

Angel

# Party Organizer

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• Special Message  
to Delegates

• Class Struggle  
Trade Unionism

• People's Health  
Rights

• Love for the Party  
— and much more

CPUSA



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## Pre-Convention Discussion

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Special Issue No. 6

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# To the Delegates and Alternates to the 22nd Convention

## *A Message from our National Chairman*

WARMEST GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES! YOU HAVE COME TO DETROIT FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE, FROM ALL OF THE GREAT AND GROWING DEMOCRATIC MASS MOVEMENTS OF STRUGGLE, WHICH TOGETHER CONSTITUTE THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND.

WELCOME TO THE CONVENTION! YOU BRING WITH YOU TO THE HIGHEST BODY OF OUR PARTY THE TOTALITY OF ALL OF YOUR INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCES, THE LESSONS OF YOUR DEEP PARTICIPATION IN MASS STRUGGLE, YOUR CLUB AND DISTRICT DISCUSSIONS OF THE CONVENTION MATERIALS, YOUR OWN THOUGHTFUL RESPONSES TO THE PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION ARTICLES IN THE PARTY ORGANIZER AND THE DAILY WORLD. THEN, TOO, YOU HAVE HAD THE BENEFIT OF THE ADDITIONAL INSIGHT WHICH LEADING NATIONAL CADRE HAVE BROUGHT YOU IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING PROGRESS OF THE EXTENSIVE PREPARATIONS FOR DETROIT.

In Detroit, then, this totality of all the experiences and discussions of our Party will be acted upon from the point of reference of finding answers to the basic problems of our class and of our people as a whole. This of course is a very great responsibility. Each of us will help to formulate the policies and the actions which will help to provide solutions to that question which is on the lips of the millions: What is the way out of the series of major crises which sharply confront our people, and which threaten the dearest hopes and very lives of the majority? In our convention deliberations we must be fully conscious of the fact that what we do will help to decide the future of our country.

Greatly assisting your task in the convention, you will hear a magnificent report of our general secretary, Comrade Gus Hall. I am certain that you will be more than gratified with it. Effective implementation of the report will help to guarantee big advances toward the solution of the urgent problems before our country. Effective implementation can mean:

1. Furthering the fight for ratification of the Salt II Treaty;
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2. Advancing the struggles of the civil rights movement;
  3. Winning new victories for the student movement and the senior citizens movement;
  4. Helping to develop new historic struggles by all sections of the people in the fight to thoroughly smash racism;
  5. Increasing the tempo of the mass movement for social progress;
  6. Helping to organize victory for the goals of a majority movement which can include: Salt II and detente, responding to the economic needs of the people, guaranteeing that democratic rights are maintained and extended, and insuring sharp struggle against virulent centers of reaction;
  7. Helping to organize resistance to the counter offensive of state monopoly capitalism designed to frustrate, disorient, derail the majority;
  8. Helping to develop a working class and people's counter offensive, which alone can unify all democratic, anti-monopoly forces in the country and further social progress.

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What follows from this is that our responsibilities are very great. We have already made important contributions toward these goals prior to, and in the very process of preparing the convention. Now our convention must seek to perfect them. A new quality can and must emerge from our discussions. In the weeks and months following the convention we must project, fight for, and win major new advances.

THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE WITH RESPECT TO THE FIGHT FOR SALT II. ALREADY A WIDE RANGE OF UNIONS ARE GIVING ACTIVE SUPPORT TO IT. THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL HAS NOW ENDORSED IT, UNDER PRESSURE FROM BELOW. EVERY BLACK ORGANIZATION HAS SUPPORTED IT. MANY CLERGY AND CHURCH DENOMINATIONS HAVE TAKEN A STAND.

BUT THE FIGHT IS BY NO MEANS WON. THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL-COMPLEX, THE PENTAGON, ALL ULTRA-RIGHT FORCES AND ALL RACIST FORCES HAVE MOUNTED A DESPERATE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE TO DEFEAT THE MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR

SALT II, AND TO PREVENT RATIFICATION BY THE SENATE.

BECAUSE OF ALL THIS, WE MUST ALL BE INVOLVED EVEN MORE. WE MUST SEE THAT EVERY CITY COUNCIL, EVERY STATE LEGISLATURE, AND LEADING FIGURES IN SCIENCE AND CULTURE WILL BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE SENATORS OF EACH STATE TO VOTE FOR SALT II RATIFICATION. WE MUST EXPOSE THOSE WHO CALL FOR AN INCREASE IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

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FINALLY: AS A DELEGATE TO THIS CONVENTION AND COMMITTED TO ITS GREAT GOALS, AND COMMITED AS WELL TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STEPS WHICH CAN HELP TO GUARANTEE THESE GOALS, YOU MUST HELP, IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK OF THE CONVENTION, TO DEVELOP THE POPULAR PROGRAM THAT WILL BE BROUGHT TO THE NATION. AT THE AUGUST 26TH RALLY. AT THE RALLY, SOME 10,000 CADRE WILL BE BRIEFED AND DIRECTED TO HELP ORGANIZE A CRUSADE ON ALL OF THE QUESTIONS OF CONCERN TO THE WORKING CLASS AND TO ALL SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THESE ARE THE STEPS THAT YOU WILL TAKE. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THESE ARE THE APPROACHES TO THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND CONVENTION WHICH WILL DETERMINE ITS ENORMOUS HISTORIC CONTENT IN THIS IMPORTANT MOMENT IN THE LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY AND OF OUR PEOPLE.

WELCOME TO THE GREAT TASK BEFORE US!

*Henry Winston*

I N T H I S I S S U E

MESSAGE FROM HENRY J. WINSTON	3		
SALT II -- FOR LIFE!	5	AN EVER STRONGER ALTERNATIVE	29
STUMBLING BLOCK TO PEACE	8	WORK AMONG THE JEWISH PEOPLE	30
CLASS STRUGGLE TRADE UNIONISM	10	SOME FINE TUNING NEEDED	33
FOR FULL EQUALITY, AGAINST RACISM	13	PEOPLE'S HEALTH RIGHTS	34
UNIFICATION--U.S. WORKING CLASS	15	FOR A NATIONAL HEALTH PLAN	37
INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION	20	DUAL CHARACTER: AFRO-AM. STRUGGLE	40
CONCENTRATION NOT YET CENTRAL	21	THE TRUE PICTURE	43
WHY INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION	24	CORRECTION: TED BASSETT ARTICLE	45
STRUGGLE ON THE FARMS	26	LOVE FOR THE PARTY!	46
ON NUCLEAR POWER	23	HIGHLIGHTS OF A FIGHTING HISTORY	48

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"SALT II IS A ROAD MARKER; IT IS THE POINT AT WHICH, AFTER ALMOST SEVEN YEARS OF NEGOTIATION, BOTH SIDES TOOK STOCK AND SAID THESE ARE THE AGREEMENTS WE HAVE REACHED, THERE IS MUCH MORE THAT HAS TO BE WORKED OUT, LET US GET THIS MUCH RATIFIED SO THAT WE MAY PROCEED FURTHER."

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## *SALT II: A Prescription For Life*

*By Frances Bardofsky, Chair*  
PEACE AND SOLIDARITY SECTION, CPUSA

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RATIFICATION OF THE SALT II TREATY HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL TURNING POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR TIME -- AND VERY LIKELY FOR THE HISTORY OF ALL MANKIND. THE INSANE ARMS RACE WHICH HAS CREATED THE U.S. CAPACITY TO DESTROY THE SOVIET UNION 50 TIMES OVER STILL GOES ON. WHEN IS ENOUGH?

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee which is now holding hearings on the treaty, stated that the U.S. each day produces three more nuclear weapons (DW 7/10/79).

The Draft Main Political Resolution states: "The basic truth is that the primary cause of the insane arms race is U.S. imperialism. The primary reason is the deep-seated belief, in the circles of the military-industrial complex, that U.S. imperialism must -- and will be able to -- stop and throw back the world revolutionary process by military means." To be able to accomplish such an objective means to seek military superiority over the Soviet Union; it means achieving the Pentagon's strategic aim for a nuclear first-strike capability. This policy says if the U.S. Pentagon-multinationals can't rule the world, let there not be a world.

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But the peoples of the world need and want peace and liberation, to control their own resources, to use their energies to tackle the problems of hunger, poverty, disease. The movements and countries of national liberation, regard the SALT II treaty as a step towards strengthening detente so that their treasuries need not be drained for armaments. The socialist countries, with the Soviet Union taking the lead, want and need peace -- they've all experienced the ravages of war in their own countries -- to proceed with the building of real socialism and using all of their resources to further improve the quality of life of their people. They, too, well understand the necessity of taking the step which SALT II provides to advance the process for reversing the arms race.

The responsibility for halting the mad drive for a nuclear holocaust by the U.S. Strangeloves rests with the people of the United States. With 81 percent of the people of our country favoring ratification, it is possible to win the votes of 67 senators for SALT II.

To accomplish this requires that the 81 percent of the people who favor SALT II let their senators know -- again and again and again. What stands in the way? To answer this, let me refer to the testimony of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to the Senate hearings (DW 7/10/79): Vance in his testimony appealed to the Senate to base its judgment on realism rather than on fanciful cold war dreams of U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union. He said "With the principle of equalents established in SALT II, we have laid a solid foundation and set a clear direction for further reductions and tighter restraints in SALT III" and he continued, "SALT II represents a step on the road of arms control -- not the end of the journey."

Vance deals with two basic issues here. First, and most difficult for the foes of SALT in particular, and of arms control leading to disarmament generally, is the need to accept the basic concept that to stop the arms race and to abandon the "guns, not butter" policy, the U.S. and the Soviet Union must be on an equal footing, must maintain the balance of strategic arms established by this treaty. Anything else means continuing and accelerating the arms race.

The second important fact to accept is that this is "not the end of the road." To close that road is to court utter destruction. SALT II is a road marker; it is the point at which, after almost seven years of negotiation, both sides took stock and said these are the agreements we have reached, there is much more that has to be worked out, let us get this much ratified so that we may proceed further. If these principles are accepted, then we have the basis for moving ahead.

Senators Hatfield, McGovern, Proxmire and other, including certain forces in the peace movement, are without doubt correct in seeing the grave dangers inherent in President Carter's seeking warhawk votes for SALT by ordering production of the mobile MX. SALT II does place some restrictions on strategic arms; it does have a protocol, though for a brief period, holding off deployment of MX and cruise missiles. It buys us and the world time to prove, to convince the war-mad profiteers not only that there is a better way, but also that the overwhelming majority of the people have the power and know how to use it to rid themselves of all obstacles to peace

and justice. Yes, the MX must be stopped and if the funds for it cannot be removed from the present budget through the various steps still open, then let us use the ballot to defeat the senators and congresspeople, and Carter too, if they choose to serve the profiteers rather than the people who elect them to office. The defeat of SALT II will not stop the MX; Ratifying SALT II will open the door to SALT III and further steps to reverse the arms race.

The threat of nuclear holocaust hangs, like the sword of Damocles, by a slender thread over all humanity. The SALT II treaty adds another thread to keep the sword from falling, long enough so that the warmakers do not get to cut that thread before the sword of utter destruction is removed.

In addition to helping to avert nuclear war, the acceptance of the SALT II treaty will help create the confidence needed to break the deadlock in the efforts to achieve Mutually Balanced Force Reductions in Europe, as well as signaling the possibility for a Total Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. And for those who are really concerned with the negative impact of the military budget on the economic and social conditions of the people, particularly in the U.S., then let us keep in mind that the defeat of SALT II would immediately cost the people \$70 billion or more in taxes, further cuts in human needs programs, increased unemployment and untold suffering. Paul Nitze, chief strategist of the Committee on the Present Danger says, "We should reject the treaty. We should add \$4 billion to \$5 billion to the defense budget.

The tide for peace and security and human progress is at the flood level. It lies in the ratification of the SALT II

treaty. No other problems can be solved without the prospects of a future for the human race. Let us turn to the means for steering the course that will guarantee the minimum of 67 senators needed to vote for the treaty and thus set us on the path to strengthening detente for the people of the U.S. and of the whole world, so that we can use our energy and resources for life, not for destruction.

