

# PARTY ORGANIZER

Formerly Party Affairs

## ART SHIELDS TRIBUTE TO

# The PARTY PRESS

*Art Shields*

### Veteran U.S. labor journalist

"Our Party founded the only daily workers' newspaper in the English language in Chicago on January 13, 1924. This was the *Daily Worker*, now the *Daily World*. Our reporters have been in every big workers' struggle in more than 50 years. We're proud of our staff, which is a blend of Black, white and Latino youth and old timers.

No other workers' paper had writers to compare with Mike Gold, the author of *Jews Without Money*, and Joe North, the author of *No Men Are Strangers*. None has had such a splendid galaxy of artists as Robert Minor, Bill Gropper, Fred Ellis, Ollie Harrington, Hugo Gellert and Bill Andrews. And I've been much happier since I joined our staff at its founding."

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*Jobs for Youth,  
Jobs for All!*

## action needed — DW fund drive



TRIBUTE TO ART SHIELDS  
TOWN HALL New York City  
May 7, 1978

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LOOKING AHEAD WITH THE

# PARTY ORGANIZER

PARTY ORGANIZER Editorial  
By Milford Sutherland

"WE CHANGED THE NAME BECAUSE WE WANT TO CHANGE THE SUBSTANCE."  
- National Organization Secretary Arnold Becchetti  
(TALKING ABOUT THE PARTY ORGANIZER TO THE  
STUDENTS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY SCHOOL)

Dear Comrades:

In a meeting with the editorial board, National Chairman Henry Winston defined what the substance of the PARTY ORGANIZER must be. In brief he said:

The PARTY ORGANIZER is the organ of the Organization Department. It exists for one thing: to fight for the Party's politics. Its role is to help find answers as to how to do all the things which our Party must do to fight for the politics. To fight for the politics means concrete involvement of the masses in the fight. The emphasis of the PARTY ORGANIZER must be on specific experiences from this or that district. It must give care to have articles which answer how problems are to be solved by a given club.

Our first issue (January 1978)-with its focus on the crisis in steel, our Party's response to that crisis, the breakthrough that was achieved in mass organizing and Party building, and above all the creation of absolutely new conditions for the work of the Party - that issue in our opinion represents a good beginning in the fight for the changed substance that Comrade Becchetti called for. The comrades in the Ohio and Illinois districts have earned their Party's appreciation for making their special contribution to a successful start. We believe that this issue (February/March) is also on target.

In his talk at the Party school Comrade Becchetti made a strong appeal to the students - and through them to the various districts - to take the initiative in helping to achieve the substance Comrade Winston defined as imperative by communicating their experiences in their fight for the line of the Party to the PARTY ORGANIZER either by letter or by tape. At the same time he underscored that to publish monthly and to maintain the standard of substance we want to guarantee will require an organized fight for continuous contributions coming from the front lines of the class and democratic struggles to bring ever fresh lessons on how to organize powerful mass movements while at the same time building the Party. He warned: we cannot rely on spontaneity!

The main purpose of this editorial is to help organize the flow of those contributions. We will not rely, of course, only on this editorial. We will (cont'd on p29) -

LESSONS IN BUILDING A MOVEMENT

# YOUTH MARCH FOR JOBS: THE FOLLOW-UP

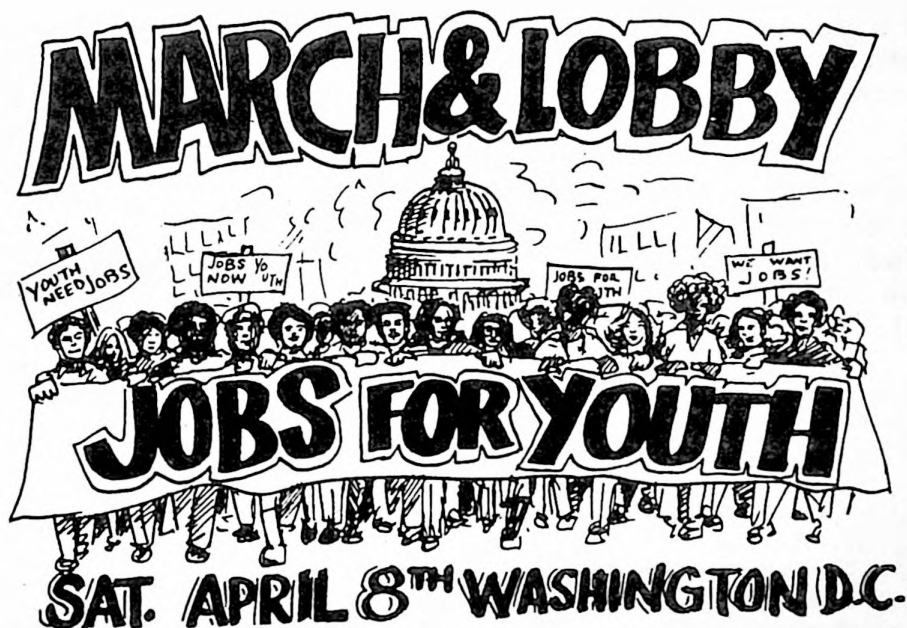
Daniel Rubin, Chair

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RIGHTS DEPARTMENT

The Youth March for Jobs held April 8 in Washington, D.C. was expected to bring together 10,000 youth and adult supporters from 38 states and the District of Columbia. Its development is instructive in many ways. Since this is written just before the event, it will assess only limited aspects.

Originally initiated by the Youth Council of the National Coalition for Economic Justice (NCEJ) and some individual youth leaders, it grew steadily in support at the

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"THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THERE IS NOW A GREAT DEAL OF MOTION TO FOLLOW UP ON AND HELP CONSOLIDATE INTO A VERY POWERFUL ONGOING MOVEMENT."

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national level. In many cities and neighborhoods, support skyrocketed. Tangible forms of support came from the YWCA, Nat'l Council of Negro Women, NAACP, United Church of Christ, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, Hospital Workers (1199), UE, AFSCME Council 1707 (NY), Fur & Leather, District 65, Furniture and Tunnel Workers in NY, the Nat'l Education Assn., Nat'l Student Assn., Student Assn. of the State U. (SASU of NY), the Urban League, United Presbyterian Church in the US, ASPIRA, WILPF, WREE and many prominent individuals. Carol Pittman, coordinator of the Youth Council (NCEJ) and a young minister, Rev. Greg Brown of the Harlem Church of the Master were the co-chairpersons.

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"THERE WAS HARDLY A GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL IN THE AREA WHO DID NOT KNOW THAT 190 NEIGHBORS WERE GOING TO WASHINGTON TO TRY AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE JOB CRISIS FACING YOUTH IN GENERAL AND BLACK, CHICANO, PUERTO RICAN AND OTHER SPECIALLY OPPRESSED YOUTH IN PARTICULAR."

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In a number of cities and neighborhoods, the March became virtually a crusade of the community. Every organization and prominent individual felt a responsibility to help so worthy and important a cause even if it were only with \$10 or \$20 to help pay for a young person to go. In the last days, all kinds of churches, youth groups, youth serving organizations and civic groups in these cities and neighborhoods called in to order a bus or a block of seats on a bus. The organizers could not trace how these groups had been contacted. A widespread atmosphere of excitement and participation had brought such people into action despite the almost total absence of prior media coverage.

For every youth who went, there were several more who would have gone if the transportation money could have been raised. As it was, \$150,000 was raised for transportation in small contributions, the great bulk of it from non-left sources. There were many times the number who went, who were reached directly before the March and wished it well.

Continued on page 23.

"Just as we dealt with the social problems of segregation through massive demonstrations, and we dealt with the political problem — the denial of the right to vote — through massive demonstrations, we will deal with the economic problems — the right to live, to have a job and income — through massive protest. It will be a Selma-like movement on economic issues."

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.  
LOOK Magazine  
April 16, 1968

A CLASS AT A PARTY SCHOOL. COMRADE GUS HALL TEACHING.  
SUBJECT: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE WORK OF OUR PARTY.

## THE PARTY IN THE FIGHT FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Gus Hall  
General Secretary, CPUSA

Let's go to another question, a very important question. A majority of Blacks are workers. Where? In basic industry. Should that not influence our priorities in our approach - of our Black Liberation Section, the Trade Union Dept. and our Party generally?

