reopened and to express their views through the channels established for that purpose during pre-convention discussion periods. But no member or leader has the right to violate such decisions or to combine with others to conduct an organized struggle for their point of view. Factions are impermissible in the Communist Party.

All appeals of decisions made to the next leading committee shall be heard by the respective body within 90 days or at the next regular meeting of the committee. Appeals may be made to successive leading committees up to and including the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, the decision must nevertheless be carried out by all members of the Party.

Section 3. The principle of democratic centralism includes the obligation for all members and leaders to fulfill the decisions arrived at by the majority. Both leaders and members are bound by a common discipline.

Discipline is voluntarily assumed by members upon joining the Party and based on conviction, understanding and devotion to the cause to which the Party dedicates its efforts.

Section 4. Each Party body is subordinate to the next higher body, with central authority vested in the National Convention, the highest body of the Party, which not only has the authority to act on all aspects of Party policy and activity, but elects the national leadership to carry through its will and decisions between conventions.

Section 5. The election of officers and leading committees at all levels shall be carried out with the fullest participation of the members of the electing Party bodies.

Elections shall be on the basis of a critical review and evaluation of the work of the electing body and of the individuals

proposed for office.

Officers and leading committees are responsible both to the bodies which elected them and to the higher leading committees. All officers and members of leading committees may be released or removed from office by majority vote of the committees to which they are responsible.

Section 6. The Party as a whole, and each of its bodies including every club, shall plan and work for the mass circulation and use of our press and literature.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex or religious belief who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party shall be eligible for membership. The age requirement for admission to membership may be waived in individual cases by a majority vote of the district committee when, in its judgment, special circumstances warrant.

Section 2. An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party in good standing. Such application shall be subject to approval by a majority vote of the club to which the applicant is presented. In unorganized territory in absence of a club, the application shall be presented to the next leading committee having jurisdiction for approval.

Section 3. A Party member shall accept the Party Constitution and program as determined by the Convention, belong to a Party club, be willing to participate in the work of the club and the Party, carry out its decisions and pay dues. Membership in the Communist Party is a voluntary act of the individual.

Section 4. Party members three months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members in good standing and shall be so informed by his or her club leadership. Members who are six months in arrears shall be dropped from Party membership after effort has been made by the club leadership, through personal interviews, to bring such members into good standing. They may, however, apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the club, be permitted to pay back dues and regain their former standing.

Section 5. A member in good standing changing his or her place of residence from one district to another shall ask the district of origin to transfer his or her membership to the new district. This is to be done within 30 days. The transfer accompanied by a collective evaluation of the comrade's work, shall be submitted through the Central Committee office to the new district. The new district shall accept such a comrade as a member in that district only after

receipt of the transfer.

The sending and receiving districts and clubs shall have responsibility for processing the transfer application as quickly as possible.

ARTICLE V

STRUCTURE

Section 1. The basic unity of the Communist Party shall be the club. Clubs may be organized on a shop, industry or territorial basis.

Each club shall have officers and an executive committee which shall be elected at the time of the annual club conference. Elections shall be by secret ballot if such method is requested by any member of the club.

The purpose of the annual club conference shall be to conduct a thorough, critical review of the work of the club during the past year, and to project the plan of work for the coming year on the basis of Party policy established by the National and district conventions.

All clubs should have officers who fulfill the following functions: chairperson, financial secretary, educational director, press director, literature director, and secretary (a person who records all decisions). Two or more functions may be performed by one person. Additional officers and committees may be elected by the club.

Officers and committees are responsible to the club, and shall report on their work to the club from time to time. Financial reports shall be submitted to the club annually. Additional financial reports must be submitted when requested by a majority vote.

Section 2. In elections to all Party committees, conventions and conferences steps shall be taken to maximize the representations of industrial workers, specially oppressed peoples and women.

Section 3. District organizations may be established by the Central Committee, and may cover one state, part of one state or more than one state. Where there is more than one district in a state, the Central Committee may establish such forms as are necessary to deal with questions of state-wide importance.

The district organization shall comprise all clubs in one district. The district committee shall have the power and duty to establish whatever subdivisions best fulfill the needs of Party work, such as state, county, city or section organizations.

The highest body of the district organization is the District

Convention, which shall meet at least once every four years during the pre-convention discussion period prior to the National Convention. Each club in the district shall elect delegates to the Convention in such numbers as the district committee may determine, provided that the number of delegates to which each club is entitled shall be in proportion to its membership. To be eligible for election as a delegate, a member shall have been in good standing for at least six months.

Members of the district committee shall be elected in such manner and number as the District Convention may determine. All elections to the district committee shall be by democratic process including secret ballot.

The district committee shall elect such officers as it deems necessary. Officers so elected shall be members of the district committee by virtue of their offices, and shall be responsible to the district committee. The district committee may elect an executive committee and any other committees it deems necessary.

A vacancy among members of the district committee may be filled until the next Convention, by secret ballot and majority vote of the members of the district committee.

To be eligible for election as a district officer or member of the district committee a member shall have been in good standing for at least one year preceding the date of the election.

