

Party Affairs

Central Committee Digest (Part II)



ELIE HIRSCHMAN
DAILY
WORLD

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Report on Party Structure and Organization

BY ARNOLD BECCHETTI
National Organization Secretary



Comrade Gus Hall's Main Report represents a further development of the line of the 21st Convention and the following Central Committee and National Council meetings, based on an analysis of the experience of the Party and the movement in the recent period, and in the first place an analysis of the centerpiece of the Party's work for this year, the 1976 election campaign. It is on this foundation that it projects the path ahead.

Comrade Hall's report takes into account and highlights the overall tremendously positive achievements of the past period and the potential which experience proves is still untapped. But it also notes weaknesses and shortcomings which still have to be overcome, and in the first place weaknesses in the area of industrial concentration. And for a Communist Party, that is no small weakness.

Let me capsule some of the main achievements and weaknesses pointed up in the Main Report for they are basic to this report.

First of all, our campaign represented a major breakthrough in our relationship to millions. We spoke to tens of millions in a variety of ways. We distributed some 6 million pieces of literature. In the course of gathering half a million signa-

tures to put the Party on the ballot, we spoke to about 10 million people directly. Tens of millions heard and saw Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner on radio and television. The Party and its candidates were news even for the bourgeois press, reaching still more millions. Our mass rallies attracted thousands of people, including a large number who attended their first Communist rally.

Over 3,000 people took out free follow-the-campaign subs to the Daily World. Over 1,000 people wrote to the National Campaign office to ask for information on the Party, and over 350 wrote to the YWLL.

We not only got on the ballot in 19 states plus the District of Columbia (states with well over half the population of the U.S.), we also more than doubled our vote as compared to 1972. As was noted, we not only spoke to millions; we influenced millions and drew many thousands still closer to the Party and the YWLL. As a result of our campaign, the CPUSA is seen by millions as a legitimate force in our country. They heard and read our program, and they liked it. So we have created a new mass base around the Party.

When you say all that, it becomes clear that our 1976 campaign represents the finest and most important piece of mass

work our Party has done in decades. In the course of that achievement, we began to change ourselves for the better. For one thing, the leadership and membership of our Party drew closer together at all levels. There was an increasing development of leadership by example, of leadership on the field of battle. We learned again the importance of checkup and control, and some learned the hard way the importance of precise information.

In some states we got inflated and ball park figures of how many signatures were actually collected in the fight to get the Party's candidates on the ballot. In a couple of instances, we found out the real situation in time to take steps which insured our getting on the ballot. But in some cases, inaccurate and sloppy counting covered the real situation for too long, and we therefore lost the fight for the ballot in those cases. Clearly, the campaign was a testing ground for our membership and the leaderships, one which revealed not only strengths, but also weaknesses. In assessing the work in the petition campaign, we cannot use only questions of whether or not we got on the ballot as a yardstick. In a couple of instances, for example Maine and Connecticut, a splendid fight was waged for ballot status. And in a couple of other cases, where we did get on the ballot, the attitude was that the responsibility rested with the national Organization with help from the state. Some, I think, see that they were wrong on this. What happens now will test whether that is true.

Not only was outstanding work done by many Party comrades, but as Comrade Hall said, we must also pay tribute to the outstanding work of the YWLL in the campaign. It was a shock brigade which did yeoman's work under its able leadership, and in the first place, Comrade James Steele.

The League has indeed become a train-

ing ground in how to fight for the interests of working and oppressed people, against monopoly.

What were some of the weaknesses revealed in the campaign? Perhaps the most important shortcoming was in the absence of real industrial concentration. We did not overcome that problem in the campaign, so we must bend every effort to do so in 1977.

The weakness was not just that of comrades in industry. It was the weakness of the whole Party. We must not only repeat that industrial concentration is for the whole Party, but we must begin to put that into practice. We need to examine exactly what stands in the way of getting fully into a real effort to win basic workers to our Party. Why was it that in Michigan the Party resisted doing electoral work in Flint after the leadership tried to project such a task? Flint is the heart of the General Motors empire, and General Motors is over half of the auto industry in the United States. But even that does not state GM's dominant role in auto. It controls the manufacture of certain parts for virtually the entire industry. So what does it mean when there is resistance to work in such a key city, in such a basic industry? Does that not reveal a lack of understanding and seriousness about industrial concentration? Can we grasp what it would mean for the Party to play a significant role in the life of the working class of Flint? I think that it is clear.

We have to bring to an end the lack of a real drive to build shop clubs. People need to go into the key shops, but even more, we must recruit shop workers. But this is not the problem of shop comrades alone though we have to say that there is real weakness there, too. But the district leaderships, first of all in major industrial states, must organize the work so that they give leadership by example to the

Party organization to this job.

Not only do we need to build shop clubs; we also need to build community clubs in the decisive working-class neighborhoods and industrial cities. Proper planning and coordination of such work can only be insured by the district leaderships. But even that is not enough. The Central Committee and its political bureau also have to help in priority areas. The center needs to examine with districts the problems of building shop and community clubs in such areas and to also give leadership by example.

The job is to multiply the number of shop clubs in 1977. The job is to multiply the number of clubs in key working-class communities and industrial towns. Every district should work toward building both types of clubs. We will work out, together with the districts, the concentration shops and communities and the plan of work for this effort.

Another important problem for our Party is not only to win basic workers, but to pay special attention to building among the nationally oppressed, with special attention first of all to such key Black communities as Harlem and the South-side of Chicago, for example.

Such Chicano communities as East Los Angeles and Puerto Rican communities as South Bronx, again as examples of the direction of our thinking, need concentrated attention from both national and the relevant districts.

Other new possibilities have opened up before us. Among them is the possibility of establishing 10 new districts in 1977 as part of what we reap from the 1976 election campaign. Some will be established from what are now multi-state districts. Certainly, for example, the comrades in

Maine have demonstrated by their magnificent fight for ballot status that they are ready to establish a separate district in Maine. They have shown that they know how to fight in a mass way and have the cadre to lead such a district. In other cases, we can establish districts in what are presently unorganized areas. So it is not a bad perspective to establish 10 new districts in 1977!

Another kind of perspective has also opened up: to build the Party in some major cities where it is at present weak. One such city, again by way of example, is Houston, the largest city in the South. It has over one and a half million people, and some 3 million live in the general area. It will have to become the center of our work in Texas.

This is quite an exciting perspective: the building of tens of new shop clubs and new clubs in major working-class communities and industrial towns, the strengthening of the Party in major cities, and the establishment of ten new districts.

The experience of our struggle and the working-class and popular response to that struggle prove that such perspectives are entirely realizable if we fight to further develop the mass thrust style of work, the leadership by example style of work and the fight against the routine deep in a rut style of work which we began in the campaign this year. It is possible if we boldly train and promote cadre, if we develop a cadre policy along these lines, if industrial concentration becomes the policy of the Party from top to bottom.

But we can never realize this potential if we fall back into old styles of leaving industrial concentration to shop workers, or if shop comrades function like trade union caucuses, or by thinking that mass work is one thing while work to build the

Party, the League and our press is another.

What are some of the concrete steps we need to take to consolidate the new possibilities, to continue new, positive styles of work and to overcome persistent weaknesses?

We have to use our press as a big instrument here--the Daily World, People's World, Voz del Pueblo and Political Affairs. We need to go out to convert the 3,000 free follow-the-campaign subs into permanent subs. We need to study the election returns and build routes and get subs in the areas where we got the best vote. We should not only continue and develop more regular shop gate distributions, but we should also build routes in key working-class communities and industrial towns.

We need to take the list of people who wrote in for information and want to join our Party and the League and insure that they become readers of the press.

But that is not all. We need to work with these people in mass movements and organizations. We have to bring them to forums, meetings and rallies. We have to involve them, and we should have classes with the best and most interested and recruit, recruit, recruit.

It is key that we become involved with these people, and first of all with workers and their families in key working-class neighborhoods, in their daily struggles in all spheres, in the shop and in the communities, in housing, education and other working-class movements and struggles.

We will succeed if we seize the new possibilities opened up by our work in 1976, if we continue and further develop that style of work which made that pos-

sible, and if we work to overcome the persistent weaknesses in industrial concentration. That requires not only thorough-going examination at this Central Committee meeting; it requires that the same be done in each district, section and club of the Party. An immediate opportunity exists for all clubs to do this in the club conferences which will be held between now and January 15, and which will be discussed with district leadership at a meeting this Monday.

Structural Changes Needed

A part of this struggle involves moving in the direction of basic structural changes in the office of the Central Committee and to a new deployment and redeployment of cadre. These changes will not be a cure-all. But they are a part of the changes necessary to help realize our goals. The aim is to begin to dismantle our top-heavy structure and begin to release some cadre to be available in the districts. The aim will be to strengthen democratic centralism, to increase the effectiveness, cohesion and efficiency of our Party.

We propose specifically to dismantle the more than thirty commissions and committees and replace them by some 8 departments. To place this in perspective, there is not a Party, not even those numbering in the millions, with such a profusion of Central Committee bodies. There are over 150 comrades tied up in these commissions and committees, and some of the bodies have as many as 15 to 17 comrades on them! Some comrades are on as many as four different commissions! To further place this proposal in perspective, our Party had no more than five departments when it had 100,000 members, at the time when Comrade Winston was the National Organization Secretary!

The commissions, when they function, tend to be think tanks. When they arrive at conclusions, one person--the head of the commission--must carry them out. The theory is that the Organization Secretary will coordinate the work of these 30 or more bodies, but in fact that is an impossible task, made even more impossible by the fact that most of them do not keep minutes of their meetings. And so each tends to go its own way.

The districts feel the effect of this uncoordinated mass of bodies in the form of periods of almost no communication from the Central Committee office followed by periods of mass production of memos and letters, setting up an impossible situation for the districts. In most cases, there is no way the districts can process all the material, so they either do not bother to read what comes out of our office or are put in the position of having to pick and choose what they will handle. That's hardly a situation characterized by democratic centralism!

The concept of a department, on the other hand, is that it would be responsible for being on top of developments and helping to implement policy in a general area of responsibility. Unlike a commission, it would not have to be "rounded out" with people from all other areas of concern. That is one reason commissions tend to be so large and why some comrades are on so many bodies. Instead, a department would be made up of a smaller body (probably 3 to 7 comrades on the average) including both full-time and non-full-time comrades who actually work in, and are responsible for the given area of work. It would be subdivided into sections as necessary to give proper attention to subdivisions of work.

Not only would the departments in themselves begin to coordinate work now

covered by several commissions, but it should be clear that it should be easier to coordinate the work of 8 departments than some 30 or more commissions and committees.

To help insure this coordination, and to help to organize the implementation of Central Committee and Political Bureau decisions, we propose to set up a coordinating committee of five, which would include the national chairman and the organization secretary. This body would meet immediately after each Central Committee and Political Bureau meeting along with those department heads who are needed in light of the concrete decisions made to work out implementation of decisions.

The coordinating committee of five would take over the work which is now done by the 16 member Organization Bureau, and so we propose that it will replace the Organization Bureau.

The full implementation of the direction of these changes should cut down the number of cadre involved in inner meetings in the center and release a number of them for work at the district and lower levels of the Party. It should cut down on the number of meetings for most leading comrades and provide for more guidance of our work.