Peter Kovler, who has written for The New York Times, the Nation and has served as legislative assistant for Washington political figures, indicates what must be done to win ratification of SALT II. In the 5/11/79 issue of Commonweal, he writes: "...there are several factors in a senator's decision, probably the most important being his belief that he is adequately reflecting his constituents. Come October, a typical senator will probably look at two lists of distinguished names, those who approve and those who don't, and then decide that since the experts disagree he is best off going along with the gut response of his voters!"

Your senators need to know that you, your family, friends, your shop-mates, your union, your church and everyone else you can talk to wants him to vote for the SALT treaty. Let the senators know that you know that there are no winners in a nuclear war, no matter who strikes first. If either or both of your senators are already in favor of the treaty, let them know that you support them. Over 100 million people in this country are in favor of the SALT II treaty. Let us visit, write, wire, petition, pass resolutions -- again and again and again. Let us tell it to the senators until we win SALT II.

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" . . . THE PEACE POLICY WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS PROCLAIMED DURING ALL 62 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL AND ALL-PERVASIVE SELF-INTEREST, AN INTEREST ROOTED DEEPLY IN THE STRUCTURE OF ANY SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND GOING BEYOND EVEN THE TREMENDOUS LOSS OF 20 MILLION PEOPLE DURING WORLD WAR II."

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(We reprint this article from the Pre-Convention Discussion column of the DAILY WORLD. It was received by the DW in response to the paper's invitation to its readers to join in the preparatory discussion for the 22nd National Convention, CPUSA.)

# Anti Sovietism: Stumbling Block to Peace

By MARILYN BECHTEL  
Editor, New World Review

Growing numbers of people in the U.S. are coming to understand that the soaring military budget, pegged at \$126 billion and rising, is a cancer destroying the human fiber of life in our country.

As the Draft Main Political Resolution for the 22nd Convention of the Communist Party states, the Carter Administration's drive toward war, and its "guns, not butter" policies, have placed the struggle for peace "in the very center of all social and economic issues. The linkage of peace with wages, taxes, inflation, energy, unemployment, the dollar crisis, the refusal of monopoly to renew plants and equipment, the crisis of the cities, health care, education, etc., has made the fight for peace an explosive issue."

At this moment, the most important single expression of the overall peace issue is Senate ratification of SALT II. Here, too, the more than 80 percent support evident in public opinion polls is increasingly finding expression through official statements of major people's organizations.

The events at Three Mile Island and what they revealed about the potential for nuclear disaster because of corporate greed, have made people more acutely aware of the safety problems inherent in nuclear weapons manufacture, storage and transport, in addition to the overwhelming, almost unimaginable consequences of their possible use.

In the recent period there has been a definite resurgence of activity by the various peace organi-

zations, whose visibility had been greatly curtailed after the end of their vital role in helping to end U.S. aggression in Viet Nam.

Something, however, is holding back the coming together of all these elements in an effective coalition which will tell the members of Congress and the Administration, "Move now for SALT, disarmament, transfer and conversion, and normalization of East-West trade, or we'll throw you out of your jobs in the next election!"

That something is one of the most pervasive ideological problems in the U.S. today — the problem of anti-Sovietism.

The essence of anti-Sovietism, which has been around ever since the Bolsheviks won in 1917, is the response of the capitalist ruling class to the increasing curtailment of its dominance because of the changing balance of forces in the world. That changing balance, the result of the increasing success of the socialist system and the national liberation movements, stems from the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the USSR's domestic and foreign policies of fighting against exploitation and for equitable relations among peoples and nations. The primary reason for the arms race, observes the Draft Main Political Resolution, "is the deep-seated belief in the circles of the military-industrial complex that U.S. imperialism must — and will be able to — stop and throw back the world revolutionary process by military means.

Anti-Sovietism takes many forms. The struggle around SALT II provides numerous examples. A

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particularly blatant form is expressed by ultra-right organizations like the Committee on the Present Danger. In a recent article in *Commentary*, Eugene V. Rostow, one of the Committee's top leaders, says:

Since the late 50s, the Soviet Union has been engaged in a massive military buildup, both in nuclear and conventional forces, designed to reverse the relationships which determined the outcome of the Berlin airlift, the Korean war and the Cuban missile crisis . . .

The Soviets view SALT II as a major instrument for lulling American anxieties until it is too late to do anything to reduce them. Meanwhile, they move rapidly and effectively to seize control of the entire Persian Gulf area in the belief that such a position would permit them to bring Europe, Japan and the Arab world to their knees because the United States would not have the usable military power to oppose it . . .

If the matter were not so deadly serious, it would be tempting to dismiss this line of argument as what psychologists refer to as projection or placing onto the other fellow what you're really aiming at yourself. In fact, however, Mr. Rostow's assertions are contradicted even by the CIA, which in a public report states that in the last three years Soviet military spending has been smaller than for the preceding seven years, that spending on strategic nuclear forces was only slightly higher in 1978 than in 1967, and that spending on intercontinental attack forces subject to SALT II limits was a little over 10 percent of the total defense spending and grew at a slower rate than the total.

What neither Mr. Rostow nor the CIA will tell us, of course, is that the peace policy which the Soviet Union has proclaimed during all 62 years of its existence is an expression of the most fundamental and all-pervasive self-interest, an interest rooted deeply in the structure of any socialist society and going beyond even the tremendous loss of 20 million people during World War II. Not only is there no group or class of people who derive any form of profit from the production of weapons, but the diversion of people and money to military purposes is a continual drag on the development of a system whose mainspring, whose entire justification for existence, is the more and more effective satisfaction of human needs, material, intellectual and artistic.

It is this basic interest which has led the USSR to advance more than 100 peace proposals since the end of World War II, including banning nuclear weapons, a pledge of no-first-use of nuclear weapons, banning testing and deployment of all new U.S. and Soviet intercontinental missiles through 1985, halting the buildup of arms and forces by Security Council members, and cutting military budgets of these countries and using part of the savings to help developing nations.

The nature of the foreign policies pursued by the two nations is also made clear by the history of the arms race — ever since the U.S. exploded the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima, it has been the first to introduce major new weapons systems and improve them. The U.S. presently maintains its lead in technological factors of accuracy and reliability as well as a nearly two-to-one advantage in numbers of warheads. The U.S. emphasis on increasing technological sophistication and accuracy has led competent observers including former Lockheed aerospace engineer Robert C. Aldridge to conclude that the U.S. is driving for a first-strike capacity.

This makes clear the baselessness of the contention, frequently made by peace movement or "left" people, that both countries are somehow equally responsible for the incredible dangers posed by the arms race.

Despite the objective evidence of the sincerity of Soviet peace policy, the notion that the USSR is out to take advantage of any opportunity to attack the non-socialist world has survived the demise of the cold war and affects the thinking of many people. From this notion stems the hawks' assertion that Soviet military leaders believe their nation could survive and win a nuclear war — an assertion directly contradicted by statements of top military leaders such as Marshall Grechko, who has publicly observed that "hundreds of millions would die, the earth's surface would be contaminated, entire countries would be destroyed, causing an enormous disaster for mankind."

This same mistaken notion underlies the contention that it will be better to "lock the Soviet Union in" to the SALT process now while Brezhnev's "moderate" leadership prevails lest other future leaders should take a more aggressive path. This notion also leaves the door open for endless ultra-right anti-SALT ploys based on fear that the Soviets will try constantly to cheat at SALT, and therefore endless elaborations of verification systems are vital to ensure that they won't "get away with anything."

Spreading anti-Sovietism in its various forms is an invaluable tool for the Pentagon, the arms manufacturers and their hawk allies in Congress. Anti-Sovietism divides and distracts the various people's movements which realize more and more clearly the destructive role of the military-industrial complex in aggravating every aspect of the intense domestic crisis of everyday living. Like racism, anti-Sovietism must be sought out and uprooted. To the extent this is achieved, the tremendous energies now building up among workers, minority peoples, women, the young and the old, city and country dwellers, will be released and directed toward fundamental solutions to the crisis of everyday living including ending the role of the weapons merchants in the life of our country.

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*Looking Ahead:*

# **CLASS STRUGGLE TRADE UNIONISM**

By George Meyers, Chair  
LABOR AND FARM DEPARTMENT, CPUSA

*"The struggle for trade union unity is at all times a necessary tactical and strategic concept. We must not be diverted from this task. We must be the most consistent fighters for class unity."*

-- DRAFT MAIN POLITICAL RESOLUTION, P. 17.

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THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PLACES STRONG EMPHASIS ON THE NEW LEVEL OF THE MULTI-RACIAL, MULTI-NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE SPECIAL ROLE OF WOMEN WORKERS WHO NOW COMPRIZE 42% OF THE WORK FORCE OF OUR COUNTRY. THIS GREATLY AIDS THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF OUR CLASS, AND WITHIN THAT FRAMEWORK, THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. IT STRENGTHENS THE POTENTIAL OF WINNING MAJOR CLASS AND DEMOCRATIC VICTORIES AND DEFEATING THE COUNTER OFFENSIVES OF THE MONOPOLISTS.

The unity of the working class as a whole can be most rapidly achieved as a struggle for the unity of its organized sector advancing around militant policies of class struggle trade unionism. Thus the struggle for trade union unity based on class struggle policies is at the very center of the struggle for class unity. It is, in the words of the Draft, "at all times a necessary strategic and tactical concept." This is the foundation on which the big, historic victories of the working class have been won, including the organizing of the basic

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industries and the building of the C.I.O.. And this concept is in direct contradiction to the discredited and bankrupt elitist go-it-alone policies which have been an anchor around the neck of trade union progress while class collaborationists have ruled Labor's roost.

The new breezes that are blowing reflect the strength of the growing militant class struggle trends in the trade union movement. Contributing to the growth of these trends have been: the Left-Center unity developments; the growing fightback against class-collaborationism; the growing moral and political isolation of the corporate monopolies and their agents; the growing international struggle of the working class against the multi-national giants; the growing array of unsolved economic problems with an enormous impact on the workers and increasingly compelling class struggle policies.

In this situation the struggle for the unity of the organized sector of the working class around militant policies of class struggle trade unionism has made significant advances:

(1) The leading role played by the steel union and a number of other national unions in the superb victory in the Weber case was a tremendous contribution to the struggle of the class as a whole. It laid the groundwork for delivering a powerful blow against racism and discrimination, while establishing the rights of production workers of all colors and both sexes to training for skilled jobs based on seniority and guided by affirmative action concepts. The door has been opened for organizing a nationwide campaign that reaches into every mine, mill and factory in the country to guarantee affirmative action programs at every place of employment. The recent convention of the National Education Association in Detroit set an example for all unions by recommending that all its affiliates immediately begin negotiating such agreements in the schools under its jurisdiction.

(2) In spite of the bitter opposition of the top AFL-CIO leadership, the most important contribution to the fight for Salt II is coming from the trade unions. The leaders of the UAW, the Machinists, Steel, ACTWU, UE, ILWU, the Communications Workers and a number of other unions have been strongly committed to the Salt II Agreement. They have organized enough support for it so that it has compelled the AFL-CIO Executive Council to go on record for it. This will put real pressure on the Senate to ratify and should encourage even more rank and file and local union action.

(3) The fight to cut the military budget, to protect the workers whose jobs would be affected, and to transfer the funds to social needs has its strongest base in Labor. And its staunchest supporters are to be found in the unions with the largest number of defense workers, as well as in the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

(4) There is an increasing readiness of important sections of the trade union movement to join with other sections of the people to build a wide range of alliances on many kinds of issues. For example, they are a part of alliances fighting for action on the energy ripoff, on the environment, on national health care plans, on the crisis of the cities, on runaway plants and plant shutdowns, and on many other questions.

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(5) There is a growing and widespread mood in trade union ranks that it is not enough to fight on specific issues while leaving political control in the hands of monopoly. There is a strong base in Labor to help find some new forms to break out of the two-monopoly-party trap.

Given the degree of moral and political isolation of the ruling circles of monopoly today--the lack of confidence that people generally and workers in particular express--and given this growing strength of class struggle trade unionism, we can draw a number of important practical conclusions for the work of our Party:

\* There is a kind of a political vacuum that exists. The working Class needs to give leadership on a way out that will overcome the crisis problems that face the people of our country.

\* A strong initiative by the working class based on class struggle policies and on a program that will meet the needs of the people on peace, jobs, housing, health and safety on the job, a national health care plan, the crisis of the cities, education can win major democratic advances consistent with the politics of the Eighties. Working class political initiative in the past gave the lead in winning the social gains we are still proud of. Now a new level of social advance must be projected and won. Even now, a number of these programs could already have been won, if instead of the wasted effort of go-it-alone approaches of individual unions--as in the fight for health care and pensions--there had rather been a united fight of all the unions for a real health care system and a national pension system. We would now be better off, and enjoying the benefits of a class approach instead of a one-by-one approach.