The great majority of Black Americans are victims of racism as workers. That is a helluva statement to make. It should have a big meaning, a deep meaning for us as a Party.

That the great majority of Black Americans are victims of racism - as workers and as Black workers, and that the great majority of Black people are workers in the U.S. - Is that the focus of our work? I am afraid it's not. I know it's not. For example, what did we do that was special because we know that racism and its effects is a special factor in the steel crisis? Not much. Some little things - not what we should have done.

Do we not therefore have the weakness of not being able to relate in a meaningful way the struggle against racism with the class struggle? We clearly do, and the reason is that the orientation is weak.

In other words: Do we place emphasis on racism at the point of production and corporate profits? It's more than that, but the question is, do we place emphasis on that feature of a question? I don't think we do.

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"THE GREAT MAJORITY OF BLACK AMERICANS ARE VICTIMS OF RACISM AS WORKERS. . . . IT SHOULD HAVE A BIG MEANING, A DEEP MEANING FOR US AS A PARTY."

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"WHAT WE HAVE NOT DONE ABOUT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE INDUSTRIES AND UNIONS - - ISN'T THIS PROOF OF A SERIOUS WEAKNESS? THE QUESTION ANSWERS ITSELF. IT IS."

Continued from page 5.

Here is an example. On a trip last week I listened to a leading comrade make a presentation of a plan of work and a list of priorities for the coming period in that industry, a whole industry in which a contract comes up in a few months, with the workers facing very difficult contractual negotiations.

The list was as follows, and given as priorities: 1) South Africa; 2) Chile - then two or three other points - and finally the last point: "contract and other economic questions in that industry."

The conclusion that one must come to if this is going to be the list of priorities is that the comrades are not going to do much on any question. The priorities are wrong. You can't give leadership on other questions in the shop if you are not going to be active and involved on the basis of economic questions. Because unless you are involved you are not going to have any influence.

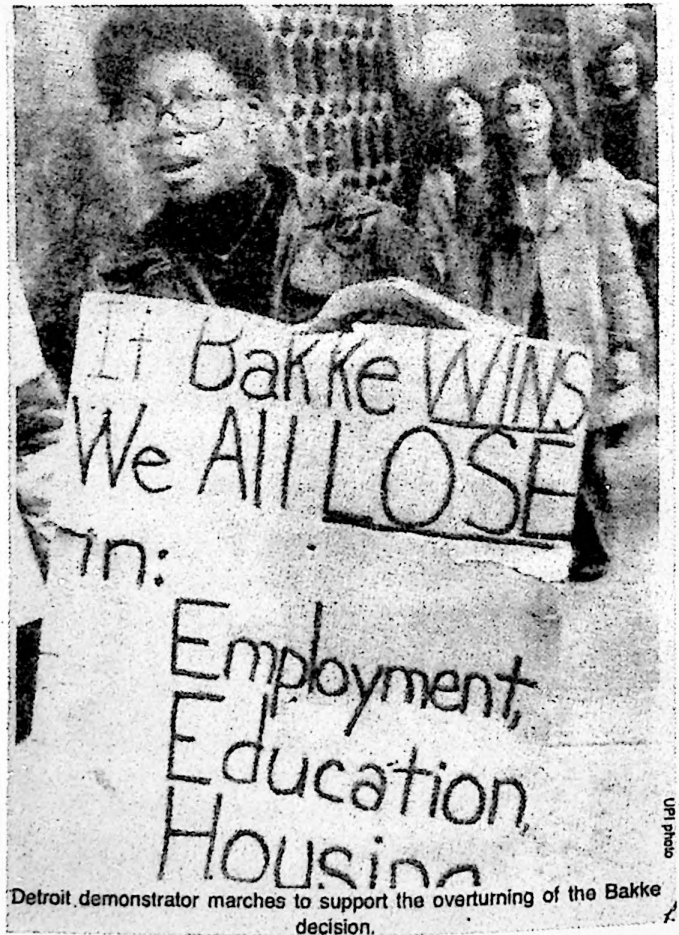
There was a question in my mind as I listened to this list: Wasn't this comrade trying to avoid being called an "economist"? Afraid of being accused of economism if he had reversed the list? I have that feeling. I know that that charge was thrown at him a few years ago. He became gun shy on this question, which I think is true of many of our comrades.

Now liberals work hard not to relate general or democratic demands to capitalism, not even to monopoly capita-

lism. They work overtime not to relate. That is where we part company. Therefore their work (the liberals) separates them from economic issues, because in dealing with economic issues it is hard not to relate to capitalism, and especially to monopoly capitalism.

For us the reverse must be the case. We help the workers to see the relationship of general democratic demands to the basic questions of capitalism and especially monopoly capitalism.

Next page.



"DO WE NOT THEREFORE HAVE THE WEAKNESS OF NOT BEING ABLE TO RELATE IN A MEANINGFUL WAY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM WITH THE CLASS STRUGGLE? WE CLEARLY DO, AND THE REASON IS THAT THE ORIENTATION IS WEAK."

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When I have raised this point in meetings in other than the PB\*(there was no disagreement in the PB), some comrades said: "You are turning democratic demands into class struggle demands." "You are trying to make an anti-monopoly concept into a purely class concept." "You are turning the special questions which are arising from racial and national oppression into purely class questions!"

The answer to these questions is: Yes, such errors are possible. They have been made. We must guard against such errors. But the fear of such errors should not stop us from seeking for such relationships that will not fall into such errors. There is a proper relationship between such questions, but they must be based on some basic foundation - the class foundation.

I am not arguing that the one question should be replacing the other, nor that one is more important than the other. The question is the proper relationship. And when you get the list of priorities I ran into this last week and have been talking about here, then you have the wrong relationship.

What I am arguing against is the error of separating out the broad democratic demand from the class issues. It is in fact the same argument that Lenin made when he spoke against economism. This point has especially to be made when

there is a general weakness of no attention to class questions.

. . .

I want to go back to the same theme - the proper relationship between the class question and the question of democratic demands - but I want to do so from a specific angle - i.e. on the struggle against racism. Let me pose a question: What we have not done about affirmative action in relationship to the industries and unions, isn't this proof of a serious weakness? The question answers itself. It is.

We have given support to the general concept of affirmative action as a democratic demand. But we have not given leadership on the problems of applying it to Black workers. We have not given leadership on how to apply it to industry, the shops, the unions - internationals and locals. Therefore you can see the relationship of this economic question, the weakness there. It quickly influences this very basic struggle. We have not given leadership in the arena where racism and the class struggle overlap, which for us is a very important question. It is related to both questions - the struggle against racism and the economic question, because that is where it overlaps.

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\*PB - The Political Bureau  
of the Central Committee

# The Bakke Case: A Weapon Against Democracy

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPUSA

Bakke is far more than the case of a single student in a single medical school in California. Allen Bakke, an over-age white engineer rejected by ten other medical schools before applying to the University of California at Davis, was obviously selected to challenge and help overthrow all the gains made by the civil rights struggles of the '60s and, indeed, the struggle for freedom over the centuries.

In a deep sense, the Bakke case, now before the U.S. Supreme Court for decision, represents the use of racism as a weapon against democracy in general and labor in particular.

To resist this attack today means a massive fight for affirmative action with teeth, with clearly defined aims that have clear-cut dimensions of time and numbers. This means, among other things, quotas.

Those who wish—covertly or overtly—to maintain discrimination are now focusing their argument on quotas. They understand, as we do, that without quotas affirmative action becomes a phrase under which discrimination, occasionally garnished by tokenism, is perpetuated.

These people argue that quotas are inherently *exclusionary*. Here they—deliberately or otherwise—confuse the issue.

Past quotas have indeed been exclusionary, notably in the nation's colleges, and were aimed at keeping out Blacks, Chicanos, Jews and children of immigrants generally.

But quotas called for by affirmative action programs are exactly the opposite. They are *inclusionary*. They aim to guarantee an increase in admissions or hiring of hitherto excluded groups—Blacks, Chicanos, women and others. They constitute an essential weapon in the struggle here and now to break the vicious pattern of discrimination.