In addition, we want to strengthen the ties of the center with the districts. We have already taken an important step in this direction by placing the district organizers of the major concentration districts on the Political Bureau. Another way we want to do that is by reinstating a form which fell into disuse, holding meetings of comrades from the center with leading comrades (District Organizers and Organization Secretaries) from districts in given areas of the country (e.g., East Coast or Mountain States) on a regular basis, probably bi-monthly.

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Report on Portuguese Party Congress

BY JAMES E. JACKSON
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Comrades, I want to associate myself first of all with the unanimous voices of appreciation of the profound analysis of the election and its consequences that was given in the report of Comrade Gus Hall.

In the last three weeks it has been my privilege to have been carrying our election campaign to the world, as it were. I had an opportunity to speak about our election campaign on three continents--in Africa, Europe and Eurasia.

The world interest in our campaign, as is well known, is extensive, and the appreciation expressed everywhere for the work of our Party in general, and of our flag carriers in the campaign, Comrade Gus Hall and Comrade Jarvis Tyner, was exceptionally warm, and the interest extensive and enthusiastic everywhere.

I want to speak briefly about the 8th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party and indicate the highlights from the report of Comrade Alvaro Cunhal and the content of the work of this extraordinary 8th Congress.

Comrades, this experience as the fraternal delegate, one among 60 delegations from fraternal parties who attended the 8th



Congress of the PCP, was extraordinary and inspirational. This Congress and the PCP is a Party of vast enthusiasm, of exceptional and extraordinary discipline, and a party of resolute determination. It is a Party of hope, a Party of confidence and of exemplary work. What they have accomplished in the last two years is something extraordinary in the history of the world revolutionary movement. And the prospects of developments in Portugal, from securing the democratic gains that have been won to taking the road to socialism, gives great prospects that the working people of Portugal may be first of the European countries to achieve socialism. That is their confident expectation, relying upon the new world relationship of forces and special ties and bonds to the powerful base of the world working class, to the Soviet Union in the first instance and the Socialist community of states. They, with great confidence, point to a future, of frustrating all efforts of reaction to reinstitute itself in power and of consolidating the gains of the revolution, and of advancing from a secure democracy to socialism.

Let me read a few brief excerpts from the second version of a rather extensive report by Comrade Cunhall:

"Two and a half years after the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, the balance of the distance covered shows extraordinary successes achieved by the Portuguese people, by the revolutionary forces in such a short period of time. With the government overthrown by the heroic captains of the Armed Forces Movement (MPA) the military uprising was immediately followed by the popular uprising. And as of then the people and the armed forces radically changed the Portuguese political, economical and social life. We lived under the repression and oppression of the terrorist regime which had liquidated all liberties.

"Today we have a democratic regime. We lived submerged in a criminal, colonialist war. Today we live in peace. For us Communists, who in the most difficult years have been actively identified with the struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Toume and Principe, it is with great joy that we see these friendly peoples as having achieved their independence, choose with determination the road to social progress.

"We lived exploited by half a dozen monopoly groups and big landowners, who held in their hands the banks, the greater part of the industries, means of transportation and land. Today, after the liquidation of the monopolist groups, and of the greater part of the big landownership, we have different economic structures that demand new solutions.

"We lived in a society in which the workers were considered only as labor for sellers. Today the workers actively interfere in the whole of the national life. They exert their control in numerous enterprises, manage many others, and administer in complete independence hundreds of cooperatives and collective production units in agriculture.

"We lived in a country isolated from the world, without relations with the socialist countries, almost execrated by the countries in struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Today we have diversified international relations. Our relations with the USSR and other socialist countries are in open expansion and conditions are created for a policy of true national independence of friendship and cooperation with all the peoples in the world."

Then Comrade Cunhal goes on to indicate the continued allegiance of the PCP to the special feature of the Portuguese revolution in its democratic stage. He points out that an alliance was established between the people and the armed forces, between the popular movement of the masses and the Armed Forces Movement. The Armed Forces Movement, as you know, is a democratic progressive movement within the military, and it occupies the dominant position in the military. It is the result of the captains' revolutionary action of April 5th that the fascist dictatorship was overthrown, creating the opportunity for the process of revolutionary democratization of the country. The masses followed the breakthrough of the military, and the masses were everywhere under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Comrade Cunhal, in the name of the leadership of the PCP, affirmed the continuation of this alliance and proceeded to set forth the main objectives and tasks of the revolutionary process at this state in Portugal.

He characterized the situation as there having been achieved a political democracy with an economic base which creates the conditions and leads toward the road to socialism. And their strategic

task is to unite the vast majority of the anti-monopoly forces in appropriate organizations, basing themselves upon the organization with Communist leadership of the workers in the trade unions, in the first place, and the peasants in their organizations in various forms, as well as all other popular strata of the anti-monopoly forces.

The Communist Party sets the goal for revolutionary progress in Portugal in terms of power as a stage in which the popular forces with the Party, basing itself upon a stern alliance, a firm alliance, between the progressive body of the Socialist Party and certain progressive sections of the Popular Democratic Party, with the Communists in a special electoral alliance which will have its big test in the December municipal and local elections across the country. It is expected that this coalition in which the Party plays a very dominant role will emerge overwhelmingly victorious in the municipal elections. This will create the political atmosphere for bringing about the necessary pressures upon the present government for that government to resign to give way to a government of popular unity, whose essence would be Communists and Socialists united as the core of the new form of government of popular unity committed to socialism and structured to fulfill the task of institutionalizing all of the democratic gains that have won and for the purpose of extending them.

Much attention was given to the mass popular tasks and the struggle for peace, and a foreign policy which would provide a commitment on the part of the government to detente, to create conditions that would favor the internal democratic revolutionary process with a socialist orientation.

They are concerned with strengthening democratic structures within the country. They are concerned with developing the utilization of the new positions of power that the working class holds within the industrial plant itself. There is now a dominant section of the economy that is in the state nationalized sector and the organization and influence of the workers as part owners of the whole economy, and actual owners of a good half of the economy, imposes very new kinds of tasks and obligations of workers' management over the production process in the economy as a whole--and the working out of various forms to accomplish this.

The specific goal immediately is the formation of a democratic government capable of solving the present problems in the present Portuguese conditions. Such a government, the Party points out, is possible only with the participation of the PCP. The Party at the present time has 40 members in Parliament, but its influence is far and beyond its physical representation in the Parliament. And this is being manifested every day.

The Congress itself was a great testament to the strength of the Communist Party's presence in all aspects of the social, cultural and political life of the nation. For example, the Party concluded its deliberations with a rally in the largest bullring in Lisbon, where 60,000 people, wall-to-wall, poured in with such enthusiasm that one cannot describe; with arm motions of the raised fist in such unison like a military parade; slogans were shouted punctuating every important proposition made in the speeches and general spirit of confidence and enthusiasm, militancy and dedication to the purposes of the revolution were put on exhibit not only in this gigantic rally in the bullring, but in the whole course

of the Convention.

The Convention had some 1,430 delegates. But for three hours in two shifts there came 6,000 Party militants as guests of the convention to observe the convention deliberations. Therefore 12,000 people a day participated by their applause and witness to the deliberations of the Congress. So in the course of the four days, some 30,000 or more people participated in the convention. In addition, some 260 newspapers and journalists, TV, radio, Eurovision, published the deliberations of the convention.

The convention was characterized by enthusiasm, seriousness and unity of line among the leadership and the ranks of the delegates with the main thesis of the convention. There were some 60 representatives from the international world socialist and workers parties. Especially important was the representation at this Congress of the former colonies of Portugal, who came now as leaders of their parties and states. Each one in turn paid tribute to the heroic struggle and principled stand of the PCP on the national question. It was its crowning glory. Its position on the national question, which has now solidified new Angola and new Guinea Bissau and other former colonies of the Portuguese old empire with new democratic Portugal, which is proceeding along a course from the consolidation and enrichment of democracy to socialism.

This is a line of struggle, and not a passive line of awaiting expected changes. It is a line of struggle which solidifies the internal struggle in Portugal with first of all the new revolutionary developments in what were the reserves of imperialism and are now the allies of Portugal's own development, the former colonial countries, and as well geared into and relying

upon the new world relationship of forces which are favorable to and serve in the cause of democracy and socialism everywhere.

I had opportunity to speak on behalf of our Central Committee and leadership, and I would like to read these remarks:

"The glorious Portuguese Communist Party was ever the unextinguishable flame of hope, inspiring resistance and illuminating the way out during the agony of fascism's long night over Portugal. In all stages of preparations and execution of the process of the Portuguese revolution the Portuguese Communist Party fulfills a vanguard role with highest honor and consummate skill.

"Accept, dear comrades, these heartfelt expressions of the appreciation and esteem with which your party and its leadership is held by the Central Committee and the entire leadership of the Communist Party, U.S.A. We take inspiration from your remarkable accomplishments which are passing in review at this 8th Congress and extend our congratulations to all the delegations of your heroic Party. This 8th Congress, distinguished by the profound Report of Comrade General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal, represents a vital landmark in the unfolding history of the Portuguese revolution.

"The Portuguese Party's service to the ongoing revolutionary process in your country is matched by your Party's contributions to the strengthening of proletarian internationalism under the sterling banner of Marxism-Leninism in the sphere of world politics. You have helped African peoples throw off the imperialist chains of Portuguese colonialism. You have contributed to the strengthening of the ties of brotherhood of the toilers and working classes of the world for solidarity with

the victorious working people of the socialist countries in general and the Soviet Union in particular. You have focused the will of the nation's peoples on the cardinal requirement of gaining a foreign policy that will strengthen peace in Europe and reduce world tension, and relieve the burden of armaments from the backs of the masses. The sacred cause of peace is as international and broad as are the interest of the people for the survival of the human race.

"In our times the fight for peace has its profound social revolutionary essence. The cause of peace and freedom are inseparably joined. Peace serves freedom and peace requires freedom. In this stage it is an ever more manifest reality that the only sound economic-social basis of freedom is socialism. Socialism is the primary supporter of peace and freedom in the world. Correspondingly, there is no way to socialism save that which passes through the struggle for peace and freedom.

"Now comrades permit me a brief comment on an aspect of the current situation in my country.

"In the U.S. the voters have just shoved Ex-President Nixon's stand-in, President Ford, out of the White House. At the same time the skimpy two percent winner's margin accorded James Carter constitutes the serving of notice that the people are presenting demands upon the incoming Administration and not offering up cheers. The people will define their attitude toward Carter in keeping with the substance of his response to the enormous crisis problems of which the country is seized. Ten million unemployed demand jobs. Skyrocketing inflation undermines workers' earnings and sends the cost of living beyond reach. The biggest cities are bankrupt. Social services and civic improvements are retrenched or suspended.

In the cities and on the countryside the quality of life falls in unrelieved want, and wretchedness spreads across the land, engulfing not only the unemployed, but wide strata of the workers, big sectors of the middle class and some one-third of the young generation have neither occupation nor meaningful employment prospects in their futures.

"The election outcome has not allayed the sense of uncertainty and deep concern on the part of millions about the government's equivocal posture in regard to taking positive measures in cooperation with the Soviet Union to shore up the structures of detente in the interests of world peace, of progress toward disarmament and of good neighborly relations in the world community of states.