\* A strong club-by-club Partywide followthrough from the 22nd Convention decisions and the Cobo Hall Rally will make an important contribution to unfolding the class initiative that our country needs for the struggles of the Eighties. Every Party member must take responsibility to help guarantee that followthrough.

\* It is important to see that there are two sides to the present struggle. There is opportunity if there is working class initiative. But also, failure to take the initiative will push the political spectrum to the right. Our work must be inspired by the perspective that the unfolding of such a class initiative will remove the deadly legacy of many years of class collaborationism in the trade union movement. It can sharply reverse the decline in trade union membership; organize the South; win new historic democratic gains to meet the urgent needs of all the people of our country; and in short it can smash the monopoly drive sharpening its tentacles on our class and the people.

\* There are three keys to winning all of these working class goals: The over all key is the fight to build Left-Center unity. The second key is that to build Left-Center unity we must build the Left. But the key to building the Left is the building of Party shop clubs in industry. These three keys together--that is the bottom line in our work ahead.

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"...there are still areas that need improvement and strengthening. One of these areas is the matter of clearly spelling out what is meant by the centrality of the struggle for the liberation of 30 million Afro-Americans, and clear proof that this is an objective fact and not something that applies only in some areas of the country or in only some areas of the struggle."

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ON THE DRAFT: THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

## For Full Equality, Against Racism

By Thomas Dennis, Chair  
NATIONALITIES DEPARTMENT, CPUSA

The Draft Resolution on Afro-American Liberation is a major step toward bringing greater clarity to the struggle for full equality and against racism. To realize the full benefits from the discussions of this resolution it will be very helpful for comrades to refresh their knowledge and understanding of the scope and principles of the national question.

Though the Resolution makes an excellent contribution in updating on the struggle for freedom, there are still areas that need improvement and strengthening. One of these areas is the matter of clearly spelling out what is meant by centrality of the struggle for the liberation of 30 million Afro-Americans, and clear proof that this is an objective fact and not something that applies only in some areas of the country or in only some areas of struggle. This is the question that I wish to address.

The national oppression of Afro-American people in this country is the main source of super-profits for the capi-

talists. It is, through the use of racism, the main base for extracting extra profits from the labor of white workers. The oppression of Afro-Americans also sets the norm for super-exploitation of all other nationally oppressed.

The national oppression of the Afro-American people is not only a source of super-profits at the point of production; it is also a source of super-profits for the banks, real estate interests, landlords and in the supermarkets, in the ghettos and Black communities of this nation. This oppression makes possible the charging of a racist premium that fuels the profiteering of the white people in housing and other "services."

The national oppression of the Afro-American people sets the standard of quality to which all the social benefits to the rest of the population are tied. The lower the quality of life for Black Americans, the lower the quality of life for white people. There is no aspect of life

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of working people in this country that is not negatively affected by the oppression of Afro-Americans. It is the base, the foundation on which the welfare of all others rests, white working people as well as the nationally oppressed.

Billions and billions of dollars of super-profits from the national oppression of the Afro-American people provides the incentive for the creation and fueling of racism by the ruling class. Almost the entire capitalist class benefits to one degree or another, directly and indirectly, from the oppression of Black people and from the racism that accompanies that oppression. The monopolies, the multi-nationals, the financial oligarchy profit especially handsomely. The loss of these mountains of profit would be a severe crippling blow to the entire capitalist class, but particularly to the monopolists. Therefore the maintenance of this oppression and the promotion of racism lies at the heart of U.S. monopoly's strategy for its continued economic and political domination of this country. Therefore the working class, in the first place, has a deep self-interest in fighting for full equality of the Afro-American people as an important, and many times the decisive factor, in its fight for victory over monopoly and for unity of the class.

This provides the economic base, the objective proof of the centrality, the central importance of the oppression of Black people to the ruling class, and the central importance or centrality of the struggle for Afro-American liberation to the working class in its struggle to free itself from the shackles of capitalism.

The Resolution shows that the Afro-American component of the working class brings enormous benefits to the class and to the class struggle and that the Afro-American liberation movement is no poor cousin looking for handouts, but is on the contrary, a powerful component and a powerful ally in the struggle against monopoly. This fact needs more emphasis in the Resolution.

As pointed out in the Resolution, the facts are that Afro-American people are overwhelmingly working class. The majority of those who work are industrial workers and nearly one-third of these are in basic industry. Some 3 million are in trade unions, and probably most significant is the fact that they constitute 20 to 30 percent of the membership of the nation's largest and most powerful unions in the basic industries.

This position in the working class gives the Afro-Americans in their freedom fight significant economic power potential at the point of production. Their struggle for equality does not have to depend on their economic clout as consumers. Another fact that needs emphasis is that Afro-Americans constitute a powerful electoral and political force and a major progressive base for political independence.

Their vote can and has determined the outcome of local, state and national elections, even the Presidency of the United States. This is due, in part, to the fact that over the past decade or so there has been a marked shift of the Afro-American population to the cities, both in the North and in the South. Over 81 percent now live in urban areas 58 percent in the center cities. This has created a concentration of voting power in some 13 states representing 216 of the 270 electoral votes needed to elect the President. They constitute the balance of power in some 557 counties and 81 Congressional Districts that figured in the election of 9 U.S. Senators and 45 Congressmen (not counting the 16 Black

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"THE QUALITATIVE CHANGES SIGNIFY THE COMING TO AN END OF ONE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE U.S. WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE OPENING OF A NEW CHAPTER OF GREAT HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE."

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## Unification Process U.S. Working Class

By Jim West, Member  
POLITICAL BUREAU, CPUSA

Among the many new features of the draft of the Main Political Resolution for the 22nd Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. is an assessment of far reaching significance, namely: the process of unification of the multi-racial, multi-national working class has reached a qualitatively new level.

The resolution cites the growth of our class, the overwhelmingly working class composition of the Afro-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican peoples, the fact that working class women in their majority now work outside the home, the end of economic regionalism as among

the objective conditions which are the basis of this qualitative change.

Accelerating this process is the ever greater entwinement of the monopoly giants with the state into full-blown state monopoly capitalism and the advent of the scientific-technological revolution, says the resolution.

These propositions serve to underscore the importance of Marxist-Leninist analysis for the practical, day-to-day work of the Communist Party. For they add up to clear signposts pointing to a

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MORE: Thomas Dennis...

Representatives). Numerous Governors, State legislators and city and county officials owe their election to the Black vote. The full potential of this political force is still to be realized.

As a bloc, these voters are the most progressive in the nation. They have elected most of the nation's most progressive and pro-labor officials at every level of government. This is the vote that has been most consistent in contributing to the defeat of reactionary and racist candidates. This is the bloc of voters that have demonstrated the greatest degree of independence.

One does not need to do more than call attention to the political power base created when the Afro-American vote and political pressure is combined with that of the

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historic change now maturing in our country, one which places the role of the Communist Party in sharp relief as more decisive than ever.

The qualitative changes signify the coming to an end of one chapter in the history of the U.S. working class struggle and the opening of a new chapter of great historic significance.

They signify that the objec-

tive reasons for the lateness in development of class consciousness have ceased to exist: the existence of a frontier which acted as an escape hatch from which to try to get away from class exploitation and the class struggle and "make it on one's own" (economic regionalism having its source, among other things, in a succession of frontiers); the material conditions which have been used by capitalism to create and foster divisions in the working class and

between it and its allies, the Black and other oppressed peoples, the small farmers, businesses and professionals; the limited fluidity of class lines which up to a certain point allowed some workers to "escape" the class struggle by starting a small farm or business, or at least for one's children by working to enable them to become teachers or professionals and thus "get out of the working class."

All objective factors today operate in one direction: there is no meaningful positive alternative to standing and fighting monopoly rule. The objective, material conditions have matured for the unity of the working class as never before, for overcoming divisiveness of all kinds.

Consequently, as never before, all objective, material conditions exist for a great class awakening, for a more rapid development of class consciousness.

This great awakening is already in its initial stages. It is manifest in the growing political character of the economic struggles; in the numerous mass movements which objectively are targeted against monopoly; in the ever-growing involvement of organized workers and many of their leaders in the fight for SALT II, detente and East-West trade as a source of peace-time jobs; in the united front of practically all

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Chicanos and the Puerto Ricans in many of the largest cities and states. Nor does one have to belabor the fact that the Afro-American political clout is a tremendous asset that the working class and the anti-monopoly forces must have if they hope to defeat the forces of reaction. This bloc of political power is essential to any successful effort to build any independent political movement or anti-monopoly people's party.

These factors, plus those spelled out in the Resolution, show beyond even a shadow of a doubt, that the struggle for Afro-American liberation is central to all struggles for freedom and equality for each and all nationally oppressed, for the realization of unity and victory of the multi-national, multi-racial working class, for the realization of successful anti-monopoly struggle. Hence the struggle for Afro-American liberation is central to every struggle for progress in the United States. Hence the centrality of the struggle for full equality.

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of organized labor against Weber and for affirmative action; in the increasing resort to working class forms of struggle by sectors which until comparatively recently were considered to be "closer to the boss"; in the growth of anti-monopoly consciousness and the beginnings of widespread repudiation of anti-communism, etc.

There is a spontaneous element in the process of developing class and anti-monopoly awareness.

But without the conscious guidance and leadership of the Communist Party, the spontaneous element could be diverted by reformist and fascist demagogues into anti-working class channels of stagnation, defeatism, demoralization and reaction.

Hence, the Communist Party comes into the most decisive phase of its history heretofore.

Consciousness always lags behind objective changes in reality. But the historic, class perspective of Communists enables us to see what is new and to understand how it is related to progressive development toward the Socialist future of our country.

While the objective basis of economic regionalism no longer exists, the vestiges of regionalist thinking and customs of a divisive nature persist in people's minds. What is new is that the possibility for overcoming these divisions was never greater. It means that greater, more effective work by Communists to bring unity of workers of all regions to the fore can and will find a new receptivity.

Gus Hall recently stated that there now exists the possibility for a majority alliance against racism. This was said before the Supreme Court's decision in the Weber case; and was based, among other things, on the fact that the trade union movement was united against Weber. The Lessons of the Weber case serve to point up the qualitative changes and the vast potential inherent in the new situation.

Today, the imperatives of waging a winning struggle in the interests of the entire working class and its organized sectors carry with them the fight against racist practices.

Thus, the steel union's fight against Weber was waged as a fight in defense of its right to voluntary collective bargaining agreements in general and such agreements promoting affirmative action in particular.

Who would have thought, two years ago, that Lloyd McBride (USWA International President) who, to say the least, was never known as a fighter against racism, would sponsor and speak at a steel union conference on affirmative action? The lesson is that judgement must be made in terms of the objective meaning and consequences of actions.

History records the U.S. Civil War as "the war to free the slaves" and Abraham Lincoln as "the Great Emancipator." Yet it will be remembered that Lincoln had said that the war was fought to preserve the union and that if he had known of a way to do that without destroying the institution of slavery, he would have done it. For this reason,

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he procrastinated in accepting the advice of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels to abolish slavery as the most important political act which could bring the costly war to a victorious conclusion. But the inescapable imperatives of winning the war finally convinced Lincoln that the only way to preserve the union was to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. It was this political act which sealed the doom of the slavocracy and resulted in victory for the union forces.

In the same way, there was no way for the USWA and the trade union movement to defend voluntary collective bargaining (and to safeguard the 30,000 affirmative action agreements unions had signed with industry) without defending affirmative action.

Thus, the necessities of defending the interest of the class as a whole, of the trade unions as a whole, require the defense of the right to equality on the job of Afro-Americans, all other minority workers and women.

Thus, the profound changes analyzed in the Main Political resolution provide a solid basis for the practical day-to-day struggle against divisive racism and for unity of the whole class.

This does not mean the general class struggle automatically carries with it the struggle against racism or that the fight against racism has become less important. To the contrary. What it does mean is that the possibility for winning a majority on the basis of self-and-class interest to the struggle against racism was never better, provided there is a consistent class approach to the struggle. It means that tremendous new opportunities exist to put an end to numerous racist practices now even as the unceasing struggle against racist ideology will go on for quite some time to come.

