

PARTY AFFAIRS

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OUR PARTY CELEBRATES ITS 56TH ANNIVERSARY

Editorial Comment

People tend to celebrate round-numbered birthdays and anniversaries with more gusto. After all, even the least vain of us (please stand up) don't want to be vigorously reminded that we're growing older year after year. But life doesn't always produce a coincidence of round-numbered anniversaries and truly historic moments. Our 56th Anniversary is and should always be remembered as a great historical milestone in the life of our Party; it comes in the wake of our glorious 21st Convention!

(cont. on next page)

The Communist

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Five Cents

Call for a National Convention

For the Purpose of Organizing the Communist Party of America

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Our Party is getting older. It draws from the rich and instructive experiences of 56 years. Our Convention, in honoring our charter and founding members, our Party veterans, took heed of the great storms of class battle weathered by such staunch personalities who embody in their work the proud history of our Party. Each year of growing maturity of our Party adds to our rich experience of applying our science of Marxism-Leninism to the world revolutionary movement and the struggle for socialism in the United States.

Our Party is getting younger. It is growing in size and influence. The 21st Convention witnessed the tremendous influx and maturation of younger people in our ranks--shop workers, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Peoples, Asian Americans and white working class youth. Our political muscle tone becomes more supple largely through the contributions, dedication and enthusiasm of our younger comrades.

Our Party is getting it together. The comrades who called the Convention "historic," "dyn-o-mite," "out of sight," "right on time" and "a monster" were absolutely correct in dealing with ADJECTIVE reality. They were right because the convention, the highest organ of our Party, was truly united around a common political line, a correct Marxist-Leninist approach to the complex world and national developments of this period. The Convention worked to deepen our perspective, to develop tactical approaches, to bring forward rich experiences from struggle in the shops and mass movements and to place the economic struggle against unemployment and inflation in the pivotal spot where it belongs.

The new level of unity of our 21st Convention is part of our 56th Anniversary celebration. It reminds us of where we've been: the McCarthy period through which the Party staunchly defended itself, the Gates period and right liquidationism, the "new left" period and the parade of pipsqueek "replacements for our Party," and our successful struggle to resist petty bourgeois influences and find and hold on to the working class rail. It tells us also where we're going: the seeds of a mass Communist Party were in clear evidence at the 21st Convention.

The ultimate test of the lasting, historical value of our 21st Convention rests on each of our shoulders. It rests on how well we individually and collectively master the content of the Convention, develop it further, and most important, quicken the pace of our activity, respond in time to new developments in the struggle for detente, in the struggle against racism upon which all other success depends, in the desperate day to day struggle to win back the standard of living of working people and expand it further.

To this end, we present on these next pages an outline for club discussion on Comrade Hall's Main Report, The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back. Every club must undertake a creative study of the Main Report and relate its content to the task of bringing the work of the club forward, closer to masses in struggle, more fundamentally involved in the struggle against economic privation and racism.

Let us celebrate our 56th Anniversary by building upon the wisdom of our 21st Convention as we study our Party's 56 years of struggle with and for the working people of our country. And let us share the wealth our Party has had and continues to offer with masses in struggle.

STUDY OUTLINE

REPORT TO THE 21ST NATIONAL CONVENTION
BY GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, C.P.U.S.A.
"THE CRISIS OF U.S. CAPITALISM AND THE FIGHT-BACK"

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

PREPARED BY WILLIAM WEINSTONE, CHAIRMAN,
NATIONAL HISTORY COMMITTEE, MEMBER OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

1. This guide to discussion of Gus Hall's report to the 21st Convention of the CPUSA which was unanimously approved is intended for 4 club discussions which may be extended to five or six. Reports by district leadership and public activities to inform the people about the convention should begin immediately but the club discussions are best held soon after Labor Day to ensure full attendance and the distribution of the Report, reading of which is obligatory for all members. The club executives should ensure that both practical work and the discussions are held. Discussions are essential to ensure that all members are fully clear on Party policy without which the tasks of the Party cannot be effectively realized.
2. The districts and clubs must view these discussions as the beginning of a Party year round educational program (September through June) to carry out the convention decisions and to raise the educational activities of the Party. They must prepare for them now.
3. The discussions are best around questions on the Report. They are not formal classes but discussions inviting the fullest participation by members. The questions have several parts but as a

rule it is not necessary to put each part for discussion separately. The question should be read and then if important parts are not discussed the discussion leaders should place such parts. Where clubs have experienced discussion leaders, they should be appointed to handle all four discussions, otherwise assignments should be made for each session. Discussion should last about one and a half hours.

4. Reading of the Report for each session is given in the Guide. Supplementary material will be very helpful especially for discussion leaders.

5. Educational discussions should be handled in a democratic and business-like way and differences should not be squelched but also they should not be dragged out as they might curb discussion of other questions. Where differences are important and not cleared up, they should be referred to state or county leadership for clarification.

6. The discussions should help the practical work. Experiences in the work should be expressed and encouraged which will make the discussions more lively and more practical, including references to past experiences of the Party but these should not restrict adequate discussions of the present.

SESSION I. Parts I, II, III of the Report, covering the historic moment, economic crisis, general crisis of capitalism, struggle for detente and world peace.

Reading: Hall Report, pages 1-37.

