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The official Convention button is now available through your district. The colors are red, white and blue in keeping with the theme of the Convention Rally--the Bicentennial Festival to Advance the Struggle for Jobs and Democracy, Against Racism and War. (The button is about half the size of the photo on the left.)

ON TO THE CHICAGO AMPHITHEATER JUNE 29!

By Arnold Johnson

Political history will be made when 5,000 Communists, friends and political activists from the working class and people's progressive movement--and from all parts of this country--meet in Chicago's International Amphitheater Convention Arena on Sunday afternoon, June 29. That will be a political breakthrough. That will be a Bicentennial Festival to Advance the Struggle for Jobs and Democracy, Against Racism and War. A cultural program will be a major part of the Festival.

At this event, the substance of the three previous days of the 21st National Convention of our Party and the essence of the program for the 1976 elections will be presented. The Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, who will be nominated at the concluding Convention session in the morning, will make their acceptance speeches at the public festival on Sunday afternoon.

This festival takes place in the same convention arena where the Democratic Party convention was held in 1968. This is the site of most of the 24 Republican and Democratic Conventions held in Chicago since 1860. And now the Communist Party, together with others, moves into that Convention Hall. When people understand its significance, they will want to be there.

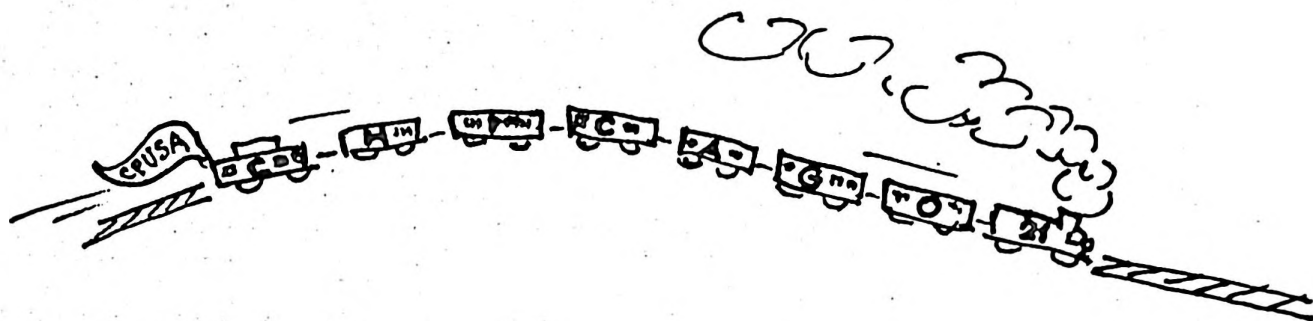
The Amphitheater provides the opportunity for a new mass breakthrough in keeping with many major political events. On the world scene, great victory and liberation of Vietnam and Cambodia from U.S. imperialism calls for more than one celebration. Add to that, the liberation of Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Ethiopia and Greece and the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries.

On the domestic scene, the most recent election campaign of Mark Allen with 35 percent of the vote for Berkeley City Council, the developments among the steel workers and the District 31 elections, the coal miners, the mass demonstration of 75,000 workers and unemployed in Washington, the earlier coalition struggle on November 26 in 40 cities across the country, the July 4 mass demonstration of 10,000 in Raleigh, North Carolina, against racism, the whole struggle in the country against the junta in Chile, the Watergate and impeachment exposures and struggles, and yes, the election

IN THIS ISSUE

Page

<u>On to the Chicago Amphitheater, Arnold Johnson</u>	1
<u>On the Party and Party Building, Arnold Lockshin</u>	5
<u>Plan of Work in the Fight Against Racism, Judy Gallo</u>	9
<u>On Workers' Health, National Health Commission</u>	18
<u>Suggested Additions to the Resolution on the Aged, 1199 Retiree Club</u>	24
<u>Broadening the Peace Movement in Rhode Island, Margaret Cann</u>	26
<u>Comments on the Draft Resolution, Jerry L.</u>	27
<u>The Campaign for Solidarity with Chile, Angela Davis Club</u>	29
<u>Notes on "Agriculture Today and Farm Struggles, Rose Bruns</u>	31
<u>For the Daily Worker, Richard Ashby</u>	34
<u>There is No Other Path--We Must Build the Rank and File, Study Group, DuBois-Foster School</u>	35
<u>CLUW: A Working Class CLUW to Working Class Unity, Study Group, DuBois-Foster School</u>	37
<u>Building Class and Socialist Consciousness, Study Group DuBois-Foster School</u>	40
<u>Preparations for European Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties, Constance Bart</u>	45



campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner breaking through to millions in 1972--and the great mass struggle and victory for the freedom of Angela Davis. Many more events can be listed. This calls for a new mass breakthrough for our Party, and the people's mass struggles on the political scene can be advanced by 5,000 and more in that Amphitheater arena on Sunday afternoon, June 29th at 1:30 P.M. There will be a good cultural program and politics to move the struggle.

Not only will Party members and friends want to be there, but those independent forces--workers in unions, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and the oppressed who are in struggle, those who are in the fight against inflation and unemployment, the new movements of the women in struggle, of the youth in the high schools and on the college campuses, and in the neighborhoods looking for jobs, the peace and anti-imperialist forces, the broad masses and the activists who fight racism and repression--must be given the opportunity to join in this major political event. Ask them, visit them, write to people--and organize meetings to discuss how welcome they are and let them help decide how to get to this event.

Comrade Henry Winston sent a letter which emphasized the political importance of the event and the organizational steps and quotas from every district. We repeat the quotas here because the entire membership must be involved in achieving these goals.

Illinois has the big job and expects to have more than its quota of 3,500. They had a major role in deciding on this event.

The quotas of the Midwest district are: Wisconsin--200; Indiana--200; Michigan--150; Minnesota--100; Ohio--100; Missouri--100; Pittsburgh--75; Iowa--25. While these quotas have been accepted, each district should make sure that every possible step is taken to go behind its quota. Many from these districts can make the trip, possibly on a one-day basis by train, bus and auto.

The quotas of the Eastern district are: New York--500; Connecticut--100; Eastern Pennsylvania--100; Baltimore-D.C.--100; New Jersey--50; Boston--50; West Virginia--10. These quotas were based in part on distance and, at the same time, on their demonstrated ability in other one-day mass actions.

The quotas for the West are: Northern California--50; Southern California--50; Oregon--10; Washington state--25; Arizona-New Mexico--10; Utah--10; Colorado--10. These districts have the largest distances and have accepted the quotas. For the South, the quota is 300. That is a major political task. The quota for the YWLL is 500, and that should be over-fulfilled.

Comrade Winston's letter also indicated quotas for national groups and national minorities which are included in the District quotas. This is to help guarantee a working class character and a certain special attention to the composition of the delegations.

In visiting a number of districts, it became clear that immediate attention has to be given in each district to making lists of persons to be invited, contacting them, getting them involved in bringing or inviting others.



This process of just inviting people can be an important occasion to open the door for further discussion on Party building. The act of invitation is an expression of confidence and can develop into many helpful discussions.

It is also necessary to invite and plan early so that people can make preparations including helping to meet the financial needs. Some who cannot come to the event will help finance others, etc. And everybody who does come should help organize or contribute to the cost--even while it may also be at some expense in taking time off from work.

This cannot be done only on an individual person-to-person basis but should be discussed in Party clubs and committees. It is a collective responsibility.

In California, a leading comrade said, "We just don't seem to have the people or the finances to do all these things. But maybe doing this can help make us build the Party and solve a lot of other problems."

A survey of first reactions shows that in every area there is real enthusiasm for this mass event which will be a most effective additional demonstration of the role of our Party. It will have an important influence on the total 1976 election campaign and give political strength to the independent forces--to move left--and advance the struggle for jobs and democracy and against racism and war.

On the Party and Party Building

By Arnold Lockshin, District
Organizer, Southern California

The objective factors which make it possible for the Communist Party to become a mass party are present and further developing rapidly. Masses of people want to join in united struggles that can lead to victory over monopoly. Many of these people can be won to fight for the ultimate victory over capitalism -- socialism -- and to join the revolutionary organization most instrumental in securing that victory--the Communist Party, U.S.A.

There is daily evidence that in increasing numbers masses and important mass leaders support and agree with our Party's policies and program. While we have made important gains in Party building since the 20th National Convention, we are not satisfied with the extent of the progress. We know that our growth is not commensurate with the growth of the Party's influence.

This lag parallels a certain gap in our Party's work: the correctness of the Party's line and policies as contrasted with our weaknesses in fully implementing this line. Overcoming this contradiction is the most fundamental question which we need to solve in order to achieve maximum growth of the Party in the period ahead.

Experience demonstrates that the best growth of the Party occurs when and where we fight to implement the line of our Party among masses and simultaneously conduct a Party-building campaign. Especially noteworthy since the 20th Convention was the breakthrough Hall-Tyner 1972 presidential election campaign, the tremendous struggle to free Comrade Angela Davis and the building of the rank-and-file movements in the shops and unions.

For a successful Party-wide Party-building campaign, we need to make certain features a "trademark" of our Party:

(1) The full activation of every Communist collective, from the clubs to the national leadership, in giving concrete leadership to mass united-front struggles against monopoly. Communist leadership means building mass united front formations of struggle. It means concrete leadership which must be checked on and reviewed, critically and self-critically, in order to constantly improve and expand the work.

(2) In our mass work, we need to regain the strategic concept of the "main link in the chain" of struggle. We need to direct the main force of our Party to focus on that issue(s) that is most decisive. To try to fight with equal strength on many fronts simultaneously means to disperse our forces and to reduce our effectiveness. If we focus on the main link, we will greatly maximize our strength and effectiveness.

At the present moment, the "main link in the chain" is the fight-back against monopoly's starvation and ruin policies, that is, the fight-back against inflation and unemployment. In many ways, the current economic crisis is similar to the economic crisis of the 1930's, at which time the Communist Party led the fight-back and, in so doing, became a mass force in the country.

To focus on the "main link" does not down-grade other mass struggles. But it places before us the task of finding the inter-relationship of all other struggles to the "main link."

(3) We must win the entire Party for a policy of industrial concentration. Our main focus in winning mass support on issues, especially the main issue(s), must be to win the basic industrial workers in steel, auto, electrical, transport, etc., first of all. The basic industrial sector of the working class - Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Indian, men and women, young and old - is the leading force in the struggle against monopoly. Only the basic industrial working class has the capacity to unite around it the working class as a whole together with its main ally, the Black people, and all oppressed peoples and the non-monopoly strata and classes.

(4) The concrete struggle against racism must be central to all mass struggles. Racism is the main divisive tool of the ruling class; the fight against racism is in the interest of the entire working class and people.

Under conditions of greater mass struggle, recognition of the need for unity increases, laying the basis for winning masses against racism on a much broader scale.

(5) We need to greatly intensify the mass ideological struggle and to win greater ideological clarity within the Party itself. With respect to building the Party, it is especially necessary to combat all liquidationist concepts or influences.

(6) The further steeling (or Bolshevization) of our Party is necessary in order to develop a much larger cadre of Communists of the Leninist mold and to meet the machinations of the class enemy. First and foremost, this means strict adherence to democratic centralism. The Leninist standards of our Party require that all Party members actively fight for Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Party's agreed-to line and its implementation among masses.

As we raise the ideological level of the entire membership, we need to enforce the working class norms of Party rules and Communist morality.

The monopoly ruling class works day and night to limit the effectiveness and growth of the Communist Party. (COINTELPRO revelations; threat on Gus Hall's life; attempt by state to frame and legally murder Angela Davis.) It sets a high priority on attacking our Party, and it is not constrained by democratic principle or ethical practices. The ruling class knows very well the potential of the working class and people, with a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary working class Party helping to give leadership to struggles.