The great wakening to class interests and awareness takes place on the basis of the practical experiences of our class and not in isolation from the struggles or in any academic fashion.

It is expressed in concrete, practical terms: the need for independent class political, legislative and electoral struggles as a continuation, extension and reinforcement of the economic struggles; the need to replace elected Democratic and Republican agents of big business with working men and women; the need for an independent, labor-based anti-monopoly political party; the need for alliances with all other victims of state monopoly capitalism, etc.

The rise of anti-monopoly consciousness among wide sections (for example, the independent truckers organization in Oklahoma recently called for nationalization of the oil industry) signalizes that the lesser-evil illusion is running out its course. For, increasingly, voters are judging candidates and parties by the stand they take against the monopolist enemies of the people. And those candidates who do wage the struggle against monopoly find they must put some distance between themselves and the two-old party machines and present themselves as peoples' alternatives to both evils of the old-line machine candidates.

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The promotion of a Ted Kennedy candidacy by some labor leaders who have moved to Center positions is an indication of last desperate efforts to find a way to defend class interest within the two-party framework. Experience will soon enough prove that the old-line political parties of capitalism, Republican as well as Democrat, are no vehicles for advancing working class and anti-monopoly interests.

The lesser evil concept always involves the element of repudiating the here-and-now or imminent evil by supporting someone who is not yet seen as no less an evil. It is therefore a gamble, a gamble, in which the working class has always been the loser.

While continuing to work with all who mistakenly support a Kennedy as the lesser evil, it is necessary to remember that the real issue is the independent mass movements for peace and against monopoly with which most Kennedy supporters in the labor and peoples movements are identified.

It is in the course of these anti-monopoly movements and struggles that Communists and class conscious workers will find the most fertile ground, prepared by the great qualitative changes that have taken place, to advance independent labor, anti-monopoly political action, to advance class consciousness and wide appreciation of the need for a strong, effective mass Communist Party.

It would be a mistake to break Left-Center relations and ties because some Center forces continue to look for a way out within the two-party framework. What is needed is a determined effort to strengthen Left-Center unity by building the strength and influence of the Left, especially in rank and file formations at the shop and local union level, central labor bodies, etc.

The re-emergence of an articulate, more or less progressively-inclined Center, far from eliminating the need for Left-led rank and file formations and Left unity, calls for an even stronger, more influential Left in both the quantitative and qualitative sense.

This means, among other things, mastering the constructive language of unity on the basis of a positive and critical approach in Left-Center coalitions and in anti-monopoly alliances in general.

If there is only a positive, uncritical approach we run the risk of slipping into the pitfalls opportunism, co-option, reformism and tailism.

If there is only a critical approach we run the risk of falling into the traps of destructive, divisive negativism, leftist sectarianism and the philosophy and practices of desperation.

Skill in mass work, dedication to principle and flexibility in tactics, all based on single-minded determination to advance the unity of our class in the struggle against the monopoly enemy, are among the qualities Communists must prize most in the great awakening now in process in our class and country today.

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"IN ORDER TO SURVIVE, MUCH LESS MAKE GAINS AGAINST THESE FORMIDABLE ODDS, THESE BASIC WORKERS ARE FORCED TO BAND TOGETHER INTO STRONG UNIONS, TO SEEK AND WIN ALLIES OUTSIDE THEIR OWN RANKS, AND TO DEVELOP HEROIC, RESOURCEFUL LEADERS CAPABLE OF OUTSMARTING AND OUTLASTING THE ENEMY."

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ON THE DRAFT MAIN POLITICAL RESOLUTION :

## INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION VAGUE AND UNCONVINCING

*By Herb Kaye*

ILLINOIS DISTRICT

The section of the Draft Main Political Resolution on industrial concentration is too vague, wordy and unconvincing as to the meaning and basis of industrial concentration and why it is so central to the goals and the very life of the Party.

More than this, however, by devoting three of the five paragraphs in the section to state monopoly capitalism, the farmers march, and Carter family's vacation expenses, the whole concept of industrial concentration is diluted, diverted, and diminished.

The Party's policy of industrial concentration, as I understand it, is based on the recognition that the power and wealth of the monopolist rulers of the United States is based on the extraction of surplus value from the millions of U.S. workers in the basic industries of the nation.

These workers in steel, auto, transport, mining and electrical industries are employed in huge plants or operations by the tens

of thousands. In the process of building the basic products without which the economy cannot function, workers of every race, nationality, sex and age learn to depend on each other and learn from each other in the production process.

In the common struggle to make a living wage and win decent working conditions they are embroiled in daily battle against the Big Business drive for greater profits.

Ranged against the workers are the industrial magnates, the big banks that finance and control industry, the press that eulogizes them, and the government agencies and courts that serve them.

In order to survive, much less make gains against these formidable odds, these basic workers are forced to band together into strong unions, to seek and win allies outside their own ranks, and to develop heroic, resourceful leaders capable of outsmarting and outlasting the enemy.

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The combination of all these factors explains, in part at least, why the basic workers are the most consistent, strategic force that must be at the heart of any successful movement for social change in the USA.

To conceive of the building of a new anti-monopoly political party, or a successful struggle for detente and disarmament, or an effective movement for affirmative action and to defeat racism, or for women's rights etc., not to mention the achievement of socialism in the U.S. without the active, leading role of the basic industrial working class is to deny reality and history.

The recognition of this basic fact is of urgent importance for all progressive, socially-concerned Americans.

For the Communist Party however, it must be at the heart of every campaign and struggle in which Communists are involved.

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"THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS, BUT INDUSTRIAL CONCETRATION IS NOT YET THE CENTRAL FOCUS OF THE WHOLE PARTY. WE DO NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND THE WORKING CLASS; MANY OF US ARE STILL STRANGERS TO THE WORKING CLASS. WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE WORKING CLASS REACTS TO PROBLEMS, TO EXPLOITATION, TO THE METHODS OF STRUGGLE."

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ALL PROBLEMS ARE NOT EQUALLY IMPORTANT

## **Industrial Concentration Not Yet Central**

By Nate Sharpe  
ILLINOIS DISTRICT

From the viewpoint of the capitalist class, the sole purpose of production is to extract surplus value, which they expropriate and turn into corporate profits.

These profits, in turn become the private wealth of a handful of rich thieving families. The exploitation that creates the surplus value and private profits also cre-

ates a working class, a sector of the population with unique qualities. Resentment and resistance to exploitation gives rise to trade unions, mass movements and mass struggles of the working class. It is this relationship of the working class to the process of production that molds the working class into the only consistent force that opposes exploitation -- the foundation stone of capitalism. This relationship molds the working class into a leading revolutionary force. It is for this reason that the Party should give its concentrated attention to the working class in the basic mass production industries.

The majority of neighborhood clubs see industrial concentration as a task for shop workers only. There has been some progress, but industrial concentration is not yet the central focus of the whole

culuation of the Daily World. True, industrial concentration means we should participate in all struggles of the workers when they are fighting for their needs.

We cannot say that we can make progress in some area of work and work on that instead of fighting for industrial concentration. The fact is that such methods would put us back in our struggle to develop the work of the class, while giving lip service to industrial concentration.

However we must guard against the tendency to treat all problems as equally important and try to solve all kinds of problems. There will be pressures to solve all kinds of problems, but we have to make decisions based on priorities which are dictated by our analysis and our line. Nowhere can we allow things to get in the way of the main question: The Party in the shops.

The shop clubs should hold open club meetings every two or three months. The club executive should prepare the agenda, based on the major issues that the workers are faced with. Party members working in the shop do not have to declare themselves

Party. We do not fully understand the working class; many of us are still strangers to the working class. We do not fully understand how the working class reacts to problems, to exploitation, to the methods of struggle. The working class has its own lifestyle -- its reactions are determined by its relationships in society.

We go about our business as if it is not a question of our learning about and getting to understand their lifestyle, and getting to know how the working class responds to problems and issues. The case in point is the wave of strikes that has taken place during the last year. We participated in some of them, but we did not involve the Party in mass action in support of the striking workers. Therefore, we missed the opportunity of recruiting, building the Party and broadening the cir-

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Communists at these meetings, only the open Communists. The Communists in the shops should take two or three Daily Worlds to sell or give to shopmates. Workers in shops can help in recruiting workers in other shops, by direct contact, or turning their names and addresses in to the Party. We can in turn, mail them sample copies of the Daily World and other Party literature. This is industrial concentration at a high point.

A proper focus on economic issues would give deeper meaning to the concept of Left-Center Unity and to the need to build real rank and file movements. This would force the Party to take up such central questions as the organization of shop clubs, shop papers, rank and file papers, press routes in working class neighborhoods. The rank and file movements must fight for unity of the working class. The Communists must not substitute themselves for the rank and file movements. The Communists must become a part of the rank and file movements as well as becoming a part of the leadership of the rank and file movements.

The main task of the rank and file movement is to direct its main fire against the company who is the main enemy. However when a union leadership takes away the right to strike and the right to vote on the settlement of the contract, it is time to conduct a real campaign against their leadership for supporting a company policy and time to conduct a fight for a class struggle leadership that will fight for the needs of the workers.

Industrial concentration also means working in the neighborhoods with other organizations, leading them in struggle around issues faced by the working class, the struggle against racism, against President Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines, and against all the other cuts in workers' benefits Carter wants to make; against all the other ills of capitalism, the struggle for the passage of SALT II, for jobs, for higher wages, for increases in Social Security, for increases in welfare payments, for more and better low cost housing, for more schools, for increased public transportation, for street repairs, for road building, for more improved hospitals and better equipment, etc.

Racism is industry's most important product. They use it to keep the workers divided. They use it in order to pay Blacks and other minority workers lower wages. Women are also paid at a lower rate. Racism is not only a tool of the industries but is also used in government bodies, schools, in most of the trade union movements. Take the Steel Union with 28 members on the International Executive Board, only one of whom is Black. Black workers constitute 38 to 43 percent of the union, but only one Black person is on the International Executive Board, appointed by I.W. Abel about 4 years ago. Racism must be fought wherever it raises its ugly head.

In the political arena we should begin work on the formation of a new independent political movement outside the two old parties. There have been some trade unions as well as other organizations and individuals who have spoken of the need for a new political movement. We must try to get Communists and non-Communists to run for political offices in the coming elections. Trade unionists must be approached to run for political office in the coming elections.

Recruiting and building the Party and press must be on our minds at all times.

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"TODAY THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS TO GROW ARE THERE. WE MUST SEIZE  
THE OPPORTUNITY. EVEN IN THE CITADELS OF THE MOST REACTIONARY CENTER  
...OF THE AFL-CIO, WE FIND RANK AND FILE UPSURGE."  
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. . . FROM THE LONG EXPERIENCE OF  
A FIGHTING TRADE UNIONIST - - -

## Why Industrial Concentration

*By Morris Davis*  
NEW YORK DISTRICT

Let us start with the premise that the Communist Party is composed of the most class conscious workers of our nation, which in turn acts as a vanguard in exposing the enemies of the working class. As a matter of fact, all parties represent different factions of society in their class structures. The Republicrats two-party system represents the most class conscious section of the capitalist class in the U.S.

If we are to be a factor in the class struggle, we must concentrate our activities among production workers. Our Party membership has one shortcoming, that white collar workers predominate in our ranks. This is so because in the last two decades, the public service and teachers' unions were organizing while other unions stood still.

Therefore we must think of quality recruiting of production workers and workers in basic industries: transportation, auto, electrical, building trades, involving all segments of the multi-national,

multi-racial class. This does not mean that we neglect recruiting from among writers, artists, teachers, public and civil service workers.

The plan to organize the unorganized is not a new concept. It was done in the 1930's under the TUEL (Trade Union Educational League) when Comrade Foster was our Party's leader. Even the Young Communist League was involved. This writer was involved as a YCL member. In participating in organizing the sweat shop laundries in Brooklyn in 1928, as part of the TUEL organizing drive, we projected the

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policy of industrial unionization and helped organize laundries, which later under our agreement united with socialist-led unions. In this process many laundries, including the Cascade laundry, the largest laundry in Brooklyn became organized.

The rank and file was built by our Party organizers in the TUEL, and in the process hundreds of Party recruits came from the Painters Union (N.Y. District Council 9) which strengthened the rank and file. The class collaborators were voted out, thus establishing a democratic class struggle union under the popular leadership of young Communist Louis Weinstock. This was in a union in which a class collaborationist leadership had dominated the locals, controlled the job opportunities in liaison with the employers, and were in complete dictatorial control.

