

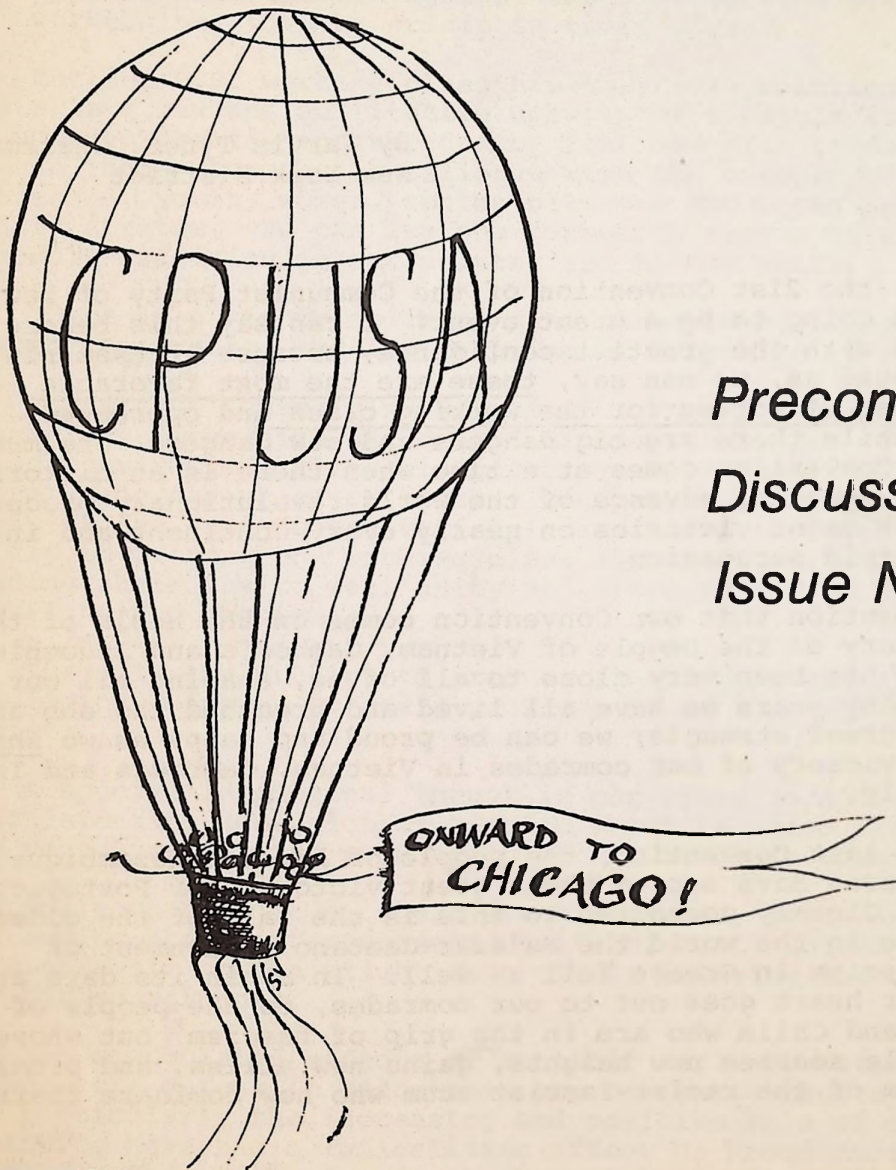
# PARTY AFFAIRS

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# Excerpts from Main Report to the New York District Convention

By Jarvis Tyner, Chairman  
New York District

## Introduction

Comrades, the 21st Convention of the Communist Party of New York State is going to be a great event! I can say this before the fact, and with the greatest confidence, because in examining the world around us, we can say, these are the most favorable times for great victories for the working class and oppressed worldwide. While there are big dangers and new dangers, one must see that our Convention comes at a time when there is an historic surge forward-sweeping advance of the world revolutionary process, bringing about major victories on nearly every continent and in unprecedented rapid succession.

We must mention that our Convention comes on the heels of the historic victory of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Indochina. This struggle has been very close to all of us, shaping all our lives. For many years we have all lived and breathed the ebb and flow of this great struggle; we can be proud and happy as we share in the great victory of our comrades in Vietnam, Cambodia and Indochina generally.

Since our last Convention, the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have scored their great victory over Portuguese colonialism. Closely connected to this is the fall of the oldest fascist regime in the world, the Salazar-Caetano government of Portugal. Fascism in Greece fell as well. In Spain its days are numbered. Our heart goes out to our comrades, to the people of South Africa and Chile who are in the grip of fascism but whose heroic struggle reaches new heights, gains new allies, and promises the final doom of the racist-fascist scum who now dominate their lands.

Comrades, these are truly revolutionary times we live in. These are times when fascism and colonialism and neo-colonialism are on the decline and when national liberation and socialism are the rising stars of our planet.

Our Convention comes at a time when there is a collapse in the old "cold war" containment strategy of imperialism and when detente, peace and peaceful coexistence enjoy the support of a majority of

humanity. A majority of humanity is now for independence of Puerto Rico.

We gather when U.S. capitalism-imperialism is facing its most severe continual world and domestic crisis and is seeking a way out.

For U.S. monopoly capital, their "solution" has been to launch an unprecedented assault against the U.S. working class. To make the workers pay for the crisis is their answer.

But the U.S. working class has their own solution. In response, there is a new and qualitative upsurge of struggle in our country-- an upsurge greatly spearheaded by rank and file trade unionists-- of the labor movement in alliance with the unemployed, the racially oppressed, youth, women, senior citizens and broad sections of the middle stratum. We can see the formative stages of a broad anti-monopoly coalition in our country and in our state.

There is a mighty storm of mass struggle building up in our country, comrades, and its full impact is yet to be felt.

As part of monopoly's "solution" there is a dangerous growth of racism, repression and anti-Semitism. Attempts are made to divide the working class along racial and ethnic lines, along lines of sex, age and place of birth. Racism and anti-communism (particularly of the anti-Soviet variety) are more diligently being spread to try to prevent the working class and progressive forces from finding their way to real unity and struggle and to push them to the right and fascism.

There is the attempt to prevent the working class from seeing the living solution to their problems in a crisis-free socialist society.

A special ideological thrust in our state is the spread of the self-defeating confusion of Zionism which is being used to push the very large Jewish population of our state to the right.

While this is true, these are times when, every day, masses are seeing their interconnected self-interest--indeed class interest--their common plight objectively bringing them together into unified struggle.

The accumulated effects of economic decline, Watergate-type crises, the defeat in Indochina, the new achievements of socialism and particularly the increasing and positive role of the USSR worldwide have had a radicalizing effect on broad masses in our country. Comparatively advanced, anti-monopoly sentiments are being expressed by broad masses. We have a national minority for peace and detente. There is a readiness on the part of millions to slash the military budget, nationalize utilities and cut into the profits of the monopolies. Political independence from the Democrats and Republicans has emerged as a major decisive force in the electoral arena. This is a time when racism and anti-communism

can suffer a major setback.

The working class of our state is in motion and is playing a leading role on the economic front. Its influence gives power and stability to the mass movements that are unfolding. If there were any doubts in our ranks before about the leading role of the working class, recent events have made the point loud and clear; the working class is decisive.

Our 21st Convention happens at a healthy time in our Party's history. Our Party is in motion. We are on many fronts, leading various movements for economic, political and social justice. We are in close step with the masses; we influence many. Thousands in our state are looking towards our Party for leadership, for answers to this present crisis. We can give that leadership, and we have many of the answers, comrades. If we work properly, we can bring about a mass breakthrough for the Party and the YWLL. We can emerge as the leading force in building a movement beyond the 30's and with a quality way beyond our expectations during the 60's. This is possible!

The work of our 21st Convention must be taken most seriously. We cannot be afraid to look at our weaknesses. In fact, we have a good atmosphere in our Party to eliminate our weaknesses. There is an exceptionally healthy unity in our Party. There is a growing spirit of comradeship and confidence in our Party. The Party and the League are growing. There is a spirit of activism in our Party. There is a fresh atmosphere where all problems can be discussed in good faith and with the unity of, and the needs of, the Party and the working class taking precedence over narrow subjective considerations. There is a good relationship between the leadership and the membership in our district. I believe there is mutual respect.

This is the time to really try, honestly and critically, to deal with all problems that prevent our Party from breaking through.

This is an exceptional period for the world, our country and our Party. We've had important success since our last Convention; there's much to be proud of. But we can't be satisfied.

We must work to refine our Party line and policy, refine our understanding of the political moment, vastly refine our understanding of the leading role of the working class and complete the turn towards the working class in practice.

Our 21st Convention must mark a great leap in our application of the united front and our mass approach. It must help us to make a turn in the struggle against racism and in our electoral work, to vastly upgrade our mass use of the Daily World and our press, to upgrade ideological and propaganda work. At this convention we must clear the way towards rooting the Party in the shops and neighborhoods, upgrade democratic centralism, check-up and control, and smash bureaucratic and individualistic methods of work. This must be the Convention where we outlaw routinism

and all other appendages of past periods.

The time is ripe--our 21st Convention can and will be a breakthrough Convention.