"Furthermore, the composition of the protest vote against the incumbent Ford which went to Carter of itself constitutes a mandate for the early enactment of comprehensive programs to wipe out discrimination against the 30 million Afro-Americans and 15 million other national minorities and outlaw racism from the life of the nation. The front of social, economic and political mass struggles is and will remain seething with actions featured by the strikes and confrontations of workers with the monopolies. The tensions of class struggle will not cease as a consequence of the election outcome. They can be counted upon to intensify, to compel timely responses of the new administration to the deepening crisis in our country. Carter must and will be constantly reminded that failure to respond to the people's aspirations and urgent demands can once again bring forth a situation such as resulted in Lyndon Johnson's abdication and Nixon's and Agnew's ouster.

"In the recent election campaign our

Party came forward as a factor of national political importance. 600,000 persons among registered voters signed petitions for the Communist Party to have a place on the ballot in 20 states, inclusive of the District of Columbia, where the majority of the population resides. This is the most important statistic of our Party's role in the elections. In very few places were the ballots cast for the Communist Party tallied. Nevertheless, it was the election program of the Communist Party which alone addressed the issues and profiled the way to their solution in the campaign. The solutions offered to the most urgent problem before the nation, as developed by Gus Hall, the General Secretary and head of our Party's ticket in the Presidential elections, becomes now the standard by which the voters will measure their expectations for action from the victor. Aggressive designs and aggressive intrigues of U.S. imperialist circles cast their shadow upon each celebration of people's democratic and social accomplishments, and points up the necessity of eternal vigilance and anti-imperialist resistance. All measures the working class and democratic forces of Portugal take to secure integrity of their country's sovereignty and to secure repossession of their economy and natural resources against the U.S. transnational monopolies and for the ouster of U.S. military bases from its soil will meet with a supported response from all peace-loving and anti-monopoly forces in the U.S.

"The struggle to make detente irreversible and to extend it into the areas of liquidation of military bases on the soil of other countries, the struggle to make progress in halting the arms race and bringing about a reduction in the stockpiles of nuclear and other mass horror weapons is indeed the international key to unfolding prospects for social progress for the peoples of our country.

"Allow me, Comrades, from this high platform of the historic Congress to express the heartfelt solidarity of our Party and all fair-minded Americans to all those peoples around the world who suffer victimization by U.S. imperialism. We do all we can to expose, stigmatize and denounce the murderous operations of the Washington-based CIA, with its subversions and conspiracies. We urge the peoples on the road to independence and socialism to be vigilant. We add to the outraged voices of world public opinion demanding freedom for Luis Corvalan in Pinochet's prison in Chile, as well as the freedom of Rev. Ben Chavis, the Afro-American leader in a North Carolina jail. We stand in solidarity with the rising tide of struggle for the liberation of the unfree peoples of Southern Africa. We denounce the Rhodesian and South African racist and apartheid regimes. We are against all shuttle diplomacy designed to prolong the Mid East crisis and/or save the stake of imperialists in South Africa, Zimbabwe and elsewhere. We are for Washington carrying out the terms of the Paris Agreement in respect to reparations to Vietnam, to aid in the reconstruction from the wreckage of the war waged by U.S. imperialism against that country. U.S. and world imperialism remain the main enemy of peace and progress. So long as this is so--a luta continua. And the CPUSA will never cease its struggle against its own national bourgeoisie.

"We wish you new great successes, dear Comrades, as you go forward with the revolutionary process, marching in the van of the Portuguese working class, peasants, intelligentsia and all popular forces, from the present work of consolidating and fulfilling the democratic achievements to the coming victory of socialism in Portugal. May the comradeship between our two parties who march under the lofty banner of Marxism-Leninism

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Special Remarks — John Pittman



BY JOHN PITTMAN
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It is a great pleasure to be home for a spell. Manning a foreign post for the Party is not all glamour. You can get awfully lonely sometimes. I feel that I have really missed one of the great experiences in my life in the Party by not being here during the election campaign. So I have been enjoying every bit of this vicarious experience during this Central Committee meeting.

I should like to add to the view expressed here by Comrade Jackson that our campaign and everything we do has extraordinary international significance. Really I don't think we fully understand what it means to be a Communist, a member of the CPUSA, overseas. For instance, I have an assignment from the journal, World Marxist Review, to wrap up all of this in an article as soon as I get back and I have been asked by the Finnish Communist Party to do the same thing for their journal, by the Czechoslovak Communist Party for their journal, by Prague Radio and by the Bulgarian Students Union. So you can see the great interest, the enormous interest overseas in what we do.

The first question that I expect to be confronted with is how realistic is this analysis of the elections, how realistic are the projections of the Party's policy in the

days to come. And I think I can give a satisfactory reply to that--that although optimism was the dominant note of our deliberations, notwithstanding they were marked by a sober estimation to obstacles and also by what is somewhat new for us, the projection of the long view. This projection of the long view is found in the way we take on this question of involvement in parliamentary activity or in the election struggles in coming years. We are not jumping to the conclusion that next year we will elect a President of the United States. We have the sober perspective through parliamentary struggle of developing a revolutionary majority which is not the same as a numerical majority--a political majority. And I do feel that if we study Lenin's work on the difference between this numerical majority and the real revolutionary majority and what is required to build it, this will certainly infuse our work in the future with a sober, realistic perspective.

Of course, let me say that almost everything I would repeat to the comrades overseas about our ballot struggle would be new and how the Communist Party was singled out, as Gus Hall pointed out, as the main target of reaction. And this throws considerable light on capitalist democracy, about which many illusions

persist throughout the world.

Merely to relate the difficulties of the ballot struggle and the fraud of capitalist pluralism in a capitalist democracy is to render a service to the international movement. As you know, a number of Communist Parties in the world have been caught up on this business of pluralism as a yardstick of genuine democracy. And it would be very informative for them to know exactly how it works in the United States, the so-called most democratic of the capitalist countries.

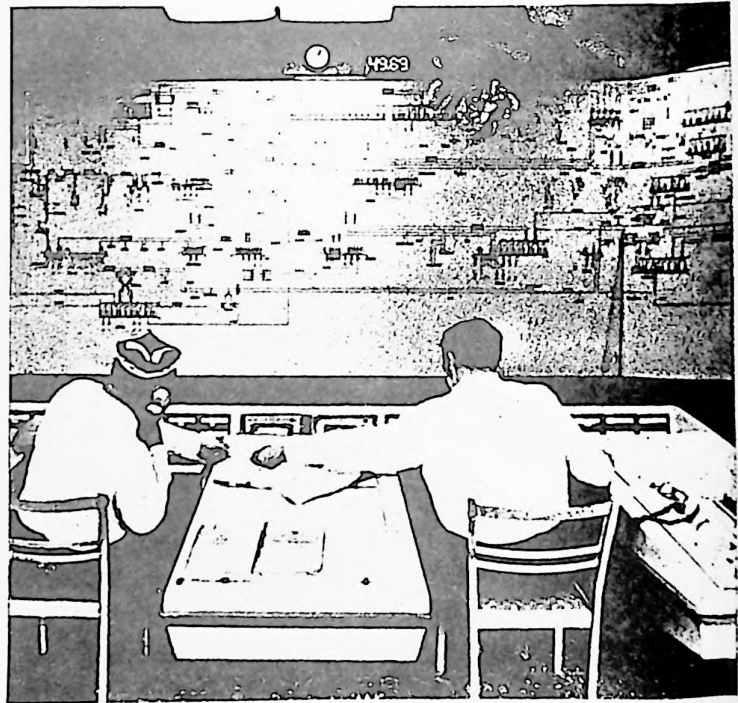
In addition to this, our projection of running for office with the intention of winning--even a dog catcher post--answers the question or syndrome of the wasted vote, the notion that I'll throw my vote away if I vote for a Communist because a Communist in office can demonstrate that a vote is not wasted. It can be demonstrated through the activity of Peter Cacchione and Ben Davis, and we hope to demonstrate this in coming periods.

Comrades, the peace struggle and the deliberations of our Party in respect to the Stockholm Peace Appeal will, of course, be greeted considerably all over the world because both the developing countries and the socialist countries understand that their defense and the enormous sums which have to be diverted from the construction of socialism and raising of the living standards and creating a better life in their own countries, for defense purposes against imperialism is slowing the growth of these countries.

Further, it seems to me that we are today on the threshold of colossal developments, world shaking developments. We are on the doorstep of another vast industrial revolution. I can remember the time when the shift from the kerosene lamp to the mazda bulb was a great stride. But

now we are talking about nuclear and solar energy.

We are on the verge of tremendous political developments. Africa will very soon, in matters of time, no longer have parts of it under the rule of racist apartheid regimes. The whole developments in the Far East indicate a certain change now. But most important, as Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said, is that by 1980, the Soviet Union will have acquired the productive capacity of the United States in 1975. And let me tell you what the Soviet Union already has done. It is today the world's foremost producer of steel, pig iron, oil, iron, manganese, chromium, coal, coke, cement, potash, mineral fertilizers, phosphates, tractors, Diesel and electric locomotives, cotton, flax, wollen fabrics, leather footwear, granulated sugar, milk, animal fats. Now, comrades, can you imagine what will happen in ten years? We are on the threshold, and in a very short time the world will be completely different. We can realistically look forward to the development of a political, revolutionary majority in the United States.



Power plant in Central Asia

So, Comrades, this means that we have an extraordinary responsibility in respect to the cutting of the arms race and ending the war danger, the threat of thermonuclear war. And this is part of our international responsibility--proletarian internationalism. Although it has been joked about by some spokespeople of other parties, it is still a viable concept, principle and motive force in the shaping of the world. You can become numb to this thermonuclear war danger in this country of ours. You try not to think about it; it becomes unthinkable. But, comrades, you should know, and we do know that the Pentagon is engaged in the search for a doomsday weapon with which to reverse the military balance of power. Various experiments are already being conducted on this weapon, and we really sit on top of a volcano. I think perhaps it is necessary to alert our fellow citizens more to this danger.

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The projection of affirmative action by our Party is also a long-time matter. It is an ongoing, long-term development that maybe our grandchildren will be carrying on long after we are gone. And why is this? Because the differentials which Comrade Hall spoke about in his Report cannot be eliminated except by affirmative action. This is true not only for economic differentials but for differentials in every aspect of social life--differentials in education, differentials in welfare, differentials in housing. This is a product of the whole system of exploitation and oppression, racial, on the basis of sex and age. So that we must bear in mind the absolute necessity of maintaining the struggle for affirmative action from now on.

As we are just getting on our way

with this, a counter-movement is beginning to develop with the cry of "reverse discrimination." Now this "reverse discrimination" is the forerunner, just as the perversion of Darwin's theories about the races was the forerunner, of the upsurge of racist ideology in the country. So we have our work cut out for us because, Comrades, this imposes upon all of our white Party members especially the necessity of understanding that this political majority that we need to have cannot be attained without the closest unity of Black, white, Chicano, Native American Indian, Puerto Rican and Asian American peoples.

I remember that Gus Hall said two or three conventions ago that we have many, many specialists on the Black question, but we don't have any specialists on how to convince the whites that the Black question is their question, their problem. We have to face the job that, before we can build a viable revolutionary majority in this country, we have to win a majority of the white working class to the idea of affirmative action to redress the centuries of injustice and inequality. And this is a big task which means that we have to develop white cadres who are able to influence the people.