But under the leadership of Weinstock, everything changed and many important victorious struggles began, including establishing the AFL committee for unemployment insurance.

Other comrades were active in steel and helped to form the organizing committee that built the union. Communists were among the best organizers in the C.I.O. during the 40's and 50's.

Comrade Gus Hall has said: "Plan what you can see the possibility to achieve -- not what you vision that you would like to see achieved." Today the objective conditions to grow are there. We must seize the opportunity. Even in the citadels of the most reactionary trade union center, the building construction trade department of AFL/CIO, we find rank and file upsurge. The bricklayers of New York (1978) mobilized against the sellout leadership and formed the Bricklayers United, while in California rank and file

carpenters protested the giveaway agreements involving housing and urban development. The Trade Union Action and Democracy Committee is functioning with good results there. In the context of 1978-1979 we must strengthen the TUAD and use this as a modern vehicle, just as we used the TUEL (Trade Union Educational League) in the 28's and 30's.

To take full advantage of the possibilities for class struggle unionism today, some weaknesses in our trade union work need to be overcome. In many areas, it is a problem of developing district trade union labor departments, with an active labor secretary and commission fighting for planning and qualitative activity. Otherwise, even though we may get quantitative results, we fail to get qualitative gains.

Within the leadership of craft unions, there is always the fear of rank and file potential. The strategy of some corrupt officials is to discourage a large membership. Through racism and high initiation fees the doors of the union are practically closed to new members.

Today the Building Trades Department is the anchor that prevents the forward movement of labor; prevents labor from assuming its historic task to organize the unorganized, to unite, and form an anti-monopoly party. The leadership which Eugene V. Debs dubbed as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, also accept the philosophy of pragmatism of the capitalists they support, the capitalists' inequitable tax proposals and programs and promote the slogan of "What Helps Capitalists Helps Labor."

We Communists take seriously that we are the vanguard of labor. We represent the most class conscious workers and socialist conscious actions. We must organize our priorities in industrial concentration.

"...THE ENORMOUS PRODUCTIVITY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE IS ACCOMPANIED BY WIDESPREAD POVERTY AND HEAVY INDEBTEDNESS IN EVERY REGION. FARM WORKERS ARE THE LOWEST PAID, OFTEN HAVE TO BE MIGRATORY, AND LIVE UNDER TERRIBLE CONDITIONS. . . . MORE THAN HALF OF AMERICAN FARM FAMILIES LIVE BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL."

## Struggle On The Farms

PROPOSED ADDITION TO  
SECTION ON AGRICULTURE  
DRAFT MAIN RESOLUTION

By Lem Harris

CONNECTICUT DISTRICT

AMERICAN FAMILY FARMS HAVE BECOME AN ENDANGERED SPECIES, THE NUMBER OF FARMS HAS DROPPED FROM 6.8 MILLION A FEW DECADES AGO TO 2.34 MILLION AT THE LAST CENSUS. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM WELCOMES THE ELIMINATION OF INDEPENDENT FARMERS AS IT PLANS THE COMPLETE TAKEOVER OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

THE GIANT AGRIBUSINESS MONOPOLIES COMPLETELY DOMINATE THE PROCESSING AND MARKETING OF FARM COMMODITIES. THEY ALSO DOMINATE EVERYTHING FARMERS MUST BUY: MACHINERY, FERTILIZER, PESTICIDES, HERBICIDES, AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS. AGRIBUSINESS HAS ALSO ENTERED THE AREA OF FARM PRODUCTION IN TWO WAYS: 1) BY CONTRACTING WITH FARMERS TO PRODUCE CERTAIN COMMODITIES SUCH AS CHICKEN BROILERS, EGGS, TOMATOES, ETC. UNDER THESE CONTRACTS, THE FARMERS TAKE ALL THE RISKS AND AGRIBUSINESS CONTROLS THE PRICE PAID; AND 2) IN ACTUAL FARM PRODUCTION ESPECIALLY IN TRUCK AND FRUIT CROPS IN THE IRRIGATED VALLEYS OF CALIFORNIA AND THE SOUTHWEST.

Typical of monopoly domination, the enormous productivity of American agriculture is accompanied by widespread poverty and heavy indebtedness in every region. Farm workers are the lowest paid, often have to be migratory and live under terrible conditions. They are mostly unorganized and live without fringe benefits. More than half of American farm families live below the poverty level. To make ends meet, 60% hold two jobs, one on the land and the other in industry. Even the large family type farmers, operating big machines and producing huge crops in the valley of the Mississippi/Missouri, are victims of agribusiness. They see their costs steadily rising and the prices they get for their crops lagging far behind.

The demand of farmers large and small for parity prices for their products (parity establishes a ratio between costs of what farmers must buy and what they receive for their crops, a changing ration announced by the Department of Agriculture every month) is a just demand comparable to

workers' demand for wages that should rise with inflation. Without parity the family and independent farmers/ranchers will not survive.

Monopoly capital works to keep the farm areas as a source of high profits and the farmers as a base for conservative and ultra-right politics. But increasingly the farmers are not accepting that role. The farmers' struggles are showing increasing militancy and they are more and more directing their anger and actions against the agribusiness monopolies. Farmers are rejecting the advice and politics of the monopoly led Farm Bureau Federation and the similarly influenced U.S. Department of Agriculture and are turning to more militant, anti-monopoly farm organization.

Both working farmers and consumers are victims of the great rip-off of monopoly capital. Today there is great urgency for a coalition of the working class, the poor on the countryside and the family and independent farm operators/ranchers.

**Put People  
Before Profits!**

**Stop The  
Monopoly Ripoffs!**

**Gus Hall**



**Gen. Secy., Communist Party, USA  
Founder, United Steelworkers  
of America**

**RALLY  
WITH**

**SUNDAY  
August 26**

**Cobo Hall  
Detroit  
2 P.M.**

**Angela Davis**



**Co-Chairperson, Natl Alliance  
Against Racist & Political  
Repression;  
Member, Central Comm., CPUSA**

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"THE 'PANIC PROPAGANDA' OF THE 'NO NUKES' MOVEMENT IS FURTHER  
AGGRAVATING THE SCARCE ENERGY CRISIS. . . . THIS IS NO WAY TO  
PROVE TO BE 'FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE'."  
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# ON NUCLEAR POWER

By Clarence Sharp  
MINNESOTA/DAKOTAS DISTRICT

It is my opinion that the proposed Resolution on Nuclear Power submitted by the New England section (Appearing in the July 21 issue of the Daily World, also in this issue of Party Organizer) is an un-sound position on nuclear energy and echoes the panic propaganda of groups around the slogan "No Nukes."

The material printed on pages 12 and 13 in both the June and the July-August issues of Northern Neighbors published in Gravenhurst, Ontario, Canada, clearly demonstrates the one-sided, un-balanced character of the examination of the relative dangers involved in the nuclear energy plants.

The New England resolution states: "In the U.S., with abundant alternative sources of energy, with the possibility of much more efficiently using our existing generating capacity..." This is a clear mis-statement of fact. The truth is that the American people are experiencing a

gigantic rip-off of the oil company barons with the aid of the Carter Administration based upon a contrived scarcity which they make a reality.

A week ago the Minneapolis Star published a long story by scientific sources contending that the "acid rain" arising from the burning of coal mainly, and pollution from cars and trucks will kill fish in Minnesota lakes within 15 years. As Dyson Carter points out in the July-August issue of Northern Neighbors, the danger to mankind from the burning of coal is a far greater danger than nuclear power.

The "panic propaganda" of the "No Nukes" movement is further aggravating the scarce energy crisis which the country is experiencing, helping to create a situation which the power companies are utilizing to multiply the price of electricity to the people. This is no way to prove to be "Friends of the people."

The article on nuclear energy of the political bureau of the Party, in the February issue of Political Affairs is a far sounder position.

The argument that the movement accepting the "panic propaganda" of the "No Nukes" movement constitutes a powerful anti-monopoly movement is greatly oversold. In Minneapolis a demonstration at the Federal building shortly after the Three Mile Island accident brought out less than 300 people.

The New England Resolution on Nuclear Power should be firmly rejected. Its adoption by the Convention would do great harm to the authority of the Party among the people. It would be irresponsible.

# SOCIALISM: AN EVER STRONGER ALTERNATIVE

By Leo K.  
S. Calif. Dist.

The Main Draft Political Resolution says that "This is the epoch of the world revolutionary process, and the transition to socialism is the main current." We have to relate to it. It further states: "Existing or real socialism...has become the central point of reference" and "the primary magnet for all forces of social progress." We can agree with the Resolution that "the forces of the world revolutionary process are all being influenced by these basic transitions to real socialism."

Of the three world forces influencing world change, it is real socialism that is the greatest.

On the other hand, the Resolution shows how deeply our capitalist system is in crisis, and indicates how changes can be affected by struggle on new levels,

peace struggle.

Breakthroughs in the unions and churches are occurring, and more are possible. Visits from and to socialist countries, film showing -- all this helps to bring real socialism in educational form to basic working class people with special attention to younger people.

The Resolution states: "The most effective and widely used anti-Communism is anti-Sovietism." Because the Soviet Union is the mainstay of the world revolutionary process, imperialism directs all its great subversive talent and resources to try to isolate, weaken, and smear the Soviet Union." Here is where our Party must take stock of itself. Do we fight back with the truth? The truth about real socialism is our powerful weapon. To keep quiet on this subject is opportunism. The Resolution makes this very clear. This kind of opportunism leads to Eurocommunism.

But our Party press is now particularly strong on the Soviet Union, and should guide us to struggle against anti-Sovietism. So the trouble is that this struggle is not programmed to our clubs.

Yes comrades, "The Soviet Union is the main-central-force" against reaction and U.S. imperialism. This does not mean that most Americans are ready for socialism, but they are ready now for friendship and normal relations with the S.U. if we use the proper approaches. All the latest news indicates that they are also ready for such actions as the struggle for SALT II.

...DO WE FIGHT BACK WITH THE TRUTH ?

making it possible to place socialism as an ever stronger point of reference and alternative.

As a peace activist, it is my duty to speak about the peace question and the struggle for friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Resolution clearly explains that "U.S. policies of aggression are on a collision course with the objective, inevitable world revolutionary process." This places "the struggle for peace in the very center of all social and economic issues," and SALT II as a critical question."

We are convinced that friendship organizations are very basic to the peace struggle because they deal with the struggle to win all possible sections of our population to friendship and understanding of the Soviet Union. This is one phase of the

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"INFLATION, SOARING RENTS AND CARTER'S RESTRICTIVE WAGE GUIDELINES HAVE HIT HARDEST AT THE SAVINGS AND LIVING STANDARDS OF THE POOR AND OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF JEWISH WORKERS IN SALARIED JOBS. INADEQUATE SOCIAL SECURITY PENSIONS AND HEALTH CARE CAUSE WIDESPREAD HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING AMONG JEWS."

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O P P O S I T I O N   T O   F A S C I S T   A N D  
A N T I   -   S E M I T I C   F O R C E S . . .

# **WORK AMONG THE JEWISH PEOPLE**

*By The Jewish Commission  
ILLINOIS DISTRICT*

The Jewish people must be brought into the anti-monopoly coalition - for detente, peace and economic security; against Zionism, national and racial oppression, anti-Semitism and political repression. The concentration of effort should be directed to the Jewish people in the crafts (painters, needle trades, etc) and to those holding white-collar jobs in education, social service, health, government and private industry.

## **PEACE, DETENTE, ISRAEL and ZIONISM**

Jewish Communists have a special role to play in exposing and opposing Zionist actions and propaganda. Zionism spreads the false charge of a virulent, pervasive Soviet anti-Semitism in order to whip up anti-Soviet sentiment among wide sections of the Jewish people the world over including among former Party members and sympathizers, as well as non-Jewish liberals. This artificially concocted smear by the Jewish establishment is a service to the cold warriors who seek every possible means

of preventing detente between the USA and the USSR.