Monopoly spends vast sums of money and prepares elaborate plans to inculcate bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology within the working class and peoples' movements in order to disarm the exploited and oppressed. Its special ideological weapon is world-wide ideological diversionism from Marxism and "refined" anti-Communism, often spread in the name of "Marxism" (Mao, Sweezy, Garaudy, Kinoy, Debray, Marcuse; also McLuhan, Brzezinski, etc.). The central focus of ruling class ideology in this new stage is to subvert the socialist countries "from within" and to discredit the socialist world, the U.S.S.R. in the first place, and the communist parties in the eyes of masses becoming rapidly radicalized.

As we focus maximum effort on building powerful, united mass movements of struggle, we must at the same time take into account the extensive and many-sided ruling class ideological offensive. This enemy ideological offensive has a deeper impact in the U.S. because it is built upon years of McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria directed against the C.P. and the severe repression our Party faced during that period.

At the same time, we must grasp what is new: that the growing crises of monopoly have shaken the confidence of millions in capitalism and that bourgeois ideology holds less sway.

In order to build our Party, we need to more boldly combat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology among masses and to overcome influences of this ideology within the Party (on following questions):

- Primacy of the working class,
- Role of the C.P. as vanguard of the working class,
- Role of the Soviet Union as the main pillar of the world working class and revolutionary movement; internationalism,
- Struggle against racism,
- Struggle against nationalism. Also male supremacy, feminism - all non-proletarian ideology,
- Petty-bourgeois radicalism - Maoism, Trotskyism, "new" communist party, N.A.M., social democratic reformism, etc.

(Much of this is already in the Draft Resolution.)

Building the Communist Party in numbers and strengthening

the Party internally are not isolated tasks. The quantitative and qualitative growth of the C.P. is part and parcel of carrying through our mass tasks and the ideological struggle. In fact, the main achievement of our mass and ideological work is building the C.P. A much larger and more powerful C.P. is a prerequisite for effectively combatting monopoly and paving the way to socialism.

To build the C.P., we need to consciously see recruitment as part of the mass and ideological struggles. This means a planned approach to mass work, so as to guarantee recruiting the best people, especially workers, with whom we are in struggle. We cannot rely on spontaneity. We need to interrelate our mass work with use of the Marxist-Leninist press (Daily World and People's World), Political Affairs and party pamphlets. We need to bring co-workers to Marxist classes, mass meetings, social affairs, etc. We need membership committees in each district and a membership secretary for each club.

While our main attention should be directed to rapidly increasing the size of our Party, we do not recruit everyone to the Party. The main criterion for recruitment should be people who have demonstrated a capacity and willingness to fight the class enemy in mass struggle. We want the best fighters from among our class and people to join the C.P.

We do not expect all potential or new members to be fully versed in Marxism. New recruits come into our Party with varying degrees of non-Marxist ideological influences and misconceptions. What we do want are people who want to learn more about Marxism-Leninism and who have high moral standards. We need to know the full background of each candidate member. This is an essential element in keeping new recruits in the Party as well as raising the ideological level of new cadre as rapidly as possible. We need to strengthen the Party's Review Commission nationally and in the districts.

Our Party clubs have the main responsibility for recruitment, and it is to the clubs that we must direct our main attention. While we aim to help every club to recruit, we should focus attention on the concentration shop and community clubs to make a break-through. This includes developing club plans of work (as part of a national and district plans), check-up and review, the assignment of district leadership to these clubs, etc.

* * *

Onward to



Plan of Work in the Fight Against Racism

The following report, proposed by Judy Gallo, Labor Secretary of the New York District, is a collective document of the New York State Staff and Board. It was adopted by the State Committee, N.Y. District, CPUSA, April 1975.

INTRODUCTION

Racism is and has always been the favored weapon in monopoly's arsenal, used to divide and weaken the U.S. working class, and to reap superprofits for the ruling class at the expense of both Black and white workers. Today, the U.S. ruling class finds itself in the midst of a severe economic and political crisis at home and growing isolation around the world, as the world balance of forces continues to shift decisively in favor of socialism. Under these weakened conditions the ruling class is relying more and more on its trusted weapon of racism, and firing volley after volley at the working class and its allies.

We are witnessing the wiping out of many of the gains made through the struggles of the 1960's. The use of quotas for college admissions, job hiring and political representation has come under widespread attack as "reverse racism," and is being rapidly abandoned. The use of busing as one measure to achieve quality, desegregated education has become the focal point for violent resistance. Gains won in hiring practices have fallen victim to the economic depression, as strict application of the seniority principle eliminates countless nationally oppressed workers from their jobs.

All of this is accompanied by an ideological assault--a flood of films, TV programs, and so forth which perpetuate racist stereotypes as well as an abundance of pseudo-scientists who are renewing old "theories" as to the genetic superiority of white people over people of color. The intent is to provide an ideological rationale for the current racist drive of the ruling class.

Here in New York in recent years we have witnessed: the Attica murders, the police killings of Thomas Glover, Claude Reese and other nationally oppressed youth, the organized resistance to desegregated housing in Forest Hills and elsewhere as well as to integrated schooling in Brooklyn and other parts of the city. Further, New York is the home of the powerful Building Trades union, a union which has great influence within the AFL and which has a long history of racial exclusion of Black and Spanish-speaking workers from the industry and from the craft unions. New York is the home also

of Albert Shanker, one of the most powerful, reactionary, racist forces in the N.Y. and national labor movements.

At the same time, the economic and political crisis of U.S. capitalism has given rise to a new upsurge in the working class and peoples' movements. The anger of the people is expressing itself in a growing strike wave, in the rejection of class collaborationist leadership in the trade unions, in delegations and demonstrations to pressure elected officials, and in countless other ways. A high point in this resistance movement will occur on April 26 in Washington, D.C. with a mass march and rally which may reach 100,000 people.

Under these conditions a new atmosphere is created in which to wage the struggle against racism, a climate in which it is possible to make significant progress on this front, as Comrade Hall points out in his "Basics" article on the fight against racism. It is a time that is ripe for a united movement of Black, Brown and white people in the fight for their common class interests, as well as for the special needs of nationally oppressed workers and people. It is a time when decisive blows can be dealt against racism and victories can be won.

At the same time "we cannot take for granted that we are going to move in a progressive direction," as Comrade Proctor points out in the March issue of Party Affairs. "The mood of the people is critical. They are looking for something or someone to blame . . . for the crisis conditions they are faced with. While conditions are ripe for building unity in struggle, they are also ripe for the exploitation of existing prejudices and the creation of false scapegoats." And, while we work to defeat monopoly's racist assault, there are other forces at work to play demagogically upon these economic insecurities of the people and to prevent a united movement from being built. You should know that a recent poll showed George Wallace receiving 28% of the vote among those who consider themselves to be independents. These are serious danger signs.

Thus, the building of a united movement of Black and white will not happen spontaneously, but requires leadership -- first and foremost the leadership of our Party as the most advanced contingent of the working class. We must provide leadership in practical struggle and ideological leadership as well. For, "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." (Proctor, Party Affairs, Feb. 1975)

Our Party is therefore confronted with a major task: to give the kind of leadership in this period which will help weld unity of the working class, and between the working class and its allies -- a unity which can decisively defeat the racist thrust coming from the ruling class. To do this effectively we must have confidence in the white sector of the working class, and in our ability to win them in the struggle against racism, in their own class, self interest.

Our Party has a long history of leading the struggle against

racism, going back to the Party's earliest years. We can point to examples of very fine work being done by white comrades in Canarsie, Brooklyn Heights, and Lower East Side of Manhattan, and in many of the trade unions today.

But this work is not enough to meet the challenge we face, and we must recognize the need to qualitatively improve our work, to overcome whatever weaknesses and hesitation exist which hold us back from taking the necessary initiatives.

To accomplish this, we must be organized. We need a Plan of Work. We must set ourselves concrete goals and tasks in our mass work, with timetables and forms of check-up and control whereby we can measure our progress and our effectiveness. We must pinpoint responsibility, beginning with the leadership.

We must, in addition, take steps to qualitatively improve the internal life of our Party. In recent months the State leadership has been faced with a number of very sharp situations of white chauvinism within the Party--situations that had reached a critical point and required urgent, special attention. Some of these reached the point where charges were brought and administrative measures were required. In addition, there are many other situations which, if not corrected, will become critical in the near future. This reflects the fact that the general level of the struggle against white chauvinism within our Party is far from satisfactory. Leading white comrades bear a particular responsibility for the existing situation and have a special responsibility for correcting it as well. We must say, self-critically, that the State leadership, the Board, staff and State Committee have not moved as quickly as they should have to give leadership to the situation, to take the necessary steps to strengthen the Party and better equip it to meet its mass tasks in the fight against racism. This Plan of Work is a beginning step in that direction.

Any plan of work which we adopt must include measures dealing with both the mass tasks of the Party and the internal life of the Party and must see the interrelationship between the two. That is, it must recognize that it is against the ruling class that the struggle must be waged and that the work done by our Party in building a united struggle against the ruling class will at the same time strengthen the Party internally. A purely internal campaign to cleanse the Party of white chauvinism, a campaign which ignores mass struggle, would be self-defeating and accomplish little or nothing. At the same time, the Plan must take into account adequately the need for waging a struggle within the Party to raise the level of ideological understanding among white comrades via a process of internal education. It must recognize also the need for constructive criticism and self-criticism and must create the kind of atmosphere in which such self-criticism and criticism can freely and honestly take place.

The following Plan of Work was developed by the staff and has been approved by the State Committee.

PLAN OF WORK

The Plan of Work deals with three areas: work in the communities, work in the trade union movement and work within the Party.

In the Communities

We project three communities which are predominantly white or have sizeable white populations as concentration points in the immediate period. These are: the Flatbush Section of Brooklyn, Borough Park in Brooklyn and the Lower East Side. We project adding Inwood as a fourth area as soon as possible and a fifth in Queens, to be decided upon by the Queens County leadership.

Flatbush

Flatbush is a Brooklyn community of approximately 40,000 residents, about 80% white, with a growing Black population. It is located adjacent to several Black communities. There is also a small but growing number of Puerto Rican people and a Puerto Rican community nearby. A racist reaction to the changing composition of the community is being whipped up by reaction. Virtually all politicians --Republican, Democrat and Reform Democrat--have racist planks in their platforms. The sharpest issues are now around schools and housing. There is strong resistance from white parents to increasing the number of Black and Puerto Rican children in particular schools beyond the point of 30%, couched in the rationale that "we don't want our schools to become segregated." So-called "specialized" schools are being established to draw white students to attend and to exclude Black and Puerto Rican students. Finally, there have been large rallies against busing in the area. In all of these instances, racism is being used to prevent a united fight by Black, Puerto Rican and white parents for quality, desegregated education for all children.

In the area of housing, landlords are allowing buildings to deteriorate and placing the blame on Black and Puerto Rican tenants. And there is organized resistance to allowing Black and Puerto Rican families to rent in certain mainly white areas. Black comrades have been the victims of discrimination by real estate agencies.

There are two Party clubs in the area and one League branch. A special club conference was held on the fight against racism and plans were developed for raising the level of struggle against racism by the mass organizations in the area. There has been some discussion of building a united, multi-issue organization that would include the fight against racism in its work, but these discussions have yet to be concretized. We project that this work continue, and that the State leadership give assistance in further developing the work and helping to concretize some of the existing plans.

Borough Park

Borough Park is an area where four different groupings reside: a large and growing Jewish community, including both Hassidic and

Reform Jews, Italians and a growing Puerto Rican population. It has been marked by serious racial tensions and violence mainly due to the reactionary elements among the Hassidic population seeking to take over the area and drive out the Puerto Rican people. While this is true, at the same time there are serious problems of unemployment (24%) and slum housing which affect all working class elements in the community, Hassidic as well as Puerto Rican. And there is a history of some past joint struggle by both groups against job discrimination. Thus there is a class basis for united struggle around common issues affecting the entire class, provided the divisive effects of racism against the Puerto Rican population can be effectively combatted.