A word about this business of pride in the Party: I marvel that there is such a question still in our Party because each and every one of us who is a Communist is engaged in the most humanistic endeavor of all--the abolition of human exploitation, which brings in its wake all of the miseries of racism. So we should be proud of our calling. And only a Communist has the instrument with which to resolve this and to solve this matter and really to end human exploitation.

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From Illinois' Gubernatorial Candidate

BY ISHMAEL FLORY

*Chairman, Illinois District
Illinois Gubernatorial Candidate*

I am sure that I speak for all of our comrades in Illinois in expressing appreciation for the selfless contribution that Comrade Gus Hall and Comrade Jarvis Tyner made in this campaign. A special note should be taken of our National Campaign Chairman, Comrade Henry Winston, our Campaign Committee and the many wonderful comrades who worked in the national office.

Comrade Gus Hall's report is an affirmation of the Party's line, and I think that my report here from Illinois will give you some further confirmation of that. Comrades Hall and Tyner got more than 4,000 votes in the City of Chicago in this election. In 1972, they received 2,698 votes. This means that in four years we have leaped to an increase of 73 percent. We received more than 4,700 votes in the county, a leap of 54 percent over 1972.

Our vote in the City of Chicago in the gubernatorial race was 6,000, a 100 percent increase from 1972. Statewide, we received 8,200 votes in the gubernatorial race, and that represented a 90 percent increase from 1972.

We brought our campaign to a big Black political science convention. Our Party literature received the most respectable reception there.

I felt rather like an ambassador, a very important person, by the way our literature was being accepted.

This also happened at the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History a few weeks ago. Herbert Aptheker was speaking there. People who had booths at that convention took our literature and passed it out for us.

The thrust of our Party's campaign was to keep the fight against racism in the forefront. I have never seen so many white people, up and down the state of Illinois, treat our Black candidates as though they too were ambassadors. Never have I seen the respect of white people as was manifested in the 1976 campaign toward our comrades. It contrasted with the 1972 campaign. I think we must take note of this because it means that, not only do we have a potential for a mass Party, but we also have a potential for raising the level of struggle against racism.

One question that will need probing has to do with how we can have such receptivity yet in the last year's plan we did so little recruiting. If we do not learn that lesson, we will not be able to do the job of recruiting that will be before us.

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From New York's Senatorial Candidate

BY HERBERT APTHEKER
Member, Central Committee
New York District

It is a great pleasure, as always, to be at the Central Committee meeting. I sometimes think that if we could possibly arrange-- of course, we cannot-- a national television show of the Central Committee for three days, we would, in the next week, be a mass party.

Gus Hall said at some point that the Party would not be the same after this election, and I think this is true. I do not know how Jarvis Tyner and Gus Hall managed to do physically what they did. They were out much longer than I, and I had only one state. They had all of these United States and the terrible time problems of change of zone. Their effort was simply heroic and historic.

I tried to get Buckley and Moynihan in the same room with me and could not. Yes, I came to a church in Rochester where Buckley's chief counsel agreed to debate, and it was a high point of the campaign. I finally got sense enough to realize that if I just kept quiet and let him talk, I would get more votes and win the debate quicker.

I would like to make a couple of suggestions: I urge on the part of all of us who represent the Party, an aggressive stance, not waiting, not defensive. We are so right; we are so much better. We should not be on the defensive at all, and we should not even wait for these so-called difficult question.

We should challenge at all times, in the first place on our Party, on who it is and what it is and its role and its history.

I was so incensed at the ACLU apology to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn 12 years after she was buried. Never mind apologizing to Gurley Flynn. She cannot hear the apology of these liberals. How about her Party? She was thrown out of the ACLU, not because she was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, but because she was a leader of the Party. I want an apology to the Party. It is that kind of an attitude and that kind of an approach that is needed.

Now they are beginning (and by "they", I mean those who can make money and some very good people too, in addition to those who make money) to make movies like "The Front", which is about blacklist. It was good enough to be attacked by the New York Times. It just, of course, touches the surface and is concerned about artists and intellectuals, some of whom had the inconvenience of a few months in prison. It does not get to workers let alone to Henry Winston and Gus Hall and others, to the Rosenbergs, and so on, and so forth. And it will not get to the Party and to those who really endured, and to the labor movement. We have to do that. Nevertheless, there is great worry that they are going to put out a movie soon directly on the Hollywood business. These are seen by millions and tens of millions of people. Young people, going to see "The Front" see the

see the names of people who were victimized. Their reaction is to ask what the hell has been going on in this country!

The other point I want to make is the need for an aggressive posture on the Soviet Union and on the truth that slipped out of Ford's mouth about Eastern Europe. We should point out the remarkable achievements in the Soviet Union and the fact that only socialism made this possible. And, of course, the Soviet Union saved the world. It is increasingly possible to engage in direct confrontation on issues concerning the Mid East, including with predominantly Jewish audiences. And you can confront the insanity of the present system around the question of outlawing racism.

It is very important to ask: Who has brought the country to the present impasse, the present crisis? Who has done this? Not Communists! I have been myself accused of many things, but I have never been accused of being Secretary of State. Who did this? Certified by the FBI-- 110 percent Americans. The best and the most beautiful and the brightest, as one of the books says. They did it; the Democrats did it. They brought the 10 million unemployed; they brought the depression; they

made our country a pariah. Think about the country in 1945 on the international level, and think of our country now! Who the hell brought that about? Not the Communists. It is the anti-communists. It is this paranoia of anti-communism that is the crime of the twentieth century. That kind of a position goes over. It is true. They have not heard it, and it definitely makes sense.

I got on a bus going home the other day, and as I put in my now 50 cents, the driver, a Black man of about forty, looked up at me and he said, "Well, I see we lost." I smiled and said, "Well, we never lose, do we?" He said, "That is true." So I paid and went to the back of the bus. He came back and said--always using "we"--"Say, Doctor, (He knew who I was.) how many votes did we get?" This, of course, is the "we" that shows that people are out there. In four weeks, and with a minimum of money, we did get more than 25,000 votes.

Just this one word on the "lesser evil" in relation to this kind of aggressiveness, bringing forward the Party and calling attention to who brought the present condition about: The Democrats and Republicans; They are your lesser evil. This has an effect; this means something.

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From Boston's State Senatorial Candidate

BY JUDITH LE BLANC
New England District

I was very honored to represent our Party in the state senatorial race in Massachusetts. I ran as a manifestation of the new and truly historic period that

Comrade Hall and all the speakers have spoken of--that a young native American Indian woman would represent our Party in 1976 is very historic. Because of the im-

part of the Hall-Tyner campaign--not simply in Boston where I ran, but in many areas of our country, there are new possibilities to develop a full program for Native American Indian liberation. The statement that was published in the Daily World, which was a consolidation of discussions with Comrade Winston and other leading comrades, was truly a breakthrough, and that now we must insure that the work in this area moves in unison with the possibilities of the new period. And I speak more specifically about the votes: the 350 votes in South Dakota, a state in which there have been in the past couple of years many militant fightback situations against the oppression of American Indian people--Wounded Knee and many other towns in South Dakota. Also important were the attempts to gain ballot status in Oklahoma. The kind of mass media coverage that Comrade Amadeo Richardson received there resulted in 150 Daily Worlds being distributed there on a weekly basis. And these are two states that have very, very large Indian populations. Now we have to systematically follow through on these advances.

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We received a very large percentage of the vote in the senatorial election in Boston. We received 7.1% in a city that has been the focus of a racist offensive and has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. I think some of the reasons for our success there are the following:

1. We began a local campaign with the impact of having spoken to literally tens of thousands of people in our city while petitioning for Hall and Tyner. Communists have become a very familiar sight on the street corners all over the city.

2. We took a very conscious approach to the use of the mass media. We set up a

special subcommittee of the senatorial campaign to work on getting radio interviews as well as college and community newspaper interviews. Our platform was therefore accessible to thousands of people in the city.

3. Our literature was issue-orientated and spoke to the immediate questions of working people in the city. The theme of the fight against racism and the special needs of Black, Puerto Rican, American Indian and Asian workers ran through our literature. We had very strong reactions to our leaflet on the tax increases. These increases were proposed in the city in concert with the elections. City officials said they were based on the fact that the children were bused in our city.

We received between 18 to 24 percent of the vote in a district whose precincts were predominantly Black, Puerto Rican and Asian. This was really a reflection of the militancy of our solutions. And in the precincts in South Boston where we received between 3.1 and 3.5 percent of the vote, the voters were clearly calling for unity against racism. The areas where we received high votes were all areas of concentration, areas where we did door-to-door canvassing and distributed literature on a week-to-week basis.

The South Boston vote is a very important indicator of this new period we have all been speaking of especially since it had been claimed by racist reactionaries as their own territory. Until this campaign, I think that many of us in the Party believed that as well in a year in which Attorney Landsmark was attacked on the City Hall Plaza and families of color were continually run out of their homes in various areas of the city. Our Party had taken a very routine approach to the fight against racism and had not seen the open role of our Party in the struggle. But the signature collecting and other aspects of

our campaign brought us in touch openly with tens of thousands of people. We brought clear-cut solutions to the crisis of everyday living which is seeped with the devastation of racism. Our vote for Hall and Tyner, combined with our vote in the senatorial district, combined with the vote of another independent who ran in the election, clearly showed that the mood in the City of Boston and South Boston is for independent political action.

In the past, we relied basically on mass agitation in the fight against racism -- ads in newspapers, mass mailings, etc. But now, the proposals being made for building our Party and building our Party's influence among masses of people are exactly right on time. I must emphasize that the vote in South Boston has to be seen as a basis for confidence of our entire Party, in our ability to fight against racism.

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In the areas composed mainly of students, we received between 6 and 18 percent of the vote. In the senatorial district where I ran, there were many colleges and campuses, and we consistently petitioned and distributed literature at many of them. This is one example of the receptiveness of college students to our Party's program: A young man undergraduate called our Party's office on November 1st. He said he had heard about our campaign from his professor and had read a leaflet. He poll-watched for the campaign, waited four hours for the returns. He didn't complete the take-home exam he had to do that night as a result of waiting so long for the returns. He also asked me to be interviewed for his political science semester project.

Comrade Angela Davis spoke a few days after the campaign at Brandeis University at a meeting organized by a couple of League comrades. She spoke to a thousand students on the significance of the Hall-Tyner campaign and of being a Communist. After the rally, about 15 students--Black, Puerto Rican and White--signed up to hear more about the League. To follow up on this, I spoke on the campus last week and, of course, the questions that Comrade Hall spoke of were raised about Soviet aggression, and so on. But the most remarkable thing is that, after I spoke, there was a discussion lasting 90 minutes, and many of the questions were answered and debated by the students themselves reflecting a new level of political sophistication and receptiveness to the Communist Party. Now we have a new basis for a League branch there. Our Party district and our League section had the experiences of working together and trying to struggle with the problems that came up during the intensive agitation of the Senatorial campaign. Our ties really did deepen. The struggle sparked us to set a meeting to discuss the role of our Party in the League, and the Report that is going to be given there will be co-written by Comrade Edward Teixeira, District Organizer, and myself as Chairperson of the League. It was a breakthrough in terms of deepening the understanding of League comrades of the role of the Party. It was really true that the staunchest fighters and the shock troops were the YWLL comrades in our Senatorial campaign. Many League comrades now have a renewed Party spirit which in essence is a spirit of being winners.