Supplementary Readings: Report in Daily World, 7/2/75 on Peace and Anti-Imperialist Workshop; Gus Hall's book, Imperialism Today, especially the forward, pages 11-22, and the Military Industrial Complex, pages 101-104 and pages 356-361.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the present historical epoch? When did it arise? What is the main contradiction on a world scale today? Are the world revolutionary forces superior to the world capitalist forces? What do these revolutionary forces consist of? Which is the strongest of these forces? Is the world capitalist system united? What is the perspective of development of capitalism?

2. What is meant by the general crisis of capitalism? Are there stages in the deepening of the general crisis? What is the present stage? Is it a factor in the depth of the economic crisis today? What explains the economic crisis? What are the new victories over imperialism in recent years? Have there been setbacks? Do they change the overall positive direction of the epoch?

3. Has U.S. imperialism changed its basic policy toward world socialism and the revolutionary world forces? Toward the national liberation forces? Toward the world labor movement including the U.S.A.? Is it still preparing for war against the socialist states?

Has U.S. imperialism changed its tactics? Are old tactics still used? Are there new tactics--what are they? Has the war danger lessened?

4. Why did U.S. imperialism adopt officially a policy of detente? Has it applied any detente policies? Is U.S. policy contradictory? Is there danger of a reversal of policy? What forces oppose detente? Why does Meany and Co. oppose it? Does the rank and file of the unions oppose detente? Why does the Maoist leadership oppose detente? The Zionists? How should the argument be answered that big and increased military budgets are essential for security? How to cut armaments. What should be done by the Party and the people about the Mid-East war danger? About ending the boycott and achieving recognition of Cuba? About Puerto Rican independence? Against the Chilean junta? And for freedom of Corvalan and other political prisoners?

5. Why is the fight for detente a fight against imperialism? How does it help the national liberation movements? The fight against racism in the U.S.A.? The labor movement? How do you answer the Maoists and Trotskyites that detente means class collaboration? Are there dangers that illusions about imperialism may arise due to the fight for detente? How can this be avoided?

6. Is the new revolutionary government of Portugal suppressing democracy? Or aiding and helping to prepare the way for socialism? Why does the Portuguese Socialist leadership oppose the armed forces government? Is it helping reaction; how? Is it possible for armed forces to be progressive? Is the Indira Ghandi government in India violating democracy or aiding it?

* * * *

SESSION II - Parts IV, V and VI of the Report covering the Domestic trend, mass movements, growth of racism and political reaction, the working class, women and young workers.

(Note: It does not include electoral struggle, united front and anti-monopoly struggle which will be discussed in next session.)

Reading: Hall Report, pages 38-65.

Supplementary Reading: Henry Winston, Report at Convention (Party Affairs, August 15, 1975, also in September, Political Affairs); Report by Roscoe Proctor on Black Liberation Panel, Daily World, July 10, 1975, page 2; Report on Labor Panel, DW, July 17th; Chicano Panel, DW, July 18th; for other Panel reports see supplementary material. (Note: Discussion leaders will find Winston's book, Strategy for a Black Agenda very helpful for discussions, especially chapters XIV and XV.)

QUESTIONS:

1. What caused the economic crisis, and why is it the deepest since World War II? Will capitalism overcome it? If it does, will capitalism overcome mass unemployment and lowering living standards?

What is the guiding principle of the Ford Administration in the crisis? Is it making concessions to reduce unemployment and other concessions? Is the Democratic Party?

2. Which economic and political issues are the most important for the Party to press forward? Is this true for particular groups? What issues on the economic crisis can the districts, sections and clubs promote better? What is our program for the crisis in the cities? Discuss concretely especially regarding the club.

3. Roscoe Proctor, in reporting the Black Liberation Panel, stated that the key to the advance of the struggle is the promotion of the economic issues. Does this mean a lessening of political issues, such as repression (Joan Little and other cases), busing and other political issues? Is this also true for the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans and other oppressed and national minorities? How can economic and political issues be properly linked?

4. Why is racism the main instrument of reaction at the present time? Hall said: "To fight the danger of fascism in the future is to fight racism today." Why and how must the whites take the lead in this struggle among the white masses? How can your club more energetically take part in this task in the factories? In white neighborhoods? Agitationally? Practically? In the fight around the Wilmington 10 case and other examples of repression? On busing?

5. Is fascist reaction growing in the country? What is fascism? What new ways are the fascist-minded and ultra-right groups using? Are the unions under attack? The Communist Party? What can be done by your club to fight Senate Bill S-1?

6. Is George Meany and Co. fighting the effects of the crisis on the working class? Are there union leaders who oppose him and favor anti-monopoly action? Are the rank and file? What are the forms of rank and file organizations in the unions? Do we favor left-center unity? With whom? What is the key to establishing Black-white unity in the factories and unions on the question of jobs? What must be done especially to fight for jobs for youth, especially Black youth? How can the present obstacles of the seniority system which discriminated against Blacks, Chicanos and other oppressed minorities be overcome?

7. What are the most important tasks in the fight for women's rights? Against discrimination in the factories and unions? In the building of women's organizations?

8. What are the tasks of the Party in building the YWLL?

9. What can the districts and clubs do to strengthen progressive cultural work? Establish wider contact with the colleges and intellectuals? Distribute the Cultural Reporter?

SESSION III - the part of Part VI of the Report which covers the united front, electoral scene, anti-monopoly struggle.

Reading: Hall Report, pages 64-77.

Supplementary Reading: From Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder" and other writings on mass struggle and the united front as follows: 1) From "Left-Wing Communism" Vol. 31, pages 24-25; page 70; pages 92-93. Lenin, Vol. 33, page 334; vol. 5 from "What Is To Be Done?", Chapter III, page 375; also "Lenin on Democracy." 2) Dimitrov, excerpts from the pamphlet, The United Front Against Fascism - pages 7-29, 36, 69, 74. 3) Togliatti, Political Affairs, July 1975, pages 44-52, "What are the Basic Features of Fascism."