A special conference of the Party was held on April 12 to map out an approach to work in this community. Approximately 20 comrades attended, including comrades living in or near the area as well as leading members of the Jewish Commission, the Puerto Rican Commission and the Board. Cadre assignments were made to strengthen a weak club situation in the area, and overall responsibility for helping to guide the work was taken by the Brooklyn County leadership and by members of the staff.

The approach which was worked out at that conference, can, we think, become a model for Party work in other areas if it is carried out properly. It included:

1. Contacting progressive forces in the area for the purpose of discussing the problems in the community. (This includes Jewish cultural groups, tenants organizations, trade union forces, the Brooklyn Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment, church groups, social clubs, Puerto Rican organizations, etc.)
2. The focus of the discussions with such forces and of the projected conference would be on the need for peace in the community, not violence, and on the common class concerns that affect all groups (unemployment, housing, etc.). Out of the conference a plan would be developed for reaching into the community and building a counter-force to the reactionary elements and isolating them.
3. The plan would include many different forms of activity: house-to-house visits, forums, meetings in churches, developing special literature for circulation, petitions, demonstrations, etc. One of the first activities being undertaken is to work with the Brooklyn Coalition to guarantee one or more buses from the area to go to Washington for the April 26 demonstration.

The aim of the work is to "turn Borough Park around," to make a qualitative turn in the situation. Periodic check-up should be made by the staff and board as to the progress being made and any problems which need assistance. The State Board should receive a written report from comrades responsible for the work approximately 6 months from the time of this meeting and again in one year. In one year's time we hope to be able to report that substantial progress has been made toward our goals in that community.

The Lower East Side

The Lower East Side is a mixed community, approximately 40% Puerto Rican, with a 15% Black population and a 45% white population. The key struggle there in recent years, as we all know, has been around the question of community participation in and control of the schools, a struggle which is now focused on the School Board elections and on the issue of who will be the School Superintendent. The Por Los Niños slate, supported by Puerto Rican, Chinese, Black and white parents is opposed by the Shanker slate, a primarily white slate opposed to the concept of community control.

Our comrades have been working in that situation for a number of years. This year a new effort was made to reach white residents and win their support for the Por Los Niños slate and against Shanker's racist influence. The Party helped initiate a special committee to reach into the white community, called the Lower East Side Unity Committee. It has had important success in reaching and convincing white residents. We need to evaluate that effort further and draw the proper lessons from it for the Party.

The Plan of Work projects that we continue our work on the Lower East Side, with the immediate goal of winning a decisive majority of progressive forces on the School Board and the selection of a School Superintendent who enjoys the support of the community. We also project the goal of taking one or more buses to Washington on April 26 from that community.

We project also a special club conference following the May 6 School Board elections to evaluate the work done by the Party up to this point, to discuss any problems that exist in the work and to develop projections for future work. The club conference should be attended by representatives from the State Board. A written report of the Conference should be submitted to the Board and to the State Committee.

Queens

Queens is a predominantly white area with concentrations of Black population in various parts of the borough as well as growing numbers of Haitians, Dominicans and Columbians. Housing and schools are generally segregated. Reactionary white landlords and Zionist elements have been extremely active in recent years in Forest Hills and elsewhere in organizing resistance by whites to efforts of Black people to move into the area, to bus their children to predominantly white schools, etc. There have been incidents of violence, and tensions are often quite high.

The precise area of Queens to be selected for concentration work will be determined by the comrades in Queens in a discussion to be held soon.

While we are projecting five communities for concentration, we want to stress that the struggle against racism is a responsibility of every white comrade and all community clubs, regardless of whether

they are in one of the concentration areas or not. This means that white comrades must be involved in the struggles for desegregated housing and schools, against racist police repression, and so forth, wherever they are living and doing their political work. It means we must respond to all efforts of the ruling class to use racism to divide the communities. If there is a firebombing of a home which Black people are slated to move into, for example, we must react immediately to mobilize progressive forces to protect that home, as was done for example by auto workers recently in Chicago. Even more important than reacting to events after they happen is the necessity of working to create the kind of climate in the communities which reduces the possibility of such incidents happening in the first place. This means working consistently to fight all manifestations of racism in the communities and within the mass organizations in which we work.

Work in Mass Organizations

There is a need to raise the level of the struggle against racism by the mass movements we are part of: the various movements against the economic crisis, the peace movements, housing movements, women's and youth movements etc. This means both involving those movements directly in the struggle against racism and combatting internal reflections of racism within those organizations.

To make this concrete, the Plan proposes that comrades responsible for Party work in each area of mass work organize a special discussion among comrades working in that area. The discussion should include the question of what the mass organization is doing or should be doing about the special concerns of nationally oppressed people (re: jobs, housing, or whatever.) It should include the question of events or campaigns that the organization should be asked to support (such as the campaign for one million signatures to expel South Africa from the UN, support for the freedom of Rev. Ben Chavis and other political prisoners selected by the National Alliance, support for the Puerto Rican Day Parade, etc.). Finally, it should include how to combat manifestations of racism within that mass organization (acts of chauvinism, exclusion of nationally oppressed people from full participation in the organization and its leadership, etc.). Such discussions should be held within 2 months of this meeting, and the results of such discussions should be written and submitted to the State leadership.

Work in Trade Union Movement

It isn't possible for a plan of work in the struggle against racism to analyze the particular problems of racism in all of the industries and unions where we have comrades working or to outline the specific tasks in each industry and union. What we do want to do in the Plan of Work is to call upon each club and sections in industry to conduct a discussion as to these specific problems and to develop a plan for struggle against them. Such discussions should be held within two months and the results reported in written form to the District. Guides for such discussions should be prepared by the State Labor Commission and the Education Department. (Where such

plans already exist and work is going on, the discussion can center on how to improve such work).

The Plan also singles out for special attention two main areas where racist influence is extremely powerful and which have an impact on the entire labor movement. These are: the construction industry and the craft unions in the Building Trades and the influences of Right Social Democracy and racist policies in the United Federation of Teachers as exemplified by Albert Shanker.

Albert Shanker and the UFT

Right Social Democratic and racist policies in the UFT play a tremendous, detrimental role in the labor movement, not only in New York City and State but nationally as well. These influences reach into many different arenas where we are working: in the UFT, of course, but also in CLUW, in communities like District 1 and others, in the Reform Democratic Clubs and elsewhere. What is needed is a coordinated approach by comrades working in all of these areas to build Black and white unity in the trade unions and communities as the key to building the most effective possible movement for the interests of teachers and other school personnel as well as the children and their parents.

The Plan of Work therefore calls for a meeting of representative comrades working in all of these areas to discuss problems, experiences and approaches to combatting the influence of these Right Social Democratic, racist policies. The purpose of the meeting would be to increase our understanding of how better to work in the situation and how to coordinate our work. Periodic similar meetings should be considered, if necessary. Objective goals should be set which could include, among others: election of more progressive, Black and white, leadership throughout the union, reducing the influence of Right Social Democratic forces in CLUW, winning the concept of quotas for representation of nationally oppressed people, women and youth in Reform Democratic clubs and elsewhere.

Work in the Building Trades

It wasn't possible to prepare concrete proposals for the Plan of Work in time for this meeting. Such proposals should be worked out at a meeting of the Building Trade club with participation from the State Labor Commission. Comrades working in the Central Labor Council should also be included in such a discussion as well as comrades from other areas of Party work where the Building Trades play an influential role. This meeting should be held within two months.

Problems of Lay-Offs Affecting Black, Puerto Rican and Other Nationally Oppressed Workers

The fact that the economic depression is hitting nationally oppressed peoples hardest and causing countless numbers of nationally oppressed workers to be thrown out of work is a problem which we must give serious attention to how to deal with. It is essential to

stress that the overall framework for our approach must be the fight for jobs for all workers as a right. This framework and only this framework helps overcome the pitting of worker-against-worker in the competition for a shrinking number of jobs and places the question on the basis of a united fight against monopoly instead. Within this framework, we must consider ideas which creatively deal with the immediate lay-off problems nationally oppressed workers face--including ideas which call for some modification of the strict application of seniority. The State Labor Commission is instructed to discuss this problem with comrades in each industry where the problem exists with the aim of developing a concrete approach to the struggle in that industry.

The Struggle Against White Chauvinism Within Our Party

We project a major conference on the struggle against racism for the fall. This conference should be, not the starting point for the struggle, but the culmination of work done between now and then. It should reflect the experiences gained in those struggles, the problems faced, and the lessons to be drawn.

To help further develop the struggle against racism in the mass movement and its reflections within our Party between now and then, we project that each club, or perhaps a grouping of several clubs, conduct a discussion on this question. The discussions should be viewed as part of pre-Convention work and should be held between now and the time of the national Convention. The discussions should focus on the problems of racism existing in the communities or shops where we are working and our comrades' experiences in trying to deal with them. It should also bring out any problems of white chauvinism existing within the club, and begin or continue the process of correcting those weaknesses. The atmosphere for such discussions should be comradely as well as frank and honest. To assist the clubs in these discussions, the Education Department of the District is instructed to prepare a guideline for each club to be completed and sent to the clubs within two weeks. Written reports of the club's discussions should be turned in to the District office before the National Convention. In addition, clubs should read Gus Hall's "Basics" article (now in the form of a national leaflet) on this question, the Opening Remarks of Roscoe Proctor in the February issue of Party Affairs, Proctor's article in the March Party Affairs on the economic crisis and the special resolution on the fight against racism when it becomes available.

In addition, there will be special materials available following the National Convention on the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation. Two popular pamphlets are being prepared: one on the question of the fight for the independence of Puerto Rico and one on the problems faced by Puerto Rican people within the U.S. There will also be a plan of work for the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation and against racism as it relates to Puerto Rican people. When these materials become available, we should organize special discussions in each club, or again, perhaps among a number of clubs, on this question. This is especially important for our Party in New York State where the largest concentration of Puerto Rican people in the U.S. now resides. Many

incidents have revealed that the understanding of many white comrades in our Party on the question of Puerto Rican liberation is far from what it must be, that there is a widespread ignorance on the questions of culture and language, and a great deal of insensitivity expressed toward Puerto Rican comrades and people because of this. We must begin the process of correcting this situation immediately.

CONCLUSIONS

If we carry out the plan of work projected in the mass struggle against racism and its reflections within our Party as well, it will be possible for us to recruit large numbers of nationally oppressed people into the ranks of our Party. Clubs in the concentration communities should set concrete goals for themselves for the recruitment of nationally oppressed people to the Party as a result of this mass work. In the Lower East Side concentration, these goals should include the recruitment of Chinese as well as Black and Puerto Rican people. All-white clubs, in either community or shop, will be a thing of the past. Our club internal life will be much healthier.

Even more importantly, we will be playing the vanguard role in the mass movement that we as a Communist Party are called upon to play in the current period--a period characterized as we have said, both by the heightened use of racism by the ruling class and by the tremendous possibilities for winning victories in the struggle against it.

* * *

On Workers' Health

By the National Health Commission

The introduction to the Mass Movements section in the Draft Resolution sets forth some severe challenges:

"The test of a vanguard party is how well it can pick the key issues, how well it formulates the demands... The test of a vanguard party is how well it can channel this anger and frustration (of the masses) into productive movements and actions. The test of a vanguard party is whether it can organize and lead united front struggles and movements."

The Draft sets forth in the Trade Union Movement section that "the claim of the top levels of the labor leadership that capitalism is the best of all systems for the working class grows more hollow with each day of mounting inflation and unemployment."

The floodgates of our deepening crisis have opened wide, and mass impoverishment is engulfing the American people, even the up-until-now more favored and protected trade union membership.