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From Connecticut's Congressional Candidate

BY JOELLE FISHMAN
*Administrative Secretary
Connecticut District*

We come out of this campaign in Connecticut and in many parts of the country as a recognized political force. We have made a giant step forward in Connecticut in this year's campaign, and we are building a constituency through speaking to over 100,000 people during the signature campaign, through the tremendous media coverage during the visits of Comrades Hall and Tyner, through the many complimentary DAILY WORLD subs, the 76,000 pieces of local literature distributed, in addition to the many additional pieces of national literature, and the steadily increasing vote in the local campaign. We are at a point where we can now seriously plan to form coalitions and get candidates elected to local office.

We are now in the process of discussing in the clubs how we could have gotten more signatures in Connecticut. (14,000 were required. We got 24,000, and we had hoped to attain between 28,000 and 30,000.) But we are engaging in this discussion within the framework of the reality that the Secretary of State and the courts were determined to keep us off the ballot. They used a big bag of dirty tricks in court suit after court suit when we took them on, and one court suit is still pending.

One of the lessons that we

have learned is that a well-rounded approach is necessary in order to win. Our civil liberties campaign for ballot status was launched later than the petition campaign. The petition campaign began in late February, but the two campaigns should have been launched simultaneously.

When we say we must mobilize the entire Party, that is not just an exercise. Mobilizing the entire Party means finding ways for each club and each comrade to participate. For us, this would have meant a stronger civil liberties fight with broader forces and more publicity. Earlier publicity would have helped us to get more signatures on the street. I agree that law reform provides a big potential for us in working with independent forces.

The struggle we did wage on the ballot fight has had a big influence in Connecticut. Just one week after Election Day the Secretary of State who we had sued held a press conference at which she formally stated that she will seek legislation this year to simplify the voting laws in Connecticut. One of the three proposals she made would eliminate the necessity for each collector to go to the town of each signer. This is the precise content of our court suit. We, of course, are also continuing to plan to introduce our own

legislation on this question. What is really needed, in addition, is a simplified Federal Election Law, especially for national elections. This is something we should start working for right now.

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The response to the Congressional campaign in Connecticut shows that we are building a constituency. We got twice as many votes as the racist George Wallace party candidate in the entire district of 16 towns, and we got 5 times as many votes as the George Wallace candidate in the center of the district, New Haven. We came in third, and we are the third party. We got more votes in New Haven than the phony U.S. Labor Party got in the entire state of Connecticut for their presidential candidate.

The 3,150 votes that we got represent a 50 per cent increase in our vote for Congress from 1974, and there are a couple of outstanding returns. One is in the ward where many of the people related to Yale vote. We came in second with 17 per cent of the vote, beating the Republican candidate. I think that directly relates to the struggle that was waged for Herbert Aptheker's right to speak and teach on the campus. In the ward where I live, we got 10 per cent, a vote based on working with people on a neighborhood level.

In addition, a great many people responded without actually voting Communist. They are very much in agreement with us and influenced by us. One indication of the response is that five non-Party, non-League activists spoke at our campaign rally: a rank-and-file teacher, a student leader, two peace activists; an activist in the African Solidarity Movement was scheduled to speak.

Because of the significance of the military industry in Connecticut I continually received a positive and enthusiastic response when I raised the question of cutting the military budget. We stressed economic questions in our literature, full employment first of all. When explaining how the programs would be funded, we dealt with the question of the 80 per cent cut in the military budget. We raised the question of converting the defense plants to produce desperately needed housing and mass transit, and we used the example of a recent tool and machine contract between our area and Poland to illustrate how factories could be humming with increased trade with the socialist countries.

I agree that we should take ourselves seriously as a Party and expect to enjoy the rights of all other candidates. We tried very hard to do this in the Congressional campaign. One form of campaigning we engaged in was a procedure used by many candidates. We toured four shops, and we went to many shop gates. On one of the tours, we were joined by Comrade Jarvis Tyner.

Our experience also bares out the importance of Election Day activities. It is important to not only visit the polls at closing time to get the vote, but to hand out palm cards during the day, call likely voters and offer rides to the polls. The fact that I was the only candidate going around and visiting the polls made a big impression. For the other candidates, it was just a day off.

We are an electoral party, all year round and not just at election time. We can learn from the example brought to us in that wonderful book, Pete. Pete Cacchione and Ben Davis were so active in the struggles around the daily crisis and personal struggles with no problem

too small.

I issued a statement charging the electric company with the responsibility for the death of two children in a house which burned because it was lit by candles after the electricity had been turned off. This was used as the lead page one story in the Black community newspaper, and it was on this issue that people began to most strongly identify with my candidacy. We have to be a visible party on a day-to-day basis, stemming from the clubs. We should introduce bills, organize on the neighborhood and union local level, speak to organizations and utilize the radio. This is also the basis for building an anti-monopoly party. I think the Labor Charter will be a valu-

able tool. The question of ending the wage differential is quite relevant to Connecticut which is plagued by shops running away to low wage areas.

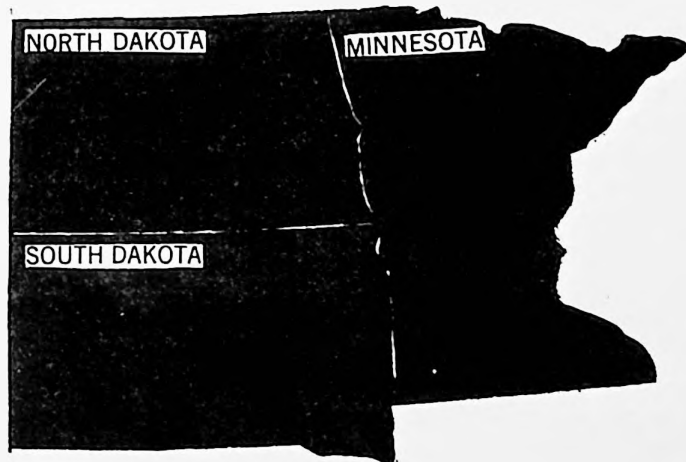
Our election night party and our fund raising dinner last week were filled with warmth, enthusiasm and exciting feeling that something powerful with great potential is growing. We're laying the basis for a mass party. We are at a higher level of activity. We have influenced thousands. Many of our comrades have undergone vast personal growth. We have established a new club in a new industrial city. We have many possibilities for additional recruiting as a result of the campaign.

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From Minnesota's Senatorial Candidate

BY MATT SAVOLA
District Organizer
Minnesota-Dakotas District

The Communist Party Presidential ticket, Hall and Tyner, received 1,092 votes in Minnesota, a 43 per cent increase over 1972 when the vote was 663. There were 83 votes in North Dakota for Hall-Tyner. In South Dakota where it was quite difficult to get on the ballot, there were 318 votes. We also had a candidate for State Senate in Minnesota, Matt Savola, who received 2,214 votes. We distributed 36,000 copies of a very good state program. It was the best program of any political party in Minnesota, and our national program was the best of any national ticket on the ballot in Minnesota. We distributed 30,000 copies of it.



We had a very good farm program, the best of any political party with respect to the issues that face the farm and rural areas. We distributed 45,000 copies. We also distributed the senior citizens flyer and numerous other leaflets on the question of racism and other issues. We used the Daily World extensively and obtained 350 subs during this campaign. And we distributed an additional 1,000 copies of Gus Hall's The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fightback. We recruited several members into the Communist Party. We had 110 inquiries from people wanting information about the Communist Party.

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We had 25 radio interviews, 5 TV interviews and 23 press interviews. Ninety five per cent of all the newspapers, television stations and radio stations accepted a gift campaign subscription to the Daily World.

We approached the mass media as we traveled quite a bit--15,000 miles during the campaign in the 3-state area. We had a young comrade who was quite a wizard as our campaign manager. We would go "cold" into a town and just walk into a newspaper or radio station office and say, "Here we are. What are you going to do about it?" My God, we got the most tremendous reception that I have experienced in my 46 years in the Communist Party! I remember our first interview. The fellow in this small Minnesota town was so flabbergasted that he said, "Come on in the office!" We were waiting for him to say, "Sit down," but he started asking questions, and we had a 20 minute interview standing up. Finally he said, "You know, I forgot to ask you to sit down."

We had another very interesting interview in a farming area close to the South Dakota border. The interviewer was not in at the time, and we could not wait. So we suggested that maybe we could conduct the interview. The young fellow at the station said, "That is fine. I don't know how to talk to politicians. But come on in, and let's go." We had already planned some of the questions. Our campaign manager said, "This is station (so and so) and introduced himself. He continued, "We have with us today in our studios Mr. Matt Savola, Communist candidate for U.S. Senate. Mr. Savola, I see from your brochures that you are the Chairman of the Farm Commission of the Communist Party and you also have a farm program. Would you tell us about it." From here on we went to all the questions we wanted to ask.

I just want to say, comrades, that if we do not take part in the mass media, we are really missing the boat. We have formed a public relations department, and we are going to see to it that it works. I do not think that it just works on the district level. Comrades, when we talk about public relations we are going to have to start with the clubs. It should not be just that the Central Committee issues a statement, or we just see it in the Daily World. We can put it in community papers. Our clubs should be visible organizations in the community. We have to show the face of the Party, starting with the clubs.

This has been the greatest campaign our Party has conducted in its entire history as far as reaching masses of people in a new way is concerned.

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From Ohio

BY R.J. JOHNSON
Ohio District

In Ohio we now have a growing student movement, and the League, wherever it exists, is in the forefront of it. At one college League comrades are helping to lead a progressive student union which now has over 200 members. A mass rally was held recently on the campus, and the major issue raised was the fight against the tuition increase.

The League was also instrumental in helping to pull together the student governments in one county to thrash out problems they shared in common. They decided that they would all work together and that the major question would be the tuition increases in Ohio.

In yet another college in Ohio, a few members of the League are now in student government.

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There is a very important question that Gus Hall talked about, the policy of U.S. imperialism and imperialism worldwide with its mass murders. They have always carried out murders, but it has taken on a more gross character now as open terrorism. We not only see it in Latin America, but that is what the events in South Africa are all about. In fact, I think we can even make the connection that having 50-60% of Black youth unemployed in this country also

lays the basis for mass murder.

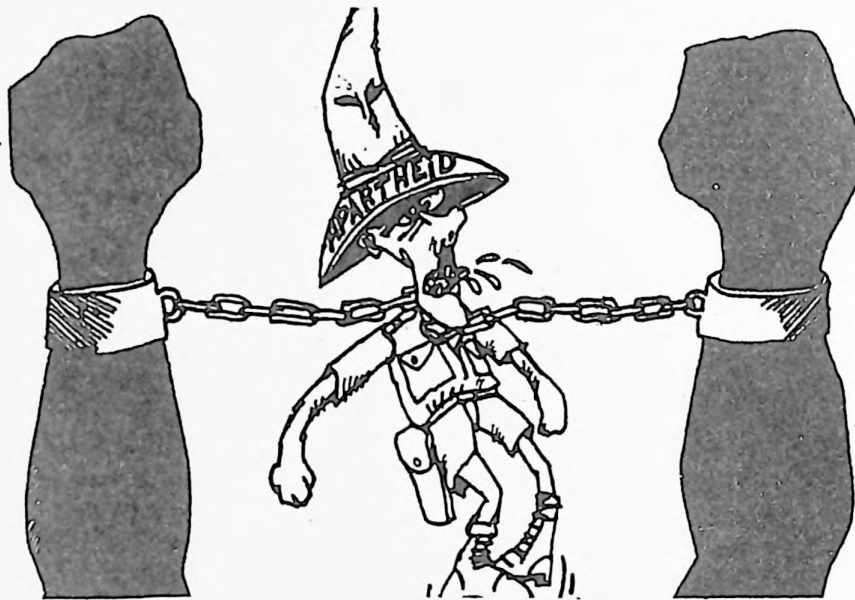
In the process of the campaign, with the help of many dedicated comrades in Ohio, we were able to meet some social workers and a couple of people on welfare. When the campaign was about ready to end, we were discussing how we could continue and nurture our new relationships. We began, along with others, to help build a committee on South Africa and began to hold forums in some of the communities to inform people in the Black community in particular about events in South Africa. We stressed the relationship to jobs and other issues in this country.