### Peace and Anti-Imperialism

A breakthrough Convention means that we must bring forward our international tasks. The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and for anti-imperialist solidarity is of the highest priority for our Party.

We must never forget that we live in the metropolitan center of the world's leading imperialist power, U.S. imperialism. Our district must set the pace, especially because our state is the home base for most of the vast imperialist monopoly corporations that oppress and exploit millions throughout the world.

The struggle for peace in the Middle East, for the rights of the people of Palestine, presents big responsibilities for us. The struggle for independence for Puerto Rico is again a special priority. As you know, comrades, the fight against the fascist junta in Chile, to save the life of Comrade Corvalan and other political prisoners, to isolate the fascist junta, is an important task also. As well, the struggle to isolate apartheid in South Africa, to expel these fascists from the U.N., is at hand. The struggle in Indochina is really not concluded either.

Presently we have a responsibility to win others to build a mass movement for aid and friendship with the people of Vietnam and Cambodia. We have to fight to force U.S. imperialism to pay reparations to the people of Indochina. Solidarity with Cuba is a special task, too.

The new movement to slash the military budget is of key importance to us, and it has vast implications for the world and domestic struggles.

Anti-imperialist solidarity also means that we must raise, in a mass way, the fight for detente. The struggle to make detente irreversible is a basic framework of the anti-imperialist struggle.

As Comrade Hall placed it,

"Each moment in history has its point of focus, its decisive forces, its course of development. The essence of this moment, the balance of its forces, its direction, its currents and trends are all encompassed in the phrase 'the struggle for detente.'

The dynamics of detente express the processes, the historic shift in the balance of power at a time when the old system and

its ruling class have lost their place of dominance to a new force representing a new social system and a new class that increasingly determines the course of human events. Detente expresses a qualitative change in international class relations." (Big Stakes in Detente, p. 2, August 1974, New Outlook Publishers.)

Though there are some noticeable exceptions, namely the New World Review affairs, I think that we (leadership and membership) have not put a real effort into rooting the struggle for detente among the masses of people in our state. It's particularly important to root the struggle for detente among working people of our state. This is what will help make it irreversible.

Comrades, you know the question of detente isn't something that's just for our own analysis to be mentioned in speeches or bandied around at club meetings. It's not just something for our own edification to be consumed by Communists only. The struggle for detente must be made concrete!

The struggle for detente is a question in the interest of the masses of people in our state. And those masses can be won to this struggle.

The struggle for detente not only creates a better atmosphere for the advance of socialism and national liberation elsewhere, it creates a better atmosphere for our struggle here to go forward. For example, normalized relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union create normal attitudes towards the Soviet Union. It takes away the sharp edge of anti-communism here. It makes people look towards the people of the USSR in more human terms. Lenin wrote back in 1920, speaking at the 9th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, "...the imperialists used war to deceive the working masses; they used it to conceal the truth about Soviet Russia. Any peace, therefore, will open channels for our influence a hundred times wider...." (On the Foreign Policy of the Soviet State, p. 217, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.)

Under the atmosphere of the cold war, such channels were closed; with detente they are opening. Since the Soviet initiative for detente, there has been marked increase in U.S. tourism to the Soviet Union (90,000 per year). In the main, people come back greatly impressed, though all don't fully accept socialism. I've seen anti-communists come back neutralized. No longer are they sharply hostile, and they certainly wouldn't advocate war.

Lenin said, again in 1920, in his Letter to British Workers: "Despite the hostility of many of the delegates towards the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and although many of them are in the grip of bourgeois prejudice, their acquaintance with Soviet Russia will inevitably accelerate the collapse of capitalism throughout the world." (Collected Works, Vol.31,p.143.)

That's pretty strong! But it's clear that tourism takes away the mass fear of the Soviet Union generated for years by U.S. imperialism in our country and forces masses to look at socialism through more objective eyes.

Detente means jobs. When thousands of U.S. workers are employed because of Soviet contracts, it has a profound effect on their thinking. It lessens anti-communism.

The struggle for detente can end the arms race and release billions for the needs of the people here. It lays the total basis for millions to demand that we slash the military budget.

At a time when it's clear that the military budget must be cut to meet the needs of the people (masses are already saying this), the fact that the socialist countries are pursuing a policy of detente can accelerate this development. And, in effect, it can accelerate anti-imperialist consciousness.

We already saw it happen in relation to Vietnam. At the time when the liberation forces were moving towards final victory, some Congressional leaders said (reflecting mass sentiment) there was no danger to the U.S. in this situation (countering the domino theory) because the "Communist countries want detente."

Look at the recent Harris poll; only 39% were for military intervention to "save" western Europe; only 34% on Berlin and a tiny 17% for Taiwan and South Korea.

Such advanced attitudes could not be possible without the Soviet initiative for detente. The struggle for detente has helped to create and solidify a majority in the U.S. to a position that's in essence anti-imperialist. Many have made the leap from being war weary to being anti-war and anti-imperialist.

So, comrades, the struggle for detente can bring many, many dividends to our Party and the working class movement here. We must strongly resist any tendency to de-emphasize this question. The more we raise and, most importantly, act on the question of making detente irreversible, the more we win masses here from anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and to anti-imperialism.

Now is the time to accelerate the work for U.S.-Soviet, U.S.-Korea, U.S.-G.D.R., U.S.-Indochina friendship. These movements have mass potential; they are vital to the fight against nuclear war and can again bring many dividends to our movement. We must see this.

We must resist the "left" pressures coming from some in the peace movement and from Maoist and Trotskyite-petty-bourgeois radical sources who see the struggle for detente in contradiction to national liberation and socialism.

First of all, one would have to be less than a revolutionary if one does not understand that all the laws of science and nature

indicate that nothing can stop the historic thrust towards national liberation and socialism.

But we must say that, when one fails to see the new shift in the relationship of forces in the world, a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism world-wide, then one cannot see the historic significance of detente. Then one over-estimates imperialism and denigrates the position of power of socialism and national liberation.

This so-called "left" position is really very much to the right!

The Soviet Union saw no contradiction between detente and national liberation; while giving massive unselfish aid to national liberation movements, it pursued detente. In fact, detente helped to prevent U.S. imperialist intervention in Portugal, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and its intervention into Vietnam and Cambodia. While Fidel Castro was meeting with McGovern and calling for normalization of Cuban-U.S. relations, Cuba was sending aid to newly-liberated South Vietnam.

Presently 13% of the arable land in Puerto Rico is occupied by U.S. military bases; U.S. imperialism has nuclear weapons in Puerto Rico. The struggle for detente means dismantling U.S. military bases in Puerto Rico; it means making the Caribbean a nuclear-clear zone!

Can we not call this anti-imperialism? It's anti-imperialism to the highest degree.

The World Peace Council is sponsoring an International Conference in Solidarity with Independence of Puerto Rico in Havana later this year. Detente is one of the central themes that will emerge from this meeting.

Detente makes it possible to further isolate the fascist junta in Chile and the South African fascists.

Detente has been very instrumental in forcing the U.S. to pressure Israeli annexationists into negotiations in Geneva.

We must see that it is precisely in the period of the struggle for detente that the greatest victories have been scored for national liberation! And this stage of struggle has only begun.

Much of the "left" resistance to detente is based on anti-Sovietism, the same thing that the ultra-right bases its opposition on.

We must say to the leftists: If one is anti-Soviet one cannot see the new relationship of forces in the world today. If one cannot see this new stage, then one fails to see the significance of the struggle for detente. One is out of step with the current world-wide anti-imperialist movement. One cannot be anti-imperialist and



anti-Soviet at the same time.

In fact, "left" anti-Sovietism taken to its logical extreme can lead one down the path of open alliance with imperialism as in the case of Maoism. I will say more on this later.

There are right pressures on our Party on this question as well. The combined pressure of deeply anti-Soviet New York media, from "liberal" to ultra-right, allied closely with fascist-like William and James Buckley, J.D.L., and Zionist and social democratic forces, creates an anti-Soviet atmosphere in our state aimed at keeping the cold war alive.

There is a special anti-Soviet attack aimed at the Jewish masses in our state. Zionism plays a special role here.

The total impact of these right and "left" pressures has created some defensiveness on our part. We resist the necessary bold and mass projection of the struggle for detente.

We must make a bold turn on this question. We must see that the majority of the working people of our state are for detente and we must find the mass forms to express this sentiment through actions.

There has been some very good work done around the movement in solidarity with Chile. This is a movement where many of our younger comrades have made an excellent contribution. As yet, however, we have not found the means of reaching broad sections of trade unionists and Black and Puerto Rican masses.

This applies also to the work being done around the Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation. Though there is a growing base around its activities, we have not found the paths to winning especially Black trade unionists to this struggle.

The movement around solidarity with Cuba has important breadth among professional and middle class strata but still is not deeply rooted among the working class and trade union masses. July 26th will see a big celebration in New York City this year. Felt Forum has been acquired for a large evening affair. We must work to make a turn in this work, to win masses (working class masses) to see their self interest in this effort and to wholeheartedly participate.