QUESTIONS:

1. What is meant by the united front? When was it introduced into the policies of the Communist International? What is the basic Leninist approach on the necessity of the united action of Communists and non-Communists? In what way do programs of the united front differ from Communist programs? On immediate issues? On ultimate aims? Should agitation for socialism be excluded from immediate struggles? Do the struggles of trade unions for economic issues (wages, conditions) advance socialist consciousness? If not, why not? How should socialist ideas be spread? By agitation; raising political issues? By fighting for the economic issues or a combination of these?
2. Henry Winston said that the united front is not temporary but a permanent policy? With the same allies? Dimitrov and the Communist International in 1935 developed the united front to include not only workers but also petty-bourgeois strata? Calling the policy the "Anti-Fascist People's Front;" Why? Which strata does this mean in the USA, economically? Politically? Does this policy lessen the basic idea that workers must lead? How is such leadership achieved?
3. What is meant by grass roots united fronts? Can leaders of unions and people's organizations be part of united fronts? Can the Democratic Party be involved? Individuals and sections of that party? What is meant by "left-unity" in the united front movements? Who in the U.S.A. are "left" elements other than the Communists? Are there united fronts in the U.S.A.? In the labor movement? In the Black liberation struggle? Chicanos? Puerto Ricans? What do you think the clubs should do to strengthen their own united front activities?
4. What is meant by the statement that the main fight is against the monopolies? Why not against capitalism? Which elements of monopoly are the main targets of popular struggle? Why is the fight against monopoly a democratic struggle and a means of promoting socialist consciousness? What is the Party's position on the nationalization of industry? Does curbing the monopolies mean socialism? Does it show the way to socialism; How?
5. Has the policy of independent party candidates proven correct? Discuss the question posed by Gus Hall, report page 65:
"The challenge is to help crystallize a

popular, anti-monopoly alternative, a common alternative to the two parties of monopoly capital; how to unite the broad masses who are disillusioned with the two old parties; with the people who have not yet fully cut their political apron strings. The challenge is how to build the basis for political independence; how to convince, how to bring these disillusioned but radical masses into electoral activities; the challenge is how our Party can speak to and influence the thinking pattern of millions...How can we influence the outcome of the elections."

Do we advocate an independent progressive party (labor, farmers, Black and other oppressed groups as well as intellectuals and middle strata)? Where must we center such agitation and practical work for the creation of such a party?

6. Is the inclusion of the C.P. openly in united fronts a condition for our participation? Do we fight for it? Do we make recognition of the leadership of the Party a condition? Is it possible to help build independent democratically controlled mass organizations and at the same time play a vanguard role? What is the main way to win recognition of the Party's vanguard role?

7. Since ideological differences exist on major questions with potential allies in a united front, how does the Party handle such differences? Does the Party favor Maoist and Trotskyite elements or organizations in the united front? Can you always exclude them? Does the Party criticize actions of individuals or groups in the united front whose actions violate the purposes of the front? Does such criticism endanger the united front? Does the Party lessen its agitation for basic doctrinal principles including socialism while supporting united front movements?

8. What is opportunism in regard to united front activity? What is sectarianism? Has the Party made such mistakes in the past? In the present period?

* * * *

SESSION IV - covering Section VII of Hall Report on the Party.

Reading: Hall Report, Introduction, Our Revolutionary Heritage, pages 9-12, and pages 79-93.

Supplementary Reading: Becchetti Report on Party Organization, Daily World, July 2, 1975, page 3. (See full report in August Party Affairs.)

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the Party's revolutionary heritage? Its great historic contributions to labor? To Black Americans and other oppressed

groups? To the U.S.? Has the Party grown in membership and influence? What explains this? Are there weaknesses? What are they? Comrade Hall says, "We do not always follow through on our initiative in mass struggles." Is this true? Of the club? Give examples. Why is it essential, especially in the present period to belong to mass organizations? In the case of your club? How can we recruit more members?

2. Hall states that the Party is the only vanguard Marxist organization. Why have the opposing left organizations collapsed? Are they still a danger? Which ones? How must they be combatted? Agitationally? Politically? What is essential to carry out a concentration policy? In regard to reaching factory workers? In regard to reaching white neighborhoods on the question of racism? Must we reach wider sections of farmers? On what program?

3. Is anti-communism and anti-Sovietism a barrier to Party growth, activity and influence? How should Communists overcome these influences? Agitationally? By active members in mass organizations making their Party membership known? By better use of bourgeois mass media? Is it possible?

4. Is the fight against Zionism anti-Semitic? How shall the Party fight against nationalistic-Zionist influences in the Jewish revolutionary movement? Are there bourgeois nationalist influences in the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed nationalist groups? Why is it necessary to properly oppose them? How? By whom? Why are we proletarian internationalists? Does such a position hurt national liberation struggles? Is it unpatriotic in relation to our country's interests?

5. How should we improve our educational work among the masses? Within the Party? In spreading our press? Do we reach workers sufficiently? Is our literature sufficiently popular? How can clubs improve forums? Classes of workers (men and women) and youth?