The people we worked with were a little sceptical at first because they did not think we could organize anything big, so we set about the task of organizing a forum for 50 people to come to listen to a couple of people from South Africa. Over 110 people came, including several auto workers who signed up to become involved in various activities. Also in attendance were cultural workers, a couple of church leaders, Black student leaders from the various Black student unions, and lots of youth and plain working class Black folk.

After an hour and a half discussion the question came from the floor, "Why don't we organize

ourselves? Why don't we organize ourselves to fight on this question of South Africa and bring consciousness to the Black community, in the first place, and to all people?" Others proposed that we make a direct tie-in with what is going on in South Africa to the people here who are unemployed. Before we knew what was happening, this mass of people was in the process of organizing.

These remarks received mass acceptance with tremendous applause, and people even raised the question that the people who were raising the question that Communists should not be allowed to participate can only be people working in the interests of U.S. imperialism, given the role of the Soviet Union and Cuba. And these were grass roots folks who were taking on this challenge.



The group decided to support the African National Congress (ANC). However, there were but a few present who launched a very vicious attack claiming that the ANC is a Communist front organization, that the role of the Soviet Union is one of oppressing the African people and setting back the movement and that the role of the Communist Party of South Africa and the role of the Communist Party of the United States is one of liquidating people's movements. In response to all this red-baiting a student leader we had never seen before delivered a tremendous 15-minute speech on why people should not red-bait, why the role of the Communists was a good one in Africa and why we should accept Communists in the leadership.

It was a reflection of the fact that people were tying together very concretely the lesson of Angola and seeing the role of the Soviet Union and Cuba. The level of understanding was also a reflection of the tremendous job which was done first and foremost by the Party leadership in Ohio and by the Party and the League as a whole in getting out tons and tons of material and talking with tens of thousands of people throughout the state.

From these lessons that we now have, we must reject all notions of a lack of faith in the masses of people. In fact, we are moving too slowly.

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From Washington

BY MIKE

Member, Central Committee
Washington District

The way Comrade Hall placed the positive things in the campaign fits the experience in our district very, very truly. We made a lot of mistakes, and we did not get quite the vote that we wanted. But the experience changed the Party. The Party will never be the same. We are beginning to learn to be a mass party that can reach thousands of people with what we are doing with a commitment to fighting for a program that will reach those people. I think that a qualitative change has been made in our district.

We had a rally in Seattle that drew 1,500 people. The composition of the rally was between a fourth and a half Black and Brown which represented in our district a big change. Its audience was overwhelmingly young.

In looking at what made that rally possible, I think the first thing we have to say is that when Comrade Henry Winston came out to our district earlier in the campaign, he asked us: If Gus Hall and Angela Davis are at your nominating convention, how many thousands of people can you have there? He placed the demand on us that he look at thousands of people at our rally. And so we did; we said it was possible. We began to look at it and we worried all summer long about it.

The response from the National Office on our requests for assistance was such that it unified us and provided some of the specific things that we needed to build that rally.

(Comrade Winston: Seattle did a first class job, and I think we owe them a big hand.)

Comrade Mike: It was not just Seattle; it was the National Office and the District, working together in that very strong way, that allowed us to fight for that rally. It gave us confidence that the people would turn out. We had the rally on the same day as the nominating convention to put the Party on the ballot.

We did not have to petition but felt the need to talk to people about why it was important to have our Party on the ballot. So we drew up a petition and got over 1,200 signatures on it. This was part of an effort to build the rally. We issued leaflets and mobilized. It was a mass event in Seattle. When you went out on the streets and talked to people, the response would be, "Oh yeah, I have heard about that. I'm going to be there. You had a feeling of momentum. People knew about it. There were thousands of people who knew about the rally that were not

there. I see people whom I talk to on the street about the rally even now, and they explain to me why they were not at the rally or they say something like, "Well, my brother was there." There is a dialogue between people who were there at that rally.

There were some people on the Left who helped on that rally. The largest demonstration that they had ever been involved in was the rally around the Party. That changed their evaluation, in a qualitative way, of what the Party bring to things.

JACKSON--Cont. from p. 12

remain ever firm. May friendship and peace ever characterize the relations between the peoples of our two countries.



Long live the Portuguese Communist Party!
May the victorious Portuguese revolution have its democratic fulfillment in the early triumph of socialism.

{END}

BECCHETTI--Cont. from p. 6

The greater coordination of work within the Central Committee Office and between it and the districts would help to make planning, check-up and control more exact, and would allow the development of a system of planned travel to the district with a fuller program of political-organizational tasks.

Finally, we want to propose moving toward a uniform pattern of structure, officers and titles for leading committees and officers in the district organizations in place of the wide variety of titles for leading bodies and comrades which now prevails.

In short, we want to take the new style of work, the new mass thrust which we developed in the election campaign and apply it to industrial concentration, that is, the winning of basic industrial workers to our Party, using our press as the major instrument in this struggle. We need not only to build the press in a qualitatively new way and level, but to see its indispensable role in winning new masses, especially of basic workers, to our Party and to the YWLL--and I want to emphasize the responsibility and importance of the Party to help build the League.

What this adds up to is building new shop clubs and clubs in key working-class neighborhoods. It means building the press, the Party and helping to build the League in industrial towns and in the major cities. It means establishing 10 new districts in 1977. So what we're talking about is being on the road to becoming a mass party with a mass fraternal League by our side.

It is for this reason that we are proposing this direction of change in work, structure, deployment and redeployment of cadre.

We have not yet completed the study regarding structure and cadre changes and so have not finalized all details and proposals. What we propose, therefore, is that the direction be approved and that the Political Bureau be empowered to continue in this direction and to begin to implement concrete changes as it further develops the work.

{END}

The Role of *Voz del Pueblo*

BY GRACE MORA
Directora, Voz del Pueblo

I want to discuss the aspect of Comrade Hall's report that deals with the need to bring our Party to a new level that will bring it credit and project it with pride. I agree that we must develop a mass approach, with style and professionalism, a working-class approach, from our leaflets to the mass media. The way we present our program, our Party, is just as important as what our program contains.

The rally at Felt Forum on October 24th was a beginning. I personally invited 8 non-Party people who had been to other so-called rallies with me, and they never said anything after the meetings. When I would ask if they enjoyed the meeting, they would just say, "Yeah, it was OK." This time they applauded and shouted and told me over and over that the Party had related to them on October 24th. Among them was a construction worker, an iron worker, a longshoreman, a senior citizen, and executive secretary and one unemployed youth who had just graduated from college. So that when each one of them said that the Party had related, we were relating to them.

*

When speaking of the Daily World and its incomparable role in reflecting the needs of the working class, we must now include

Voz del Pueblo, the only working-class, Spanish language newspaper in the United States. In our estimation the Daily World was perched on one leg servicing the English speaking community without being able to reach the 20 million who prefer to read in their own language--Spanish. We continuously speak of the need for bilingual education. Now we can feel comfortable in making this demand because we are practicing what we have been theorizing for so long. We are teaching on a bilingual level, and that is what our paper is all about. We are bringing clarity to the issues on a Marxist-Leninist level. The Daily World is now balanced with the Voz del Pueblo as its other leg.

Since our first issue on May 1st, Voz del Pueblo has geared itself to the issues confronting not only the Puerto Rican and other Latins in this country, but we have tried to relate the general economic crisis in the United States to international movements and developments that are directly influenced by U.S. imperialism in its attempt to put down peoples' liberation struggles everywhere in the world as well as here at home.

We printed articles on the question of Puerto Rican independence and its present status in the United Nations, the fascist junta in Chile condoned and supported by U.S. imperialism with the aid of

the infamous CIA, Cuba and what socialism has meant to the Cuban people and urging an end to the boycott of that nation by the United States. We had an editorial defining the meaning of detente and what that means in terms of peace and jobs.

In New York, we have been consistent in covering community struggles such as the hospital strike, the fight against closing of day care centers, the struggles around City University of N.Y. and State University of N.Y. and the imposed tuition fees which affect Black and Puerto Rican youth in particular.

Nationally, we gave special attention to the convention of the United Steelworkers of America, the boycott of the United Farm Workers against Dole products, the strikes of the warehouse workers and cannery workers in North Carolina, and Northern California, the case of Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10. In every issue Voz del Pueblo carried articles reflecting the Communist Party electoral campaign and its program with a special 4-page insert on October 22.

We have tried to appeal to the reader, to the working class, avoiding the danger of coming across as sectarian and in a way that would isolate us from the reader. We try to relate to the working class in their language, clarifying the issues by answering the whys and hows and offering concrete alternatives. We had two editorials and an analysis of the true meaning of apartheid as well as several articles on immigration and undocumented workers. However, we intend to develop the question and give more emphasis to the question of racism, to explain how it is used to divide and to justify repressive legislation and to

show that racism is not confined to isolated incidents, such as busing.

Our paper has to begin to focus on the need for an anti-monopoly coalition, bringing clarity to the community on just what this means in terms of the general economic crisis and how it relates to the Black, Puerto Rican and other Latin Americans living under the sub-human conditions in the devastated ghettos of this land.

An analysis of the elections, national and local, will help us to draw lessons and clearly indicate the need for an independent political party in the future, an anti-monopoly independent party representing the working class and not big business interests.

The young weekly, Voz del Pueblo, merits the attention of this leading body and must be seen by all of us along with the Daily World as top priority instruments of propaganda for our Party in reaching the working class, both English and Spanish-speaking. To neglect Voz del Pueblo is to turn our backs on the Puerto Rican, Chicano and other Latin communites. This would be unpardonable for anyone calling themselves Marxist-Leninists. Voz del Pueblo came into existence after many discussions around the pressing need for such a paper. We have it. What do we do with it? Our staff of dedicated, militant young writers takes pride in this paper and is doing a wonderful job of which our Party can truly be proud. They need to know that their labor is being taken seriously.

We have a West Coast representative whose main responsibility

Cont. on p. 32

From the South

BY MIKE WELCH

District Organizer

Alabama-Louisiana District

We were on the ballot in Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky and Tennessee in 1976. That is compared to only having been on the ballot in one Southern State, Kentucky, in 1972. We received around 500 votes in Kentucky which is higher than any previous vote we have had there. We got 1,954 votes in Alabama. This compares to a vote of 500 in 1940 and a little over 600 in 1936. Even given the changes that you can talk about in terms of the voting rights act and the civil rights movement of the 60s, and so on, our vote in Alabama is significant.

Unfortunately, with 1954 votes we came 46 votes short of fulfilling the campaign promise that Comrade Steele made when he spoke at Tuskegee Institute. He promised the students there that if the Communist Party candidates got 2,000 votes this year, George Wallace would stand up and walk out of the State. We feel that at least he stood up this time.