Special District Conventions shall be called by a majority vote of the district committee or upon the written request of clubs representing one-third of the membership of the district.

The district committee shall name a committee to administer the finances of the organization which shall be responsible to the district committee. The district committee shall make a financial report to all regular District Conventions.

District committees shall meet at least four times a year. A request by one-third of the members of the district committee or by one-third of the clubs for a review of a district policy or adoption of a new district policy requires that such a discussion be held by the district committee.

Section 4. Regional organizations may be established by the Central Committee. A regional organization may comprise two or more districts in a given geographical area of the country.

ARTICLE VI

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention which is authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership. Regular National Conventions shall be held every four years.

A National Convention may be postponed beyond the four-year limit due to extraordinary circumstances by both a three-fourths vote of the Central Committee and a majority vote of a majority of the district committees.

Section 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by each District Convention by democratic process, including secret ballot, and in such number, in approximate proportion to the membership it represents, as the Central Committee may determine. To be eligible for election as a delegate, the member shall have been in good standing for at least one year prior to the date of the Convention.

Section 3. Special National Conventions shall be called when there is an affirmative vote of 40% of the members of the Central Committee or a majority vote of 40% of all district committees. The office of the Central Committee shall circulate any official request from any district committee for a special National Convention to all other district committees for their action. The time and place of special conventions shall be fixed by the Central Committee. The basis for representation shall be determined in the same way as that for regular conventions.

Section 4. Prior to regular National Conventions, at least four months shall be provided for discussion in all Party clubs and leading committees on the main resolutions and problems coming before the convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right to propose amendments and changes to the draft resolutions, the Party Program and the Constitution, to adopt resolutions on all questions of policy and tactics and on the work and composition of all leading committees for consideration by the Convention. All policies and decisions, however, remain in full force during the preconvention discussion.

Section 5. Each National Convention shall determine the number of members of the Central Committee. Election of the Central Committee by the National Convention shall be by secret ballot.

In the election of the Central Committee, in addition to individual merit, such factors as class and social composition, wide geographic representation and political importance of the district organizations shall be considered.

Section 6. Vacancies in the Central Committee may be filled by the majority vote of the Central Committee. Members may be released or removed by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee.

Section 7. The Central Committee shall elect from its own membership an executive committee and such officers as it decides upon.

The Central Committee shall establish such other committees as it deems necessary. All such officers and committees shall be

responsible to the Central Committee.

Section 8. To be eligible for election as a national officer or member of the Central Committee, a member shall have been in good standing for at least the three years preceding the election.

Section 9. Between National Conventions, the Central Committee is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention. The decisions of the Central Committee shall be binding on all Party organizations and members.

Between National Conventions, the Central Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such has the authority to make decisions and take actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party, and to act upon all problems and developments occurring between conventions. In the fulfillment of its duties, and in the exercise of its responsibilities, the Central Committee shall guide and direct all the political, organizational and educational work of the Party, organize and supervise its various departments and committees, organize and direct all undertakings of importance to the entire Party, and administer the national treasury. The Central Committee shall submit a financial report to each National Convention.

The Central Committee and the District Committees shall encourage the widest discussion by the membership on all questions of theory and general line of Party policy. They shall provide organs to facilitate such discussions provided that in the opinion of the Central Committee such discussions do not hinder or impede the execution of Party policy and decisions or weaken the unity of the Party in action.

The Central Committee shall not make any major policy change until it has submitted the proposed change in draft form to the Party organization for debate for specified periods and for recommendations thereon. In an emergency, which must be affirmed by a two-thirds vote of the Central Committee, the Central Committee may adopt another procedure for making a major policy change, including a referendum vote of the entire membership or the calling of special enlarged, delegated conferences on a national or regional basis.

In the discussion of such major policy changes rules for pre-convention discussion shall apply in regard to the proposed policy change only except that the period of discussion may be determined by the Central Committee.

Section 10. The Central Committee shall meet at least twice a year. The officers or one-third of the members of the Central Committee may call additional meetings.

Section 11. Summaries and reports of Central Committee meetings shall be made available to District Committees and shall appear in digest form in publications available to the Party membership. Such reports may be published when the Central Committee

so determines.

All departments and leading committees shall submit reports regularly to the Central Committee.

Section 12. The officers of the Central Committee shall make known to the members of the Central Committee any request of any member of the Central Committee for either a review of a policy or the introduction of a new major policy question.

A request by one-third of the members of the Central Committee for review of a policy or for adoption of a new policy requires that such a discussion be held by the Central Committee.

ARTICLE VII

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

Section 1. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has a right and duty to participate in the making of its policies and in their execution, and to participate in the elections of the Party bodies to which he or she belongs.

A member has the right, within the Party organization, to express openly and uphold his or her opinion or differences on any question as long as the Party organization has not adopted a decision. This may be accomplished in meetings of the Party organizations and in authorized publications. After a decision, a Party member who disagrees has the right to appeal successively to the next higher body, including the National Convention. At the same time every member has the duty to carry out the majority decisions.