In the Middle East, Zionist influence helps imperialists to exclude participation by the USSR in negotiations to end the war danger and to assure Palestinian Arab self-determination. It should never be forgotten that the Soviet Union was the first to recognize the independence of Israel in 1948. It was Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko who first raised in the UN the possibility of establishing an independent Jewish state in April 1947. Even since 1967, the Soviet Union has been host to Israeli delegations attending conferences, and in turn has sent visiting delegations to Israel. The USSR has always clearly stated its position in favor of Israel's independent existence. Zionism supports the Carter-Begin-Sadat "peace" treaty which is in fact a war alliance against the Arab liberation movement and for the protection of the swollen profits of the oil cartels. The "Peace Now" movement among Israeli Jews is a significant opposition force to the

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Begin Government's policy of establishing settlements in occupied Arab territories.

The automatic support given without proper discussion by the American Jewish establishment to the pro-imperialist policies of the Israeli Government must be combated. With the blessing of the Carter Administration, Israel provides arms to racist African governments fighting liberation forces, and to the Chilean fascist junta. Friendly relations with China are now being developed by Israel because of their common anti-Soviet orientation.

The establishment of Israel by the UN in 1948 was a forward step in the anti-colonialist movement of the post-World War II period. Zionism as an ideology, however, has been bourgeois nationalist and pro-imperialist in outlook and has always sought to achieve its aim of an exclusive Jewish state by serving one or another imperialist camp. The best interests of the people of Israel lie in adoption of an independent, non-aligned, neutral policy with the hand of friendship extended to all the Arab people struggling for national independence and to the peoples and governments of the socialist world.

Peaceful trade between the USSR and the US is blocked by the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Foreign Trade Act that denies favored nation status to the Soviet Union until its (Jewish) emigration policies satisfy the US government, a flagrant interference in the USSR's internal affairs. Even Rep. Vanik favors ending such trade discrimination now, as do some important Jewish establishment leaders. Every step that will result in detente and more jobs for American workers ought to be strongly encouraged.

Wide sections of the American people will have to be brought into active organized struggle to assure Senate approval of the SALT II treaty and Congressional approval of a slash in the oppressive military budget. Because of its desire for military aid to Israel, the Jewish establishment has for too long been silent on these life-and-death issues. But in recent weeks some Jewish leaders and at least one major national organization, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform synagogues), have gone on record as favoring Senate ratification of SALT II.

#### ECONOMIC SECURITY

It is estimated that 15 percent of the Jewish people live in poverty. Primarily afflicted are the aged. Inflation, soaring rents and Carter's restrictive wage guidelines have hit hardest at the savings and living standards of the poor and of the large number of Jewish workers in salaried jobs. Inadequate social security pensions and health care cause widespread hardship and suffering among Jews.

Jews can be brought into a meaningful supportive role in struggles for domestic government programs of benefit to the masses of people and against the monopoly-state controls that result in super-profits for the big corporations. In electoral struggles at every political level, the Jewish people must be won to the side of those labor, liberal and minority forces who are becoming increasingly critical of the two old parties

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and are seeking the path of political independence.

#### NATIONAL and RACIST OPPRESSION and ANTI-SEMITISM

The leadership of bourgeois Jewish organizations has opposed the efforts of the major Black and other oppressed minority organizations to use racial quotas as a positive means of ending discrimination in university admissions and employment. These Jewish groups have falsely equated such measures to restrictive quotas which in the past were used to limit the hiring of Jews and their admission to universities and clubs.

Blacks and other minorities have increasingly tended to identify with the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs for self-determination and freedom from repressive Israeli military rule. The only answer of Jewish leaders is to charge such critics of Israel with anti-Semitism. Equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism is a false, malicious view. Historically, the vast majority of Jews have been and are non-Zionist. Communists and progressives consider Zionism to be a bourgeois diversion from the true interests of the Jewish people who in the main carry on a struggle for a better society with their fellow non-Jewish countrymen.

Because of the above-cited differences, Jewish leadership has generally shied away from direct organizational contact with Black, Chicano and Latino groups and has given no support to their economic, political and social struggles. This became painfully evident in Chicago last year during the broad struggle against the efforts of American Nazis to march and demonstrate in Skokie, a suburb with a concentration of Jewish people. When the Nazis fearfully decided to switch their march at the last minute to Marquette Park, where violence has been commonplace as a means of excluding Blacks, the Jewish-led mass mobilization was cancelled. Several thousand Blacks and white progressives rallied on their own to demonstrate their hatred of the Nazis who were well protected by the city's police.

The anger of rank-and-file Jews to the genocidal ravings of the Nazis and the misdirected legal support provided the Nazis by the American Civil Liberties Union forced Jewish leaders into organizing a mass struggle (unprecedented for the establishment) that succeeded in winning wide public support.

Continued opposition to fascist and anti-Semitic forces is necessary, both on the ideological and legislative fronts: No freedom of speech for fascists and racists! Support affirmative action with quotas to correct racial discrimination! Oppose the Bakke and support the Weber decisions! Support the decisions to repeal the West German statute of limitations with respect to Nazi war criminals! Prosecute those unpunished and still at large in the U.S., South America and in West Germany!

#### POLITICAL REPRESSION

The suit against the Chicago Red Squad for unconstitutional invasion of privacy brought to light a little-noted fact: the largest group of organizations spied upon was Jewish. Yet, few Jewish organizations have

taken a public stand against the repressive activities of the FBI, CIA and other federal, state and local spy agencies. The repressive Senate Bill 1437 to "reform" the U.S. Criminal Code has drawn little response or opposition from bourgeois Jewish organizations.

Jewish progressives must stimulate the battle against political repression so that it becomes an integral part of every Jewish organization's agenda.

#### CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Jewish progressives will continue to support efforts to maintain and develop progressive Jewish cultural expression--in Yiddish, Hebrew and in every language spoken by the Jewish people--as an addition to each nation's and the world's storehouse of literary and artistic creativity. The tendency of bourgeois society to enforce a single dominant culture and to minimize, deprecate and eliminate minority cultural expression requires constant affirmative counteraction by progressive Jews and other minority groups.

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" . . . THE RESOLUTION SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE FACT THAT JEWISH MEN AND WOMEN ARE AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE WORKING CLASS."

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## SOME FINE TUNING NEEDED

*By The Olympia Club*  
WASHINGTON STATE DISTRICT

In the past week we have heard President Carter plead pathetically for "confidence" in state-monopoly capitalism and "unity" in the face of its failures; seen the price of gas (regular) climb to 98¢ a gallon at local pumps; and learned that the church-bells of Managua were ringing in a Sandinista victory. All of this confirms the correctness of our Draft Main Resolution's political and economic analyses.

Our club supports the resolution, while recognizing that it needs some fine-tuning.

We think the 3 1/2 lines devoted to anti-Semitism are inadequate. We think that some mention should be made of the American Nazi Party. Because the working class is not entirely immune to anti-Semitic propaganda, the Resolution should emphasize the fact that Jewish men and women are an important component of the working class. It might not be amiss to recall the heroic role they have played in trade union struggles and in the Party.

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"TO FIGHT ONLY FOR THE CURRENT LONG, CARTER AND KENNEDY HEALTH INSURANCE PROPOSALS (EACH ACCEPTING PRIVATE INSURANCE CARRIERS), WHICH FULLY BUCKLE INTO MONOPOLY AND PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE CARRIERS SPELLS DOOM TO HOSPITALS AND HEALTH CARE . . . WHICH ATTEMPT TO SERVICE WORKING CLASS AND ECONOMICALLY OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES IN PARTICULAR."

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## *Left-Center Unity In The Fight For* **PEOPLE'S HEALTH RIGHTS**

*By The Health Rights Section*  
CPUSA

The work of our Health Rights Section takes place in two areas: 1) health rights on the local and national level; 2) occupational safety and health, also on local and national levels.

In regard to the first area of struggle, Communists have been instrumental in developing and maintaining organizations which fight to defend the saving and building of public hospitals and other basic health care services in cities across the country. These struggles have taken place in mostly Left-Center organizations whose composition is working class with significant participation of Black, Puerto Rican and other national and racial minorities and women. These Left-Center formations, while pushing their own advanced programs, also cooperate and strongly influence Center-led organizations. We have found that this kind of work makes our influence in these Center organizations far more effective. Where Communists and other individuals with progressive ideas work in Center-led organizations, as individuals, the effectiveness is far less

than when they represent organizational forms of a Left character. When these Center organizations buckle under monopoly pressures, individuals have little influence. And once the Center organization takes its more backward step, there is no other organizational form remaining to continue to push for the people's program.

We have found that in the health care field Center organizations are very reluctant to adopt strong positions, sometimes adopt no position on issues such as affirmative action, rights of women, SALT II and other peace issues. Where the Center is pressured organizationally from the Left, they tend to be progressive themselves. Another important aspect of maintenance and building of Left-Center organizations in the community and the shops is that these organizations are more easily united than Center-led organizations. Once united along Left-Center lines, then pressure to unite the Center is more possible. The struggle to fight back against Mayor Koch's health cutbacks has taken a dramatic advance recently. Jarvis Tyner

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at the New York District Convention, called for unity amongst the rank and file of both the District Council 37 (public sector workers) and District 1199 (voluntary hospital workers). A meeting was recently held with rank and file forces from both unions and Left-Center forces from community and national health care forces. It is just a first step, but this step could not have been taken without a Left-Center analysis. Now we are ready to advance the struggle amongst Center forces and increase the pressure against Koch's cutbacks.

We have had the same experience with national health issues. The struggle for a progressive national health legislation program has taken a sharp turn toward monopoly with the acceptance first by Jimmy Carter and then by Ted Kennedy (with the U.A.W.'s Douglas Fraser) of private, profit-making insurance carriers and the key administrators in their national health insurance program. This buckling under to monopoly is a sad feature of the current and future struggles in health care.

The Committee for a National Health Service (CNHS), a Left and Center formation, emerged over five years ago to serve as a counterweight to the pressure at that time to give the private insurance carriers (the monopoly forces) a role in the Democratic Party's health care platform. The CNHS had and still has a friendly and cooperative relationship with the health insurance forces such as the Committee for National Health Insurance, the U.A.W. and labor movement's health organization. However many underestimated the pro-monopoly forces in the health insurance, labor-led (Center) organizations as well as the willingness of Carter and Kennedy to buckle under to pressure from the monopolies. The power of the Committee for a National Health Service was not sufficient to keep Kennedy and the labor

leadership on the side of the anti-monopoly forces. Those endorsing national health insurance were also unable to stem the power of the health industry monopolies.

Had the Left-Center groups in the health field more strongly endorsed and worked for the Dellums Health Service Bill (sponsored by Ronald Dellums and endorsed by over 10 members of Congress) the pressure on the labor movement could have been more significant. A Left-Center approach in the senior citizens' health care movement could have pressured the Center-led National Council of Senior Citizens to resist the pressure to yield to insurance company monopolies. The strategy of industrial concentration and fighting for the rights of Black and other oppressed minorities and women in the health field lies first within these Left-Center organizations and their working with Center organizations.

The experience in local and national health struggles is mirrored in the fight for workers' safety and health conditions. A network of over 25 coalitions and committees for occupational safety and health (known as "COSH groups) exists as Left-Center formations. These committees are composed of local and regional trade union safety and health activists and professionals in the field. They act as a place for regional and local union activists to defend their job safety and health rights against the onslaught of the monopolies for greater rates of profits. These COSH groups act as a constant pressure on union leadership to increase the pressure for safe and healthful working conditions.

The development of organizations such as TUAD, CLUW, WREE, Committee for Economic Justice, CNHS, COSH groups and other Left-Center forms is a necessary pre-condition to increasing the people's fight against monopoly. They must not be posed in opposition to "Center" led

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groups, or vice versa. On the contrary, Center organizations require these Left-Center forms to keep Center forms in the anti-monopoly camp.

### Interrelationship Between Local and National Struggles

There appears to be a tendency among Communists and progressive forces to separate local struggle in the shops and communities from national policy which affects both. For example, a tendency exists among some health action groups to only defend local health legislation. On the other hand, some only work on the national level, hiding their heads in the sand on the local impact of national health decisions. A national health insurance program which gives public hospitals over to monopoly and private (for profit) health insurance, will turn public hospitals into grave yards, or make possible the turning over of new public hospitals to private hospitals and thus take away health care from those most in need. This is a direct attack on the working class, racially and nationally oppressed minorities and women in particular.

We support and constantly struggle at the "grass roots" level to fight for the people's health, but also the extension of that struggle for a national program which does the same. Communists and progressive people have effectively worked collectively on both the national and local level to gain the demands for health care on both levels. Where Communists and other progressive forces have narrowly divided themselves into one or the other area of work, they tended to lose sight of the overall strategy and goals and thus retarded the overall struggle.