The other place I want to talk about is the State of Louisiana where we were somewhat surprised to learn on the basis of the news media reports so far that our slate received over 7,000 votes. Now the news media in New Orleans has said that the reason for that is because our elector who was first in the column of electors happens to be named Edward Kennedy.



I think that we have to take a look at that because it is possible to dismiss something like that which was unexpected and out of proportion to the kind of campaign effort that was made. We need to look at the fact that, since the Democratic Party Convention in 1972, there has been a conservative effort by the leadership of the Democratic Party in Louisiana to oust Black people from leadership posts in that Party. We have to look at the fact that the Democratic Party machine in Louisiana this time did not give major organized support to Carter. The Governor of the State stayed out of the campaign to some extent.

The other factor has to do with the history of the Party in Louisiana. Sargeant Caulfield, who died some months ago, had been a long time Party member and leader of mass struggle in Louisiana. Comrade Hosea Hudson reported to us that when Comrade Caulfield died there were funerals held in a number of places in rural Louisiana, and in the Parish where Comrade

Caulfield lived we got something like 371 votes. What it means is that there was mass struggle and there were Communists that people knew.

The system of voting there is very important and should be examined as we look into reforms of the election laws. In Louisiana it is possible to vote for the individual electors. What we feel happened is that a lot of people made a decision to vote for our elector named Edward Kennedy, but they also voted for our second elector. Over 3,000 votes went to this young woman who did not have quite such a well-known name. So there were over 3,000 people who voted for our ticket--no question. And then there were people who pulled one or two levers for those electors and then maybe voted for six Democrats. But they had the ability to split their ticket among the electors. They therefore protested the situation and then were able to say, "I am helping Carter". We think this is very significant for the future.

The probability is that when all the votes from these 4 Southern states are added up there will have been some 11,000 votes cast for Hall-Tyner in 1976. When we look at that we should lay to rest a lingering notion that the Party cannot be built in the South in this period. I think we will have a respectable portion of the vote of the common people-- Black and white working people in the South.

We made real political advances on the whole question of the South. Our work was really aided by the presentation of the Labor Charter and the emphasis placed on that and on the question of organizing unorganized workers, on ending differentials, on finding a program of struggle that can unite workers North and South. {END}

MORA--Cont. from p. 30

is to send articles on the Chicano community. We are working out ways to improve this flow of material. Voz del Pueblo is included in the People's World as well as the Daily World, and articles must be sent to us in time for each publication if we are going to reach the Chicano community. We urge West Coast and Midwest comrades to send us articles and develop an interest in helping to promote Voz del Pueblo. Even though Voz is included in the weekend editions of the Daily World and People's World, special consideration must be given to Spanish speaking communities and areas of concentration in industry where a Spanish language paper by itself would be welcome. The fact that there are those who do not speak Spanish holds no water and is a lame excuse for not circulating Voz. There are friends, neighbors and co-workers who do speak Spanish and would appreciate receiving a Spanish language paper that offers alternatives and analyses of day-to-day struggles that relate to them.

We need to receive material for publication from all sections of the Party. We can translate articles. The Spanish-speaking communities of this nation are an integral part of the working class, and when there is not enough interest, it is a reflection of insufficient understanding of the reality of what a Spanish language paper can contribute to our class.

We are projecting an 8-page publication in the near future, but this will not be possible or indeed practical if we are not utilizing the 4 pages in the first place. The staff of Voz del Pueblo is producing. The question remains, what is to be done with the product? {END}

Features of the Elections in Ohio

BY JIM WEST
*District Organizer
Ohio District*

After the official recount was completed, Jimmy Carter carried Ohio by about 11,000 votes. Gerald Ford carried 59 of the 88 counties, coming out of Hamilton County (Cincinnati) with a 76,000 plurality. Carter's victory was fashioned primarily in 8 counties with strong trade unions and large Black populations. Thus, it was the steelworkers of Cleveland, Youngstown, Lorain and Warren; the auto workers of Toledo, Cleveland, Lorain and Warren; the rubber workers of Akron, the electrical workers of Dayton, and the coal miners of Ohio Valley, white and Black, who gave Ohio to Carter.

At the same time, Howard Metzenbaum, Democrat, defeated incumbent Robert Taft for U.S. Senate by 117,500 votes, a plurality 10 times larger than Carter's over Ford. Yet the total vote for U.S. Senate in the state ran 5 percent below the total vote for President.

Metzenbaum had the complete support of organized labor and has been especially close to the Cleveland trade unions. Yet the total vote for U.S. Senate ran behind the Presidential totals by 19.3 percent in Cleveland, and above the state average of lag in most other industrial counties.

This does not mean that organized labor dragged its feet in support of Metzenbaum. The trade

unions had good cause to defeat the notoriously reactionary, anti-labor Taft and were determined to unseat him.

It is, however, a measure of how much more organized labor went all-out for Carter, especially in the last three weeks of the campaign when it brought the fight for jobs and job security to the fore. It is also a measure of the greater anti-Ford sentiment and the hopes and expectations in a Carter victory among the Black people. In a number of predominantly Black wards in Cleveland, for example, the total U.S. Senate vote ran from 26 percent to 36 percent behind the total Presidential vote.

The comparison between the Presidential and Senatorial votes throws into sharper relief the significance of the labor-Black vote drive for Carter in producing that 11,000 vote margin. Organized labor and the Black communities have every right to expect and demand that Carter live up to his promises.

The decisive defeat of Robert Taft gives added point to what workers, the Black and other oppressed people in Ohio want. Taft had centered his campaign on the need for more and more armaments. He ominously warned of the buildup of Soviet naval power and military might in general, implying that Metzenbaum was too dovish. In his

TV commercials, Taft singled out Admiral Gorchkov, Chief of the Soviet Navy, for special attention, so much so that the Cleveland Plain Dealer, in a post-election comment, congratulated Gorchkov on the defeat of his opponent.

Metzenbaum centered his campaign on the energy industry rip-offs, inflation and unemployment.

Taft's defeat is a clear-cut victory for the people of Ohio and the nation.

*

While Carter carried Ohio with less than 50 percent of the votes of those casting Presidential ballots, his vote actually represents about a third of the total number of eligible voters. While the lesser evil myth, given a new lease on life by his promises and organized labor's all-out drive, produced Carter's narrow victory margin, the sizeable main body of those who have become disillusioned with the two parties of monopoly remains fairly solid.

A growing number among the disillusioned are participating in the elections but not voting for the top candidates of the two old parties. Thus, among those voting, 83,000 did not vote for President and 200,000 did not vote for U.S. Senate. These voted for local candidates and/or referendum issues that were on the ballot. In addition, 100,000 voters cast ballots for six Presidential candidates outside the two old parties, of which 7,800 were cast for Hall and Tyner and 58,000 were cast for Eugene McCarthy. (Maddox got 15,500 votes and McBride of the Libertarian Party got 8,961; thus, the overwhelming majority of non-two-party Presidential voters--over 75 percent--are inclined to left-progressive independent political

action.

This is clear indication that the political landscape has begun to shift at the grass-roots level; that there is a growing base for a new, anti-monopoly independent political formation. The existence of such a formation would, undoubtedly, attract the majority of the 200,000 voters who failed to cast a Presidential ballot and bring in to the electoral arena the more than a million eligibles who did not bother to vote at all. In addition, it would win many who decided to vote for Carter "at the last minute," so to speak. Thus, the potential for a mass independent people's progressive party becomes increasingly manifest.

*

THE COMMUNIST VOTE IN OHIO

Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner were recorded as receiving 7,817 votes, the highest vote ever received state-wide by Communist candidates, (previous highs: William Z. Foster, President, 1932: 7,231; Andy Onda, Governor, 1936: 7,372.)

(The original official count for Hall-Tyner was 8,469. The recount (*) lost 552 votes. In an examination of 21 most populous counties, it was found that Hall-Tyner gained 31 votes in 10 counties, neither gained nor lost in 8 counties, and lost 515 votes in 3 counties. Of these losses, 495 were in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) alone!

(*) The recount came on demand of the "U.S. Labor Party" and the Republican Party, the "U.S. Labor Party" openly declaring it wanted Ford to win. Carter and McCarthy gained votes, all others losing votes in the recount.

At the very least, this brings into question the vote counting procedures in the state's largest county!)

There were 8 Presidential candidates on the ballot and two write-in candidates, compared to six candidates in 1972.

Among the 10 Presidential tickets, the Communist ticket placed sixth statewide, receiving 3,482 more votes than the phoney "Labor Party" ticket, and 3,100 more votes than the Trotskyite ticket. Hall and Tyner received votes in every one of the 88 Ohio counties.

In two counties, the Communist ticket placed third (Huron and Holmes counties).

It came in fourth in 4 counties (Clark, Pickaway, Richland and Washington).

It placed fifth in 3 counties (Cuyahoga, Ross and Summit).

87.5 percent of the Communist vote came from 20 counties, including all the major industrial areas. Ten counties of Northeast Ohio provided 55 percent of the total state vote.

In Cuyahoga County, 665 Hall-Tyner votes were recorded in Cleveland in the recount, with 1,065 votes tallied in the county cities and towns. The Cleveland vote represented a 23.6 percent gain over 1972, with a 62.8 percent gain in county cities and towns. Gains were made in every city and town in the county (East Cleveland and Maple Heights, 20% each; Cleveland Heights, 40%; Garfield Heights, 44%; Euclid, 56%; Parma and Parma Heights, 100%; So. Euclid, 120%; Westlake, 130%; University Heights, 290%. Most of these towns are mainly working class.

Notable increases were registered in more than half the Cleveland wards, especially in working class communities, Black and white. There were increases of between 15 and 250 percent in these wards.

The best vote ratios in relation to total numbers voting were in two basic working class communities: in Precinct A of Ward 2 in the Village of Oakwood with 2.4 percent for Hall and Tyner, and in Cuyahoga Heights with 2 percent. Oakwood Village, in Southeast Cuyahoga County, is a community of Black workers, most of whom work at the Twinsburg Chrysler plant and the Walton Hills Ford plant. Cuyahoga Heights is a small community of white steel workers in Southern Cuyahoga County. The Daily World and election campaign material had been systematically distributed among these workers.

*

In the course of the petition campaign, in which 9,500 signatures were secured during the winter months, over 110,000 people were approached.

Hall and Tyner were interviewed by 16 newspapers, radio and TV stations.

Millions were reached in 534 minutes of radio time on 28 stations in 24 cities; and in 76 minutes of TV time over 6 stations in 5 cities, not counting the national telecasts.

The October 9th election rally with Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner was the largest for any candidate in Cleveland. Ads for the rally and related radio-TV programs were placed in 10 newspapers with a combined circulation of over 2,000,000. Placards announcing the rally were

Cont. on p. 39

The Campaign in Maine

BY THE SOUTHERN MAINE CLUB

We of the Southern Maine club have been asked to analyze our work during the 1976 election campaign and to give particular attention to the factors which enabled us to maintain a high degree of mobilization for long periods of time.

After a battle for ballot status which stretched from summer into fall, we were stricken from the ballot. However, we scored some notable breakthroughs.