Some people, frequently well-intentioned, call for the expansion of educational facilities and full employment as the complete answer to discrimination. No one is arguing against expansion and full employment. But to advance this argument dodges the burning issue of discrimination here and now. Blacks and Chicanos and other oppressed national groups and women cannot wait for expansion and full employment in some distant future. The crime of discrimination—past and present—requires clear-cut programs, including specific quotas, as the answer here and now. The fight for equality can not wait. It must continue under all circumstances as

long as discrimination and inequality remain.

The attack on quotas under the smokescreen of "reverse discrimination" is in essence an attack on affirmative action programs today. To permit this attack to succeed would mean a reversal of the hard-won gains of years and a return to a neo-discrimination, a neo-segregation.

The enemies of equality would have it appear that white workers are being asked to give up something in the Bakke case. On the contrary, white workers have much to gain in defeating Bakke—as some sections of organized labor already recognize. Genuine affirmative action programs would bring labor its most decisive need—unity of Black and white, unity of all labor with all oppressed peoples. Labor has nothing to lose in the Bakke case except the chains of disunity.

Racism weakens the drive for unionization. It has been a major weapon of monopoly capital, particularly in the South, to lower the wages and living standards of all workers, to weaken the militancy of the workers and set worker against worker—all for the benefit and superprofits of Big Business.

A victory for Bakke would signal a reign of new repression not only against Blacks and other oppressed minorities but would inevitably be used to push back the struggle for women's rights. Above all, it would be used to accelerate the drive against the organizations of labor and the living standards of the working people.

On the other hand, a defeat for Bakke would strengthen all forces fighting for democracy and human rights, especially the multi-racial U.S. working class. It would be a profound stimulus to the struggle for unity within labor and the unity of labor and its natural allies, the Black and other nationally oppressed people.

For these reasons the Communist Party USA supports the growing struggle upholding the Civil Rights Code of 1964—especially Title VII. The initiative of the University of California at Davis in pressing the fight against Bakke is an integral part of this fight. The position of Davis should become the position of every educational institution and, above all, of the whole labor movement.

On our part, we will do everything in our power to help weld that great mass coalition of workers, professionals and students, Blacks and other oppressed minorities, that will not only defeat Bakke but continue on the road to expanding democracy by smashing racism.

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## ERA: New Trends, New Developments

NOTE: The National Education Department suggests that the following outline for club education be used in conjunction with Alva Buxenbaum's article, "E.R.A., New Trends, New Developments," (Political Affairs, January 1978).

### EDUCATIONAL OUTLINE ON THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

March 1978

PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS SECTION

Since the 1976 elections, important new developments have affected the character of the movement supporting the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). A new climate of struggle has been created making it possible to push the implementation of the ERA in a direction that can advance the economic and political equality intended by its initiators and supporters.

Current demands around the ERA are being placed more and more in the context of day-to-day issues facing working women. They are no longer solely on the level of accepting the ERA as a "mandate" that will bring equality by declaration. The intent of the ERA can now be defined by the new level of struggle around affirmative action. The current question before the women's movement and the working class is: How to advance equality based on mass struggle for major changes in conditions - including legislation for women in the home, on the job, and in their communities?

The response to new trends and the development of a new situation based upon concrete demands force the interpretation of the ERA's intent in a progressive direction. It provides the basis for legislation that can lead to equality and consequently demands a new tactical approach.

1. What has been the main content of the Party's position on the ERA? How would you explain the Party's tactical approach to support for passage of the ERA?
2. What protective labor laws are essential for all workers and for women in particular? How can protective labor laws be used against workers if there is no struggle to prevent their abuse by bosses? Do you have any first-hand experience where this has happened?
3. In talking to a white male worker, who feels his job is threatened by affirmative action, how would you go about convincing him that the struggle for affirmative

action is in his own best interest? How can this issue be raised in your trade union or mass organization?

4. Why does the ultra-right oppose passage of the ERA? What are the special weapons and points of concentration the ultra-right is singling out in their efforts to defeat the ERA? How do you evaluate the Carter Administration's actions on the question of full equality for women? How can working class forces influence the Carter Administration in a progressive direction for women's equality?

5. In your club's area of mass political responsibility, what contribution has your club made in advancing the fight for women's equality? Will you share your experiences with the Women's Rights Section so that others may benefit from them? If, on close examination, you decide your club has not measured up in this struggle that is essential for the whole class, what plans will you make to correct or strengthen this work? In what way can the Women's Rights Section help your club develop its work in this area?

Reading Material:

"ERA: New Trends, New Developments," by Alva Buxenbaum, Political Affairs, January 1978.

"Why We Oppose the ERA," by Carmen Ristorucci, Political Affairs, March 1976.

"A Correction on the ERA," by Carmen Ristorucci, Political Affairs, May 1976.

Supplementary Reading:

"Women's Equality: New Conditions for Struggle," by Alva Buxenbaum, Political Affairs, March 1978.



Left-Center unity was the major focus of the policy discussions of the May 1977 CC/NC Plenum. We have had a full year to discuss, clarify, implement and evaluate that policy as it applies in the area of our club and district political responsibilities. On the basis of this practical experience - especially our activity in the shops, trade unions and the working class movement generally - we should be prepared for a very productive discussion.

The Party Organizer appeals to club and district leaders to organize the discussion on the basis of Roscoe Proctor's questions posed with his editorial comments in the November Party Affairs (Now the Party Organizer). Furthermore, the Party Organizer urgently requests that this discussion of experiences with the policy be shared with the Party by submitting it to the Party Organizer. To help that discussion we here reprint Comrade Gus Hall's talk to the DW staff and Comrade Proctor's questions on the Left-Center unity policy.

## Why a Left-Center Coalition?

GUS HALL

Talk to the staff of the *Daily World*. Gus Hall is general secretary of the CPUSA.

In general terms, the task of the Central Committee of our Party is to analyze developments and to formulate our policies and tactics in response to these developments. Our task as writers and speakers is to win our audience to them—to effectively explain, agitate and argue for them. The policies should be reflected in all our writings, including editorials, articles, etc. Not only should they be stated, but they should be the inherent, unstated “flavor” or “seasoning” in all of our writings and speeches.

To use this “seasoning” persuasively one should not only know what the policy is, but also understand why it was established, know the reasoning that led to the conclusions. This can be as important as understanding the policy itself. Therefore, today we will concentrate on the question of why we have projected the policy of struggle for Left-Center unity.

Left-Center unity is a term applied mainly in the trade union movement and the working-class movement in general. There are similar concepts of unity in other areas of mass work, but they usually have other designations. In the struggle for peace, against racism, against regressive taxation, a Left-Center concept may be too restrictive.

The Left-Center concept is a guide for building united front formations and relationships within the working-class and trade union movement. It is a response to the changes that are taking place in the

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ranks of workers and the trade unions.

### Historic Background of "Left-Center" Policy

We say "Left-Center" and not "Center-Left" for a reason: to give the proper emphasis to the role of the Left as the initiating force. In other periods, when the same concept was emphasized, some drew the conclusion that the Left was an unimportant afterthought, or the tail to the Center forces. We want to emphasize, therefore, that we are not giving up the idea of working for Left unity or building Left formations. The Left-Center concept does not replace any other organized forms. It unites them.

The Left-Center concept is not a new idea. This is not the first time our Party has projected this concept. It was a guide for united front movements in other periods, reflecting other realities. It is not new, but it is also not simply a return to the old because in concepts and tactics "you can't go home again" because "home" keeps changing.

The class struggle, the objective processes and the nature of class political currents of today are different. Left-Center alliance is now projected under today's conditions and relationship of forces. It is projected in its own unique historical framework.

I would like to emphasize that we have now placed this concept as the centerpiece in our trade union work. It is now the key to our trade union policies, tactics and overall approach to working-class movements.

We do this because the relationship of forces within the working class and trade union movement has changed. It would have been a wrong emphasis in the recent past, and it would be an error not to project it now. It comes up now because it reflects the new reality and the new relationship of forces in the trade union movement, including that important trade union forces are moving from Right field to Center field. This is the broadest and most significant political motion that is taking place.