To fight only for the current Long, Carter, and Kennedy health insurance pro-

posals (each accepting private insurance carriers), which fully buckle into monopoly and private health insurance carriers, spells doom to hospitals and health care services in general and public hospitals and other hospitals which attempt to service working class and economically oppressed communities in particular. Health care workers from nurses to physicians to social workers will become burdened with determining patient eligibility for services by having to analyze insurance policies and then filling out reimbursement forms, rather than delivering health care services.

### Are Left-Center Organizational Forms and Left Unity a Tactic?

We believe that they are not a tactic! These are strategies which cannot be left to such phrases as, "tactics are different at different times." Left unity and Left-Center organizations are a necessary strategic organizational form which need promotion and endorsement. The 22nd National Convention of the Communist Party offers an excellent opportunity to further develop these formations in concert with Center people's organizations toward an anti-monopoly majority. These struggles must, of course, take place on both the local and national levels at the same time.

The success of industrial concentration with special attention to minority, women and youth rights, can only be achieved through an interpretation of Left-Center unity that guarantees the establishment of and increases the power for these people's organizations.

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" THE KENNEDY AND SIMILARLY THE  
CARTER PLAN REPRESENT A BIG  
TRANSFER OF WEALTH FROM THE  
WORKING PEOPLE TO THE PRIVATE  
INSURANCE COMPANIES. "

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## For A National HEALTH PLAN

*By Billy and Stephanie Allen*  
S. CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

The health care business and the health insurance business is very lucrative in America. This year the people of the United States will spend over \$180 billion on health care -- an unprecedented \$800 per person -- each man, woman and child. The federal, state and local governments (Medicare, Medicaid programs) for those covered by the programs account for over forty-two percent of that payment, while almost one-third is out-of-pocket payment by the consumer.

No country in the world has people spending as much for health care as the United States does. The average American family spends more than ten percent of its income on health care. It is a fact that more than a dozen nations have lower death rates, lower infant and maternal mortality rates, than the United States and all of them have national health plans.

Because there are no controls on costs under the present private insurance

plans and under the present system of health delivery, spending for health care continues to soar.

It is estimated that the \$7 billion now going to the insurance companies for administrative costs and profits on health insurance will be tripled under Kennedy's proposed plan to \$21 billion, and virtually all of that will come from the U.S. people.

Past experiences indicate that the employers' share of health insurance will either be passed on in higher prices or treated as a labor cost and be deducted from other aspects of contract settlements or a combination of both. Therefore, the Kennedy and similarly the Carter plan represent a big transfer of wealth from the working people to the private insurance companies.

Also, past experience shows that when health costs are not contained, a bill that originally provides for no co-pay-

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ments or deductibles will be modified in succeeding years to provide big co-payments and big deductibles as with Medicare, now covering less than thirty-six percent of medical costs of seniors who live on a limited social security income. The seniors recall how Medicare was originally hailed as a great benefit covering eighty percent of medical costs.

Kennedy's health proposal which he calls "Health Care for all Americans" is a front runner largely because it has the backing of the leadership of some large trade unions and of such groups as the National Council of Senior Citizens (now offering health insurance to its membership through the Sentry Insurance). Kennedy's program would not be implemented before 1983.

Much has been written and talked about its promised comprehensive coverage for all Americans. But very little is said about its shortcomings.

Statistics show that women use the health system more than men, therefore making more claims. Kennedy's proposal does not specify the amount of maternity care, infant care, family-planning services or abortion care that will be covered. There is nothing to prevent the insurance companies from excluding coverage conditions that they consider "voluntary" such as pregnancy; or to exclude certain categories of people from benefits, such as unmarried pregnant women or diabetics (2 out of 3 diabetics are women).

Critics of the Kennedy proposal are skeptical that the insurance companies and doctors can be regulated. They say that any health system which pays fees-per-service will drive costs up and encourage doctors to give unnecessary treatment, as happened with the Medicare and Medicaid scandals. These critics predict that such rising costs will force cutbacks in services, and that the first to go would be preventive care -- followed by cutbacks for "voluntary" conditions such as pregnancies or "luxuries" such as abortion. It is a system doomed to fail women and their special needs.

For many health activists the big problem with Kennedy's proposal is the significant and major role it gives to private insurance companies instead of making the government the basic insurer. National polls reveal that over two-thirds of the people favor some form of national health security. The question is whether every American has the right to receive high quality health care and supplemental services without charge and without discrimination at the time of delivery or whether private prepaid insurance plans with or without co-payments and deductibles will be the determining factor in the quality of health care at the time of delivery.

The chief difference between the Kennedy proposal and the Dellums Health Service Act bill is that the Dellums bill would put doctors, dentists and all health personnel workers on salary and the government would run the hospitals, health centers and laboratories. Whereas, with national health insurance the government buys services from an existing medical system, a national health service would ideally mean changes in the system and would improve accessibility and quality of care and would control costs.

Foes of the Dellums bill attack it as "socialized medicine." But socialized medicine -- nationalized health care -- is not new or foreign to the United States. The President and members of his Cabinet, the Supreme Court Justices and all Federal judges, all

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members of Congress, all military personnel (every branch of service) enjoy the privilege of comprehensive health care without charge delivered by a physician and health care workers whose salaries are paid by the government at a facility run by the government (Walter Reed Hospital, Bethesda Naval Hospital, all Veterans Administration facilities).

People should stop being frightened by words, Rep. Dellums recently declared at a report-back meeting in Berkeley. If this system of health care is good enough for a select few and works, it should be good enough for every American. The elderly citizens recall that the unemployment insurance bill, the establishment of the social security system, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the national Youth Administration (NYA) of the new Deal under President Franklin Roosevelt were all attacked as "creeping socialism."

The supporters of the Kennedy proposal arrogantly declare that his proposal is supported by leaders of the big trade unions and such groups as the National Council of Senior Citizens therefore it is the more popular proposal. But this is not a popularity contest.

The Dellums Health Service Act, Bill HR2926, has wide grassroots support. The National Women's Health Network, a coalition of advocates and health professionals, supports the Dellums bill because it offers comprehensive benefits, including all medical, dental, mental health and home health care. It provides for child-care services for women who must leave their children to keep their own health visits or to take a sick child to a doctor. There is no cost-sharing, no charge at the time of service, no exclusion of conditions, no exclusion of persons.

The American Public Health Association, recently in convention, endorsed the Dellums bill. The Gray Panthers are active supporters and have been particularly effective in bringing this bill before other senior organizations.

The United Electrical Workers Union and District 31 of the United Steel Workers Union have endorsed the Dellums bill which is the only health measure that addresses the question of occupational safety and health standards as well as environmental inspection and monitoring services.

Critics call the Dellums bill "pie in the sky." They say the best procedure is to support the Kennedy proposal, to encourage the enactment of those provisions that come closest to meeting our requirements and then push for reforms of other provisions. But what if the Kennedy proposal becomes so diluted as to become meaningless? What do we settle for then?

Supporters of the Dellums Health Security Act, HR2926, endorsed by 47 members of Congress, say that this bill comes closest to expressing the people's interests and needs and that they will not settle for legislation that ignores the right to quality health care. They say the Dellums bill is a social necessity.

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"THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT OF 1955, THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLES OF THE 60'S WITH THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND REBELLIONS IN THE STREETS, THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND JOB BATTLES OF THE 70'S--WHAT MANNER OF STRUGGLES WERE THEY? THEY WERE AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME BATTLES FOR ONE OR ALL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY, AND STRUGGLES AS A DISTINCT PEOPLE PROUD OF ITS OWN IDENTITY AND ITS OWN PAST."

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## Dual Character of the Afro-American Struggle

By David Engelstein  
N. CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

WE ARE REACHING A NEW PLATEAU IN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF BLACK OPPRESSION IN THE U.S.A. THIS IS INCISIVELY PRESENTED IN THE EXCELLENT DRAFT RESOLUTION, THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE. IT IS NO LONGER A QUESTION OF EITHER/OR; IT IS NO LONGER EITHER "INTEGRATION" OR "SEPARATISM;" IT IS NO LONGER AN OUTLOOK FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

The draft states: "Black people were involved from the earliest times in the rise and development of this American nation and represent a historically determined, component part of it...While fighting to secure their full status as equal citizens of the American nation, Black people assert their identity as a distinct people." (Draft, pp. 8-9)

Black people are part of the nation and yet "a people apart." The draft goes on to say: "...because of the special forms of oppression and social discrimination to which this people has been subjected, it has also been segregated from the nation." (p.9) This dual aspect of the struggle to be a part of the larger nation with equal rights, and yet because of discrimination compelled to maintain its own identity as a distinct people, is a dialectical approach that not only illuminates the present, but throws light on the past. In the last 25 years, as in the last 125 years since the Civil War, and in the years before that, the very same struggle for freedom and equality was also a battle for national dignity as a separate people with its own culture and history.

The Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, the civil rights struggles of the '60's with the demonstrations and rebellions in the streets, the affirmative action and job battles of the '70's -- what manner of struggles were they? They were at one and the same time

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battles for one or all aspects of economic, political and social equality, and struggles as a distinct people proud of its own identity and its own past.

Our analysis of the twofold character of the freedom struggle flows directly from historic and current developments, and from the probing thought of Black leaders and scholars on the nature of the struggle. Our own theoretical explorations are enriched as we mine the writing of yesterday and participate in the discussion of today.

I cite but two of many examples. Frederick Douglass, who as a young man escaped from slavery, and became not only an Abolitionist leader, but one of the foremost historical figures of 19th century U.S.A., "the man, who in his own person, embodied the history of almost a century," declared in 1865: "There is something too mean in looking upon the Negro, when you are in trouble, as a citizen, and when you are free from trouble, as an alien....When this nation was in trouble, in its early struggles, it looked upon the Negro as a citizen....Shall we be citizens in war, and aliens in peace?" (Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. IV, p.163). In 1776, in 1812 and in 1863 Black people were "fellow-citizens," even "citizen-soldiers." In the periods between these years they were "outside" the nation struggling to become free men and women within it.

Eight years after the death of Douglass, another great leader, W.E.B. DuBois, was already expressing his opposition to the accommodationist outlook of Booker T. Washington. DuBois' book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, had just been published that year (1903). In it we find: "It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others....One ever feels his two-ness -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder." (p.3)

Our approach to the Black freedom struggle as a national question flows, in addition to its primary source of Black experience and Black thought, from at least three other sources. They are: (1) a critical Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the national question applied concretely to U.S. realities; (2) a study of, and solidarity with, the liberation struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America; and (3) the experience of nations and nationalities in the socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union.

The democratic essence of Black struggles is emphatically stated in the resolution. It reads: "The liberation cause of Black Americans is inherent in, and crucial to the struggle for democratic realization of the U.S. nation." (p.14) Black history and U.S. history, each inter-penetrating the other, fully corroborate the decisive nature of the struggle for democratic rights in general and for equality for Black Americans in particular.

Comrade Henry Winston describes this democratic struggle in the context of attempts to reject Black heritage and to deny Black history. He declares: "What is important...is the denial to Black people of their own history. It was at the same time denied to the whole people as well. Democratic advance was slowed and will be slowed so long as this exists....The unfolding of the democratic struggle laid the foundation for reaching higher and higher truths...it took giants like Woodson, DuBois, Quarles, Franklin, Aptheker, etc., to use their pens in the fight for the truth." (Winston, *Political Affairs*,

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Feb. 1979, p.4)

James S. Allen a Communist writer, more than 40 years ago wrote a book on reconstruction. Its full title was, "Reconstruction - The Battle for Democracy." Lerone Bennett, Jr., a noted historian, has expressed his profound views on democracy in these remarks: "By continuously raising the cry of freedom, the Negro has had an enormous impact on the American idea of democracy. It can be said, in fact, that the whole history of American democracy is a series of approaches to and retreats from the Negro reality." (Bennett, Jr., The Negro Mood, 1964, p.66)

In this land of slavery, of reconstruction betrayed and of giant monopolies, most scholars, reflecting the dominant ideology of racism, did not define democracy in this manner. And thus most students have never learned the truth about the special character of the struggle for democracy in the U.S.A.