Class collaborationist policies had built up false reliance on the stability and superiority of the U.S. system. Through their union contracts, the workers felt secure with seniority protection against layoffs, supplementary unemployment benefits if faced with layoffs, cost-of-living wage increases (which never really kept up with the rising cost of living) and broad--though still incomplete--health and welfare insurance programs.

Through their union struggles and contracts, sections of the working class won temporary favored concessions--but these concessions did not include the unorganized workers or the unemployed workers and few of the workers from the super-exploited minorities or the women, the aged, or the youth.

Certainly the more fortunate trade unionists deserved these extra benefits--but so would all the rest of the people. Instead of gearing the mighty power of the working class and its allies into a joint struggle for improving the welfare of all the people, winning broad social security, free national health care with health care centers in each locality, jobs for all through production to meet the needs of the people, class collaborationist policies narrowed the struggle, thus narrowing the gains and ultimately leading to the present economic crisis.

When the recent depression hit, the organized workers saw their proud gains evaporate with their jobs. They joined the rest of the millions in the growing realization that capitalism gives them no permanent improvements. They saw that President Ford's first cut-backs were aimed at services to meet their vital needs.

This underscores the validity of the Draft Resolution's formulation on page 28 that "organized labor only begins to reach its real potential when it sheds the shell of 'pure and simple' trade unionism and becomes immersed in the great struggles that confront the working class beyond the coal face, the mill floor and the factory gates."

The Party's Health Commission believes that one such broad and popular need for which all the people will join in struggle is for a free national health care and health delivery system.

The United States is the only industrialized country in the world that does not have a national system of health care for its people. We believe that the time has come when the people will be willing to fight to take the profits out of treating sick people, to fight against the profiteering which prevents the people from being able to afford to take care of their health.

The American people now spend 25 per cent more for health care than in 1965. As a result, health insurance companies, according to the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW),

have run up record administration costs and profits of \$3.3 billion! Yet the insurance plans meet only 41 cents of every dollar spent on health care.

For the poor, there is practically no health insurance coverage. For the rest of the people, even those with insurance, the health insurance plans are inadequate.

The U.S. ranks:

- 13th in the world in infant mortality
- 18th in male life expectancy at birth
- 11th in female life expectancy

The rejection rate for physical or mental pathology in low-standard Armed Services Induction examinations of youth is over 50 per cent.

What racism in the U.S. means stands out even more tragically:

- white male infants had a death rate of 20.6 per 1000, while non-white male infant mortality was 36 per 1000.
- as of 1968, Black men and women lived an average of 7-1/2 years less than whites.

Congress is well aware of this issue--judge by the scores of bills in the legislative hopper dealing with national health legislation. Some Congressmen have even introduced legislation to have the government pay the premiums to continue the health insurance of those laid off from shops where union contracts had established such benefits. But what about the rest of the American people who do not have these benefits?

What about the 22,000,000 aged with many special needs whose tragically low incomes prevent their getting those needs met?

What a contrast this is to the socialist world where all the people's health needs are met without discrimination and without cost.

In the confusion that the scores of bills for national health legislation will surely create, the "Communist Party Principles for a National Health Program" provides a sure measuring rod. Every piece of legislation on this question should be analyzed as to how it meets the criteria set forth by our Party:

1. Complete, quality and equal health care free for all persons, with care made easily available and accessible in the neighborhoods, in local clinic and health centers. Health workers should be assigned to assure at least one qualified doctor for every 300-400 people.
2. Health care must include preventive care, emergency treatment, acute and long term health care, dental care,

institutional health care, regular checkups and diagnosis at convenient hours with no loss of earnings, with adequate transportation and child care where necessary. Preventive care to keep people healthy and to avoid long-term and serious illnesses is especially needed in ghetto areas.

3. All tests, medical supplies (including medicine, prosthetics, glasses, x-Rays, etc.) must be free.
4. Complete coverage of mental health services.
5. No time limits on coverage; no loopholes to deprive people of their right to good health.
6. All existing health insurance programs, including Medicare and Medicaid, to be merged in one national health plan administered by a national health services administration which would end racism, sexism and discrimination against the aged and the youth, both with respect to the benefits and to participation in the delivery of health care.
7. No profiteering in sickness and death requires the nationalization of the drug and medical supplies companies, elimination of private health insurance companies, of privately owned profit-making hospitals, etc.
8. The National Health Services Administration must be administered through democratically elected, trained bodies on national and regional levels. Such bodies must consist of representatives of workers of all levels of training, consumers from all sections of the people with each body and each individual publicly accountable and subject to recall.
9. Funding the health services should be through taxing the rich and the corporations. American people now spend \$104 billion per year on their inadequate health care. A decent system would save this vast sum to enable people to meet their other pressing needs.
10. Healthful occupational and environmental conditions must be guaranteed.
 - a) Real enforcement of all safety and health laws must be insured. Adequate inspection of all work places must be provided with heavy fines for unsafe working conditions.
 - b) At home as well as at work, people's health must be protected. Housing must be improved--all slums eliminated.
 - c) Special facilities and training for the handicapped must be provided.
11. Health care programs must be immediately instituted in

areas where the super-exploitation of national minorities has produced conditions approaching genocidal proportions.

The depression is being used to attack and undermine what protection already exists for the workers under the Occupational Health and Safety Act. Here again, the class collaborationist labor leadership falters when the bosses raise the false alternative of "jobs vs. health" by claiming that the cost of assuring job safety and health stands in the way of employing more workers.

The fight to improve working conditions, to safeguard the health of the workers and their families free of charge, the fight for the six-hour day and the 30-hour week--these issues have in common the fight against the exploitation of the working class. They are issues which the workers can understand and support. These are issues, indeed, for our class-struggle leadership that will take root in the minds and hearts of the people.

Proposed Additions to the Draft Resolution

In view of this position paper, we suggest the following additions to the Draft Resolution:

1. Trade Union Movement - p. 30 - before first asterisk:

Maximum working class unity requires solidarity of young and old workers. Old and young must fight for jobs and security for all who can and wish to work beyond the present forced retirement age.

Workers retiring and those already retired need increased pensions and a whole range of services to exist. The need is greatest among older minority workers and women. Old and young must unite in struggle for better security and health and welfare benefits.

The trade union experience of old workers and the strength of organized senior citizens who now outnumber active union members must reinforce the militant energy of young workers in struggle for their joint needs.

2. Political and Electoral Struggles - p. 34 - 1. - add to parenthetical statement:
for the liberation of the elderly from starvation, neglect and abuse in nursing homes and in the community.

After the parenthetical statement add: The 26 million persons 65 and over in this country are potential allies whose best interests can be served by united struggle for these objectives.

3. The Black Liberation Movement - p. 35 - last paragraph - before "And so it goes"

Graphic effects of racism are apparent in mortality and morbidity statistics.

-- White male infants had a death rate of 20.6 per 1000 while non-white male infant mortality was 36 per 1000.

-- As of 1968, Black men and women lived an average of 7-1/2 years less than whites.

Racism, by its deleterious effects on the health of Black people, lowers the general health of all.

p. 36 - paragraph 3 - after "and for Black-white unity":

In basic industry, it is Black workers who have the most dangerous as well as the least paying jobs. This serves not only further to split white from Black workers, but by defaulting on decent standards for Blacks, the white workers allow lowering of the standards for themselves.

In the interest of the struggle for Black-white unity in the working class, especially in the dangerous basic industries, there must be a united struggle for upholding the standards set by the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA), upgrading those standards and extending them to industries and agriculture not covered at present.

p. 37 - paragraph 3 - after first sentence:

Unemployment strikes them first. Their pensions, if any, are smaller, their housing and health care worse.

The mounting struggle for nursing home reform neglects the fact that most Blacks who live long enough to require institutional care (their life span is shortened by racism) are excluded by token admission policies.

Because more Black than white men die young, Black women are more often left alone to face hardships thrust upon the aged than are their white sisters.

Black elderly are increasingly active in tenant and senior citizen organizations and in the coalitions with which they work for immediate and long term gains.

4. National Group Oppression - The Chicano Movement and Struggles
p. 41 - last paragraph - after first sentence:

Their wretched housing, education, health care, and their exposure to poisonous chemical sprays predisposes them to severe health problems.

Indian Liberation - p. 46 - after second paragraph:

The incidence of tuberculosis, trachoma and other infectious diseases is much higher than in the general population. The infant mortality rate is even higher than that of Blacks.

6. Economic Struggles - p. 57 - after second paragraph:

The health crisis grows more acute. Public and private hospitals deteriorate. Funds are withdrawn from community health centers.

Nursing home outrages are unrelieved. Immunization and child health clinics close. Health insurance for the unemployed terminates. Private physicians' fees, hospital charges and insurance premiums and deductibles are above reach.

No nation can maintain its health while swelling the military budget. An effective universal health care plan is a goal on which its proponents can unite with the peace movement.

Both the peace movement and the forces promoting effective health care must stress the impact of shifting an estimated \$80 billion dollars per year from the military budget to meeting peaceful needs such as health care. Our Party must continually clarify this connection.

p. 58 - second full paragraph - last line - insert: health care
after housing

9. The Youth - p. 67 - after second asterisk:

The frightful statistics concerning the health problems of youth in our nation are evidence of the victimization of young people and teenagers by a system that does not provide for their most elementary human needs.

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The following position papers are available from the National Health Commission:

The Occupational Safety and Health Act
Health Care and Racism
Social Security and Health Legislation
Women and Health Care
Health Labor Supply
Principles for a Communist Party Program for National Health

* * *

Suggested Additions to the Resolution on the Aged

By the Retiree Club of 1199 Hospital and Health Care
Employees Union, New York, N.Y.

We consider the Draft Resolution excellent. However, in view of the increasing number of older Americans in the population (more than 20 million--approximately one of every ten persons is 65 years or older and the number is expected to increase to over 25 million

by 1895), more attention should be paid to their needs and to their potential power in the National Convention than the Draft suggests.

This is urgent because staggering numbers of elderly are poor. The average income of the older population is less than half that of their younger compatriots. They are ill housed, ill fed and ill clothed, especially in the inner cities and in the Appalachias. Despite their being twice as likely as young persons to suffer from long-term illness, there are few specialized geriatric hospitals or clinics and comparatively little research. Medicare and Medicaid are inadequate and often unavailable with deductibles, so payments and cut-offs are excessive. Nursing home outrages are unrelieved.

Unemployment and forced retirement without adequate financial support rob those who can and wish to work of money and dignity. Young and old are pitted against each other in the job market.

Racism, which poisons every area of the life of the nation, kills many Black women and men, Hispanic and other oppressed minorities before they reach old age. The proportion of these workers is less than that of older whites to the total population. As of 1968 Black persons lived an average of 7-1/2 years less than whites. Equal disparities in life expectancy threaten other oppressed groups.

Those Blacks and other oppressed who do attain old age are more frequently impoverished than their white brothers and sisters. Fifty percent of them, in contrast to 25 percent of the white elderly, exist below the poverty line. Those who do live long enough to require institutionalization are frequently barred from nursing homes by token admission policies.

We consider more attention necessary for the aged appropriate in the Draft, not only because of the extent and severity of their needs and problems, but because of their potential power. Gus Hall, in a recent address, reported that the percentage of organized senior citizens exceeded that of organized working union members.

It is public knowledge that more older than younger citizens vote and that office holders and candidates therefore woo their support. They are on the move, not only in senior citizen organizations but in many activities fighting against racism, against oppression, for peace and for jobs. At demonstrations, such as the emergency demonstration for peace in Southeast Asia on April 12 in New York City, older comrades far outnumbered their juniors.

The number of older women in the population exceeds that of older men. They suffer the additional onslaught of discrimination against women. Those who still work ordinarily receive wages far lower than those of men. This has been true all of their working lives. The double standard of wages results in lower pensions, if any, and lower Social Security payments than their brothers receive.