One of the most serious setbacks of the McCarthy period was the destruction of the Left in the trade union movement. I considered whether the word "destruction" is too harsh. It is not. This was the most damaging development in the McCarthy period. The destruction of the Left in the trade union movement took place on all levels. And once the Left was destroyed the Right-wing elements became the unchallenged leading influence in the trade union movement and for a long period remained so. The Left was shattered and the Center was demobilized and scattered.

The Party also suffered great losses in that period. Again, the greatest losses in the Party were in the industrial areas. This also helped to create a situation where the Right was in an unchallenged

The Center forces, when they did not have a Left to gravitate towards or be influenced by, were pushed to the Right. The Right influenced the Center, and in many cases the Center forces simply went along for the ride with the Right. Many became silent and passive.

After the McCarthy period the Party, with other militant trade unionists and workers, had to face the problem of how to pick up the pieces as far as the Left in the trade union movement was concerned. As the crisis of capitalism deepened and as policies of class collaboration became more evidently bankrupt, the process of radicalization shifted into higher gear. This gave impetus to a Left current. In the beginning it was a grassroots development, in the form of rank-and-file groups.

It is a long process. The party had to re-establish the policy of industrial concentration, which meant the re-establishment of shop clubs, circulating party press at shopgates, etc. Slowly, step by step, the Party has become an organized influence in the shops and trade unions. The Party's industrial concentration has influenced the re-emergence of the Left. The work of the Party, at each stage, has been based on the changes in the outlook and thinking of the workers. The process of radicalization called for an emphasis on organized rank-and-file groups. That was a very important historic step in the process. It was based on the truth that there was no other way of basically influencing the trade union movement. It was not possible to influence or change it from the top. The rise of rank-and-file movements was a historic development because they made possible establishment of a mass base for the Left trend. Now the rank-and-file movements and groups have become the grassroots base for the Left trend on all levels. That was the basis for the formation of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD).

TUAD was and is a national gathering of these groups and trends. The first convention of TUAD was made up of delegates from Center and Left groups and trends, with very few elected or appointed trade union officials. It became a national coordinating center for these rank-and-file groups, and generally for the Left and Center trends. TUAD has served and continues to serve this historic purpose. It has left its mark on history because it came into being at a time when it was necessary.

With the development of a grassroots movements the Center elements in local and secondary leadership began to feel that there is some hope after all; they began to respond and develop a sense of confidence and to move in a more militant direction because they had a new mass base. So the development of a grassroots "Left" has played a very important role in creating conditions for the

emergence of broader and bolder Center forces which we have at the present time.

### The Center Forces

The deepening crisis of capitalism has given rise to the growth of a Left and following that the development of an active Center force in the trade union movement. As the crisis deepens so do the policies of class collaboration go into a deeper crisis. It is much more difficult for the Right elements to put over their ideas. As a result, the Right has been losing its influence on the Center forces. The Right forces have become more isolated, and the Center forces have become more active. These forces have started to look for alliances and relationships with the more Left forces. This has been going on for the last number of years. Important sections of the trade union movement have separated themselves from the status quo of class collaboration and will not return to the old position.

A weakness becomes evident as a result of this development. The weakness showed up as reluctance and hesitation to establish relationships with Center forces, both on a leadership and grassroots level, based on fears resulting from old experiences and a lack of confidence in the Left forces. This more than anything else forced us to reformulate our trade union policy more basically and to project the idea of Left-Center unity.

We felt that it was necessary for the Party and the Left forces to say to the Center forces: "You're welcome. We want to work with you." And we have to say it boldly. I think we are still hesitating. The hesitation leads to sectarianism.

The reason for this hesitation is a lack of understanding of the historic moment, a lack of understanding that things have changed, and that we must actively reflect this change and react to it. Everything in life must be seen in transition, including political forces and trends.

Who are the Center forces? They are honest, militant working-class trade union forces. This is true also of those on leadership levels. They are honest trade union forces. They are the largest sector in the trade unions. They are in transition from Right to Center, moving toward the Left. Therefore, they must be worked with. They must be encouraged to move further from one position to another. They most likely will not agree with the Left on all immediate questions, and certainly not on a specific program.

They will agree in specific areas with the Party and with the Left, and work together with the Left. That is what the idea of Left-Center is all about; it is a united front between forces who agree on some questions, but disagree on others.

The Center forces are in the process of becoming

radicalized. So the Left-Center concept is a united front policy with forces who are in transition from Right to Left. I want to emphasize this because there are historic moments when the transition is not in that direction.

This was not the case during the McCarthy period. That is a very important distinction. That is why our policy of Left-Center unity is realistic today, while it would not necessarily have been realistic in other periods. We could not project this kind of a program if the tendency were in the opposite direction, from Left to Right, from militant actions to passivity, to class collaboration.

### The Case of Steel

I want to explore the concept of Left-Center unity in relation to the steel industry.

Clearly, in the steel union there are different kinds of forces. There are the Right forces—McBride, Abel, the top leadership; there are the Center forces; there is a growing organized Left force and a Communist Party.

The contest in the election campaign for the steel union leadership was between the Right forces and a Left-Center coalition. In this case it was a loose Center-Left coalition of forces. There were three organizations involved: the McBride, right-wing organization; the Sadlowski Fightback organization, and the Steelworkers Rank-and-File Committee, which is a gathering of numerous Left and Center rank-and-file movements and groups. There are some other Left groups that are not national in scope. This Left-Center, rank-and-file movement plays a very important role in some specific struggles, for example, in the iron miners' and taconite strike in Minnesota. This is a most important strike. It is a direct challenge to the anti-labor policies of Big Steel and the no-strike, class-collaborationist policy of the Right-wing leadership of the steel union. The Right-wing leadership of the union does not attack the strike, but neither does it give it much support.

George Edwards, a steelworker from Ohio who is the co-chairman of the Steelworkers Rank-and-File Committee, went to the Mesaba Range and spoke at a number of meetings. This forced the McBride leadership to take a more active role in support of the strike. That is a good example of the role of the Left-Center forces. It gave great encouragement to the Center forces among the taconite workers in Minnesota.

It is important to know that the Center-Left challenge to the Right-wing leadership of Abel actually won the majority of votes among basic steelworkers. They most likely won a majority of the whole union, but were "counted out."

After the elections some differences developed. Some thought all forces and efforts should be

directed towards building the Center forces. Others took the position that there is a need for both the Center and the Steelworkers Rank and File movement as a Left-Center force, and that this is not a contradiction to working with and in other movements whenever that is possible and necessary.

To get clarity it is necessary to make a more concrete assessment of which forces are Center and which are Left. And it is necessary to make the assessment by analyzing the positions of the different movements on specific issues—the economic struggles, on the struggle against racism, independent political action and many others.

Examining the forces involved and their positions, it is clear the Center forces have an intermediate position on economic struggles, not consistently militant; a Center position on the struggle against racism, sometimes seeking to opportunistically get around the issue; and on political action they are moving in a Left direction, but have not yet reached the level of the Left and broken with the two old parties. They are honest, positive, militant forces, often influenced by Left concepts and ideas. But they have some limitations.

Left-Center unity is designed to influence the Center forces on specific questions, but in most cases that does not mean they are moved to a Left position in general. Very often there are no solid walls between the Left and the Center. There is always a mixture of Center and Left ideas that overlap. Once the correct assessment is made it becomes clear there is no contradiction between building the Steelworkers Rank and File, and working with the Center forces and Fightback.

For example, the Left had a fundamental influence on the Center forces on the question of struggle against racism. This could not have been done without two things—shop clubs of Communists and a Left-Center movement like the Steelworkers Rank and File.

The correct assessment is important because if one thinks the Center forces are a Left force, one will expect to work with them on that level. And one can be disillusioned very quickly when they do not respond as the Left does on many burning questions of the moment. They will go so far at a specific moment and no further.

Let's take another issue—affirmative action. The Right wing, including the Right social democrats, take the Bakke position, in full support of racism. That remains a serious problem. The Center forces, while taking positions against racism in general, sometimes say affirmative action is no solution, but that the solution is "full employment." Under pressure from the Left they vote for resolutions for affirmative action, but do not agree on measures to force its implementation. And while this position is not the same as the Right's, it is both demagogic

and opportunistic. It is even self-contradictory, because the working class can not fight for full employment if it is divided, and affirmative action is a means of uniting the working class.