Among these are:

(1) The base has been laid in Maine for a much larger Party, League, and press circulation with considerable growth already in these areas. During the course of the campaign and after Election Day, we built up extensive lists of contacts, visited contacts in their homes, visited thousands of people door-to-door in our area of industrial concentration, obtained introductory Daily World subs, sold Young Worker subs, and recruited into the Party and League.

(2) The Party has been established in the eye of the Maine public as a significant electoral force with an anti-monopoly program.

(3) The question of reform of the election laws and our right to be on the ballot has been established as a mass issue in the State.

Because of the impact of our 14,000 signatures and the drama of the ballot rights struggle, combined with a conscious approach on our part in which we sought out and cultivated reporters in a systematic way, we received remarkable coverage in the mass media in Southern Maine. We were front page news a great many times and had TV and radio coverage. Ten or more editorials in major Maine newspapers favored our right to be on the ballot. This coverage helped multiply the effect of the campaign on the public.

*

We applied the main thrust of the campaign during phase 2 and 3 to a mill town where over a third of the workers in our concentration plant live. Since we were unable to get our campaign leaflets and Daily Worlds to workers at the plant gates, we approached them in their homes. We combined successive door-to-door distributions throughout the community with visits to most of the homes in that town. Through the campaign, we have begun to develop an approach to that community in the broader sense, from its high school to its bars to other aspects of its community life. We have also begun to develop our press and our contacts there, including among workers in our concentration shop.

Of the 14,000 signatures collected in

Maine during the 4-1/2 months of actual petitioning, 12,000 were collected in Southern Maine, and of these approximately 11,000 were collected by members of our club of relatively small size. During phase 2 of the campaign, approximately 30,000 pieces of campaign literature were distributed in Southern Maine, and we raised our club's Daily World distribution from 75 to 500 to 2,000 copies a week.

We approached the 1976 campaign with certain assets. The core of our club had already been through significant electoral struggle in the 1972 Hall-Tyner campaign and in the 1972, 1973 and 1974 YWLL Sam Webb for Portland School Committee campaigns. There had also been ideological discussions in the Party and the League over the years on the tremendous importance of electoral struggle. We had maintained a certain emphasis on a "political approach" as opposed to an "economist approach." We understood that it was of decisive importance for our Party to be linked to the trade union struggle, but that was not enough. Without major emphasis on advanced political struggle as well, the workers will not become class consciousness and move toward the Party.

*

As we moved towards the campaign in late '75 and early '76, we placed a lot of emphasis on laying a solid ideological basis for the campaign. For us, ideological preparation took the form of educationals in the Party and the League on the importance of the campaign. When the New England District held an educational conference in Boston on the campaign in mid-January, we made it a matter of discipline that our Comrades go to the Conference unless excused by the club executive committee.

We sought to give our club a sense of the whole "product to which their hands were beginning to lend shape." (Lenin) This meant that we sought to give our club a sense of enthusiasm and motivation towards the campaign based on the conviction that tremendous breakthroughs could be made in the Party's position in Maine. Emphasis, in this period of preparation was also placed on the erroneous-ness of the "lesser of two evils" approach and on the relationship between the Party campaign and the growth of the United Front.

During this period, the sharpest ideological struggle took place as we began to develop our plan of work. It took place around the question of assignment of people to the campaign on the basis of priority. It was possible to pay lip service to the campaign as long as the debate was relatively abstract, but when it came to concretely implementing that line, a limited amount of resistance emerged. The essence of such resistance was an underestimation of the possibilities for struggle that exist in the working class in the wake of such events as Watergate and Vietnam, and the freedom of Angela Davis.

To understand the situation in our club, it is necessary to know that almost everyone in our club had been fully active in the trade union work and in the economic fightback. To be able to wage a campaign meant that other areas of work had to be reduced. We did this in a planned way aiming at a substantial reduction in other areas of mass work, but not their liquidation.

Placing the necessary high priority on the Hall-Tyner campaign, in the context of limited forces, was a rejection of anarchism in methods of organization. We operated on the principle that where

there is a conflict between someone's preference in activity and the needs of the whole, then taking into account that person's capabilities and talents, the needs of the whole must be the guide. In other words, we did not operate on the basis of everybody doing their own thing.

During the course of the three phases of the campaign, no one was excused from petitioning, distributing campaign material, visiting people, etc., except for one elderly comrade with very serious health problems. The campaign was the major assignment for all, except for two comrades who were none the less given considerable responsibility in the campaign. Assignments on mass and trade union work were also given sparingly along with Party and League tasks.

Of major importance was the fact that we reduced our club leadership's responsibility in other areas of work. This made possible "leadership by example" which was essential in developing a pace and momentum. It also meant that the club leadership was centrally involved in the main mass activity of the club which facilitated its ability to give political and organizational leadership.

Tasks were distributed in a manner which enabled every club member to know exactly what was expected of him or her in the most concrete possible terms on a weekly and daily basis. There was strict checkup and control. As the book, Leninist Standards of Party Life, states:

"Correctly organized verification of task execution presupposes the elaboration of resolutions which can be understood by those who have to execute them, which are distinguished by precision and clarity, and which state the exact jobs to be done, their time limits and who has to do them. At the same time, practical,

business-like control should be established over the implementation of resolutions. Otherwise, even the best resolution runs the risk of remaining on paper only."

We set up individual weekly signature quotas for our members during the petition campaign. It was also understood that quotas were minimum figures and comrades were to try to exceed them. Our approach in phase 2 and 3 was the same except that quotas were in quantities of time spend on the campaign rather than numbers of signatures.

The quotas in our plans of work were decided by the collective on the basis of a number of criteria. They reflected the assignments in our plan of work. Those who had other assignments were given smaller quotas. Those who had the campaign as the major part of their assignment, unqualified by other factors, had quotas which required them to petition constantly, day and evening, with one evening off a week.

Two principles of dialectics were employed in formulating our quotas. One of these principles is that all our comrades are at different levels of development as far as such things as petitioning are concerned. Therefore, the quotas for different comrades had to be different in order to take this into account. In formulating quotas, we also had to look at our comrades in all the concrete interconnections of their lives. The most important application of this principle is that we have had to give consideration to the child-care responsibilities of our comrades.

Without such criteria, we would come up with quota systems which would place the same quantitative demands on everyone and hence would not be taken seriously. When quotas (and assignments in general) are more precisely made, and combined with real checkup and control, they are a

spur to everyone's activity. We gave out praise and credit during the campaign equally to those who had filled and exceeded their quotas, and in giving out sharp criticism, we aimed it at those who did not fulfill their quotas and their role in our plans of work.

Of great importance in our plan was that industrial concentration was the direct thrust of phase 2 and 3, and that Party, League, and press building were part of our approach.

{END}

WEST--Cont. from p. 35

placed in 125 buses and rapid transit cars for two weeks.

250,000 pieces of campaign materials and the Daily World were distributed.

Election booths were set up at three county fairs, two in steel counties.

Four union conventions were covered as were 10 sports, cultural and other special events. Six steel plants were regularly covered as were shopping centers, senior citizen clubs, housing projects and precincts in concentration communities.

*

The campaign showed the Communist Party to be the largest and most influential on the left. While the Communist vote was the largest on the left, it is far from the full measure of its influence. In many ways, the McCarthy campaign was the beneficiary of the Communist exposure of the two old parties and the lesser evil myth. The McCarthy campaign was weak in discussion of the issues and had very little in the way of campaign

material. Thousands were convinced by the Communist campaign on the need for independent political action. But, still influenced by the poison of anti-communism, they cast their independent anti-two old party votes for McCarthy. Still others who were considering a vote for Hall and Tyner were persuaded at the last minute to give the lesser evil another chance with a vote for Carter.

The campaign showed the Party's potential for exerting a mass influence and the potential for its growth, especially among workers in basic industry, Black and white, in Ohio. It also showed that the time is ripe to take up serious, concrete work for bringing into existence united front, independent, progressive, anti-monopoly formations and independent working class candidates, Black, white and Puerto Rican, men and women, young and old, leading to a new peoples political party based on labor.

{END}

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CLASS, RACE and BLACK LIBERATION



by
Henry
Winston

MANDATE FOR STRUGGLE - GUS HALL

THIS MASS PAMPHLET EVALUATES THE 1976 ELECTIONS AND OUTLINES THE PATH AHEAD FOR LABOR AND THE PEOPLES MOVEMENTS. IT IS BASED ON GUS HALL'S REMARKS TO THE NOVEMBER MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. IT SHOULD BE USED EXTENSIVELY IN OUR WORK IN REACHING MANY OF THE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN THE 100 DAY CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESS AND TO BRING CLARITY AND UNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

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the 1976 elections

Mandate for Struggle

• by GUS HALL

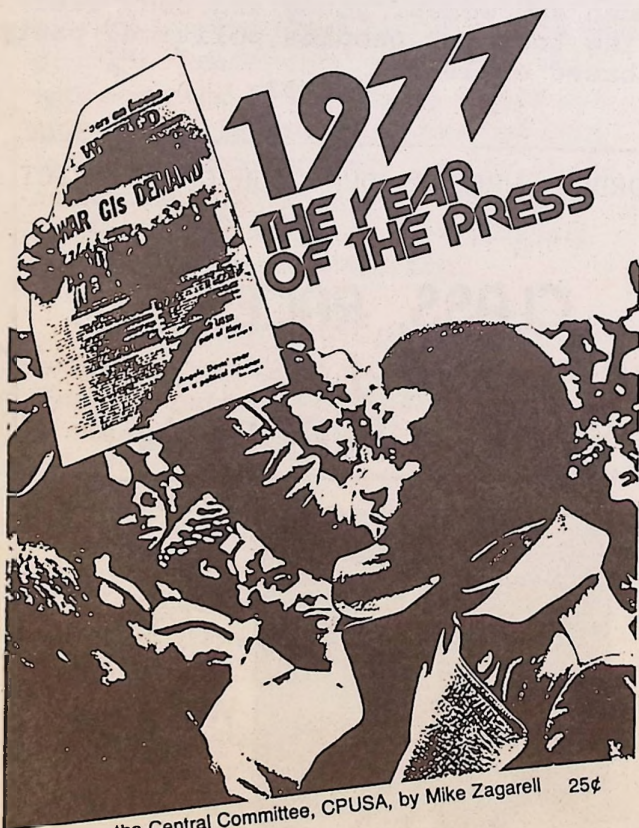
1977--THE YEAR OF THE PRESS

BY MIKE ZAGARELL

TO LAUNCH 1977 AS THE YEAR OF THE PRESS AND TO BEGIN THE 100 DAY CAMPAIGN AS A CRUCIAL PART OF THIS YEAR, MIKE ZAGARELL, CO-EDITOR OF THE DAILY WORLD MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION IN HIS REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE NEED FOR THE MARXIST PRESS. HE FOCUSED ON THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN THE PEOPLES MOVEMENTS TODAY AND IN THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY.

THIS HAS BEEN PUBLISHED AS A PARTY AFFAIRS SUPPLEMENT AND HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO ALL DISTRICTS AND CLUBS. IT SHOULD FORM THE BASIS FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION AND BE USED IN OUR IDEOLOGICAL WORK AROUND THE PRESS CAMPAIGN.

IF YOUR CLUB HAS NOT RECEIVED COPIES, WRITE TO PARTY AFFAIRS, 23 WEST 26TH ST., N.Y., 10010



A report to the Central Committee, CPUSA, by Mike Zagarell 25¢