Women are being drawn increasingly into the struggle. Recognizing, as the Draft does, their strategic importance in mass struggles, efforts must be intensified for solidarity with them.

Another reason for devoting more attention to the elderly is their relatively large representation in the Communist Party, both among the leadership and on the club level. Senior citizens are members of the Central Committee, of other national and state committees and of commissions. There are clubs of retirees.

A New York State Commission on the Aging has been established. But it has not coordinated the struggle for vital needs and aspirations of the aged. Establishment of commissions on aging in other states and/or nationally with sufficient investment of time and effort to activate these commissions should increase the effectiveness of our experienced senior citizens in the mass organizations in which they participate.

Our enemies pit the young against the old. The Draft must consider the needs and strengths of both. It must give guidance in the most productive methods of integrating the work of Party members of all ages.

* * *

Broadening the Peace Movement in Rhode Island

By Margaret Cann, Rhode Island

For many years there have been numerous peace groups active in Rhode Island. During the student peace movement there was some expression of unity, but in general each group has been doing its own thing in its own private way. An attempt was made to organize a Coalition for Peace and Justice, but it was not broad enough to be effective and soon died for want of support. Since then we have done what we could to support various religious and community peace projects, to organize efforts around solidarity for African struggles, Chile, Puerto Rico and Asia. We have sent delegates to many of the national conferences and to the Moscow Peace Conference in 1973. But we simply did not have the forces to provide leadership to build committees around all these efforts. We concentrated our efforts in two areas: the labor movement where we along with others have been spreading Labor Today, labor publications about Chile, the Daily World, etc. and the Methodist Church which has an ongoing peace program.

After months of struggle a program was initiated within the Methodist Church to develop a community-wide Committee for a New Foreign Policy. The recent Conference for a Drastic Cutback in Military Spending, to which two delegates were sent, was most

valuable in providing resource material as well as motivation for developing a broad people's movement for a New Foreign Policy. One delegate has already had three speaking engagements and at last we have Black leadership to provide strength and quality for the initiating committee presently being organized. We believe that, under the leadership of this Committee, Rhode Island will begin to build a united front against United States imperialism consistent with the gigantic and ever-growing change in the relationship of forces in favor of socialism. We anticipate that the participation of working people, especially labor union members in the March on Washington will strengthen our faith in unity and our understanding of the need for a New Foreign Policy in solving our domestic problems. We hope that Rhode Island will send at least one delegate to the upcoming conference in Cuba for the Independence of Puerto Rico and that we will be able to work more closely with the large number of Spanish-speaking residents in working for peace and the independence of peoples. To this end, we are determined to build our Party, free it from all traces of racism and fight racism in the community as we unite to perform our historic tasks.

* * *

Comments on the Draft Resolution

By Jerry L., Chicago, Ill.

On the United Front

When we speak of "united front relations at all levels of trade union leadership" (p. 31 of the Draft), we should also stress that, in addition to rejecting "a generally negative, anti-leadership approach," we also reject an approach that hinges the success of the united front on the action of a few top leaders. In other words, we do not tail the trade union leadership no matter how progressive they are, and also we do not liquidate the mass movement of workers once that mass movement has elected a progressive trade unionist. Both courses lead directly to a slide to the right of the trade union leadership and a setback to the class struggle.

Also there is a united front relationship of forces within a trade union only when those forces are able to express differences and reach the understanding that, despite the differences, they can cooperate. Many times the position taken in the Party is that if a particular person in the plant doesn't agree with our position entirely on, say the E.N.A., that person is not worthy material for rank and file activity. This is very wrong. Within a trade union

you have a wide variety of political outlooks and levels of understanding. To fail to recognize this is to fail to capture trade union leadership positions. You just cannot win against an entrenched machine unless you have the broadest kind of support. Of course, winning is not the most important immediate political task, building the mass rank and file movement is. But to be successful in our far range goals we must sooner or later capture many of these positions of leadership. If we limit the people who we work with to just those we agree with, we will never achieve that goal.

Women's Equality

The fight for women's equality is a class question. It is in this light that the question should be seen and related. The Main Draft Resolution touches upon this, but it needs to be more emphasized and underlined.

Women represent about 50% of the population and nearly that percentage of the active work force. But their numbers in union shops is extremely low. Women's relationship in the productive process is that of (1) working in non-union shops, (2) working at low wages because of their non-union status and lower wages than men in the same job because of the effects of male supremacy, (3) women generally have the dirtiest jobs or the most boring, (4) women represent a significant amount of the industrial reserve army.

Here we have one half of the population, of the working class, subjected by the capitalist class and their ideology of male supremacy to degrading jobs, a degrading set of social values and morals, and are a source of super-profits to the capitalists. This is the classic tactic of turning worker against worker, i.e. women against men. The men, in the interest of class unity against the oppressor, must take it upon themselves to close the gaps between the two sexes to eliminate the sources of friction and disunity and then together to wage a powerful struggle against the capitalists, now and until victory is achieved.

It's a class question, and its complete solution will only come under socialism and communism. But meanwhile the fight for class unity and the elimination of male supremacy must be strengthened.

Changing the Daily World to the Daily Worker

The name of our newspaper, the Daily World, should be changed back to the Daily Worker. I think it is long overdue, and it is now timely to sharpen up the working class aspect of our work and eliminate the name Daily World which is a non-class liberal concept. Replacing it with the Daily Worker will be one step in sharpening up our work. Basically there are two arguments being set up against the name change:

1. We've had Daily World for 7 odd years now and changing it will only sow confusion among the working class. I respond to this by saying that, first of all, we do not believe in perpetuating

mistakes. As Communists, we must boldly admit when we are wrong and we then must correct our errors. Secondly, the very fact that the Daily World has felt the need to put the slogan "continuing the Daily Worker, founded in 1924" in the masthead shows that the name Daily World is itself causing confusion. And well it should; it doesn't say anything about our working class outlook.

2. We want to build an anti-monopoly coalition and we don't want to appear as if we only support the working class. I respond to this first by saying that the Communist Party newspaper is not by itself going to build the anti-monopoly coalition. To say so is sectarian. And secondly, as we are helping to build that coalition, we must always pound home the idea that the working class has to be the leaders and core of that movement. Why shouldn't we say that openly and right up front so to speak? I don't see why we can't.

Let's change this name and sharpen up our class approach.

* * *

The Campaign for Solidarity with Chile

By the Angela Davis Club, Chicago, Ill.

We believe the section of the Draft Resolution on the peace movement should reflect more strongly the international movement's great concern for Chile and the central role that the U.S. movement must play in worldwide solidarity with Chile. Second, it would be appropriate to mention the groundswell of anti-imperialist sentiment in support of the Chilean anti-fascists (in the discussion of Chicano and Puerto Rican struggles). Third, under "Ideological Struggle," the experiences of Chile should be reflected in discussion of possibilities of peaceful transformation because these experiences are being misinterpreted. Applications to Portugal and Peru show the importance of these lessons, even in widely varying circumstances, and have some bearing on our own perspective of building an anti-monopoly coalition.

The solidarity for Chile movement in the United States that sprang up immediately after the fascist coup received unusually broad, if limited support, within the trade unions, including strong condemnations of the junta by many conservative national union officers. This was a response, in part, to the international trade union movement which was unanimous in its support for the

Chilean trade unions which were outlawed by the junta. This support represented another high point in the increasing trend toward worldwide trade union unity, including the 3 main centers, the WFTU, ICFTU and Catholic union center.

In response to a call from the International Transport Federation, an affiliate of the ICFTU, the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association initiated an effective, two-day embargo of Chilean shipping and was immediately joined by West Coast longshoremen. Although the AFL-CIO has officially withdrawn from the ICFTU, many of the AFL-CIO unions have maintained their membership in the ICFTU affiliates in their industry and correctly understand that the dissolution of the Chilean unions endangers their own right to organize. Still other union officials such as I. W. Abel were also responding to pressure from their own memberships, in particular to the sentiment of the U. S. copper miners, many of whom are Chicano.

The Chilean coup was instigated by the multinational corporations and in this sense the trade union support for the Chilean unionists is in self-defense against these same multinationals. But many months have passed since the coup and there has been time for the "labor" arms of the CIA, especially the AIFLD, to try to recover the ground they lost when their dastardly role in Chile was exposed. In particular this is taking the form of reactionary attacks on the ILO, the labor-government-employer tri-partite agency of the UN. The ILO has issued a carefully documented report sustaining the appeal of CUT (the Chilean Trade Union Center) which had asked the ILO to denounce the destruction of trade-union rights in Chile. The elevation of Shanker in the AFL-CIO Executive Council strengthens the CIA hold on AFL-CIO international affairs. Shanker has just brazenly appointed the AIFLD director to head the teachers' newly created international department.

The CIA can be driven out of the labor posts they occupy if their role is continuously exposed. The trend toward international trade union unity for more effective action against the multinational corporations requires that the CIA role be exposed. Also, visits to the U.S. by Chilean anti-fascist leaders, especially trade union leaders, can help elevate the level of solidarity.

Democratic sentiment in support of the united anti-fascist resistance of Chile is at a higher level in our country now than at the time of the coup. Ford's brazen defense of the U.S. role in the murder of Chilean democracy, coming on the heels of the Nixon pardon and the Watergate exposures, has made clear the connection between defense of our own democratic rights and the fight against fascism in Chile. The role of the Daily World deserves special mention. The World's extensive, up-to-date coverage of events in Chile and of the world solidarity movement has made a great contribution to keeping the cause of Chile alive. Also, the visit of Gladys Marin to the YWLL convention and other meetings greatly strengthened the movement's understanding of Chile.

And some important victories have been won. Open military aid to Chile has been cut off. But many more millions are being funneled

cont. on p. 33

Notes on "Agriculture Today and Farmers Struggles"

By Rose Bruns, Minnesota

One of our pamphlets, How Socialism Will Come to the United States includes the following: "President Franklin D. Roosevelt, responding to the pressures of the coalition of labor and the Negro people, once set forth an Economic Bill of Rights. It includes... the right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living." (By implication some of the other economic rights extend also to the farmer.) In capitalist society, this economic bill of rights can never be realized. Efforts to gain it even in part are frustrated by the opposition of capitalist reaction. Today capitalist reaction is expressed on behalf of monopoly.

But since the farmer produces an absolutely essential product, he has an instrument which can be used for partial gains in the present and the immediate future. And farmers are improvising their own programs and spontaneously gathering into groupings to try to make their programs effective. In our farming area, we see this in the United Family farmers, trying to use the "fair trade" law as a price approach for their products; Concerned Farmers with a two point approach, one point of which is that the consumer (my emphasis) must guarantee the farmer a good price; and various NFO groups which previously withheld their livestock from the market and now find this impossible because of the price of feed, so they shoot the livestock. Here and there they have tried to give them away to consumers. Chickens, turkeys, even calves have been offered as giveaways as a demonstration of the farmers' situation but also for the practical solution to feeding the animals.

In the early fall of 1974, Minnesota Commissioner of Agriculture, Jon Wefald, approached the already drastic problem of the poultry, livestock and dairy farmers with a broad appeal to consumers as well as farmers. He called on farmers to unite now and enlist consumer support for federal legislation on decent prices that will assure the survival of the industry and restore stability to consumer prices and the national economy."

Now, in 1975, Wefald is doing much conferring and meeting with farmers to promote the cut-back in production (variously projected in Minnesota at 10%, 20% or 25%) to reduce farming costs and assure a good price. What other programs he is advancing for farmers I do not know but, while farm-sympathizers must see that the farmer is trying to correct the unfair price situation, it is hard to go along

with a scarcity program when food is needed to avert starvation.