We have reached a point—not just in steel, but generally—where concrete plans to eliminate inequality have become a must. The plans must include adjustments in hiring, upgrading and all the other questions that arise. The plans must concretely propose adjustments in the seniority system to do away with inequality. Such adjustments will not destroy the seniority system; on the contrary, refusal to make adjustments will destroy the seniority system. The seniority system must serve the purpose of uniting the class. Put in the context of an overall plan white workers will understand it better, and can be convinced that the adjustments in seniority, upgrading, hiring, etc., are necessary.

So in this issue it is clear why a Left voice is essential. But it is true of all situations. Life has proven that the Left can influence the Center, as demonstrated especially in steel.

We must guard against any error of seeing the Left as only the Communist Party, or the Communist Party as the Left. The Communist Party is very much a part of the broader Left, but there is a Left that is not Communist.

The Left-Center concept cannot be limited to common actions. It is a much more basic concept. It can not and should not end with action. It is the basis of continuing actions. And it is the basis for continually bringing Center forces toward the Left position.

The Left-Center approach in the present context means a broadening of the united front.

While developments differ in other unions, they all move in the same direction. There are parallel developments in the machinists, auto, longshore, electrical and in some of the construction unions. The hold of the Right-wing forces is loosening, and the Center forces are gravitating more toward the Left positions. The Left-Center concept is a viable united front policy of struggle.

The Left-Center forces are the power base of the working-class movement. That should influence how we write about these forces and their role in struggles. The Center forces are more viable when they relate to and are allied with the Left. They are politically and ideologically different, and that should influence how we write about them.

A word on Left-Center program. At this moment there is no specific overall program. The program must vary to reflect specific situations.

A Left-Center program in the auto union, for instance, is different than in the steel union. Why? Because there is an economic crisis in the steel industry, a crisis of overproduction.

In Youngstown, Ohio, Youngstown Sheet and

Tube is closing the big plant. The Right-wing of the union leadership is sending a delegation to Tokyo to convince Japanese corporations to buy and operate the plant in Youngstown as their solution.

The Left-Center forces in steel are ready for a much higher level of program; they are ready to discuss taking over the plants. There are broad forces in Youngstown, Buffalo and Bethlehem who, because of the crisis and the critical nature of the problems it poses for the steel cities as a whole are discussing takeover by the city, state or federal governments.

An interesting historical fact is that Campbell, Ohio, was always a Youngstown Sheet and Tube town. When Comrade William Z. Foster headed the Steelworkers Organizing Committee in 1919, he was very successful in the Campbell area, and company thugs burned down Campbell in retaliation and

blamed it on Foster's organizers. Now the closing of the plant will wipe Campbell off the map.

So the Left-Center program for Campbell and Youngstown can be on a much higher level. The workers and even the union leadership are ready for more radical solutions.

The program for each industry must reflect its specific problems. This does not mean that an overall Left-Center program will not emerge. For instance, it is possible that a Left-Center program for political independence in the steel towns will emerge at an earlier date.

To conclude, the struggle to build Left-Center unity is to concretize, to give expression to the new level of political and ideological currents in the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement. It is a guide to building a broad-based unity of struggle.

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QUESTIONS FOR CLUB DISCUSSION:

BY ROSCOE PROCTOR.

1. Recognizing the need for flexibility in the characterization of the center and left forces in each concrete situation, how do you define such forces within your situation at your place of work or in your community? What form does left-center unity take within your mass organization, in your community work?
2. Given our desire to build maximum unity with the center forces in labor, how can we insure that our independent line is not submerged in the process of striving for unity in struggle around those issues upon which we can agree with the center.
3. The key question in all trade union mergers must be seen as moving the rank-and-file around a program. How do we guarantee rank-and-file unity as the very foundation of labor unity at all points in the struggle?
4. How do we isolate the right within labor, as well as the ultra-left in the process of building left-center unity?
5. Within the process of striving for left-center unity, how do we guarantee:
  - A. an organized form for the building of a stronger and stronger left within the labor movement?
  - B. the implementation of our industrial concentration policy?
  - C. the building of our Party and press?
6. How can we guarantee the necessary break with narrow sectarian attitudes and characterizations which have hindered much of our work in AFL-CIO center-led unions in the past, i.e., what can help us to see individuals in transition, keep issues and programs up front, end name-calling and the expectation of Communist standards and positions on all questions as a basis for unity in struggle?

CARTER STILL OFF THE TRACK

by Gus Hall

THE COMMUNIST PARTY -

The Mind, the will and the  
honor of the working class

by James Jackson

BEAT THE STEEL CRISIS -

Save Every Job

by Gus Hall

JOIN OUR PARTY,  
THE PARTY OF STRUGGLE

by Art Shields

THE ROLE OF THEORY IN THE STRUGGLE  
FOR WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY

by Gus Hall

CON ESPANA EN MI CORAZON

by Henry Winston

JUST OUT !

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S AFRICA POLICY - Henry Winston  
A reprint from "Political Affairs," 16 pp. with illustrations  
by Ollie Harrington

A BROCHURE - reprinted from "Political Affairs" -  
Gus Hall on Left-Center Unity

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MAKING THE TURN  
TO MORE AND BETTER  
CLUB LEAFLETS !

This issue of the PARTY ORGANIZER begins our discussion and work for more, and better club leaflets. We want to solve all problems and obstacles which have kept down the number of club leaflets, whether to the shop or the neighborhood of the club's concentration.

Club leaflets usually start from the everyday, bread-and-butter or quality-of-life questions. Shop grievances are an obvious starting point. In a neighborhood an act of police brutality, an eviction, a health emergency, unmet youth needs and similar questions.

A good club leaflet doesn't require special expertise. It should deal with an issue people are ready to respond to, and present clear ideas on what can be done, which reinforces organizing work. It extends the reach of the club to a larger audience within the club's area of responsibility.

There is room on a one-page leaflet for one main idea only, and a few supporting facts or arguments. Also, think about a series of leaflets, each building from the main issue, and linking up to the wider national struggle as well as keeping up-to-date on the local struggle. If there is quite a lot of information to convey because the facts are not generally

known in the area, or they have been distorted by the news media, consider a FACT SHEET - entirely separate, or sometimes on the back of your leaflet, but don't crowd the leaflet itself, which should be a clear, convincing call to action!

No leaflet will move people by itself. It must be a part of efforts to organize the community (or shop) for appropriate action in response to a grievance, injustice or emergency; or to make needed demands. Usually, leaflets that just ask people to come to a meeting to discuss something get a lukewarm response from the grass roots forces you most want to reach.

The leaflet describes what the problem is, briefly stating the facts. It should be clear about what action is going to take place in protest, or in support (as the case may be) - such as stopping an eviction, a delegation to protest a police act or to make demands upon a public official, a rally at a busy shopping area, a sit-in or picket-line (even if only for a few hours as part of an ongoing movement, etc.)

A simple sketch or drawing will add interest to your leaflet as will an attractive layout. A main point to work at is NOT to

crowd or clutter the page.

Just as in writing a brief news story, several questions must be brought into focus, although they can't all be discussed in the leaflet, but should be a part of preparing the leaflet.

WHO do you most want to reach on this issue? One dept. of a shop, or other special group of workers? The general neighborhood or a few blocks of it? Tenants, shoppers, the unemployed, etc.?

WHAT can you safely assume that they already know and feel on the issue? You don't have to take up your limited space repeating what everyone is aware of, but be sure you know how much you can assume.

WHAT are the readers of your leaflet to do? WHEN and WHERE? Your leaflet should build confidence that the action proposed is a constructive step in their struggle.

HOW does the action which your leaflet urges relate to the previous experiences of your audience? How does it fit the nature of the problem, and help toward the solution?

WHO SAYS SO? Be sure your leaflet is signed, by the club, or an officer of the club, with at least a phone number, if not an address. (In the case of a small committee in which club members are active, if the Party club is not yet able to come forward on its own, then the committee should sign. But the whole thrust should be toward Party club leaflets as soon as possible.)

While your leaflet has just one main idea, with a few facts or supporting points, it should handle the issue so that the read-

er gets a general orientation that is pro-working class, anti-monopoly (utility, corporation), and for united struggle (against racism).