In the movement for solidarity with Puerto Rican independence, again we must broaden our approach. The trade unions of our state are decisive. We must find the means to initiate new broader forms to embrace broader masses in our state and end a situation where we tail others in this struggle. The meeting in Havana offers an opportunity to do this.

In all of this work we have lacked a broad and consistent mass approach. Too often these movements are seen as forms to reach only those who are "anti-imperialist." Some of the left forces involved in these movements place artificial obstacles in the way of

working class and trade union participation. There are many in our state who can be won to struggle around these questions, but we don't try to reach them, to fully involve them. This leads to a view that only sees mobilizing the Party. Indeed the Party must be mobilized, and certainly to a much greater extent, but we must find the way to bring a real united front movement into being, a movement that embraces broad masses--youth, students, working class masses. This will solve the constant cadre problems we confront and give sufficient power to win major reverses in U.S. foreign policies.

The new world situation means new and broader initiatives; it means developing tactics that are in line with the new and more favorable conditions in the world. It elevates the possibilities for victories. It means that we can be more aggressive, that we can take a more offensive posture on many new and old questions.

It means real breakthroughs for us.

We live in the era of moribund capitalism vs. rapidly developing socialism. There is a dialectical process going on world wide, the decline of imperialism and the advance of socialism.

Imperialism knows full well that it can't act in the same old way, that it must pursue policies that are more in line with world realities. But have no illusions, imperialism isn't going to give up spontaneously. In its retreat it becomes even more sinister, even more desperate. Look what they did in Cambodia around the Mayaguez incident. It was a highly provocative act of aggression.

Presently U.S. imperialism is the main backer of the Israeli annexationists. The Middle East situation is highly dangerous, and war could break out any day.

U.S. imperialism is the main backer of fascism through the world--in Chile, South Africa, in Spain, etc.

The CIA is working overtime to reverse the present dominant trend toward socialism and national liberation. In Mozambique and Angola, they're trying to split the forces for liberation. In Portugal their aim is to undermine and split the 60% majority of the Socialists and Communists.

We have the largest military budget in our history. The ruling class is clearly split on detente. It wants to ride, as Comrade Hall says, "two horses, going in opposite directions, at the same time."

The Wallaces, Jacksons, Meanys and Buckleys are every day trying to revitalize the cold war. They push military aggression, anti-communism and particularly anti-Sovietism. In our state there is a particularly virulent form of anti-Sovietism; it centers around the Middle East and the question of Soviet Jewry. The fascist, hoodlum "Jewish Defense League" plays a special role of terrorizing those who do not support the Israeli Zionist policy of annexation, with much of their terror aimed at Jewish masses in the communities.

The Zionists are attempting to move the Jewish masses of our state to the right, toward Buckley and the Conservative Party. They try to distort the legitimate democratic national aspirations of Jewish masses. Zionism is bourgeois nationalism.

The greater its influence among Jewish masses, the more difficult it is to move the working class of our state overall. The Jewish population of our state is the largest national group and has a major impact on the voting patterns of our state. The necessity of stepping up our work to counter this trend in a mass way is clear. I'll speak more on this later.

U.S. imperialism is forced to embrace detente but at the same time fears detente and tries to counter its healthy effects on broad masses.

There is a step-up in the ideological assault against socialism. Anti-Sovietism is the main form of anti-communism today. The role of Maoism is key here. Maoists have joined with the most reactionary, even fascist elements world-wide in their rabid anti-Sovietism.

In our ranks there is a certain liberalism toward Maoism. It is expressed in a no-struggle approach to the question. In the main report and the organizational report we want to hit hard on this question.

These are the main ideas: With Maoism you aren't dealing with a revision of Marxism-Leninism; you're dealing with a total abandonment of Marxism-Leninism; the replacement of scientific principles for dogmas: principles replaced by provocation; proletarian internationalism replaced by bourgeois nationalism; anti-imperialism replaced by open alliance with imperialism and fascism.

In the struggle to end U.S.-backed military alliances such as NATO, etc., Maoists are the most vocal advocates of the continued existence of NATO and the arms race.

The Maoist leadership of the Peoples Republic of China now says, "the greatest danger to Western Europe is the U.S.S.R." They ran to embrace the fascist junta in Chile. They refused to recognize Guinea-Bissau.

When the British workers are opposed to the Common Market, the Peoples Republic of China calls for Britain joining the Common Market and is now considering its own membership in the Common Market.

On the 30th anniversary of the defeat of fascism, Maoists took that opportunity to slander the Soviet people by saying that Comrade Brezhnev is "worse than Hitler." They have joined with CIA-backed propaganda organs in their anti-Soviet frenzy, such as Radio Free Europe and the London Institute for the Study of Conflict, another CIA outfit.

In 1969, John Marks, now deceased Chairman of South African

Communist Party, stated, "We find the Maoists subsidizing and actually preserving from complete collapse a group of right-wing renegades from our struggle whom documentary evidence now proves to have been started at the insistence and with the full support of the CIA."

They don't consider themselves a part of the socialist community any longer and find their greatest supporters among the most extreme reactionary circles of imperialism.

Each year 70,000 tons of Rhodesian chrome is sold to the Peoples Republic of China. Warm relations exist between the Peoples Republic of China and South Africa and with reactionary anti-communist circles around the world.

For us, we must wage a relentless struggle against the Maoist leadership of the Peoples Republic of China and the Maoists here in the U.S. Maoism does great harm to our struggle here. There is a major effort now being made to build a new Maoist party here. In our state we have several varieties of Maoist groupings, all of which spread the most virulent anti-Sovietism and slander against our Party.

An all-out ideological campaign is necessary against Maoism here which reflects the most rabid petty-bourgeois ideology and Trotskyite ideology. The Trotskyite hatred of socialism is like that of the Maoists. They try to present a more palatable form of anti-Sovietism. They must also be countered.

The N.C.L.C. group launches one agitational campaign after another, all based around "the end is near" themes. Every week there's a new disaster coming. Last week it was a coup by the banks; this week it's nuclear war. Their main role is to discredit the left and our Party, to make the left and "communists" look like idiots, to systematically turn people off to left approaches, etc. This is an agent group; we should have nothing to do with them and totally isolate them until their backers find them no longer useful.

### State of the State

In examining the situation in our state, the ingredients for breakthrough are definitely there.

Comrades, as we know, New York State is the home state for the most powerful monopolies in the world. The biggest banks and multinational corporations have their financial base here in New York State. As we know, this is the home state of Nelson Rockefeller, of Wall Street.

The big real estate banking and industrial monopolies that are based here have always had a stranglehold on the working class and the oppressed people of our state.

In every area of life, New York has always had one of the highest costs of living in the nation. Utilities are higher, food costs

more, as well as rents, medical care, transportation, education, interest rates, mortgages and taxes. No matter where you look, from the cradle to the grave, New Yorkers are paying more than most of the country. Contrary to the general belief, the rate of exploitation in New York State is among the highest in the country. The latest figures of the U.S. Census of Manufacturers shows for every dollar that New York workers earn, they produce \$3.75 in value. The national average is \$3.36. A lot of monopolies have gotten very rich from the sweat and hard labor of the working class of our state.

Comrades, as we know, the worst economic crisis since the 1930's has hit our state with a special impact.

We are in the midst of a depression. The state of our state is depression! Those same monopolies have been responsible for the depression, comrades. It's been the government policy to protect and extend their rate of profits, their rate of exploitation in our state, nationally and abroad. That has driven us into this present economic depression. It's these same policies inherent in capitalism that have exploded the rate of inflation beyond the national average in New York State.

According to the New York State Department of Labor, the state unemployment rate is 10.2%. Even with this conservative figure, there are nearly 800,000 unemployed in our state. New York City has an unemployment rate of 11.5%. But in Buffalo, the industrial center of our state, there is a 14.7% official unemployment rate. One-half of the unemployed in our state are youth. (That's nearly 500,000 unemployed youth.) And this will worsen when school lets out. The Black and Puerto people, and especially youth, are facing a 20-40% rate state-wide. In some ghettos and barrios the rate is well over 60%.

What is new about this crisis is that the so-called jobs in the state and municipal services are now among the hardest hit. Over the last period we have witnessed one atrocity after another. Mayor Beame wants to lay off as much as 52,000 city employees. Carey wants to lay off 900 state employees. Every municipality in our state has laid off or is threatening layoff.

There is a crisis in state and municipal services, in public education, public transportation. They're closing down schools and hospitals when the peoples' needs are most desperate. They are trying to force thousands in our state over the edge to economic ruin.

Senior citizens, those on fixed incomes, are especially hard hit. They can't afford even a marginal existence. They have been forced to desperate lengths, to the minimal diets, to pet food in some cases. For those trapped in the concentration camps called nursing homes, life is a hellish down-hill wait for the end.

Comrades, the combined effects of depression and inflation on human life can't fully be calculated. But one can see vast

social and cultural decay - youth lacking educational and job opportunities and driven to drugs, petty crime, into the dead end of the military. We're facing a younger generation forced against a wall to desperation and despair for most of their lives. Young working-class families can't stay together under these severe conditions. Middle-class families have lost the security they thought they had. Black, Puerto Rican and Native American people in our state are the last hired and they become the first laid off. Women workers are harder hit; being recently hired, they are also being laid off fast. For millions of working-class unemployed people in our state, life has become disjointed; the future is in doubt.