6. Collective work and checkup on our decisions are key to strengthen Party organizations, statewide and clubs. How should this be done? More youth and working class forces? Better use of older Marxist forces? More criticism and self-criticism of industrial weaknesses? Is there liberalism on this criticism? What did Lenin say, as quoted in Hall's Report on the fear of criticism of mistakes? (Page 91 of Report)

Supplementary Reading References from the writings of V.I. Lenin and G. Dimitrov appropriate to the Discussions.

Also, discussion leaders should make use of articles in the Daily World on reports of workshops. Additional reports and resolutions on women, youth, the Asian panel, national minorities, etc., and others will appear in Party Affairs and Political Affairs.

FROM LENIN'S COLLECTED WORKS

1. From, Left-Wing Communism--An Infantile Disorder, (Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 53), Chapter: "An Essential Condition of the Bolsheviks' Success."

"...To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labor aristocrats, or 'workers who have become completely bourgeois'..."

This ridiculous 'theory' that Communists should not work in reactionary trade unions reveals with the utmost clarity the frivolous attitude of the 'Left' Communists towards the question of influencing the 'masses,' and their misuse of clamour about the 'masses.' If you want to help the 'masses' and win the sympathy and support of the 'masses,' you should not fear difficulties or pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution from the 'leaders' (who, being opportunists and social chauvinists, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), but must absolutely work wherever the masses are to be found. You must be capable of any sacrifice, of overcoming the greatest obstacles, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly, persistently and patiently in those institutions, societies and associations - even the most reactionary - in which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found. The trade unions and the workers' co-operatives (the latter, sometimes, at least) are the very organizations in which the masses are to be found..."

Pages 24-25:

"The first questions to arise are: how is the discipline of the proletariat's revolutionary party maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its tenacity, self-sacrifice and heroism. Second, by its ability to link up, maintain the closest contact, and - if you wish - merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people - primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian masses of working people. Third, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided the broad masses have seen, from their own experience, that they are correct.

"...Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end up in phrase-mongering and clowning. On the other hand, these conditions cannot emerge at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by a correct revolutionary theory, which in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement."

2. From the chapter, "No Compromises?", pages 70-71.

"...to renounce in advance any change of tack, or any utilization of a conflict of interests (even if temporary) among one's enemies, or any conciliation or compromise with possible allies (even if they are temporary, unstable, vacillating or conditional allies) -- is that not ridiculous in the extreme?..."

"The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skillful and obligatory use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies, any conflict of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern, scientific socialism in general."

3. From the article, "We Have Paid Too Much," in Vol. 33 of the Collected Works, page 334.

"We have adopted united front tactics in order to help the masses fight capitalism...and we shall pursue these tactics to the end."

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DIMITROV'S Views from the Pamphlet, UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

1. The class character of fascism: "...fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (page 7)

2. Importance of the united front: (Pages 28-29)

"...The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to commence, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defense but of successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy.

"...Every step on the road to unity of action, directed toward the support of the struggle for liberation of the colonial peoples on the part of the proletariat of the imperialist countries, denotes the transformation of the colonies and semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat.

"If finally we take into consideration that international unity of action by the proletariat relies on the steadily growing strength of a proletarian state, a land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, we see what broad perspectives are revealed by the realization of united action on the part of the proletariat on a national

and international scale."

3. The anti-fascist people's front: (Pages 36-37)

"In the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a broad people's anti-fascist front on the basis of the proletarian united front is a particularly important task. The success of the entire struggle of the proletariat is closely connected with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat on the one hand and the toiling peasantry and the basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie constituting a majority in the population of even industrially developed countries, on the other."

4. Lenin on Democracy, quoted by Dimitrov: (page 113)

"And the circumstance that even today we must still make reference to fear, in our ranks, of launching positive democratic slogans indicates how little our comrades have mastered the Marxist-Leninist method of approaching such important problems of our tactics....It may not be amiss to recall what Lenin said on this question:

'It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the Socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.'

"These words should be firmly fixed in the memories of all our comrades, bearing in mind that in history the great revolutions have grown out of small movements for the defense of the elementary rights of the working class. But in order to be able to link up the struggle for democratic rights with the struggle of the working class for socialism, it is necessary first and foremost to discard any cut-and-dried approach to the question of defense of bourgeois democracy."

* * * *

SAMPLE LETTER FROM ILLINOIS/IOWA DISTRICT--SEE NEXT PAGE

The first printing of 50,000 copies of Gus Hall's Main Report to the 21st Convnetion, The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back, is now sold out. The second printing will be ready in mid-October. Districts and clubs should now be completing the distribution and sale of the first printing and making plans for the next edition. The Central Committee Office has already mailed the book to all national legislators, international and national trade union leaders, the Black press and national mass movement leaders. Such mailings should be duplicated by the districts and clubs on an area basis to guarantee the deepest possible imprint of the book on political developments in our country. Please send us copies of your plans.

COMMUNIST PARTY of ILLINOIS/IOWA
 27 East Monroe - Room 1203
 Chicago, Illinois 60603
 Tel: 726-9543

September, 1975

Dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find a booklet, "The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight Back," by Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Communist Party. It contains the main report given to the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party held last June here in Chicago, 56 years after the founding of the Party in this same city.

The convention took place at an historic moment in our country and the world. Events are moving at a pace hard to keep up with. Our country itself is in a deep crisis. Young people, senior citizens, Black, white and Latino peoples, the entire working class and all working people are confronted by inflation, unemployment, and a stepped up racist and anti-labor offensive by government and big business.

How can we meet these problems? There is widespread discussion in the labor movement, among community and political leaders, Black, white and Latino. The Communist Party is a part of these discussions and debates, and Gus Hall's report to our convention summarizes our position on the big issues of our time.