Sometimes the local action can be briefly linked to such national issues as the Transfer Amendment or the Wilmington 10 or the fight for jobs. In other cases, this will have to wait until the 2nd leaflet, which builds upon the first one.

Distribution, whether of 50 leaflets or 500, should be focused to your specific audience as much as possible. Keep a few for other clubs in your general area, and for your District file. By all means, mail a couple to PARTY ORGANIZER so they can be shared and learned from.

Regular club leaflets help the club become a public part of the community or shop. Its ideas will be discussed and more and more listened to. Leaflets along with organizing activity will develop the club's role as the core of the fight-back in the area and as the center for advanced demands. All this aids recruiting.

Often the club leaflet can be used along with issues of the D.W. or the P.W., or with national literature.

If your club has access to an electro-stencil maker, or to a fast-print outlet, it is worthwhile to develop a file of graphic aids. Many can be clipped from our own press. Much display advertising in newspapers and magazines provide many sizes of lines, curves, dots, arrows, corners, geometric shapes, etc., that can be clipped and re-arranged for your own layout. Lettering is also available in this way, as well as from art stores.

## WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD LAYOUT?

A good layout will:

1. Attract attention.
2. Emphasize the main point.
3. Make everything easy to read.

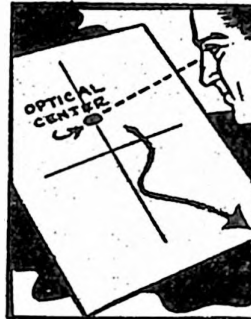
Three rules are: Short words, short sentences, short paragraphs.

(In most states, if the text and layout are donated labor, the printing trades unions do not object if you put "labor donated" at the bottom of your leaflet, even if it is run off by a fast-print process. Check out the situation in your state.)

Reproductions on this page are from HOW TO MAKE LEAFLETS, a 9 x 12 booklet with 15 pages of text, and 16 pages of traceable pictures and headings, by Joe Ford. It pre-dates electro-stencils, but is still useful. A VERY LIMITED NUMBER AVAILABLE, \$2 each, from the "Party Organizer."

- o *Directing attention towards the center of the leaflet*

Beginning at the optical center, the eyes normally travel to the right and down and off the page. This is natural since everything is read from left to right, down the page. The reader will continue on in that direction and leave the page by way of the right-hand edge whenever he loses interest. Attention, therefore should be directed in towards the center of the page and away from the right-hand and bottom edges in order to counteract this tendency to leave the page.



A simple method of directing attention in towards the center of the page is to place the sketch on the right-hand edge of the leaflet, looking away from that edge and into the copy. Sketches can be made to face either right or left by turning them over, if need be, for tracing.

- o *Typed copy of less than full-page width is easy to read*

Newspapers are printed in narrow columns for the sake of quick and easy reading. It is also easier to read leaflets that have typed paragraphs of less than the full width of the page.



To spotlight a paragraph, have an extra amount of blank space around it.

- o *Emphasizing important points by use of gimmicks*

A favorite device is to box in key paragraphs with four straight lines. Announcements lend themselves to this type of treatment. Other gimmicks such as a very large dot or an arrow can be used to direct attention. Commercial ads do this. They use arrows, lines of dots, or shading to lead the eyes to coupons or boxes, or other vital parts of the leaflet, carrying out suggestions on how the reader can follow up the advertisement.

All gimmicks should tend to lead the eyes from the right-hand edge. Boxes, for instance should, in most cases, be along the left-hand edge.

SEND YOUR EXPERIENCES PRODUCING AND USING CLUB LEAFLETS and further comments for a future issue of "Party Organizer."

## WISCONSIN—

### “A Terrific Party School—

### A Tremendous Success!”

By the Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
Education Committee

The Party in Milwaukee, Wisconsin has had some experiences with Marxist educational forms that have proven highly successful. We would like to share these experiences with others.

A few years ago, we had conducted six series of classes for new members. Each series was one night per week for 8 weeks duration. Experienced comrades took turns teaching on a variety of topics. The start was good, but attendance began to fall off until no one showed up at the end.

The education committee discussed the problem and began to look for other forms. We found that in adult education in the technical schools as well as in the trade unions the same problem existed.

One comrade had a trade union class in another form that had proven successful. Instead of evening sessions over a period of 8 weeks, the class had 8 sessions in one weekend: four 2-hour sessions on Saturday and, four 1-hour sessions on Sunday.

We also thought it would be good to get someone more experienced to teach. So, we asked Comrade Jim Jackson, National Education Director, to come to Milwaukee for a weekend to teach these classes. We decided also to invite people who were close to the Party,

new members, and others who wanted refresher education.

The response was terrific. About 30 showed up including 10 non-members. The class was a tremendous success. Five of the non-members joined the Party at the school.

The education committee and the Party leadership decided to try to repeat this successful experience, and we invited Comrade Kendra Alexander, Organization Secretary of Northern California, to teach a weekend class on the Party 6 months later. Again the response was terrific; 6 people were recruited.

Two more such classes were held since then. Comrade Roscoe Proctor taught on industrial concentration and Comrade Winston taught on Black

Continued on page 28

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"WE NEED AN ORGANIZED SUSTAINING FUND ESTABLISHED BY OUR FRIENDS AND COMRADES, THAT WILL FUNCTION AND WHICH WE WILL BE ABLE TO DEPEND ON TO HELP US TO FINANCE OUR NEEDS."  
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## A LETTER TO THE MEMBERSHIP

FROM BRAVEY ;  
MEMBERSHIP SECTION

Dear Comrades and Friends ,

We are sending this appeal to you, knowing that after you have learned the facts, your response will be just as positive and devotional as was your response to our appeal to you when we began building our center. We cannot forget that had it not been for your unselfish support and devotion we would not have been able to accomplish this task, which presented itself as an almost unsurmountable task. Here are the facts that we are presenting to you; we ask for your support.

There is a rising tide of struggles of the American workers from many parts of the country - Steel Workers, Miners and other sections of the workingclass who have risen and are demanding new conditions of Labor, mainly, shorter working-day without loss of pay, decent health conditions on the job, a struggle against shutting down of mills in some parts of the country, against inflation and unem-

ployment. All of these struggles are an indication of the unity and readiness of these masses to move.

Our Party is on the job. In these struggles our Party is playing an important part. Our aid and our guidance is being accepted by constantly increasing masses of workers, who look upon our forces as unbeaten and guardians of the interests of the working masses in this land.

We cannot under any circumstances fail to give our unlimited support in these increased struggles. The meeting where Gus Hall spoke in Ohio, was packed with Steel Workers and is most certainly a valid indication of the important role we are playing and the necessity to increase our activities in these rising struggles. The Ohio meeting is but one of the many examples, where the leadership and guidance of our Party is accepted. Hence

discuss this problem with your friends and comrades in order to make it possible for us to carry on this important task.

We need an organized Sustaining Fund established by our friends and comrades, that will function and which we will be able to depend on to help us to finance our needs. We therefore suggest that you make every effort in your locality to gather friends and comrades and begin setting up this Sustaining Fund for our movement, to be able to successfully continue with our work.

Friends and comrades, we are confident that in this effort you will cooperate as fully as you have in the past.


Comradely yours,  
Bravey

without the aid of our friends and comrades, this important work will suffer, and that is something that must be avoided. Our loyalty and devotion to the cause of the workingclass must continue without a letup.

To do these things, to increase and improve our work among the masses generally, and particularly during strike struggles, is number one on our list. For this purpose funds are needed. As said before, our building of the center could not have been accomplished without your aid, for which we are thankful. Hence we appeal to you again to help us raise funds so that there will be no interruption in the leadership for these struggles. Please

# A LETTER

from page 21.


  
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# YOUTH MARCH FOR JOBS: Continued from p.4.

The YWLL did a tremendous job in helping bring the various forces together and hold them together, on other questions of content and just plain hard organizational work. Comrade James Steele was a member of the National Coordinating Committee and Comrade Jill Marino served on the staff.

Our Party also made a considerable contribution in helping to build the Youth March in many ways. There were districts and clubs that were fully in it and did very well. Some others considered the March unimportant, something for youth alone or as a diversion from more important local activity.