Comrades, when we say that we have reached a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism, we can see it, every day, living in our state.

The question people ask is: "Who's responsible?" There's an all-out campaign to place the blame for this crisis on the working people, "They're too affluent", they say. "There are too many people in our cities - especially Black and Puerto Rican people on welfare, etc." "It's the foreign-born who are taking jobs away." "There's poor management in the cities;" "It's the Arab oil boycott and the high price of oil." Some are still saying, "People don't want to work." Such lies! Such racism!

Let's just take one question in New York City and you can see who's responsible. The interest on municipal bonds that's paid to the big N.Y. banks annually by itself is enough to solve the deficit problem.

Let's talk about an equitable tax system. That would solve it. Let's talk about the \$100 billion military budget. Last year the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn alone sent \$25 billion to the Federal Government. New York State should refuse to send its share of tax money that's to be used for the military budget.

Ford, Carey, Beame, Makoski (Buffalo), our misleaders, are charting a course in the name of solving the problem that puts the blame and the burden of depression on the backs of the working class and oppressed. They say, "We must tighten our belts," while they fatten the belly of monopoly.

Comrades, not only aren't the monopolies of our state hurting - they're trying to get rich from the crisis. They see the crisis as an opportunity to make greater profits. The banks are charging higher interest rates especially to the bankrupted municipalities. Last July, the Bank of America and Bankers Trust made a phenomenal 8.286% interest on a short-term \$800 million loan to the City. Last December and January the city made two \$600 million loans from a group of banks led by Chase Manhattan and First National City, at interest rates of over 9%. In round figures, that would be approximately \$16-17 million in profit made over the last 9 months from the City's hardships. This is what I meant by stranglehold. The utilities which don't even try to hide their recent jumps in profits are boldly asking for higher rates. The monopolies are using the massive lay-offs to automate their production. The overall

monopoly thrust is to break the back of the labor movement state-wide. 25% of the working class of our state is organized (this is above the national average). The aim is to crush the labor movement and take away hard-won gains.

Comrades, it's clear that monopoly is at fault. They're responsible for this crisis, and we say loud and clear to Beame and Carey, "Get off the backs of the working class, make monopoly pay for this crisis!"

The ruling class of our state is doing everything to make the people draw the wrong conclusions about this crisis. There is a dangerous rise in racism and chauvinism. They attempt to blame the foreign-born, Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, women and youth for the state of things. They want to place the blame on the victims of the crisis.

Racism and anti-Communism are the bread and butter of the monopolies, the way they cover their massive assault on the working class and the oppressed and the way they disunite, confuse, undermine the fight-back. They offer the alternative of fascism to the masses who are seeking answers. This is monopoly's way out. This is their "solution."

But fortunately, the people of our state, with labor's initiative, have their own solution to the crisis. Throughout our state we are in the midst of an historic upsurge, an upsurge of mass struggle that is aimed at monopoly, at the banks, at Washington and its military budget. The trade union movement is right up front. This is unprecedented. During the 1930's the trade union movement came into the struggle later. Today even company unions are on the move. I think that the working class of our state is answering monopoly's attack. It's not going to sit back and be ruined; it's not going to take this attack lying down; it's going to fight.

Trade Unions: That fight can mean many important things. It can mean a realignment of forces in the trade union movement. It can re-establish class struggle trade unionism in our state and can score some major victories against monopoly.

Comrades, we can say that it is the work of our Party that has done much to bring about the new upsurge of organized labor state-wide. But we should ask: What should our Party be doing to move this struggle to the highest level?

First of all, I think we were surprised when sections of organized labor responded to November 16th. We were surprised when 20,000 workers from the Civil Service Employees Association rallied in Albany. We were surprised when tens of thousands of New York trade unionists came to Washington on April 26th. What I'm trying to say, comrades, is that we have been underestimating the power of rank-and-file workers in our state. We have underestimated the ability of some trade union leaders to move, to move even in defiance of Meany. But we should not have been surprised at these developments, if we had the correct understanding of our Party's policies.

Comrades, I think that a main feature of this 21st Convention must be that we make the full turn towards the working class, that we firmly establish the policy of industrial concentration in the practice of our Party, that we smash routinism in our trade union work, with a special emphasis on the workers in basic industry.

Without the steel and auto workers in our state we cannot beat back monopoly where it really hurts. Therefore, comrades, the industrial workers must be brought forward to play their leading role.

To make this turn means to fight for every club to have a policy of industrial concentration. We will make only a limited impact if this question is left up to shop comrades only. Community clubs must: 1) seek out the workers in their communities, and 2) work out a system of Daily World distribution at shops in their communities. We must regularize the exchange system among industrial comrades.

We must build the rank and file movement in every union. Without it no labor leader can be trusted to stay on the correct path.

We have made some important advances in auto and steel, both here and upstate. Comrade Bill Scott is an elected union official. He also ran as an open Communist in his local's last election for President. We lead many rank and file movements and have established shop papers (even Party shop papers) in many industries. We are close to a club now in transit in New York. The main effort now must be to build shop clubs; every club must aid in this task.

With the new role of labor on the unemployment and inflation front, new possibilities arise to create a new relationship of forces in the labor movement of our state. We must develop a serious plan to dramatically move the central labor bodies of our state to play the leadership role that they can play. We must figure out how the rank and file center can break out and become a factor among workers in the shops.

Labor leaders like Gottbaum have emerged as a new leadership on the New York and national labor scenes. The Shankers are being pushed into the background and, as the situation unfolds, this will become more the case. But now, shouldn't we be mastering the center-left coalition tactic under these new conditions? I think this can take us a long way.

#### Movement against unemployment and inflation:

The development of the movement around unemployment and inflation has been one of the greatest achievements in our Party's history. Excellent work is being done; many clubs have become activated around this question. Much progress has been made in giving this movement a grass-roots character. In the recent period we have built coalitions in Buffalo, Westchester, Brooklyn's Park Slope and Crown Heights, Chelsea, Upper West Side, Washington Heights and Queens. We also have one of our most successful coalitions in the Albany-Schenectady area. Many mass organizations and trade unions



have affiliated to the coalition, giving it a tremendously broad base. Local coalitions are beginning to become rooted among workers, among the unemployed. They are resisting the middle-class-based right pressures to place inflation first. Unemployment has emerged as the first priority in their work. Presently, the task is to continue to broaden the coalition, to deepen its roots in neighborhoods. As yet we don't have a real base in the Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian communities. Are the ghettos and barrios of our state ready for a coalition form? There's no question. Outside of the very important initiative of the YWLL and the Youth United for Jobs, we cannot say that we've seriously made an effort to build this movement among Black and Puerto Rican masses. We must examine why. You know, over half of the participants in April 26th were Black, Puerto Rican and other Latinos. The hang-up is with us, comrades, not the community.

We must take the legislative thrust seriously also. We now have a very advanced bill in the state legislature, the Ferris Bill on unemployment compensation. We must launch a mass campaign to pass this bill. This means mobilization at unemployment centers, posters, petitions, demonstrations in Albany, etc. Also, the Hawkins Bill needs to be brought to the communities and shops. Such bills can give real concreteness to our work, can create a campaigning spirit.

There are many lessons in the work around the fights against unemployment and inflation. We must study them and draw conclusions. I think this work proves that the Party isn't isolated, that we can take initiatives - and move broad masses, including the labor movement. It proves the correctness of the united front approach.

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# Excerpts from Report on Organization to the New York District Convention

By Ken Newcomb, Org. Sec'y.  
New York District

The struggles waged by the working people of New York are intensifying with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. This new stage in the decay and demise of capitalism is characterized not only by the erupting internal and external contradictions of rotting capitalism, but by a new stage, a new level of struggle on the economic questions and a new level of anti-imperialist sentiment. Comrade Tyner has defined this new stage and the decisive role of the working class in this moment. This new situation, ripe with potential for the working class to make new advances, presents exciting challenges to our Party. The moment is unique! It is a moment waiting for our initiative. It is a moment with an unprecedented furious anger among people, requiring our leadership, requiring our vanguard role as the revolutionary Party of the proletariat.

At such historic moments the revolutionary Party is called upon to transform itself in order to be able to respond to the new situation. Lenin asserts in What Is To Be Done? that "the broader the popular mass drawn spontaneously into the struggles, which forms the basis of the movement and participates in it, the more urgent (is) the need for (a revolutionary Party.)"

We see a very broad spontaneous upsurge and revolt against the crisis. The need for our Party is correspondingly great. The need for our Party to play its role as initiator, organizer and mobilizer of the mass struggle is urgent. The Party is not one organization among many. It is the organization that can propel all struggle forward. It is the organization essential to the shops, essential to the communities, essential to the working people of this state and of this nation.

In 1905, Lenin called upon the Party to meet the challenge of the new possibilities for legal struggle. We need to adopt the spirit and direction of his call. He wrote, "Forward and organize more and more squads, send them into battle, recruit more young workers, extend the normal framework of all Party organizations, from committees to factory groups, craft unions and student circles! Remember that every moment of delay in this task will play into the hands of the enemies of Social Democracy: for the new

streams are seeking an immediate outlet and if they do not find a Social Democratic channel, they will rush into a non-Social Democratic channel."