Gus Hall himself is a unique personality. He has spoken all over the country, on university campuses, on radio, television and in the press. He has traveled widely in both socialist and non-socialist countries, and met with people in all walks of life. A steelworker by trade, he was a founder of the United Steelworkers Union. He served years in prison under the notorious Smith Act, for his devotion to the working class and the struggle against racism. He was nominated for the U.S. Presidency by the Communist Party in 1972.

You may not agree with everything in this book. But we are sure that you will find it interesting and stimulating. We would welcome your opinion and comments on the book. We are pleased to be able to send it to people such as yourself. If you would like to make a contribution to help make it available to others, or if you would like additional copies for your friends, please fill out the attached form and send it to us.

Sincerely,

Ishmael Flory
 Ishmael Flory
 Chairman

Jack Kling
 Jack Kling
 State Sec'y.

Linda Appelhans
 Linda Appelhans
 Org. Sec'y.

A Delegate's Report from the Convention

By Clara Lutz,
Southern California

I want to thank the comrades of the Southern California District for electing me as a delegate to the 21st National Convention. It was the most meaningful, important five days in a person's lifetime. It was an exciting, lively and most constructive convention. One could name it, "Five Days that Shook the Party" into efforts of greater struggle against monopoly capitalism and racism. The youth delegates predominated. They related their experiences of struggle in their shops, trade unions and among the rank and file. The analyses and speeches of Comrades Winston and Hall called forth thunderous applause and standing ovations. It was really breathtaking.

Enthusiasm, applause, standing ovations are all vital ingredients in our revolutionary work, but it has to be substantiated with daily and even hourly meaningful activity that moves masses and brings results.

I want to deal with practical problems of how to apply the resolutions and decisions of the National Convention in our work. Let's resolve that we have no gap between decision-making and putting them into practice. The club is the basic unit from which activity must generate. Those of us who operate on a district or club level or both must give leadership by example. This point cannot be over-emphasized. Leadership by example must be based on club involvement in struggle and collectivity. Such methods of work will result in recruiting into our Party and obtaining subs to the People's World (P.W.). These are basic concepts based on our own experience and will bring positive results if applied in a Marxist-Leninist way.

So here are some practical examples of modest accomplishments since we came back from this historic convention. We immediately called an executive of the club in the Bay Cities. The enthusiasm was translated into plans to carry out the main thrust of the National Convention.

First we are presenting to you a new young recruit who has joined our Party. He actively participates in distribution of the P.W. at steel mills and welfare offices. He goes out with us on Red Sundays with the P.W. He comes from the Marxist Extension

class in the Bay Cities. This young recruit is bringing three other young people to the steel mill for the special steel issue distribution. We also invited three other participants in the Marxist Extension class and spent hours with each of them. They each assumed definite responsibility for a phase of activity. We are to keep in touch with each other, and we are working towards some of them joining the Party and subscribing to the P.W. They are all anxious to hear about our National Convention. Our club is preparing an open meeting to which some of our friends from various types of activity will be invited to listen to a report from our delegates.

WORK AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

The National Convention helped to accelerate much of our activity to a higher level. We set up a table at the unemployment office. The place inside was filled to capacity with lines of the unemployed. Some were receiving their last unemployment checks. Some were disqualified to even get their first ones.

Several young comrades recently recruited into our club and myself manned the table. It felt good to work among young, energetic comrades. Our table was decorated with posters, slogans, leaflets, letters that we xeroxed, postage stamps and clip boards.

Over 80 unemployed workers, mostly young Blacks and Chicanos, men and women, signed individual letters for their respective congressmen that we promised to mail. We collected \$17.56 from the unemployed to cover postage and expenses for xeroxing. It was accomplished in an hour and fifteen minutes. We ran out of letters. We received many valuable suggestions from those who signed our letter such as to include the 30-hour week among the demands. About four or five, however, wanted us to omit the paragraph on cutting the military budget. Some volunteered to work with us if a committee is formed. I think it was a good start. Other clubs are now emulating this type of activity and we are assisting them by sending our new recruits to assist in setting up tables. This type of work helps to put a stop to inner-bickering, useless discussion and any self-imposed confusion detached from struggle and reality.

RED SUNDAY

Red Sunday was another spark ignited by the National Convention. We started this type of work during the convention discussion but accelerated the tempo upon returning from the convention. About six young comrades and a couple of older ones including myself went out on Red Sundays to obtain subs for the P.W. We work in the Chicano, Black and poor white neighborhoods. Not having a Spanish page in the P.W., we used a Spanish page from our Daily World. We xeroxed it and used it in our Red Sundays work. It opened many doors for us. The results were positive. The people pay for the P.W. and for the cost of xeroxing. We obtained several names of people who want the P.W. delivered to them weekly. One comrade alone came back with close to \$6.00. We consider this also a good

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A Charter Member Looks at the Convention

AN INTERVIEW WITH FANNY HECHTMAN

The following are excerpts from a Party Affairs interview with Comrade Fanny Hechtman. Comrade Hechtman is a charter member of the Party who has attended every convention of the Party from its first to the 21st. At age 83, she works as a full time volunteer at the New York District Office, working exclusively on following up Daily World subscriptions. She was a garment worker most of her life, from age 11 to 80.

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The first thing that impressed me when entering the hall was the composition of the audience. We didn't have such representation of nationally oppressed minority peoples at the first convention. We didn't have the same kind of participation or politically developed interest. In the past, there was always dissension, misunderstandings and even a few who tried to disrupt. When we left the first convention, it was with heartaches because we saw the difficulties and that the struggles ahead would be very, very difficult for all of us.