Members may criticize the work of all leading committees and individual leaders, irrespective of the positions they hold, for shortcomings, errors or unbecoming conduct, provided it is done in appropriate Party meetings, conferences, conventions or other Party bodies. An officer who interferes with this right of criticism shall be subject to discipline.

Any member may address a question or statement to a leading committee through proper Party channels. All intermediary bodies will forward such communications promptly. Leading committees must respond as promptly as possible.

During preconvention discussion, members have the right and duty within Party organizations and publications designated for the purpose to discuss any and all Party policies and tactics, and the right to criticize the work and composition of all leading committees.

Section 2. A member shall strive to attend all club meetings. Members shall continually strive to improve their political knowledge and their understanding of Marxism-Leninism, to take part in the discussion of Party policy, to initiate activities, to work for the aims and policies of the Party, and to seek to win new members

to its ranks. They also shall read, circulate and help improve Party publications. All members shall circulate the press and make work with the press central to their mass activity.

Each member shall practice criticism and self-criticism with the aim of improving the work of the Party, its bodies, and his or her own activity, and shall fight against shortcomings, violations of democracy, unconstitutional procedure and manifestations of bureaucracy. The Central Committee and leadership at all levels shall take the initiative and give the lead for the development of the fullest criticism and self-criticism in regard to shortcomings and resolutely strive for their correction.

It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle for the unity and other needs of the working class, against all forms of national oppression, national chauvinism, discrimination and segregation, against all racist ideologies and practices, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism. It shall be the duty of all Party members to fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Black people and promote the unity of Black and white as essential to the advancement of their common interests.

It shall be the obligation of all Party members to fight for social, political and economic equality for Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asian peoples, other oppressed national minorities, and the foreign-born in the United States.

It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all manifestations of male supremacy and discrimination against women, and to fight for the full social, political and economic equality of women.

Section 3. All leading committees shall seek a maximum of consultation with other committees, Party clubs and the membership in policy formation, and especially with those comrades directly involved. In the period between conventions, the various Party organizations, from Section Committee to Central Committee, may organize delegated conferences to evaluate Party work in a given field or to develop a position on new issues which may arise. Other forms of consultation may include membership referendum.

Section 4. All Party members who are eligible must belong to their respective trade unions.

Section 5. All Party members working in mass organizations (trade unions, farm, community, fraternal, etc) shall promote and strengthen the unity and leading role of the working class, and fight for the unity and needs of the working class and its allies.

Section 6. All members who are eligible shall register to vote in elections for public office.

Section 7. The Party shall give full aid in the acquisition of United States citizenship to those of its members who, because of unjust and undemocratic laws and practices, are deprived of this right.

ARTICLE VIII

CONTROL, DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES AND APPEALS

Section 1. Subject to the provisions of this Article, any member or officer of the Party may be reprimanded, put on probation, suspended for a specified period, removed from office, dropped or expelled from the Party for actions detrimental to the interests of the Party and the working class, for factionalism, for making false statements in an application for membership, for financial irregularities, or for advocacy or practice of racial, national or religious discrimination, or discrimination on the basis of sex.

No action, including dropping, may be taken against a member without notifying him or her of the action.

Control tasks may be assigned to help comrades to overcome weaknesses and shortcomings

Section 2. Subject to the provisions of this Article, any member shall be expelled from the Party who is a strikebreaker, a provocateur, engaged in espionage, an informer, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who participates in the activities of any group which acts to undermine or overthrow any democratic institutions through which the majority of the American people can express their right to determine their destiny.

Section 3. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member or Party committee to the club of which the accused is a member or to the appropriate higher committee having jurisdiction. All such charges shall be handled expeditiously by an elected trial committee of the club or appropriate higher body. The trial committee shall hear charges, make recommendations and then disband.

Section 4. All accused persons concerned in disciplinary cases, except publicly self-admitted informers and provocateurs, shall have the right to appear, to bring witnesses, including non-members if agreed to by the trial committee, and to testify. The burden of proof shall be on the accusers.

Section 5. After hearing the report of the trial committee, the club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by a two-thirds vote upon any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees shall be reported to the member's club. Higher bodies must be informed of all disciplinary actions above a reprimand.

There shall be an automatic review of all expulsions by the next higher body.

Section 6. Any member or committee that has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final. The Central, District, or other leading committee shall set a hearing within 60 days from the date of receipt of the appeal and notify the appellant of the hearing date. When, however, the appeal is to a district or National Convention, the appeal shall be acted upon by the Convention following the filing of the appeal.

ARTICLE IX

INITIATION FEES, DUES AND ASSESSMENTS

Section 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

Section 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be apportioned among the various subdivisions of the Party as determined by the National Convention.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the Central Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the Central Committee.

ARTICLE X

AMENDMENT

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of any regular or special National Convention, or by referendum initiated by the Central Committee or one-third of the district organizations. It must be approved by a three-fourths vote of the Central Committee and a majority vote of the majority of the District Committees. This vote must be preceded by a minimum of a two-month discussion period in the Party organizations.

ARTICLE XI

AUTHORITY

Section 1. The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article, or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of the National Conventions and the regularly constituted leadership of the Party.

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