The moment before us is similar; a lack of boldness or a lack of initiative on our part only feeds into the hands of the misdirectors. If we don't boldly present both the immediate answers and the long range answers then the enemies of socialism will.

These enemies might be the right social-democrats with their vicious anti-communism or they might be the left deviates--the Maoists and Trotskyites with their own anti-communism and misleadership.

At such moments of boiling anger and bubbling turmoil, the Party has the cardinal responsibility to wage an unprecedented fight to strengthen the Party, to build the Party's ties with the masses, to fulfill its vanguard responsibility in projecting winning tactics and ultimate victory.

We must see clearly that the key to opening the floodgates of anti-monopoly struggle is the question of building the Party. Building the Party is key to developing and winning these concepts.

We can now say that the Extraordinary Party Conference held last June marked a turning point for our Party. We must ask ourselves how has the Party responded to the challenges and tasks presented there? How successful have we been in turning the face of the entire Party to the shops? How have we developed our clubs as centers of mass action? Have we made a turn in building the Party? In building the League? Have we strengthened our ties with the working class? Are we filling the leadership vacuum? Gus Hall challenged us at the meeting. He said that what happened after the conference would determine whether or not it was truly extraordinary.

What did happen? Despite the fact that the Conference had a very serious omission in terms of not projecting our Party's own election campaign, we managed to form a slate of very fine representatives of our Party on the ballot, and the real working class issues were thrust into the electoral arena. Even with the weaknesses of the campaign, considering all of the circumstances, it marked a successful effort by the Party.

Our initiative with an extremely broad coalition of labor, church, community and political leaders organized the November 16th rally of 5,000 people at Bryant Park. This helped to become the base for the New York Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment.

Our Party was the leading force in this Coalition whose work resulted in the historic April 26th demonstration in Washington, called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. It was the initiative of the Party through this coalition that made this action happen. We were instrumental in helping to guarantee the 600 buses taken to Washington by the N.Y.-N.J. Labor Coalition.

And we were the key force in filling the 37 buses that the New York C.F.I.U. took to Washington and the 8 buses from Buffalo of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.

We distributed 10,000 Daily Worlds to the buses and trains going to Washington and were the backbone of the force that distributed another 30,000 copies of the Daily World in Washington, plus 20,000 Young Workers and other publications.

Just 5 days after the April 26th action, and despite horribly rainy weather, we had a tremendous May Day rally of over 1,000 people, including the first march in 6 years, with 150 people participating in the march from the garment center. There was also a social affair after May Day. May Day was a success financially as well as politically.

In working to key all of our work to the fightback against the economic crisis our work in the labor movement has taken an important positive step forward. Our work in building the rank and file has been greatly strengthened. Our influence in the rank and file movement has grown significantly in auto and among public workers, including hospital. The Party is more and more a positive force in building the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

We have established a very fine labor commission and of course are now armed with a new dynamic labor secretary, Judy Gallo. Our plan of work for industrial concentration is beginning to be implemented. Daily World distribution at shops has grown by 1,500 copies weekly since the Extraordinary Party Conference and now totals over 5,500 copies weekly at shop gates.

We are now publishing a Party shop paper in print, which joins our shop papers in maritime, auto and steel.

Our work in the peace and anti-imperialist movement has continued to improve. The Party will celebrate the victory in Vietnam at our rally tomorrow. The Party in New York can be very proud of its long history of leadership in the fight for peace in Vietnam. The Party was responsible for the recent action at the UN demanding no interference in Vietnam, coupled with the demand for peace in the Mideast.

We have helped to form a New York chapter of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation and, while our work still leaves much to be desired, we do have a start. We continue to be a positive factor in the movement for solidarity with Chile and in general have developed greater collectivity around this area of work. We are an important, leading factor in the movement for Puerto Rican independence and for solidarity with Cuba.

Harlem concentration has been advanced in several respects. We were able to save the DuBois Center after nearly losing it. Kevin Mercadel, as our Black Liberation Secretary, has made a sin-

gular contribution to the reorganizing and strengthening of the Party in Harlem. We have organized an additional club and are looking towards still another. Classes, forums and mass activity are beginning to resume at the Center. Harlem concentration is starting to be seen as the policy of the entire Party. I know we all greet with enthusiasm the proposal that Antar Mberi come in as the new director of the DuBois Center.

Our commitment to build a New York City chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression has become a reality. Women for Racial and Economic Equality is now a positive fact of life in the women's movement and played a decisive role along with our forces in CLUW in building the coalition that sponsored the historic March 8th demonstration this year.

The Young Workers Liberation League in New York has continued to grow in size and influence. They have increased their membership by 25% since their recent convention. They have made big advances in developing their mass youth rights campaign and particularly the Youth United for Jobs form. The League is clearly the organization for youth on the left.

Last December we organized the largest Daily World meeting in 25 years where nearly 3,000 people celebrated the 50th Anniversary of the Press at the Statler Hilton. One month later 1,000 people gathered to pay tribute to Comrade James Jackson.

Just three weeks ago Alva Buxenbaum was elected to the District 17 school board. Alva is widely known as a Communist in the district and her election marks an extremely important victory for the Party. Comrade Amadeo Richardson has just won re-election to the community board in Chelsea.

By just listing some of the major achievements since the Extraordinary Party Conference we see that our Party has made an important advance in developing its vanguard role. Our Party is more involved in struggle than ever before. And most importantly, the life of our clubs is beginning to reflect this new situation. Recruiting is beginning to reflect this involvement. We can say it was an extraordinary conference.

I submit these are signs of a healthy Party, a Party that is on its way to becoming a mass Party. There is a new optimism and confidence in our Party that we can build on and expand. We all have grounds for much optimism and confidence.

In this framework we should look at some of our problems and weaknesses. Our work is improving, but there is still much to be done if we are to match our responsibilities.

What accounts for the organizational looseness that exists in our Party? Isn't this a hangover from the Browder and Gates periods? Isn't this the remnants of liquidationism? We tend to underestimate the importance of planning and thus don't have a

real system of checkup and control. This accounts for some inconsistency in our work. Some comrades act as if they were being scolded when you check up on them. Some of us cover up weaknesses when we are checked up on. Some of us react very defensively to checkup. Isn't that an individualistic reaction? We also have a tendency toward a reliance on spontaneity. In building for November 16th we tended to rely on spontaneous response to leaflets rather than our organizing people to actually get to the demonstration. Our experience in organizing for the buses for Washington on April 26th generally shows that if we had planned further ahead with a higher (more correct) estimate of what was possible, we could have taken many more people.

Lack of planning and reliance on spontaneity really reflects a lack of confidence in the working class. Right and left opportunism come together here. Both errors sidestep taking the necessary action to lead the class--on one side you try to substitute for the class, and on the other you write off the class and the Party. If you don't have confidence that you can win white workers to an understanding of the necessity of Black-white unity, then you don't plan to achieve it. The fact that we have just developed such a plan of work on the struggle against racism is a mark of a serious revolutionary Party. The test now is our ability to implement this plan and to develop such plans in each of our clubs. We must sharply elevate the concept of planning for all our work.

This question of the working class and our approach to it is decisive to all of our work. One of the lessons of April 26th, made in the main report, is that the organized labor movement has the power like no other movement has. The labor movement can call a demonstration and doesn't have to rely on anything but organization. We must elevate this question of organization in the Party. Our organization and our style of work must be so that we are tied to masses, rooted in the masses, rooted in the shops, rooted in the rank and file movements.

Our policy of industrial concentration cannot have meaning unless this is our style of work. Industrial concentration is what we do at and in shops, but it is also how we organize industrial workers where they live. To be rooted among industrial workers and to move this decisive section of the class is our policy.

When this is the case we can heed Lenin's advice when he calls upon Communists to be among the people, to know their every concern, to know their mood, to know everything. It is in this way that we learn from the masses and are able to much more effectively mobilize and lead the masses.

Lack of confidence in the class reflects itself in a lack of collectivity in our clubs and leadership. We have tremendous involvement, tremendous activity, but too often more individualism than collectivity. This comes from an attitude that the individ-

ual knows better than the collective. It comes from an attitude that "my club is relatively isolated so what can they contribute to the mass movement?" This is anti-Party, anti-Leninist and denies the ideological aspect of vanguard. It guarantees that these clubs will never break their isolation. Attitudes that good mass workers can't improve their work through collective discussion denies the potential of the class. We then allow subjective factors to determine politics rather than objective factors. Lack of collectivity feeds routinism--fighting for collectivity is key to unlocking the handcuffs of routinism.

I know of one club where there exists an attitude that only the executive of the club can give real leadership and thus the full club only discusses implementation, never policy or mass work. We must have the fullest confidence in our clubs. Not to have confidence in the clubs is not to have confidence in the Party.

This leadership, this Convention, must help the clubs make a turn in expanding the collectivity in clubs--in expanding the collective guidance to mass work. This convention can unlock the handcuffs of routinism. Only collectively guided mass work can break us loose from routine methods and style of work. We need to share experiences of good examples where clubs are giving collective leadership to struggle.