At each of the conventions, there was some degree of dissension, disgruntled attitudes, running in various directions. Trying to build unity was a constant grind. We continued to ask, "How can we make it? How can we do it?"

None of this was present at the 21st Convention. I have never been as happy as I was to see the response to the leadership and the speakers from the delegates and guests. There was such unity of purpose--to build the Party. There was respect and regard of one comrade to the other. There was such confidence in ourselves and in the future.

Speakers were not thrown off the track. What developed was a collective give and take to strengthen the Main Resolution and the other resolutions. At other conventions, I felt the speakers did not get a chance to develop their points. What came to my mind--and I sort of screamed it out spontaneously so that those sitting around me joined in--was "We grew up!" Then I said, "Now we stand on our feet!" We had gone through man growing pains, but the pains of struggle gave us strength. We developed into a united Party, a Party with one purpose, socialism. We developed into a Party united in fighting for a class conscious working class.

When I left the Convention, I felt that no matter what we had lived through before, this was another chapter.

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NOTE: The following three articles were submitted during the pre-Convention discussion and were inadvertently omitted in the haste of the technical process. We regret this error. -- The Editor

Report on Working Women

Adopted by the New England District Convention

As of 1972, 47% of working women were single, widowed, divorced, separated or living with husbands who had incomes of \$3,000 to \$7,000. 22% of the 5.3 million families in the United States were headed by women. The median income of female headed families in 1972 was \$5,380, compared to \$12,070 for husband-wife families and \$10,350 for families headed by men who were divorced, separated or widowed.

Many of you are already familiar with these statistics and many more detailed ones, but what is obvious from any analysis of them is that working women are in the labor force to stay. Given the present economic crisis, the need to work for most women is no longer a question although the opportunity for an actual job may be something else altogether.

The importance of this for the labor movement and for the progressive movement as a whole is crucial. Historically, women have been in the forefront of militant labor struggles--in the building of the ILGWU, in the Lawrence strike and, more recently, in the organizing struggles of 1199, to give a few examples. As Marxist-Leninists, we recognize the socializing influence of work in the building of collective struggles, i.e. a factory worker as opposed to a housewife soon learns that she cannot struggle alone; she must unite with fellow workers. For women, to organize and struggle collectively within the labor movement cannot help but add new strength, militance, and a special progressive character to that movement for women have a special relationship to child care, maternity benefits and leave, health care. And because of their low rung on the pay ladder, women have a particular interest in fighting around wage demands. Women's wages, especially those of Black women, are the level on which the rest of all workers' wages rest. If they are raised, through struggle against male supremacy and racism, then all workers' wages may be raised and the super profit sand feet of capitalism start eroding.

In New England, our concentration is the electrical industry. There are also a large number of hospital and clerical workers. The majority of the unorganized electrical workers are women as are the majority of hospital and clerical workers. UE, 1199, and District 65 have all launched organizing drives in these areas which need every possible aid and support that Party members can give. They are the key to democratizing the labor movement here,

not only because of the special role that women can play, but also because a great number of these unorganized women are Black, Spanish-speaking, Asian and Native American. By and large, these women are in the lowest and dirtiest jobs--the dead end jobs.

Most women workers and minority women in particular are in jobs that go nowhere for life. The development of Affirmative Action programs to fight discrimination in hiring and upgrading needs to be supported and pushed. (Any place that receives federal contracts or grants has to answer to HEW and OEO.) However, a key question that has to be resolved is the relationship between hard-fought-for seniority systems and the right of women and minorities (the last hired) to a job. We cannot allow white male workers to be pitted against their sisters and nationally-oppressed brothers for the few crumbs the system leaves after the massive layoffs we are witnessing. A careful approach needs to be developed in order to deal with this question and with the racism and male supremacy that this situation provokes.

The development of CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) nationally in March, 1974, is basically healthy and exciting, but the problems of the local CLUW chapter are manifold. Due in large part to the male supremacy and general backwardness of the labor movement in Boston, the Boston chapter has developed into a collection of young, white, pseudo-radicals with little base in the on-going labor movement or roots in the community. It suffers from a lack of program that would help it develop into a mass organization of women workers. Instead of taking up questions of child care and maternity leave, it has dealt with isolated instances of individual discrimination when it has dealt with anything at all. We have to develop a workable strategy to deal with these problems. The Providence, Rhode Island group, although not yet off the ground, apparently has more healthy elements as its base and should be developed.

The Third World Women's Committee (a local Boston coalition that organized a highly successful, mass celebration on March 8, 1975, of International Women's Day), although not directly oriented to the labor movement, is for the most part made up of working class women and stands out as an exciting new addition to the women's movement. It is sure to influence many people's thinking--both Black and white--and must be worked with.

In the fight for equality of women, the Party has a special role to play, for it is not bogged down in a liberal, anti-working-class view of that equality as is the ERA. We cannot fight for a simplistic view of equality without recognition of the material things that make that possible such as universal, free, community-controlled daycare, maternity leave, and the retention of all the special protection that makes sure a woman's child-bearing capacity is not impaired. (Of course, we must be vigilant against the misuse of special protection that holds women back from promotion and overtime pay.) We have to be especially careful to guard against the racism the boss will often use in having a nationally oppressed woman break down these so-called "inequalities" by putting them in dirty, unhealthy, unsafe jobs where he would never send a white woman.