In the better situations, our estimate that on this issue and with the breadth of the national support, no one would turn you down, proved out. In a number of high schools, a small nucleus of students and/or teachers were able to put up posters, give out leaflets, get public address announcements, set up a table to sign up and collect money in the lunchroom etc. In one neighborhood, in addition to the high school, the YWCA responded, knowing of the national "Y" support. Posters and tables were set up to sign up and collect \$2 per young person and the "Y" financed the balance for a dozen youth. Contacts through a tenants council led to signing up 10 youth from one building and 6 from a youth group in another. Social service agencies, dealing with youth from "poverty" backgrounds, were the source of additional groups of youth and funding. Other youth were signed up through churches with partial or full funding. Anti-poverty corporations produced youth and some funding.

In many cases, these activities produced more youth to go who contributed \$2 apiece than it did money to cover

the balance of the bus fare. Lists of churches, social service agencies, block clubs, civic councils, small business groups were mailed to, phoned and visited. They were told of the importance of the issue, the breadth of the sponsorship and that they had a list of 86 youth who had each contributed \$2 and wanted to go but would not be able unless they helped make it possible. These contacts were told so and so minister or other person they respected in the neighborhood had contributed \$20 to fund 3 youth. "We'd like you to do that also." If it was a Presbyterian Church, they were told of the endorsement of the March by the head of that church nationally. If it was Catholic they were shown the listing of prominent Catholics among the endorsers, etc. They got at least \$10 from everyone approached.

From one small neighborhood, \$1600 was raised and 180 youth and 10 adults were sent. In addition to the process described above, a union local headquartered in the area brought 6 young people and an adult and paid for an additional 6. Funds were also raised by setting up a table with posters and collection cans in front of a super-market. The daily average was \$40. There was hardly a group or individual in the area who did not know 190 neighbors were going to Washington to try and do something about the job crisis facing youth in general and Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other specially oppressed youth in particular. The response from Black and Puerto Rican organizations was exceptional. In another area, each member of the local chapter of the Council of Negro Women sponsored a young person.

In these situations, the YWLL branch and Party club worked together and with other left and center forces to achieve the results. As can be seen,

they each developed relationships with many youth and adults, individuals and organizations at the grass roots level they did not have previously. To varying degrees, the presence of the YWLL and Party were known. Generally, our comrades and the YWLL and Party emerged in a new way as indigenous forces who are hard-working and consistent in the interests of the working people of the neighborhood. They were viewed as a force for unity and one which brought Black, Puerto Rican and white together on a principled basis of common struggle. They were seen as people who did not seek a monopoly of leadership and who acted and not just talked. Both the League and Party in these areas are now in a qualitatively new situation to move people on jobs for youth, on other issues and to build our press, the League and Party.

The Youth March Committee gave out a Program which also outlined in general terms the possible follow-up to the March. It called for keeping the forces together at the neighborhood and city levels for local activities and said those at the national level would consult about future national initiatives. The Youth Council (NCEJ) called for support of a specific jobs program, the main principles of which are embodied in the Harrington Youth Jobs Bill (HR 927). These include:

- " 1. Create millions of jobs for youth.
2. Provide trade union wages and conditions.
3. Provide meaningful work and job training.
4. Involve building and staffing services young people and their communities need such as schools, recreation centers, hospitals, public housing, etc.
5. Provide affirmative action in securing jobs and job upgrading to help

overcome past inequalities based on race, nationality or sex.

6. Provide public employment since the private economy has failed for so many years to end large-scale youth joblessness. Public tax money should not be given to already rich corporations, in the hope they will hire more people. Experience shows for every youth hired at lower wages, they will lay off others."

The Youth Council called for meetings of the youth and adults who built the March and others on a neighborhood and city-wide basis within a couple weeks to plan demands and activities. In some places this may be a joint meeting of youth and adults as a temporary measure but they should soon meet separately and work out a form of leadership cooperation. The Youth Council called for support for the Harrington Bill and the working out of demands for a certain number of jobs from the city and state in new programs and in existing programs and from local business people to meet a specific neighborhood goal of putting all youth to work. They suggested a plan of many forms of action to fight for the demands, ranging from the Harrington Bill petition with local demands added on it, to delegations, disco's, demonstrations and sit-ins. The Youth Council offered its help and cooperation to all such local formations and invited an on-going relationship, including affiliation and individual \$1 a year membership for youth.

We should help assure such meetings take place, plans developed and that a close relationship grows with the National Youth Council (NCEJ). We should also be concerned to assure the public presence of the YWLL, and where adults are involved, also of the Party wherever possible.

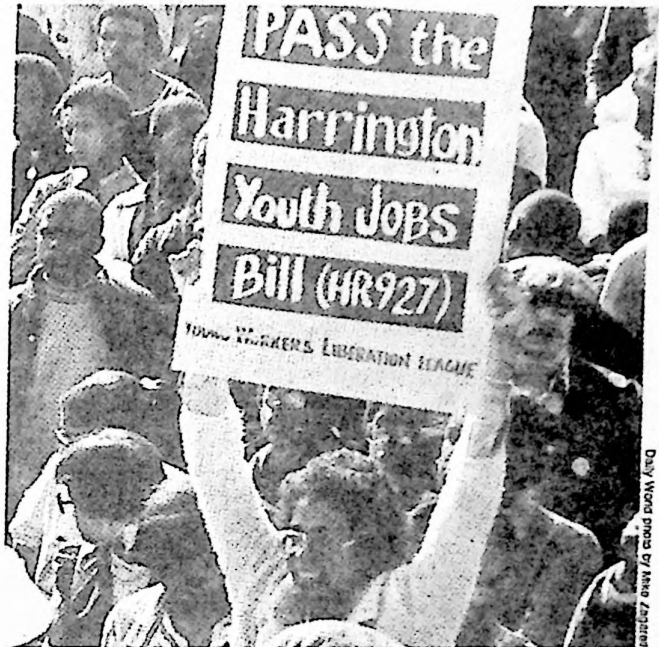


There will be new problems of unity growing out of the program for youth and urban areas of the Carter Administration and others, the main feature of which is to give public funds to big business to hire youth at substandard wages and similar "incentives" to monopoly. We need to win youth and adults to the type of job program outlined above by the Youth Council plus the shorter work week with no cut in pay, non-discriminatory trade with the socialist countries and the Mitchell Amendment to transfer funds from the military for such programs.

The most important thing is, there is now a great deal of motion to follow up on and help consolidate in an on-going movement.



## JOBS FOR YOUTH



"THE YOUTH COUNCIL (NCEJ) CALLED FOR SUPPORT OF A SPECIFIC JOBS PROGRAM, THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF WHICH ARE EMBODIED IN THE HARRINGTON YOUTH JOBS BILL (HR 927). THESE INCLUDE:

1. CREATE MILLIONS OF JOBS FOR YOUTH.
2. PROVIDE TRADE UNION WAGES AND CONDITIONS.
3. PROVIDE MEANINGFUL WORK AND JOB TRAINING.
4. INVOLVE BUILDING AND STAFFING SERVICES YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR COMMUNITIES NEED -- SUCH AS SCHOOLS, RECREATION CENTERS, HOSPITALS, PUBLIC HOUSING, ETC.
5. PROVIDE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN SECURING JOBS AND JOB UPGRADING TO HELP OVERCOME PAST INEQUALITIES BASED ON RACE, NATIONALITY OR SEX.
6. PROVIDE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, SINCE THE PRIVATE ECONOMY HAS FAILED FOR SO MANY YEARS TO END LARGE-SCALE YOUTH JOBLESSNESS. PUBLIC TAX MONEY SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO ALREADY RICH CORPORATIONS IN THE HOPE THAT THEY WILL HIRE MORE PEOPLE. EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT FOR EVERY YOUTH HIRED AT LOWER WAGES, THEY WILL LAY OFF OTHERS."

••read the **YOUNG WORKER**••

"IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY AND IN THE UNIONS RIGHT NOW THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IS VERY IMPORTANT, AND THIS IS WHY THE PARTY IS PLAYING A ROLE THAT NO OTHER ORGANIZATION CAN PLAY."