Here, of course, is where our Draft Proposals come in. They should indeed have "come in" much sooner; that is, they should have reached the farmers somehow earlier in the season. April is a very critical moment in farming in Minnesota; decisions must be made and implemented early as spring work and planting are right around the corner. Yes, the problem will still be with us. And yes, it is not too late to fight for our program, but in the short run farmers around here are in the decisive hour of their 1975 production year. Considering that it takes substantial capital just to go into the fields for a family-size farm and get the corn crop planted, and considering the fate of the Farm Bill in Congress, no one should fail to see "cut-back" from the small farmers' viewpoint. We think we have a program (our Draft) that would help the family farmer in the short and the long run and allow them to produce to capacity (not to cut-back production). Incidentally, some farmers we know are not going to cut back. I come off with the impression that they expect to profit somewhat by someone else's cutting back.

All of us should be studying the farm section of our Draft. This is by no means just the concern of farm and rural people. As a Party, we must liquidate our ignorance of the theories underlying agriculture and also of farm questions and problems. We have to know the basics on farm problems because they affect us all, our entire national life. Farmers, though now a very small percentage of the population, are a vital section and must be brought by labor into a majority coalition. In this our Party's role is crucial. This seems like a large responsibility to take on ourselves but I think there is no dodging it.

In What is to be Done?, Lenin asks why the Russian workers manifest little revolutionary activity in response to the brutal treatment of people by the police, the flogging of the peasants, etc. Is it because the "economic struggle" does not "stimulate" them to do this, because it produces little that is "positive"? No, Lenin says, we must blame ourselves for lagging behind the mass movement. The first time I read that passage I was really surprised. I re-read it and asked myself, "Did Lenin really mean that the small Russian Social-Democratic Party of 1902 should be responsible for stirring and educating the working masses of that historic moment?" And I had to answer myself that that is just what Lenin was saying. He was saying that we can and must do it. Well, I think that's what we all have to say about enlisting labor and the consumer to fight for the farmer and themselves at the same time on the farm front.

In Minnesota, in our early August discussions of the November 16th, 1974, demand for lowering prices to consumers, we raised seriously the necessity to make it explicit to farming USA or in our case to farming Minnesota that we weren't calling for lowering prices to the farmer for his product. Yet in the Rank and File Five-Point program reported in the Daily World, September 17, 1974, there was no mention of the farmer or any reference to the need to support prices paid to the nation's small farmers. I must add that

the small farmer would have benefited along with the rest of the people in the general application of that good five point program. But the point to be emphasized is that it left out the farmer, as did also the leaflet put out regarding November 16th in Minneapolis. They seemed to bear out the contention we always hear farmers advance, that consumers do not understand the farmers' problems.

We will do well to inform ourselves and ponder on the scope of the farm problem. We ought to note its ties to every other facet of our economy and indeed to every facet of our national life-- economic, social, political, every section of our population. I'm starting to study that for myself, but I wish here to name just one where the linkage is very important: the struggle for full equality for women, in relation to our Draft and forthcoming new program and to 1975 International Women's Year. We have to create full awareness of the crucial inter-relationships between the status of women and the overall development of society. I do not raise this in any narrow sense of just farm women being brought into the struggle for women's equality but that the movements of that struggle must reach out and embrace the special problems of farm women to mobilize and engage women on farms as elsewhere to make their full contribution.

The socialist world's leadership and accomplishments in this field must be studied, talked about and written about, throughout International Women's Year. I would like to suggest adding a Point 8 to our Farm Proposals--something like a basic evaluation of the position and role of women on the family farm in relation to farm solutions and women's equality. Farm women must be won as allies in the struggle against monopoly and for socialism.

* * *

cont. from p. 30

to the junta in the form of so-called economic aid. The failure of the U.S. government to admit Chilean anti-fascist refugees must be contrasted to the preparations to admit large numbers of Vietnamese war criminals. Every observance of International Women's Year must protest the torture of women prisoners in the Chilean concentration camps. The horrible details of this torture, revealed at the International Tribunal just held in Mexico, must be widely publicized.

Unfortunately, it cannot be said that the organized expression of the Chile Solidarity movement has reached the level which is possible, given the favorable sentiment among the people. Not only trade union, womens and youth organizations can be involved, but there is also vast potential for support from church organizations.

The important role of the Communist Party and the YWLL was evident from the contribution they made to the national solidarity with Chile conference held February 1975. But there has been a tendency for many comrades engaged in Chile work to become absorbed in other tasks. There continues to be insufficient attention to relating this struggle to the struggle for Black liberation. But despite the difficulties, we can and must help the Chilean solidarity movement reach out more broadly, not only to fulfill our internationalist commitment, but also to reach the many new friends who are concerned with this issue.

* * *

For the *Daily Worker*

By Richard Ashby, Chicago

Working as a Daily World reporter, I have often interviewed people who have had no contact with our paper before. They usually ask: "What kind of a paper is the Daily World?" I answer: "It used to be called the Daily Worker."

There is rarely a need for any further explanation. "Oh! You're from the Communist Party, then," they usually say, or something like it.

Virtually everyone, in my experience, recognizes the Daily Worker as the newspaper of the Communist Party. This includes younger people who never personally had any contact with the Daily Worker or the Worker.

I believe that the name of our paper should be changed back to the Daily Worker.

The content of the paper is, of course, the most important thing, but the paper's name is also important. It is the first thing a person sees when he is offered the paper, and it therefore has a big effect on whether he decides to accept it.

The paper's present name does not indicate that it is a working class newspaper. The name Daily World could very well be the name of a bourgeois newspaper; it says nothing about the class outlook of the paper.

Due to its long history, I believe that the Daily Worker is still known by wide masses of people as the name of the Communist Party's newspaper. As capitalism's economic crisis deepens, more and more people will become ready to turn to socialism and to our Party. In these circumstances it will be more and more of an asset to have a newspaper that is widely and quickly recognized as the Communist newspaper.

I don't know why the name of our paper was changed, but I think it was an error and I think we ought to correct it. The paper has been called the Daily World for seven years now. The new name is not so well-known or well-established that we can't change it. It is still not so well-known as the Daily Worker.

The 21st Convention is the body that can make this change. I urge that it do so.

* * *

There is No Other Path We Must Build the Rank and File

The following article was collectively prepared for pre-Convention discussion by a study group in the recently concluded DuBois-Foster School (national cadre training school). The comrades were from the Michigan, Illinois, Tennessee-Kentucky and New York Districts.

The Communist Party's policy of participating in the formation of rank and file caucuses, especially in the basic industries, has never been more important than it is today.

The crisis in everyday living is not to be solved by the two bourgeois parties. They have proven beyond doubt that they will serve only the interests of the monopolies.

The fact that there is no labor party in the U.S. to address itself to the specific needs and interests of this country's toiling masses leaves the bulk of our working class prey to the ideological attack of the two bourgeois political parties.

Especially now during a time of deepened economic crisis, the inability of either the Republican or the Democratic parties to separate themselves from the interests of the bourgeoisie has become apparent. Those interests are to cover up rather than cure the basic problems of capitalism manifested in higher prices and lower wages, massive layoffs and a rising tide of racist ideology all directed at the working people of this country.

Rank and file workers are seething with anger at the constant deterioration of their standard of living. This rage has expressed itself in the recent demonstration of thousands of auto workers in Washington protesting the massive layoffs in that industry as well as countless job actions and demonstrations by workers in virtually every industry in the country.

It is important to note that in many cases these actions were not initiated by trade union leadership and were, in some cases, carried out in spite of its expressed disapproval.

Rank and file trade unionists in our country are ready to move on the basic issues that affect their daily lives. They have not found the leadership within the trade union movement that will enable them to do so.

The fact is that the contemporary trade union movement in our

country has been characterized by class collaborationism and careerism on the part of its leadership. Where it has struggled at all, the struggle has been limited to economic issues which cannot possibly raise the level of consciousness of the workers beyond the shop in which they work.

All of this points to the urgency of rank and file organizations and the reason for concern as to our role as Communists within them.

There are those in our Party who cling to the idea, in spite of current developments and our policy of industrial concentration, that trade union leadership can be won to progressive positions in isolation from the rank and file. This has led to a lessening of Communist participation in rank and file movements and an elitist attitude on the part of some of our members to these movements and the working class in general. This is a serious error within our Party and must be struggled against.

Our Party has not invented the idea of the importance of rank and file organization. It is a lesson that we have learned in life, in struggle. Was it the leadership of the trade unions who demanded unemployment compensation in the 1930's? It was not. Unemployment compensation came as a result of the struggle of tens of thousands of rank and file workers in alliance with the unorganized and unemployed workers of this country. Our Party played a leading role in that struggle along with the Trade Union Unity League.

It was a militant rank and file movement that ousted the racist and class collaborationist Tony Boyle leadership from the helm of the United Mine Workers and installed the progressive administration of Arnold Miller. It was also a strong rank and file movement that was able to force the election of Sadlowsky in Chicago despite the maneuverings of I.W. Abel to prevent it. And in New Orleans and Birmingham, it was rank and file dock workers who struck blows against racism and imperialism by refusing to unload ships bringing goods from the white minority ruled countries of Rhodesia and South Africa.

These struggles and many more have provided thousands of workers in the U.S. with the political exposure necessary to enable them to see beyond the needs of their particular craft or trade, to see the social requirements of the class as a whole. It is such class conscious action that plants the seeds out of which the anti-monopoly coalition can grow. It is such class consciousness that will develop into socialist consciousness and pave the path to revolution.

Further, it is apparent to us that we cannot carry out our policy of industrial concentration without the participation of all of our comrades in the building and supporting of rank and file movements. It is strong rank and file movements that provide the best arena for struggle against racism and anti-communism in the trade union movement. It is the class conscious organizations of the rank and file that will insure true trade union democracy and strengthen and support good leadership while ridding the unions of poor, class collaborationist leadership. If we are to be firmly

rooted to our class, we must be active participants in the organization of the rank and file.

Recognizing all of this, what are we doing in our districts, our shops and clubs to aid in the organization of the rank and file? How many of our comrades who work in shops throughout the country have a consistent approach to the building of TUAD? How many of us are involved in and recruiting for the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists or the Coalition of Labor Union Women? How many of our districts have assigned cadre to help carry out the distribution of the progressive rank and file publication Labor Today? In all cases, the answer is far too few.

The organization of the rank and file is the only path toward the building of class struggle, class conscious trade unionism. It is the only path toward the development of class and eventually socialist consciousness in the working class of our country. It is the only path toward defeating racism and anti-communism within the trade union movement. It is the only path that we as Communists can take. There is no other path; we must build the rank and file movement.

* * *

CLUW: A Working Class CLUW to Working Class Unity

The following article was collectively prepared for pre-Convention discussion by a study group in the recently concluded DuBois-Foster School (national cadre training school). The comrades were from the Kentucky-Tennessee, Eastern Pennsylvania, Iowa, New York, Southern California, Illinois, and Western Pennsylvania Districts:

The general crisis of monopoly capitalism has been shown and developed with great skill in the Draft Resolution for our Party's 21st National Convention. It demonstrates that at this moment there exists both a crying need and heightened possibilities for the emergence of a strong, united, class-conscious working class movement.

In particular, we can point to increased unemployment, inflation, deterioration of the standards of living of the working class, accompanied by acceleration of racist attacks and heightened repression in the political, economic and social areas.

A result of the general crisis is that women are being forced to take on an increasingly larger share of the burden for support of the family and are being pushed in ever growing numbers into the

labor force. It is generally known that 40% of the work force are women, but Comrade Alva Buxenbaum, in her excellent analysis of the position of women in the work force in the Nov. 1973 edition of Political Affairs, brought to light the following facts regarding the presence of women in industry: 58% of new skilled and semi-skilled workers coming into manufacturing, and 51% of all new laborers between 1960 and 1970 were found to be women. In steel fabrication and aluminum, women comprise more than 20% of the work force, and comprise whole departments in some auto plants. Women, including many Black women, predominate in the electrical and communications industries. As of April 1972, 30% of all operatives were women.