Finally, we cannot talk about fighting male supremacy in the larger society without a frank discussion of its manifestations within our own Party, for unless our male comrades can be sensitive to the special problems of their female comrades, they cannot hope to play a leading role in the fight against male supremacy on the job. They have to fight for more women leaders and organizers in the Party and mass movements and have to have an understanding of the special problems a female organizer faces or any female comrade attempting to do political work in the work force faces, for that matter. How many male comrades have to put up with sexual propositions while trying to carry out their political work? Even such a simple task as sale of a ticket to a Farm workers' benefit has resulted in a female comrade being propositioned. And all this is in addition to facing the subtle male supremacist patronization by union leadership. Our male comrades have not only to be sensitive to their own attitudes and acts of male supremacy but also must develop ways to support their female comrades in various difficult situations. Only with a full discussion of these problems can we develop a united Party to lead a united class.

Particular attention must be given to the development and recruitment of Black women. This will not be possible without the utmost ideological, social and political sensitivity. The masses are looking for answers, but they expect standards of behavior and activity from the Communist Party, both revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

The key to our work is a program of struggle which will involve all Party members including the struggles for jobs, equal pay, child care, as well as issues of welfare cuts, education, etc. If we succeed, we will move the entire movement, isolate the ROARists and fascists, and build the Party.

* * *

Resolution on Academic Work

By the Academic Club,
Eastern Pennsylvania

The new stage of the general crisis of U.S. society is sharply reflected in the system of higher education which is coming under increasingly serious attack.

Funds for education have been drastically slashed. Thousands of unemployed college teachers face the prospect of never again

using their training and skills to work at their profession. Those employed face ever increasing job insecurity as well as speed-up in the form of greatly increased class size and teaching hours. Increasing numbers of college teachers face the special exploitation of part-time or temporary work. Many hold several part-time jobs, doing full-time work for salaries at or below subsistence level. The economic crisis is used to weed out "trouble-makers" among faculty--radicals, union militants, those who have been active in the anti-war, civil rights, and other democratic movements, and those who have challenged ruling class ideology. Teachers and students are sacrificed to a corporate concept of "productivity" as the ruling class drive for short-term profit maximization invades the university.

Despite the ruling class propaganda onslaught about "reverse discrimination" (employing the traditional ruling class device of making workers fight among themselves for scarce jobs), minority and women faculty are declining as percentages of total faculty--the last hired are again the first fired.

The first things to be cut are the special programs won by people's struggles during the 1960's, including those oriented towards Black and minority students and women. Traditional programs in liberal arts are being severely cut back as part of a narrowly conceived "vocational" emphasis. Humanities and arts are becoming available only to a wealthy elite.

College education is becoming increasingly unavailable to working class youth--and especially to Black youth--as tuitions go up and loans, scholarships, and part-time jobs disappear. The minimal gains made during the 60's towards democratizing higher education are under fierce counterattack by the ruling class and its ideological spokesmen.

The system of knowledge in today's university serves the class interests of monopoly capital. The scholarly world reflects the outlook and interests of the ruling class. The university supports a system of exploitation and oppression in the U.S. and around the world. It provides ideological support for racism, anti-working class feelings, war, and social inequality. The university has in consequence become saturated by unscientific attitudes and methodology. It alienates students from their history, their surroundings, their epoch, and from themselves and especially an understanding of their own true interests.

A major aspect of the university's ideological role is the increasingly blatant academic racism ranging from such figures as Shockley and Jensen to the more "sophisticated" and academically respectable Banfield, Fogel, and Engerman. In contrast, Marxists and Communists remain substantially blacklisted from academic life. The ideological tactics of the ruling class have shifted somewhat in this regard; all sorts of "leftists" provide parodies of Marxism and serve to obscure from students the true nature of and solutions to the problems that confront them.

It would be wrong, however, to present universities one-sidedly as bastions of reaction. Ruling class media try to present a picture of students and faculty as quiet and docile, in contrast to the turbulence of the 1960's. Indeed, the type of campus radicalism of that time, often fired by mistaken ideas of intellectual vanguardism, has necessarily subsided as students and faculty learned how relatively powerless they are by themselves. Some have retreated into despair and mysticism (a process which the ruling class has encouraged). However, increasing sections of students--especially among those from the working class--and sections of teachers as well have turned from new left forms of radicalism towards a closer identification with working class struggles. This trend has been accelerated by the intensified economic crisis. Among faculty, it is reflected in the increasing tendency towards unionization. Among both students and faculty there is a searching for answers to problems which it is increasingly obvious bourgeois scholarship is unable to solve, and an openness to new ideas.

Colleges and universities are thus of enormous importance to us, both as a major arena of the ideological struggle and as a focal point of all democratic struggles, particularly the struggle against racism. We need a program for the university. Such a program should include:

1. Open admissions: free access to a university level education for all. This must include sufficient stipends to enable those who want to go to college to do so, as well as the recruitment, counselling, and support programs needed. Special attention must be given to increasing the numbers of Black and other minority students.
2. An end to speed-up: cuts in class size and faculty work load.
3. Full employment: implementation of these measures will explode the myth that there is an overabundance of college teachers. Indeed, figured on a scale of social need and not of monopoly profit, there is a shortage of college teachers.
4. Massive Federal funding: the money for these programs must come from the military budget and taxes on swollen corporate profits.
5. A real affirmative action program to end the racist and male chauvinist character of college faculties.
6. Democratization of university control. Control must be taken away from the corporation heads who fill the Boards of Trustees and placed in the hands of the people.
7. Democratization of the curriculum. The present academic curriculum, so heavily imbued with racism, elitism, and obscurantism, must be replaced with courses that convey the true nature of the work today. These courses must portray working class history and culture and the history and culture of Blacks and other oppressed minorities. They must affirm human values and expose the culture of mysticism and despair. They must portray the world struggle

against imperialism and replace the present, absurd caricature of the socialist world with an accurate picture of that world.