#### On the Role of the Party

The Communist movement is an exceptionally inspiring movement. What other Party could work underground for 45 years as in Portugal and then emerge as the leading political force in the society? What is it that enables the Communist Party of South Africa to struggle in the most difficult conditions on many levels, armed struggle, trade unions, etc. How is it that the Communist Party of Chile is able to consolidate its organization underground and lead the resistance against the Junta? How is it that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is able to maintain its clear role as a beacon to the world revolutionary movement? How is it that our relatively small Party in the U.S. is able to withstand every attack of the ruling class and that we were the Party that freed Angela Davis? What gives the South Vietnamese Workers Party the ability to win in their heroic struggle?

The thing that all of these Parties have in common is that they are guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism and that they are Parties of the new type. They are Leninist Parties. This is the advantage that Communists have. This is what makes the revolutionary Party essential. This is the kind of Party that the working class must have.

The fact that we have been discussing a draft plan of work is a great advance for the collective work of our Party. The draft has a number of omissions which the discussion here is filling in. But the plan is meant to be an overall guide to all clubs, not a detailed plan of each club's work.

There should be more in our plan on how we are going to reach these various goals. There should be more on implementation. It needs to be more far reaching.

The plan needs an addendum that states our main objectives over a longer period of time. Our plan should state that in 4 years we expect to organize 30 new shop clubs and 30 new community clubs; that we expect to triple our membership; that we will increase our Daily World circulation to 6,000 subscribers and 10,000 bundles and newsstand readers; that we plan to reach an average pamphlet circulation of 5,000; that we see a League of 2,000 members; that we educate 5,000 students a year at our Marxist Education centers. We can see such a qualitative breakthrough in 4 years. Shouldn't we be planning on electing more and more Communists to follow Amadeo and Alva? Isn't it time for Communist City Council members? I believe these are achievable in a 4 year period.

### Building the Party

Party building (and press building) should be part of every point on every agenda. Party building should be the task of every Communist, of every club, of every organization of the Party. In 1905 and in the period of upsurge leading up to the October Revolution, Lenin placed the question of building the Party as the central task of the Party. Not to aggressively build the Party at a moment as we are now in is to hold back the mass movement and rob it of the content and direction it must have to advance.

The influence of our Party is growing rapidly and extends far beyond our membership. We have the task of closing the gap between those that are actually in the Party and those that are influenced by the Party. Both they and the Party will greatly benefit by their being in the Party.

We have to state self-critically that we have not made a turn in Party building since the Extraordinary Party Conference. We have not made a turn in building shop or neighborhood clubs. We are still very routine in Party building and tend to place false obstacles to building the Party. But there are many signs that we are on the verge of mass recruiting.

There are some clubs that are the exception. One is a new club that has recruited 10 new members in the past two years. How did they do it? There are two main factors. The club develops social contact along with political contact and secondly the club is deeply involved in mass action. Their club meetings reflect this involvement.

A second club made up primarily of retired workers also does a lot of recruiting. They also combine the social and political and have a high consciousness about Party and press building. They are the leaders of large mass movements and combine the building of press and literature with their mass activities. These re-



tired workers in Brighton raise \$8,000 or \$9,000 every year and not one of them has a big income. Shouldn't this Communist style of work be imitated by all?!

There are many ideological hang-ups that keep people out of the Party. But I believe that the biggest hang-up is within the Party. We don't aggressively deal with other people's hang-ups. We must have confidence in the class and in the Party of the working class if we are going to build. If we don't understand the necessity of building the Party, the masses we work with won't.

A healthy club life is essential to building and holding new people. Clubs must have both a good educational program and be collectively leading struggle. Those are the two key ingredients. Collective guidance of mass work insures that we bring the Party into the united front, that our style of work is to build the Party hand in hand with building the mass movement. Our united front work will bring more and more cadre to the Party but only if we work in such a way as to let at least some of the people we're working with know that we are Communists.

All of us at this convention must take a pledge to help our own clubs break the ice in recruiting. Once you start then the entire life of the club changes. We must help clubs bring in 2 or 3 members at one time.

A special point must be made about the need to elevate the struggle against racism and white chauvinism. We can only win more Black and Puerto Rican workers to our ranks if we are both conducting the mass struggle against racism and conducting the struggle against manifestations of this ruling class poison within our own ranks. We will not hold the new young Black and Puerto Rican cadre that are coming into our Party if we do not raise the struggle against chauvinism to a higher level. The ruling class has elevated its use of racism. We must elevate our struggle against racism.

As we build our clubs as centers of mass action we must master the concept of building the Party as we build the mass movement. This means we must put an end to the idea that we build the rank and file in one shop and distribute the Daily World at another, or that we build the tenants movement in one building and the Party in another. We must bring everything together. We must develop real shop clubs and real neighborhood clubs.

We have some tremendous mass tools to work with in our efforts to build the Party. The first of these tools is the Daily World. We have made a qualitative breakthrough in bringing the paper to workers at the shop gates. We must place before this convention the challenge of making a qualitative breakthrough in converting these readers from our distributions into subscribers. This is the path to recruiting. We have established routes in 22 communities. We must double that. We must rid ourselves of the handcuffs that relegate this activity to secondary importance.

This convention must rise to the challenge of making our literature a mass weapon in the ideological fight. We must start printing our own New York State popular pamphlets on New York issues and start a mass campaign for mass circulation. We should begin by distributing 3,000 copies of the Rodrigo Rojas pamphlet on his experiences in the jails of the Chilean junta. We should distribute 3,000 copies of Tony Monteiro's "Africa and the USA" with our efforts on the petition campaign to expel South Africa from the U.N. And shouldn't we be considering distributing material in the hundreds of thousands of copies?

Literature should be used as a mass organizing and as a mass recruiting tool. Special use and special plans for building Political Affairs must be made.

Comrades, the task before us is to build this Party, to build the movement that will bring monopoly to its knees.

Let this Convention be known as the Convention that marked the turning point in building a mass Communist Party in New York.

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## Work in the Building Trades

By M. Davis, New York, N. Y.

The building trades is the main base of the class collaborationist forces in the labor movement. It is the fount of all that is reactionary and blatantly corrupt. They have spawned the Meanys, Hutchinsons, Brennans, forces which control the various state, city and national executive boards of the AFL-CIO. They guard their powers jealously. Among political figures of the Republican and Democratic parties, there is a mutual blackmail practice going on. This tightens the class collaborating strings not only with the bosses but with the administration of state and national governments (witness the hard hats and ex-Secretary of Labor, Brennan).

It is no accident that time and time again we get scandals involving the building trades where rackets run rampant. The so-called labor leaders in the building trades hold their power by the fact that their locals are fragmented on craft bases, and the business agents are the link between the workers and the contractors.

You eat or starve at the whim of the business agent. Their collaboration with the bosses gives them additional power; in bad times a select few are fed and stay on the job.

To make a direct attack on the officialdom could mean physical attack on the grievous party, and sometimes one's life is the price of militancy against the bosses' agents in the union. This attack on individual officers is also a trap for misdirecting the struggle against the employers. This sort of a fight is easily combated by the officialdom because it is a fight on their grounds. The strategy for progressives and Communists in the trade unions is to select our ground which is based on an advanced program in the interest of the rank and file to make the union respond to the needs of the membership.

The contradictions of capitalism, the political and economic crisis accelerated by maniacal cold war and hot war policies of the ruling class has affected every worker whose purchasing power is becoming smaller and smaller while unemployment is becoming greater and greater.

Watergate has opened the eyes of the workers to such an extent that the credibility of politicians of the major parties is in question and, in reverse, the question of a party led by labor is becoming more and more an acceptable and practical proposal in the minds of labor. The fact that Meany had to criticize both major parties and state the AFL-CIO Committee of Political Education is acting as a "labor party" is his device to hold back and not accelerate a mass movement for a real labor Party which runs candidates and institutes legislation.

The International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) at its last convention went on record for independent labor political activities, for the formation of a labor party. This union speaks for over 300,000 members and their families and while one swallow doesn't make for spring, this union's action is more than a trial balloon.

Unemployment and labor's fight for jobs has shaken the foundations of our flaunted "free enterprise," a name to hide the dirty words "capitalism" and "imperialism." Complacent labor leaders are looking for a scapegoat to prove that unemployment is not their fault. Their ability to give out jobs like a feudal lord has disappeared, and they are grasping at straws. Some of them have swayed from the Meany ranks and are moving towards coalition with other unions for united action as witness the historic Washington Mobilization of April 26. As reluctant as some unions were, they had to go along to set a precedent for future mobilization. The question of organizing the unorganized is becoming a serious task for labor.

This crisis is having an effect on union membership which necessitates amalgamation of international unions to pool finances in order to fight the multi-national conglomerates. Within the building trades, the need of amalgamating the small locals, thus cutting expenses, making it possible to even lower the dues, is a vital necessity.