FROM  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
DISCUSSION ON STEEL

(In our previous issue we promised to publish some selections from the CC steel discussion in this issue of the Party Organizer.)

(1) THE EXCITEMENT IN STEEL...

The main feeling that I have about everything going on in steel right now is a lot of excitement. We feel happy to say that our experience has really proven the correctness of the Party's policy over a long period of time. Sometimes it might have seemed that we were too self-confident or overly ambitious in our industrial concentration policy. Now a lot of things we projected are coming to pass. We have concentrated our forces in the working class in a certain industry. When you focus all of your forces in a certain area rather than spreading them all over the place it really pays off.

I have found that it is very helpful that our Party is clear in its ideological focus unlike some other parties nowadays. We found that the owners of the steel industry are also very much geared to ideology and so is the government right now. In the steel industry and in the unions right now the ideological struggle is very important, and this is why the Party is playing a role that no other organization can play.

MORE FROM  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
DISCUSSION ON STEEL

(2) THE IMPORT QUESTION.....

I want to talk about this import question from a different perspective because it is something I've been thinking about since the company started this ideological offensive. I just want to show you what they've been throwing at the workers. This is what happened to the workers in my plant. When a bunch of us got laid off in July, the superintendent and general foreman came into our apprentice class and told us that the reason we were being laid off was because of Japanese imports, that they were selling the steel cheaper, etc.

A video tape was made by the plant manager that was shown to every worker by the foremen; a group of workers was assigned to go around with this film and talk about it. Bumper stickers were issued; posters were put up in the community. There was public relations stuff of every variety on the TV. Articles appeared in the local company newspaper and in the national U.S. Steel newspaper that gets mailed to workers homes. A personal letter was sent from the plant manager which said, "Dear fellow employees." It had a stamped envelope inside for you to mail to your congressperson. Employees were taken off their regular jobs

and assigned to go around the plant and talk to people to get them to write letters to their congress-

persons.

I think all this has a deeper purpose than just getting action on the import question. I don't think they just wanted quotas, and I don't think they just wanted tax and pollution breaks. What they really wanted was to trick the union into any kind of a coalition or partnership they could get with the company. And what it really is is an ideological offensive against the rank and file. It comes as the result of the last elections. It is designed to confuse and throw people off. I think the government has a role in it too because all of a sudden they came out with this trade relief assistance whereby, if we are laid off due to imports, we can get special aid, but if we are not laid off due to imports, we cannot get the special aid. So what can you do if you want people to get the money. You have to say it is because of imports. But you really don't believe that. So it puts you in a box.

So with all this stuff going on, I think the Party has an important role to play. A lot of honest people are confused about this import thing, and we were the only people who had a clear idea of it.

The role of a Party member in this union is to be right all the time on the class question. We can't expect other people to be.

MORE FROM  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
DISCUSSION ON STEEL

(3) THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST  
WOMEN STEEL WORKERS. . .

There is a universal feeling among the women steelworkers that there is a conspiracy against them in every plant. One woman said just the other day that it was as though everyone sat down in a room and mapped out this strategy. This is probably true. They continue to find new ways to use the pregnancy-maternity issue to push women out.

A big thing we are fighting now is the probationary employee problem. I don't think it was an accident that the probationary period in steel was increased from 60 days to 90 days at the same time the Consent Decree came in. This gave them that much extra time to get rid of the oppressed minority steelworkers and women they had to hire. Its really a case.

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"WHAT THEY REALLY WANTED WAS TO TRICK THE UNION INTO ANY KIND OF COALITION OR PARTNERSHIP THEY COULD GET WITH THE COMPANY. AND WHAT IT REALLY IS IS AN IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE RANK AND FILE."

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## Party School— A Tremendous Success!

Continued from page 20

liberation and South Africa. Each time several persons were recruited.

We also tried a one-day class - all day Saturday - for new members and friends, taught by local Party leaders. This worked out very well too.

Our conclusion is that attendance is greater when classes are held on weekends. Also, our successes are a real tribute to our Party leaders. They have been able to teach and impress our friends with the great attributes of our Party.

Continued from page 2.

be in contact with districts, with clubs, with members of the Central Committee and the National Council to discuss this matter and work out assignments with them. We will make special contact with others whose assignments provide the basis of important contributions to the content of the PARTY ORGANIZER. This editorial should be seen only as a preparatory step, so that when comrades are contacted they will have already given thought to the kind of assignment they are ready to accept.

Comrades are encouraged to contact us and make their own proposals on an assignment which they would like to have, and which they are convinced will be in the framework of Comrade Winston's definition. The PARTY ORGANIZER will in many cases have its own proposals.

We suggest comrades consider some of the following kinds of problems of organization as being areas in which - if they have had concrete experiences - would be of great value to the Party if they were prepared for publication in the PARTY ORGANIZER. Each of these are very specific problems which have been raised in the course of the work of the Organization Department during the past month.

- \* Do we have concrete experiences on a club and district level in the struggle to implement the Left-Center unity policy? (On this question see the special materials on Left-Center unity in this issue.)
- \* Do we have concrete experiences on a club and district level in the fight for affirmative action? (See the story on the class at the Party school with Gus Hall - p.5).
- \* Are we familiar with the experience of a given club which fairly recently did not see itself as the Party in its area, but which now has changed its concept of itself as a result of the struggles in which it has engaged? Do we know the experience of a club which is now making that fight?
- \* Do we have experience with a club which did not have a mass base on which to implement decisions, but which now has overcome this problem? How?
- \* Do we have concrete experience with a club that has made a fight to reorganize its meetings along the lines of Gus Hall's proposals on how to improve club meetings?
- \* Do we have experience with carrying out a decision to build a club at a decisive concentration point?

This list is not meant to set a limit on comrades' thinking about contributions for the PARTY ORGANIZER. The intent is rather to help stimulate ideas and encourage a wider exploration of the kinds of problems which need to be shared and probed and answers found.

Our central purpose is to LOOK AHEAD with you so that together we can get better organized for the purpose of creating a valuable organ for improving our methods of fighting to implement the line of our Central Committee - and thereby to help win more and bigger victories for our class.

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AN APOLOGY: WE REGRET THAT A MAJOR ILLNESS, TOGETHER WITH SOME TECHNICAL PROBLEMS, HAS INTERRUPTED THE REGULAR MONTHLY PUBLISHING SCHEDULE OF THE PARTY ORGANIZER. WITH THE DEVICE OF TWO DOUBLE ISSUES WE WILL CATCH UP. - - Ed.

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FROM THE MAY 1977 CC PLENUM :

- \* ON STANDARDIZING LEADERSHIP TITLES; AND
  - \* ON DEPARTMENTAL STRUCTURE.
- 

ON STANDARDIZING THE TITLES OF DISTRICT OFFICERS

Decision of the May 1977 CC Plenum

Each district must have at least two officers: the chairperson - who is the district organizer - and an organizational secretary. These are the basic officers within each district. The district has the right to have other officers as necessary (educational director, press director, etc.).

In those instances where a comrade over a period of many years has gained widespread recognition as an authoritative and respected mass Party leader, but who, for whatever reasons, does not function as the district organizer, such a comrade may be designated as chairperson. In such instances the district organizer shall have the title: "executive secretary."

ON THE CONCEPT OF CO-LEADERSHIP - THE CO-TITLE, SUCH AS CO-CHAIRPERSON, ETC.

Decision of the May 1977 CC Plenum.

The co-title was a concept that grew up during the factional period, and had an important role to play then as well as in the period of coming out of factionalism. But now that that is behind us we must re-establish more fully the Leninist norm on this question. Therefore the Central Committee adopts the following formulation:

"The concept of co-leadership (such as co-chairperson, etc.) violates the spirit of the constitution by undermining individual responsibility and the norms and practices of democratic centralism. This applies to all levels of leadership."

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**REMINDER : WHY A LIT ASSESSMENT** The recent CC Plenum (Dec.'77) re-affirmed the literature assessment of \$5. from each member due in March of each year. For this the member receives a wide range of reports, special pamphlets and reprints and the PARTY ORGANIZER without further charge. - Sid Taylor, Treas.

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# The Carter Administration's African Policy

by Henry Winston



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