How will these goals be achieved? It will require a broad movement of faculty, students, community groups, trade unions, and all democratic forces in the country. Among faculty, the most effective means of struggle for these goals is through faculty unions, affiliated with the national trade union movement. Unions provide the way for faculty to struggle for their immediate material interests: salary, job security, working conditions. They also provide the experience of struggle which can serve to combat elitism, individualism, and anti-working class ideas and win faculty to see their own immediate interests as bound up with the broader social program. They provide the best means for working together with other campus workers and with community groups.

Key to the success of this program is the Communist Party. A large increase in the membership and influence of the Party among college teachers is possible in the coming period. It is an indispensable prerequisite for the achievement of these goals.

Communists on campuses of course participate in all the democratic struggles of the campus and the community; where possible they initiate them. They are the most militant trade unionists and the most dedicated fighters against racism. In addition, Communist teachers have a special task that only they can properly perform, that is, on the ideological level to expose the class character of learning as it presently exists in universities, expose the deception and obscurantism in the ruling class hegemony in the world of intellect, develop a concrete and detailed scientific analysis of our time and apply Marxism to all the academic disciplines. Communists are uniquely able to do these things because they are equipped with the scientific tools of Marxism-Leninism, and it is only with these tools that it is possible to answer the questions of our time which bourgeois scholarship is so incapable of answering. As Communists, they are not, like other intellectuals, crippled by the dessicating diseases of isolation from the working class and separation of thought and action, but are in touch with and a part of the working class and democratic movements of our time.

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HECHTMAN--Cont. from page 16

I have never experienced anything like the Youth Salute at the amphitheater rally. They came in from each side and greeted the group of charter members seated at the front. We felt like kissing each one of them. We were just overwhelmed. I felt no age gap. I felt that we were all friends, one united family building the future together. It was so impressive. It was not staged; we worked hard to reach this point. I felt like crying with joy!

* * *

On the Section on Maoism in the Draft Resolution

By the Campus Workers' Club, Berkeley

Many, if not most, comrades are relatively weak in their knowledge of the history and current developments in China, therefore weak in their analysis and criticism of policies of China's leadership. There are many independent radicals who cannot understand or accept China's policy, for example, toward the junta in Chile, but who nonetheless stand in awe of the achievements of the Chinese people under socialism and under Maoist leadership.

The section on Maoism in the Main Resolution should reflect the material that our Party has produced which concretely analyzes the role of Maoist ideology and policies such as is found in Comrade Winston's Strategy for a Black Agenda and in the People's World coverage of Chile, Bangladesh and Africa.

The first three paragraphs of the section on Maoism are pure rhetoric, comprised of a barage of attack which characterizes Maoism by opportunism, petty bourgeois radicalism, "left" revisionism, misdirected and rampant nationalism, great power chauvinism and accommodation and capitulation to imperialism.

These descriptions are correct, but an analysis and response to Maoism--its background, the role it plays, why and how it plays that role, and how it should be countered--cannot be replaced by a string of denunciations.

The following statements are made in the document, but not explained: Maoism is the "chief advocate of the U.S. policy of keeping troops in Southeast Asia;" Maoism is the "most effective instrument" in splitting the world Communist movement; U.S. imperialism "cannot keep up with the anti-Sovietism of Maoism," etc.

A conclusion that could easily be drawn from all this is that our major enemy may very well be China and not the U.S. ruling class.

The criticisms made about the section on Maoism (p. 10-11) apply also to the way in which Maoism is brought up in other sections throughout the document (e.g. in the section on Asian peoples in the U.S., bottom of p. 50: "Asians take great pride in the historic overthrow of imperialism by the people of China led by the Communist Party of China. The Maoist forces seek to exploit this national pride.")

The treatment of Maoism leaves too many unanswered questions:

-If Maoism embodies theories and practices which are opportunist, which so clearly capitulate to imperialism, and which pose such a threat to world socialist unity and proletarian internationalism, can we call China a socialist country?

-What are China's economic policies and social programs?

-What is the relationship between China's foreign policy and domestic programs?

-What are the connections between Maoist theories of the super-powers and "skin theory" and China's policies which bolster imperialist strategies?

-How is Maoist theory used in analysis and strategy for the political work of Maoist groups in the U.S.? What approaches do U.S. Maoists take in the various movements they are part of? Maoism has a negative effect on these movements; how can we gain more clarity on this in order to effectively counter Maoist influence?

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LUTZ--Cont. from page 15

start. We also carry on steel concentration where we distribute 2,000 copies.

We have achieved oneness of ideology and not diversity. Greetings were received from over 80 parties representing the socialist block, the Communist Parties of Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, Puerto Rico and Canada. They sent these greetings because we are a Marxist-Leninist party. Even though we are a small party, we are fighting in the very guts of U.S. imperialism, against unemployment and racism.

In conclusion I want to state that we will repay in activity, in recruiting, in sub-getting for the honor you have bestowed on me and other delegates in electing us as delegates to the National Convention.

* * *



Founding convention of the Communist Party of America, in Chicago, Illinois, Sept. 1-7, 1919.