Many locals, as in the Painters Union, are so small that they cannot pay a business agent, and the dues including the per capita to District Council 9 and the Brotherhood is over \$25 a month for a working painter, and \$10-\$11 a month for one who is unemployed. Even with high dues, D.C. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters is bankrupt and is maneuvering for another 1% checkoff dues, which means another increase of \$12 a month dues. The locals are getting smaller and smaller and dues getting higher and higher, resulting in making it difficult to organize the unorganized because of the high initiation fee and dues.

Within the building trades, the need to amalgamate the small locals and together with changing the building trades department into a building trades union through amalgamation of crafts thus covering allied workers is the logical response to the mighty conglomerates which have developed. Such an organization would cut the expenses of administration and make it possible to afford additional benefits for the membership.

The separate crafts within the building trades have been a source of division used by the financial interests to promulgate class collaborationist deals of one craft against the other. These crafts represent the fingers of the hand of construction workers which when closed in a mighty fist could affect great gains through unity around a "master agreement."

It was such a concept which funded the Building Trades Construction Workers Department, but the class collaboration of the AFL leaders has made it an ineffectual instrument resulting in one craft fighting another for special favors of the financial lords of the building industry.

Every worker therefore is concerned and affected by the crisis. The huge military spending is seen by the building trades as a reason for their unemployment because of lack of a building program. More than ever before they relate the war in Vietnam and our military bases all over the world to their plight.

Far from giving us work, the military spending has not boosted the economy. Spending for the needs of the people, for hospitals, schools, low cost housing, transportation, anti-pollution controls, involves more workers than spending for war whose industries are mechanized, robotized and computerized and therefore use less workers.

The mass demonstrations for peace, detente and against military spending have created a quantitative change among the working class, and the reactionary anti-labor goals of the establishment in their war drive come to the surface.

These developments, therefore, create a battlefield where we can make the best advances. The fight for detente and trade with the socialist countries is job orientated. We can use the speeches of capitalist forces behind detente to buttress our fight for peace within our unions. Therefore the fight for jobs is two-pronged:

(1) for peace, detente and trade with socialist countries, to cut military spending by withdrawing all our military forces from foreign bases; (2) legislation to demand that the government act as an employer of last resort, for passage of a stronger 1975 full employment bill (Hawkins Bill) as well as immediate jobs now to aid our youth and unemployed.

George Meany and other leaders of the AFL-CIO have always welcomed the influx of Cuban, Hungarian and now Vietnamese anti-communists into the work force. At the same time, they are leading a campaign against mainly Latin and South American workers who are trying to make their livelihood in the U.S. It is another attempt to sow racist divisions in the working class.

For the building trades, the fight for peace, detente and trade with all socialist countries is crucial. The fight for making detente irreversible is the fulcrum in our fight for jobs and against inflation and unemployment. In this context we can call for an end to all military spending, the removal of all military forces from foreign bases, and the reduction of our huge funds attributed for war and arms. We must insist on social spending for a mammoth housing and building program for hospitals, schools, transportation and anti-pollution programs to clean our environment. This, together with trade, would put millions back to work and find the construction needs even short of manpower.

In the fight against inflation and unemployment we can expose the lies that this is a world phenomenon by quoting from newspapers which admit that the socialist countries are exempt from inflation and unemployment. Here the Daily World could be used by reprinting articles dealing with the socialist mode of production and thus raise the level of understanding another notch. Each notch is a grave-digger of capitalism.

Industrial sections must be strengthened to help our comrades in these reactionary unions, to help print and distribute shop papers, to exchange views. For this we need an agitation propaganda department as another weapon to achieve proper activities in our industrial concentration.

I paraphrase George Meyers: What an opportunity we have in our fight against class collaboration. The Washington demonstration on April 26 did not come by itself. We have been promoting unity in action at all times in our fight against the Taft-Hartley Law, in our fight against the wage freeze. Today it is not unrealistic to visualize a one-day national strike to achieve a political goal for labor. This could come about for legislation for the 6 hour day without cut in pay.

The fact that the central trades is on a campaign to organize the unorganized gives the progressive and left wing within the building trades a relevant battleground to implement the activities of the central trades by calling for organization of the unorganized within the building trades who for their own purposes have kept the books closed and in doing so closed the union to the Blacks, Puerto Rican and other Latino, Asian-American and other discriminated against and

oppressed minorities who today are feeling the results of unemployment and inflation two-fold.

To close our books to unorganized Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicano and others is self-defeating for organized labor. The unorganized are ready to join in labor unions. Given a chance, they could swell the ranks of labor and in the building trades become a force that would break down the barriers of a workday consisting of 7 to 8 hours. A 6 hour day would be the logical aftermath.

In spite of the discriminatory practices of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats in control of the union, 30% of Black people are in unions compared to less than 25% of white workers. Tear down the barrier of racism in the unions and automatically labor would take a giant step forward.

It is the Brennans with the building trades who are compromising the labor movement and involving the membership in a racket oriented business unionism where books are closed and tribute is given to business agents for work permits given during busy season but no union books.

Using the same rationale to fight for jobs through government initiatives we should demand union hiring halls, democratically controlled and thus take the power away from the business agent and employers. Yes, progressives have an open door to fight for legislation involving central trades as well as building trades.

We should not merely speak from a universally acknowledged level of our union membership, but must show that there is an alternative to this so-called free enterprise system which guarantees unemployment, inflation and wars, and that socialism has been the answer for one third of the world to the anarchy which exists under capitalism where the workers control the economy through their political power and get the full fruits of their production doing away with unemployment and crisis. This is possible today because of the great interest which has been generated in the press dealing with Soviet production, trade and detente.

George Meyers' article in Political Affairs of August 1974, should be a guide line in our activities in our unions. I would buttress his projected program calling for drastic reduction of military spending with the vital question of peace, detente, trade with the USSR and all socialist countries.

In conclusion, it will take hard work to organize rank and file movements in the building trades. But through organization for petition drives, for hiring halls, as well as for legislative bills, such as the Hawkins Full Employment Bill, and national health insurance, we could win support which could be a nucleus for rank and file caucuses. We should take part in the election to run for central trades and become a legislative force in the union and above all be in the forefront in support of unemployment committees in the Union.

These activities add to the rungs of a political ladder which brings us nearer to socialism. Every gain made to make our union move toward class struggle understanding prepares the way from capitalism to socialism.

\* \* \*

## In Support of the ERA

By the Harriet Tubman Club,  
Memphis, Tennessee

### I The Amendment

Sec. 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Sec. 3. The amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

It has been estimated that as of 1967, working women as a whole made 64¢ to every dollar made by working men; that by 1968, working women made 58¢ to every dollar made by working men (Cong. Record, 8/10/70). The extra profits made by employers from these discriminatory wage rates are estimated to constitute 23% of all manufacturing company profits. (Women Who Work, Grace Hutchins).

This basic exploitation of working women, the innumerable laws which place women in a second class position in our society, discriminatory hiring/firing and advancement policies of employers, and laws which keep women out of certain job classifications altogether, form the basis of the movement among women and labor in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. The Equal Rights Amendment would prohibit job discrimination against women by state or federal governments. In its application through the courts and state legislatures, the ERA is expected to make invalid government policies, regulations or laws which allow for discrimination against women on the job.

### Legal Effects

In terms of the law, the ERA would establish within the body of the Constitution fundamental legal rights for women. This is very important. U.S. laws were modeled after English Common Law which did not regard women as legal persons or entities. Despite many

attempts in court cases to establish the principle of equal rights for women, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to strike down laws discriminating against women until 1971. Even then, the court did not invalidate sex discrimination within the law by overturning earlier decisions upholding discrimination. Instead, it left to all women as individuals the burden of overturning government actions that perpetuate sex discrimination.

According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:

Just as the Fourteenth Amendment established the principle of equal protection of the law without regard to race, the Equal Rights Amendment would establish the same principle with regard to sex. Without the ERA, the Supreme Court would have to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment to include sex (which it has not), or Congress and state legislatures would have to amend existing legislation on a piecemeal basis, a lengthy and unlikely process. (The ERA: What's In It for Black Women?)

The Commission goes on to argue that Black women, because they are in the main working women and because they are doubly discriminated against as Blacks and as women, will have the most to gain from ratification of ERA.

Ratification would have the effect of knocking out innumerable laws which place women in inferior positions to men. These include laws restricting rights of married women (such as laws not allowing women to establish separate domiciles, transact legal affairs or own property or business); laws providing heavier criminal penalties to women than men for some legal offenses; social security or other social benefits legislation which give greater benefits to one sex than the other; laws excluding women from universities or providing unequal pay scales in state institutions; discriminatory lending and insurance procedures would be declared invalid as well. (Cong. Record, August 10, 1970. The ERA would end the exclusion of women from the draft if it is ever put back into effect and affect labor laws applying to only one sex.

UAW, UE, IUE and other unions are supporting the ERA. The AFL-CIO, formerly in opposition to the ERA on the basis that it would invalidate protective labor laws applying only to women, now supports the amendment and says:

[the ERA is] "precisely the kind of clear statement of national commitment to the principle of equality of the sexes under the law that working women and their unions can use to advantage in their efforts to eliminate employment discrimination against women." (1973 Convention Resolution)

Numerous women's organizations, such as the National Organization for Women, and citizen groups such as the NAACP, ACLU, Common Cause, and the League of Women Voters all support the amendment.