Due to the oppression and super-exploitation of Black workers, Black women and other nationally oppressed women do not have the option of deciding whether or not they should work. They are forced by necessity to work and suffer the highest rates of unemployment and exploitation. They, therefore, form a very militant section of the work force. But increasingly, all women in the working class are being drawn into the labor market. The decline in real wages and increasing unemployment of men workers, and the tendency towards disintegration of marriages caused by these pressures, are the causes for this trend.

The Party has made real contributions in the area of rank and file activity in the trade union movement. The Black Liberation movement has given impetus to the development of Black caucuses and rank and file caucuses. The coalition of Black Trade Unionists, TUAD, and union-wide rank and file formations such as Miners for Democracy are turning around the trade union movement. It is in this context that we should place the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The motive for the founding of CLUW was to bring trade union women into the arena of trade union activity. Women comprised 19.5% of all trade union members in 1968 (BLS Bulletin 1690, 1970) and their percentages in the SEIU (Service Employees International Union) and UAW are growing. The UAW, AFT, and Newspaper Guild dealt with the issues of discrimination against women and lack of child care facilities and maternity rights in their 1970 conventions. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has opened a limited number of day care centers for their members.

The organizing of women trade unionists to fight for their self-interests in the trade union arena has widespread implications for the trade union movement as a whole. The issues raised have the potential for sparking a renewed interest in and understanding of the unions as a vehicle for social, economic and political change. Let's take the areas of concern pinpointed by the organization for activity.

Equal Rights -- It was established that CLUW would fight for the full participation of women with special attention to the needs of nationally oppressed women in the work force. This involves programs which would guarantee women equal representation in

training, hiring, and upgrading. This raises the question of fighting for the special demands of super-exploited workers in the interest of all workers. If women gained equal pay and job opportunities (made possible by shortening the work week and keeping the same pay) and auxiliary services such as free child care and maternity leave, it would mean a rise in the standard of living for all working class families.

Legislation -- This area includes not only the special demands of women, but also includes support for the Full Employment Act, social security legislation, minimum wage and the fight against right-to-work laws. Women's participation in union work, projecting a need for unions to recognize and support election of women to union offices, providing an organizational form for the formation of women's demands and support for women to bring these demands to their unions bring union activity to a higher level of militancy. In pressing their unions to organize the unorganized, women trade unionists speak to the needs of the majority of their sisters (particularly in domestic, agricultural and office work) who are not organized but also to the needs of the trade union movement as a whole which cannot defend interests of its members if most workers remain outside of the structure of organized labor. If we look to the Farmworkers' Union, we can see what the influence of newly organized sectors of the labor force is likely to be in terms of setting higher standards of militancy. Bringing more women and particularly Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other nationally oppressed women into the ranks and leadership of organized labor means bringing new power and vitality to the movement.

So basically, we see the development of CLUW as important to the trade union movement in two ways: through raising the types of issues which will unite workers in a class struggle position against the corporations and through providing a form by which women and men will come.

It is this development (CLUW) that will begin to bring forward the special demands of working women and the fight for working class unity. As Lenin pointed out, "There can be no real mass movement without the women."

* * *



“A Class Must Know Itself to Know Its Self Interest” - Building Class and Socialist Consciousness

The following article was collectively prepared for pre-Convention discussion by a study group in the recently concluded DuBois-Foster School (national cadre training school). The comrades were from the New England, Eastern Pennsylvania, Arizona, Missouri, New York, Louisiana and Western Pennsylvania Districts.

In our country, the material technological basis has long been laid for the building of socialism. Large-scale, highly socialized production characterizes industry and agriculture, and state monopoly capitalism, the increased role of the state apparatus in every sphere of economic life, has led to a highly centralized economy. Therefore, what has held back the historic process; what has prevented the inevitable transition from capitalism to socialism? The key to this question is the role of the subjective factor - the level of consciousness of the masses of people.

We are in a new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism which is marked by a change in the balance of forces irreversibly in favor of socialism. Monopoly capitalism faces a severe economic, political, and ideological crisis. In the U.S. we are in the throes of the worst depression since the 1930's, with massive unemployment and run-away inflation placing the burden of the crisis on the backs of the working people, while the monopolies reap a profit bonanza. The sharpest edge is felt by the super-exploited Black and other nationally oppressed sections of the working class. In order to keep the class divided, the ruling class has launched an intensified racist drive against nationally oppressed peoples and foreign-born workers.

The ability to defeat this onslaught against the hard-won democratic advances, the key to further gains lies in uniting the 80 million strong, multi-national, multi-racial, U.S. working class, and winning allies among other strata. Forging this unity requires significantly raising the level of class consciousness.

Thus far, the reaction of the masses to the crisis has been spontaneous outbursts and protests--but the masses are in motion, and looking for a way out. Thus, the possibilities for making a qualitative leap in raising the class consciousness of millions of U.S. workers are greater than ever. As Gus Hall said in Racism: The Nation's Most Dangerous Pollutant, "The sharpening of the class contradictions creates the objective propellants that stimulate

the development of class consciousness." (p.21). Therefore, the Communist Party, armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, the highest expression of class consciousness, is an essential ingredient in this process. As the vanguard, its role is to guide, unite, chart the course of the class struggle, and advance the level of consciousness through its ideological leadership.

Just how is this consciousness to be developed? As Marxist-Leninists, our materialist world outlook defines social consciousness as a product and reflection of the economic structure of society. "By social consciousness...means the sum total of the views, ideas and theories which reflect social being...in the minds of the people."¹ Because of the class nature of society, social consciousness necessarily assumes a class character, although in its initial stages of development, class instincts are "somewhat vague and indefinite, spontaneous rather than conscious."²

This is true because the class nature of society is obscured by many factors. In capitalist society, bourgeois ideology predominates and influences the thinking of all classes. This prevents the full realization of working class ideology by the workers themselves. Moreover, the class relations of production are not readily apparent to workers simply by being in a shop. For example, economic trade union consciousness comes to organized workers through their day to day confrontation with the employer at the point of production (on the job), on the picket line, at the bargaining table. Yet these struggles do not automatically lead them to the conclusion that their boss (or company) is a part of a class of exploiters who are ripping off other members of their class in the same way. Class consciousness is the awareness that society is divided into two major classes whose interests are irreconcilable - the owners of the wealth and those who produce and distribute it. It means knowing who the members of your class are--Black, Brown, and white workers, women workers, unemployed workers. It means a conscious rejection of racism, a recognition of the need to unite the entire class and its allies in the common struggle against the enemy.

The spontaneous responses of workers to exploitation and oppression are not sufficient to raise consciousness to this level. These responses lack a clear understanding of who the enemy is and the historic tasks of the class struggle--the total liberation of the working class. Therefore these movements lack staying power, are easily frustrated, diverted and pacified. While they may achieve certain temporary gains and concessions, without a class direction they go nowhere.

Bourgeois ideology places many obstacles before the developing class consciousness of the masses. Historically, U.S. monopoly capitalism has sought to cover up its class nature by saturating the minds of white workers with racism and great power chauvinism.

1 Historical Materialism by D.Chesnokov, p.340

2 Ibid. p.346

This blinding racist drive in all areas of life confuses, bewilders and disarms white workers and diverts their attention from their real self-interests. Thus, the spontaneous reaction of the working class against the offensive of the exploiters can be turned into its opposite--an attack on their Black and other nationally oppressed class brothers and sisters. Acceptance of white "American" superiority leads white workers down a dead-end street. They identify with the interests of the capitalist class and its political arm, the state. They swallow the lie that there is a finite number of jobs to go around, therefore nationally oppressed and foreign-born workers are seen as in competition for "their" jobs and poaching on their carefully guarded territory. They feel "protected" by the racist seniority system, so they don't fight against lay-offs, failing to see that when Black workers are laid-off first, their own exploitation is increased through speed-up. And of course, the profits of the bosses are increased. This monopoly offensive is waged on many other fronts: housing, welfare, education, through the media, etc. The ultra-right is busy fomenting racist hysteria to lay the basis for fascist terror and removal of all democratic roadblocks to complete bourgeois strangulation of the nation.

Racism festers when there is no aggressive program around which to unite workers in struggle. But with the deepening of the crisis, masses of white workers are also losing their jobs. Black, Brown, and white stand shoulder to shoulder in unemployment lines, growing angrier by the day. Protests are mounting, taking many forms, but still lacking a clear class struggle direction.

The role of our Party is to give this direction, to capture this spontaneous sentiment, to channel it into an organized political movement, injecting the tonic of Marxist-Leninist ideology. To rely on spontaneity is to stand still; it is to concede to bourgeois ideology. The struggle for class consciousness is a struggle for the minds of the masses!

Lenin stated: "'Everyone agrees' that it is necessary to develop the political consciousness of the working class. The question is, how that is to be done and what is required to do it. The economic struggle merely 'impels' the workers to realize the government's attitude towards the working class. Consequently, however much we may try to 'lend the economic struggle itself a political character,' we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of Marxist-Leninist political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow.¹

For too long, the U.S. working class has been confined within the framework of narrow economic struggles at the trade union level. It has been handicapped by the absence of a mass, labor-based political party, an anti-monopoly party which is the vehicle for uniting workers in class-wide political struggles for their interests. It has been crippled by the absence of class-struggle trade unionism,

¹ What is to Be Done? International Pub., p.78 (1969 ed.)

the class-collaborationist practices of the labor mis-leadership.

What is needed to break the chains, to ignite the working class, to energize and organize it to fulfill its historic mission? A specially organized detachment of the class, of its most advanced, most far-sighted, most committed members. A highly disciplined detachment based on the scientific principles of its partisan ideology --Marxism-Leninism. In short, a revolutionary vanguard party-- the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Without its political vanguard, the working class is like the proverbial "headless horseman," galloping aimlessly through the night. The essence of the vanguard role is projecting the correct strategic line at every stage of the struggle, and relating this line to the long-range goal of socialism.

We derive this correct line through the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism to the day to day issues affecting the masses, of whom we are an integral part.

"On the one hand, our ideology must emerge from life, from practical work, and on the other, it must have a strong impact on revolutionary practice, on the course of social development. In other words, ideology is called upon to help the masses find their place in the revolutionary struggle, and their role in the building of socialism and communism, and to lead them into this struggle."¹

The Communist Party must initiate and build class struggle organizations at the grass-roots level, anti-inflation committees, tenants' unions on the block, rank and file formations in the shops. The struggle for democratic reforms must be coupled with advanced demands which expose the class nature of the struggles, and a consistent fight against all manifestations of racism.

Our party's central policy of industrial concentration means that our strategic task is to raise the level of consciousness of basic industrial workers. Because of their position at the point of production, the steering wheel of capitalist economy, they are the driving force, the "front rankers" of the class struggle. In those key industries which our Party has singled out for concentration-- steel, auto, mining, etc.--the bulk of surplus value, i.e. profit, is extracted.

A concrete policy of industrial concentration is the only way to build class and socialist consciousness. This means first and foremost building the Party in these shops. We must take a bold and aggressive approach, assigning comrades to shops with their task being to build militant rank and file formations within the unions. These groups must be led to fight for policies of class-struggle trade unionism, for democratic rank and file control of the union, against racism and anti-communism, for detente and international trade. These class struggle issues must be integrally

¹ Ideology: The Role Of The Communist Party; Novosti Press, p.25

linked to the immediate demands of the workers for higher wages, job security, and safe working conditions. We must actively recruit the most conscious, dedicated workers to our Party, building clubs in these shops.

In order to implement this policy effectively it must become the property of the entire Party. All comrades must work to build TUAD and the Coalition of Trade Union Women (CLUW) by bringing in workers from their communities, mass organizations, etc. Every community club should struggle to have a consistent distribution of the Daily World at a plant gate and/or in a working class community. Lenin states: "... the newspaper can and should be the ideological leader of the Party, evolving theoretical truths, and general tasks ...at any given moment."¹ We must guarantee relevant articles relating to the struggles in a given shop, giving a class analysis of these struggles. We must fight to insure workers correspondence and dialogue in our press.