What is the outlook for this "two-ness," for this duality of Blacks in struggle? The Draft Resolution on The Afro-American Struggle discusses the strategic location of Black workers and their growing leadership role in the struggle for Black liberation, and their prime importance to achieving anti-monopoly goals in concert with the multi-racial multi-national working class of which they are a part

Beyond that what will socialism offer to the national liberation struggle of Black Americans? What happens to the duality of the Black struggle when full and equal rights are obtained in a socialist USA, when racist propaganda and racist practice are outlawed? No longer an alienated people and integrated into the nation as a whole, will Blacks remain a distinct people with new harmonious relations with the whole U.S. nation, both

from within and from without?

When the process of total unification is achieved, when all oppressed national minorities in the U.S.A. -- Blacks, Chicanos, Native-American Indian, Asian-Pacific, Latin Americans and Puerto Ricans -- when all have won equal rights, what happens to their distinct cultural heritages?

No blueprint is attempted here. There will be many special national features in the complex fabric of the US nation to which all peoples will make their contributions as they build communism in unison. Problems and contradictions will arise but proper understanding of objective laws combined with sound policy should avoid harmful antagonisms.

From the rich text of a new volume on Leninism and the National Question I quote, in closing, a thought for examination and study: "Complete emancipation of all peoples and consequently complete freedom of development paves the way to the next dual task: the flowering and convergence of nations," (p. 539), and I might add, of national minorities.

\*

I am a member of the Mike Gold club in San Francisco. Our club has had two stimulating discussions on the Draft Resolution, The Afro-American Struggle. We plan a third where we will further link theory with practice and develop a concrete plan for our concentration work in the Black community in the area where we are working.

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"WHY IS IT THAT WE DO NOT HAVE A STRONG, UNITED PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT TODAY. WITH ORGANIZED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AT ITS HEAD AND PLAYING A MAJOR ROLE IN ITS LEADERSHIP? IT IS BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT SELF CRITICALLY COME TO GRIPS WITH THE STRUGGLES THAT ARE NEEDED IN OUR PARTY'S RANKS TO CLEANSE OUR HOUSE OF THESE UNSEEN, HIDDEN FORMS OF RACISM."

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## **THE TRUE PICTURE**

*By Hosea Hudson*  
NEW JERSEY DISTRICT

OUR DRAFT MAIN POLITICAL RESOLUTION VERY CORRECTLY POINTS OUT (PAGE 29) HOW RACIAL AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION ARE PART OF THE BONE AND MARROW OF THE U.S. CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF CLASS EXPLOITATION. IN THE PRESENT STAGE OF STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, RACIAL AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION ARE MORE REFINED AND CONCEALED, BUT THEY REMAIN IN FULL FORCE. THE ROOTS OF RACIAL and national oppression are inherent in the corporate drive for maximum profits and are disseminated into the political, social and cultural life of our nation like the tentacles of an octopus; when one racist growth is cut off, a replacement tends to grow.

The Resolution is well put and shows the true picture of how we, as a people and as a part of the working class, stand in this country's racist society.

We can see on every hand, every move that is made by our top government officials and the top news media, that their purpose is to reap bigger super-profits for the big powers that be and to control the basic resources of this country. They have lost sight of the needs of the broad masses of humanity. This can be seen in the big oil and gas shortage lies, in the skyrocketing food prices, the housing shortage, the closing of hospitals and schools, the squeezing of the small farmer's farm product markets by the big mechanized farmers, the speedup on the job and layoffs of more and more workers. It can be seen in the problems faced by many young people, particularly the Afro-American youth, women and other minority groups.

What is it that prevents a united people's movement from developing and being

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able to play a greater role around a program that addresses itself to the people's burning needs -- for example, the need to warm their families; the need to have gas to take them to and from their jobs daily; and many, many other needs that have become desperate. In my opinion, it is due to the unseen hand of racism, in a higher form, which the Resolution points out, and to my thinking, all of the suffering the masses of people in this country are experiencing, due to high food and fuel prices is tied to and results from the racism in our midst today. Why is it that we do not have a strong, united people's movement today, with organized industrial workers at its head and playing a major role in its leadership? It is because we have not self-critically come to grips with the struggles that are needed in our Party's ranks to cleanse our own house of these unseen, hidden forms of racism. We have not been able to recognize racism once it rears its ugly head, or shown the willingness to come to grips with the various reflections of racism on the parts of some of our comrades. Our failure to take a stand on this issue is a reflection of right opportunism on our part.

There are comrades who say that, while there is an upsurge of racist activity and racist attempts to influence politics, there are many indications that the degree of racism in the public mind, amongst the people of this country and among the working class, has declined and continues to decline. Now comrades, this seems to be a dangerous road of right opportunism. How can we rest with clear consciences, as members of our Party, the Party of Marxism-Leninism, when some of our comrades sow such seeds of right opportunism within our ranks and among working class and the oppressed masses as a whole?

Many of the leaders among the Negroes and leaders of labor and other groups are telling us today, just like our Party has said and continues to say, that the gains that have been won for the Negroes, for labor and the people as a whole in this country are being taken away from us all. We are all being told today by the news media of big business that we will have to learn how to walk more instead of ride, that we have to eat less and burn less oil in the cold winter months. The prices of all of these necessities go up, up, up, to bring bigger profits to the rich. And all of this, it can be said, is the result of racism and the lack of a strong labor-led united people's movement around a broad people's program which tackles some of the major issues that confront the people today who have to struggle from day to day for survival. Instead, prisons are being built for these people, young and old, for Black youth who have the highest rate of unemployment in this country. The drive now by some of the liberals down in Washington, D.C. to rewrite the Bill of Rights, by passing S1437, would jail organized labor and the people generally once they do rise up against their oppression.

With all these facts of life, how can anyone tell us that racism is on a decline in this country? It is true that in many of the highly skilled jobs in some of the major industrial mills and mines, there are many Negro and white workers working together and making the same wages. This can be found even in the deep South. But the facts of life are that the broad majority of the mass of Negroes can still be found in the lowest paid jobs, and they are still doing the dirtiest work, not only in the South but all over this country.

In the South, where there is less organization of unions, this can be found particularly among the Negro youth, women of all minority groups, as well as among workers of

the rural areas. Why are these factories in the North and East moving South today? They are moving because they are looking for cheap labor and so that they will be able to reap greater super-profits from the work, sweat and blood of the unorganized workers of the South. At the same time, they can be protected by the "right to work" laws in many parts of the South. The KKK still holds a base in many parts of the South, to terrorize and flog union members and leaders who dare to join a union to change their conditions. This is its purpose in the South as well as in the North, East and West. All of these conditions, to my thinking, must be seen as a result that flows from the deep roots of racism in this country. The working class will forever suffer, while the rich get richer, as long as white workers accept racist sugar coating offered by the ruling class.

Those who hold ideas such as that racism is on a decline in this country in any form among the workers and the people, had better self-critically examine our thinking and approach because the tasks before us today are too great for anyone among us to come out with such right opportunist ideas. We, as students of Marxism-Leninism, do not have the time to be debating among ourselves instead of using our precious time organizing and leading a people's mass movement around a militant people's program.

It seems to me that there are tests before us in struggling against the manifestations of racism in our Party's ranks. First it has always been the task, as my experience has taught me, for members of the Party, regardless of color, to struggle as comrades against racism, but it is the white comrades' task to be in the forefront of this struggle. But this does not lessen the responsibility of the Negroes to struggle against racism in a comradely way because there are many times when we

Negroes succeeded in giving leadership to the white comrades, in showing them how to tackle racism and to be successful in their efforts. It is my thinking that we, as Negro members of our Party, do not at all times talk with a white comrade as a comrade who is one of us, when we discuss the question of trying to reach white workers. We do not always discuss it in such a way that will be of help to the white comrades in reaching the white workers. Sometimes we Negro comrades approach the white comrades in a hostile tone, in a chip-on-the-shoulder fashion, ask questions in a third degree tone, and not in a way that will be of comradely help to the white comrade. It is my thinking that such comrades do not understand that we, as Negro comrades, with the science of Marxism-Leninism, can lead the white comrades along with other workers, and that it is our responsibility to do so. Hostile approaches on our part carry the danger of developing Black nationalism, rumor-mongering and factionalism, none of which is good for our Party. These would only destroy the unity in our Party ranks. We have no time today to spare in our efforts to build a people's movement, from block and community committees on up, with organized labor playing the leading role that it should and must play among the people.

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CORRECTION:

The Ted Bassett article in Party Organizer, Special Issue No 5 ("On Afro-American Liberation), page 38, column 2, bottom paragraph. Sentence 2 and 3 in that paragraph should read:

*"During the early days of the CIO, a strong labor-Black people's alliance was built which made rich contributions to the Black liberation struggle. The post war Anti-Communist offensive of the ruling class split the CIO, and robbed it of its militant and capable forces at the very moment when the CIO and its Black allies were moving to carry out the historic task of organizing the South--a task yet to be fulfilled."*

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# LOVE FOR THE PARTY



## COMMUNIST PARTY USA

*The editorial board of Party Organizer received the following memorandum from Comrade Henry Winston, in which he points out the meaning of this letter from Louis J. Braverman (Bravey), dedicated veteran Party leader and activist, who for the last number of years has handled membership work in the National Organization Department as a volunteer worker.*

*Comrade Winston's Memo -*

\*

WHAT IS REVEALED IN THE BEAUTIFUL LETTER I RECEIVED FROM COMRADE BRAVEY IS THE LENINIST CHARACTER OF THE MAN WHO WRITES IT. IT IS LOVE FOR THE PARTY; IT IS LOVE FOR THE ACTIVITIES WHICH HE HAS UNDERTAKEN AND PARTICIPATED IN DURING THE LAST 59 YEARS.

I BELIEVE THAT THE PUBLICATION OF A LETTER LIKE THIS ONE, MAY HAVE GREAT MEANING FOR EVERYONE, BUT IT WILL CERTAINLY BRING TO OUR YOUTH HOW A COMMUNIST RESPONDS TO MATTERS.

--- Henry Winston

# == Sixty years of dedication == to working people... for peace, jobs, equality and socialism

Comrade Bravey's Letter -

Dear Comrade Winston,

I received a letter signed by you in my mail box on the 7th floor (staff mail boxes-Ed.), in which you advise all comrades on the staff to be available when needed during this period of preparation for our Convention, celebrating the 60th birthday of our Party. Needless to say, I will be available at any time I am needed, generally and especially during the period when the Convention will reconvene in Detroit.

I painfully have to admit that I shall not be able to be present at this great event which will mark the beginning of a new period in our Party. My doctor has strongly advised against my going. Hence, hoping to save whatever strength I still have and to continue doing what I am doing at present, I shall follow his orders and stay home and make myself useful wherever I am needed.

At present, I am spending a part of Tuesdays and Thursdays in the National Organization Department handling the membership work. Once a week I teach an elementary class in the Russian language at the People's School for Marxist Studies. I also give a private lesson in Russian to a comrade who contributes \$10 toward the school, and I attend my Maritime Party Club on Wednesdays.

I am going to be 78 years old on October 8, and hope that I shall be able to continue being active for some time to come; as active as I have been for the last 59 years since I joined the Party. I joined in Philadelphia through the initiative of Comrade George Morris to whom I shall always be thankful for showing me the way to this wonderful life.

During this period of membership, I was on the staff of the Steelworkers Organizing Committee in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. I was president of a Shipyard workers local in the port of New York for about 6 or 7 years until the U.S. Coast Guard confiscated my seamens papers and prevented me from entering the docks or from working on ships.

I mention these facts, not to brag, but to tell you how badly I feel that I cannot attend this wonderful event, our 60th Birthday.

My Best Wishes

Comradely, L.J. Bravey

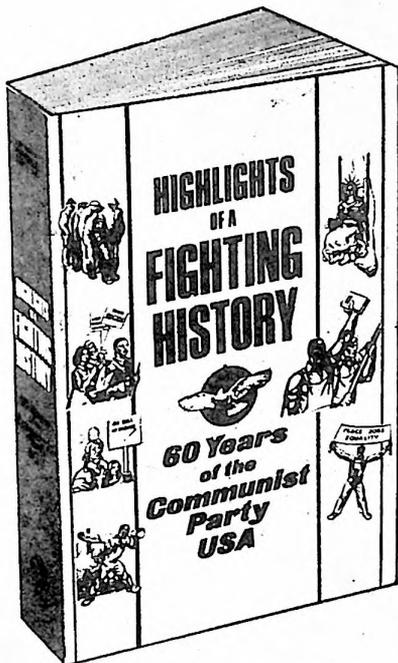
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