Education plays a key role in our industrial concentration policy. Every comrade should read and circulate Labor Today and strive to increase his/her knowledge and understanding of the trade union movement. Our literature must have more mass appeal, in content, appearance, and price, and we must radically increase its distribution among industrial workers.

The ruling class attacks all forces struggling to unite the working class by smearing them with the brush of anti-communism. Those workers building rank and file movements, working to replace the policies of class collaboration with class struggle unionism, come under sharp attack.

To guarantee the legality of the Party in basic industry, we must fight for the legality of the Party in every sphere of activity--electoral, social, economic. To win this fight we must become firmly rooted in the working class, an inseparable part of the masses.

The existence of socialism as a world system provides a living picture of the kind of society our class will build. Since socialist relations of production cannot exist within capitalist society, it is necessary to bring to the workers examples of the advances made under socialism. The struggle for detente, while waged in the self-interest of the workers, can be a means of dispelling anti-communist notions which have become part of their thinking.

Basic industrial workers can and must be won to Marxist-Leninist ideology and the struggle for socialism. The masses of U.S. people can and must be won to an anti-monopoly struggle program. Recent public opinion polls reflect the drastic rejection of military spending by the majority of people. The growing strength of the socialist and anti-imperialist world can no longer be ignored. We must take heed of these objective changes in our favor and forge the unity in struggle needed to make qualitative waves in mass thought patterns.

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1 Lenin On the Organizational Principles Of A Proletarian Party, Novosti Press, p. 96

Preparations for European Meeting of Communist Parties

By Constance Bart, Secretary,
International Commission

Two meetings that recently took place in Europe are of significance for our country and the peace of the world. They were the consultative and preparatory meetings of the European Communist Parties prior to holding a conference some time in the latter half of 1975 of these parties. The first, in Warsaw, was the consultative meeting held from October 16-18, 1974, and was followed by the preparatory meeting in Budapest from December 19-21, 1974.

The conferences were attended by representatives of 28 parties representing 25 million people--all the parties of the continent with the exception of Albania and the Netherlands. The Warsaw meeting was called on the initiative of the Polish and Italian parties and was the broadest ever held of European parties. Pravda's description of this conference was that it "added a new chapter in the history of the Communist movement."

The Warsaw meeting decided to hold the 1975 conference on the theme of "Struggle for Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe." Heads of international departments and/or members of political bureaus represented their respective parties, and the reports emanating from the two meetings indicated the fullest and freest discussion. The 1975 conference will be in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic. The reason for calling the conference is to make political detente a reality and irreversible and to extend political detente to military detente. Coincidentally, the conference will be held on the 30th anniversary of the defeat of fascism. The state instrument to realize the objectives of the conference is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the proposal being that the conference of communist parties be held following the Helsinki summit meeting of the Conference on European Security, probably the latter half of 1975.

The Warsaw and Budapest meetings took note of the progress that has been made on the international scene especially in Europe, toward moving ahead at the all-European Conference on Security. These included the treaties settling borders in Europe and recognizing the existence of two German states among the most important.

Note was also taken of the fact that though progress has been made in the struggle for detente, hazards still exist, and the realization of irreversibility depends on the mobilization and activiza-

tion of the broadest and largest participation of the peoples of the various countries. Differentiation was made of the role of the communist parties in capitalist and socialist countries as well as differing forms within the capitalist countries. Great emphasis was placed on the role of the socialist countries and their growing influence as a result of their leadership in the struggle for peace --first of all, the USSR. Europe is the continent where the two worlds--socialist and capitalist--meet, and consequently the impact of the socialist countries' policies resulting from their contiguity is great. The greatest losses of lives and destruction of land and its resources in World War II were in Eastern Europe, what is now the socialist community.

Today the conditions of the working class and other working people are constantly worsening. Ultra-right and neo-fascist forces are stepping up their activities in an effort to halt or slow down detente. At the same time inter-imperialist contradictions as well as contradictions between various sectors of the bourgeoisie in individual countries are also becoming more aggravated; there is growing resistance by the working class to the mounting inflation, unemployment and attacks aimed at restricting or nullifying hard-won gains.

While recognizing the positive factor of the level already reached in detente, it was also noted that there has been a let-up in the struggle for peace, and a number of the speakers warned against complacency as to the elimination of the war danger. Also much emphasis was placed on both the need and possibility for the European Communist Parties to coordinate their activities in the struggle for peace and security as well as the possibilities in their struggle for the people's needs and welfare, especially in light of the role of the multi-national corporations.

Not long after the conclusion of the Budapest preparatory meeting, twenty communist parties--all the parties in European capitalist countries except the Netherlands--simultaneously released a statement sharply attacking Kissinger and Ford for their threats to use military force to protect their oil interests in the Arab countries. The statement was reported from Paris in the New York Times whose correspondent sought solace by saying that "there was no mention of international solidarity," (maybe they don't know what this means!) and that they "showed their independence from Moscow." They said there was "a division, east and west!" The French Party stated that "there was no need for a conference before releasing this statement, as there was full understanding when they called on the 'workers and people to take resolutely in hand the cause of their independence, liberty, security and for peace.'"

In light of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and therefore the growing discrediting of imperialism within the broader sections of the populations in all the capitalist countries, all delegates agreed on the need and possibilities of mounting coordinated campaigns for mobilizing their people to resist the onslaught on their living conditions and to press their government leaders to move in the direction of ensuring the peace.

In the struggle for peace, a decisive step can be taken when the meeting sometime later this year of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is held. This conference will include, in addition to the European countries, the U.S. and Canada. The U.S. has been the country that has placed the greatest obstacles in the way of holding this conference, first to stop it and, since this became impossible, to delay it. It is important for our country as well as Europe to support this step to further the establishment of security on the European continent which saw the beginnings of the two world wars. As one of the delegates at the Budapest preparatory meeting said, "The State European Conference on Security and Cooperation would open the way to the first collective security agreement in history." B.N. Ponomaryov who headed the delegation of the CPSU pointed to the enhanced possibilities of bringing about an anti-war coalition of broad social and political forces in Europe.

A number of delegates, after the Budapest meeting, noted that this meeting did a good job in drawing closer the ranks of the parties. It was also stressed that the meetings preparing for an All-European meeting of communist parties were not in contradiction to but part of the building and strengthening of internationalism among parties. "It will be a contribution toward the consolidation of the world Communist movement," as stated by B.N. Ponomaryov.

The delegates agreed that they would work out a political platform and a program for concerted action which would relate the question of peace and security in Europe to the actions necessary for achieving social progress. The meetings agreed that the Conference to be held in the GDR would issue two documents, one setting forth the main ideas and program adopted by the communist parties of Europe and the reasons for their assessments, plus a second more concise document giving the view of the parties as to how they view cooperation of all Left, democratic, peace-loving forces, and how to initiate such cooperation.

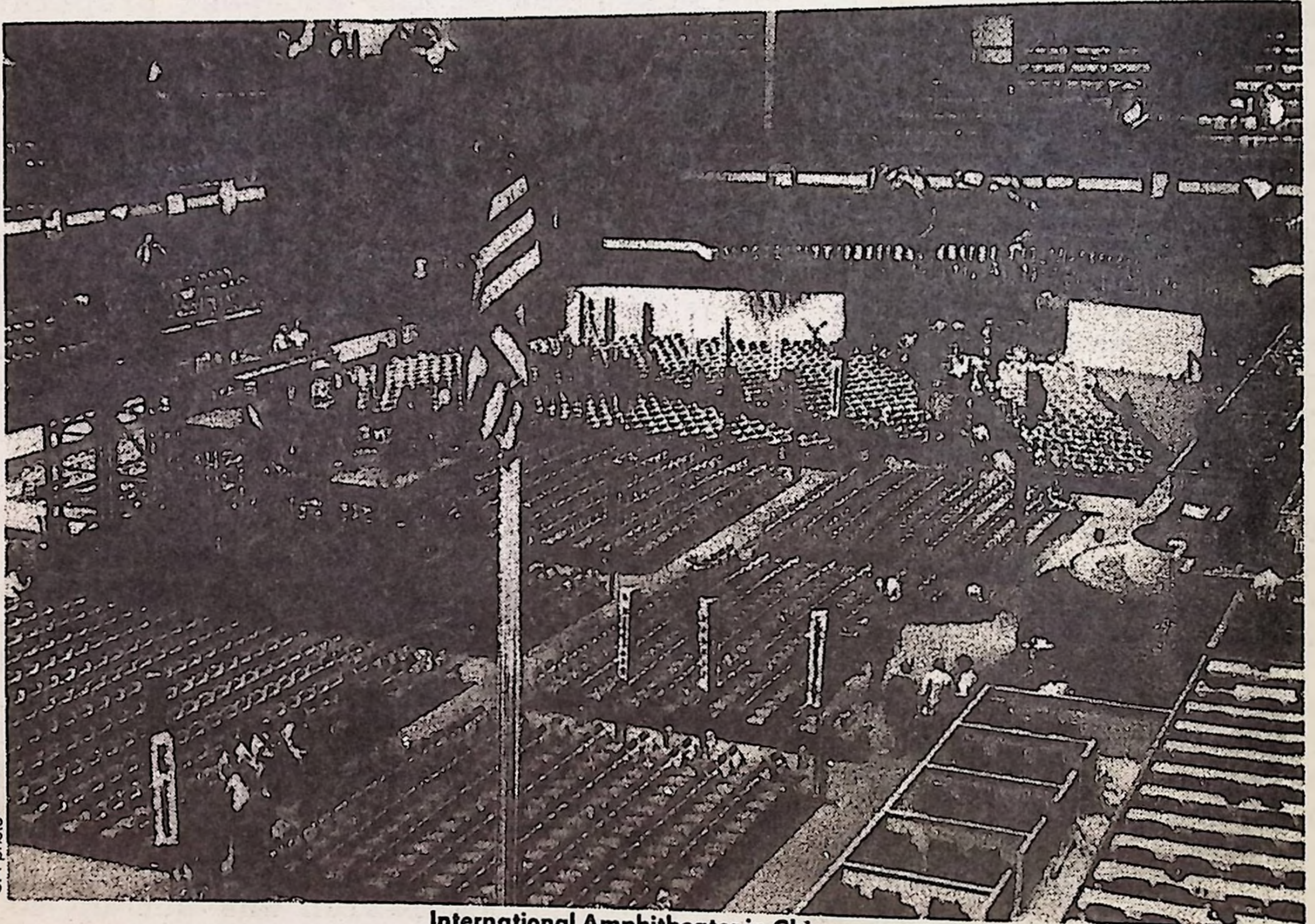
At the Budapest meeting an editing commission was set up to work in Berlin with representatives of all parties participating. (This commission is now functioning.) The documents that came out of the two meetings dealt with here testify to the full democratic procedures characteristic of communist gatherings--at whatever level--and reflected the growing unity of the parties. These meetings also again showed the responsible way in which communists approach problems facing the people.

It is also projected that the Conference of European Parties will be followed as soon as possible by a world conference of communist parties.

While our party does not have a direct role in the coming meeting of European parties, we have the task of exerting our efforts to prevent any moves by the White House, State Department, et al, that would serve to postpone or weaken the coming European Conference on Security and Cooperation. This will be an important step in furthering detente in Europe and the world.

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DEADLINE FOR PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION ARTICLES FOR PARTY AFFAIRS

JUNE 2 is the deadline for articles to be published in Party Affairs as part of the pre-Convention discussion. We are especially interested in receiving articles based on club discussion of shop and mass work, activity to build the Party and the press, which address themselves to the Draft Main Political Resolution.

--The Editor