## II The Communist Party Position

Women's organizations...together with trade unions, must reject the fraudulent equality which attempts to eliminate protection for workers and, at the same time, renews attempts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment so long as the amendment omits guarantees that special rights, benefits or exemptions now or hereafter won by women would not be impaired. (July 15, 1971, CP Labor & Women's Commission, joint statement)

Our position to oppose the ERA as it now stands does not change, but our tactics will shift toward getting some protective labor legislation passed...a campaign must begin independent of the ERA for a Bill of Rights which protects women. ("ERA and the Women's Bill of Rights," Georgia Henning, Party Affairs, June, 1974)

The two quotes above indicate the Communist Party's current position on the Equal Rights Amendment. This includes (1) long-standing opposition to the ERA unless language is included guaranteeing that special benefits and protections for women will not be impaired, and (2) the more recent emphasis on pushing for a Women's Bill of Rights, independent of ratification or non-ratification of the ERA (required by 38 states by 1979).

According to the information our club has, we have concluded: that (1) based on the current status of the laws involved, the ERA will be beneficial to women, to labor, and to the people's movement, and should have our active support, (2) a campaign for a Women's Bill of Rights is a good proposal, but if it is not coupled with support of the ERA, it is not enough. In addition, it will leave the Party isolated politically from the broad range of progressive organizations supporting the ERA, particularly from organizations of women. The following sections outline our reasons for these conclusions:

## III The Question of Protective Legislation

Protective labor laws are laws that were initially enacted by state legislatures limiting hours of work, enforcing rest periods and lunch breaks, providing weight lifting limitations, regulating some safety conditions, and otherwise intruding upon employer "prerogatives." While in most states these laws applied to men and women equally, in a minority of states these protective laws were enacted to cover only women and children who worked for the most part in unorganized shops with no union protections.

In addition to genuinely beneficial laws, there exists a host of "protective" laws applying only to women which have been "protecting" them out of the right to hold many jobs. Such laws outlaw night work for women, make it illegal to hire women as bartenders or taxi drivers, or to work overtime hours at a higher rate of pay. These kinds of "protective" laws have served to keep women out of many traditionally "male only" jobs and at the lower end of the wage scale.

A major debate around ratification of the ERA in labor and left

circles has been whether the ERA would wipe out truly beneficial labor legislation or merely cause legitimate protections to be extended to men.\*

### Title VII

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination based on race or sex, is already being used by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to knock out "protective" laws which keep women out of better paying positions or excluded from certain job categories. It is expected that by the time the ERA is ratified (if it is), all "protections" which apply unequally to one sex will have been wiped out by EEOC.

It is because of the actions of EEOC in enforcing Title VII that the AFL-CIO and other labor groups have stopped opposing the ERA and started supporting it ("ERA: Ratifying Equality," Carolyn Jacobson, AFL-CIO American Federationist, January 1975). Their reason that opposition to the ERA based on the fear of beneficial protective laws being wiped out has now become irrelevant as those laws are going to be wiped out anyhow.

Our Party has continued to oppose the ERA, citing the Title VII use as an example of the kind of effect the ERA would have in wiping out protective laws. We do not know if the EEOC has wiped out any genuine protections. We know it has knocked out a number of "protections" which are actually discriminatory to women.

In any case, it appears to us that the ERA's passage would only strengthen any attempts on the part of labor and women's groups to maintain genuine protections for women by extending them to men (thus providing "equality" of the laws).

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\* Besides the legal question of how the courts and the legislatures will interpret the intent of Congress in passing the ERA as regards abolition or extension of genuine protective labor laws, a question remains about the concept that protective labor laws ("special rights, benefits or exemptions") are needed which apply only to women. The Party has argued that such benefits and exemptions are needed because capitalism "creates and stresses totally different and unequal standards for women at home and on the job," and that therefore legislation to compensate for the inequalities is needed (July, 1971, joint statement of Women & Labor Commissions of the Communist Party).

ERA supporters have generally taken the position that it is with the concept of special protections and exemptions for women that institutionalized sexism has managed to flourish--allowing for laws excusing women from jury service or laws denying women opportunities available to men. Shirley Chisolm, in speaking for the ERA, said "that one sex needs protection more than another is a male supremacist myth..." What is needed, she says, are laws which protect all workers and are based on the needs of workers as individuals, not as members of one sex or another.

The answer to this more general question is not the subject of our paper. However, support or opposition to equal rights legislation does to some degree hinge on our attitude toward whether there is a need for "special protections" for women. It is a question in need of further discussion.

## Extension of Benefits to Men

Title VII does not have a clear statement of support for the idea of extending genuine protections for women that exist in the law to both sexes equally; it merely states that discriminatory laws on the basis of sex or race are to be prohibited. The ERA, on the other hand, is expected by its proponents to extend any genuine benefits to women to both sexes, while outlawing any "benefits" to one sex (women) which are actually vestiges of discrimination:

Where the law confers a benefit, privilege or obligation of citizenship, such would be extended to the other sex, i.e., the effects of the amendment would be to strike the words of sex identification. Thus, such laws would not be rendered unconstitutional but would be extended to apply to both sexes by operation of the amendment. We have already gone through this in the 15th and 19th Amendments. (Rep. Martha Griffiths, Cong. Record, August 1, 1970)

Civil liberties scholars tend to agree with this analysis (Thomas I. Emerson, Yale Law Journal, Vol. 80, #5).

In interpreting an amendment to the Constitution, the courts are supposed to rely on the majority viewpoint of the Congress in making the law. Our Party has contended that Congressional testimony "clearly argues that all state protective laws would be eliminated, not that some laws should be eliminated and others retained." (Daily World, Edelman, October 24, 1970).

On the contrary while there is testimony in the debate over the ERA saying that all protective laws would be eliminated (some of it from opponents of the amendment), it is the intent of the proponents of the bill that counts--that is, the intent of those who carried the debate and vote.

According to the Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women, there was great unanimity among proponents of the amendment in the House and the Senate. The majority report of the Senate Judiciary Committee, they say, expresses "the intent of Congress," and has been widely distributed to state legislatures. According to this report:

In those situations where a court finds a state or federal law in conflict with the ERA, the legal infirmity will be cured either by expanding the law to include both sexes or to nullify it entirely...it is expected that those laws which are discriminatory and restrictive will be stricken entirely... On the other hand, it is expected that those laws which provide meaningful protection would be expanded to include both men and women, as for example minimum wage laws... ("Interpretation of the ERA in Accordance With Legislative History," Citizens' Advisory Committee)

Title VII is going to knock out most or all protective laws applying to one sex only before the ERA is ever ratified. It seems to us the ERA would provide a sounder ground to fight to keep any genuine protections remaining for women and extend them to men. We also

think the ERA ratification may provide a basis to challenge the discriminatory layoff patterns caused by the seniority system by which minority women are the first fired.

#### There Are No "Guarantees" of Equal Rights

One thing the ERA will not do is to "guarantee" that reactionaries in government will be unable to set workers back by eliminating job rights. In California, Governor Ronald Reagan wiped out nearly all state regulations providing protections to women on the job (California had the strongest set of protective laws in the country) under the guise of providing "equal" rights.

Some people blamed this move on the ERA which is not yet law. Reagan, however, did not need the ERA. He utilized already standard procedure in California which required the Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC) to review protective laws every five years. Reagan signed a bill in 1973 which extended the jurisdiction of the IWC (set up in 1913 to administer new minimum wage laws for women and minors) to men. With Reagan appointees, the IWC then proceeded in its "review" to issue a series of directives wiping out nearly all the benefits for women workers embodied in laws and regulations of the state.

Reagan clearly was acting contrary to the intent of his own state legislature: in 1972, the legislature passed a bill explicitly extending benefits in the law for women to men. Reagan vetoed it. Reagan claims to be a backer of the ERA, but clearly he and others of his ilk are merely looking for subterfuges to attack workers' living and working conditions in the interest of maximizing profits.

Whether the ERA is ratified or defeated, the only way to stop such attacks is for labor, women's and people's organizations to press for specific measures to implement equal rights for women and protective measures for working people.

#### IV Fight for the ERA and a Women's Bill of Rights

The question of implementation of equal rights for women should be joined to support for the ERA. We should press for an affirmative program through all channels of redress--through the strength of an overall assault on unequal laws, as represented by the ERA, and through the specific implementation of labor laws, child care legislation, and other measures represented in the Bill of Rights. Such a program will advance the rights of women and men workers.

To ignore the ERA while pushing for a Women's Bill of Rights would not be enough. Further it is unsound for us to talk about building an interracial, class conscious, progressive organization of women--or to talk about building the leadership of working class and minority women within other organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) while at the same time running counter to a major thrust of the women's movement and the progressive organizations and unions by opposing the ERA.

We should see the unity in the various aspects of the fight for equal rights for women rather than dividing it into those areas that will especially benefit "bourgeois" women and those that will affect working women. Steps that will bring all women toward the goal of equality should be welcomed, and placed in the framework of the fight for the rights of working people and the nationally and racially oppressed--in the framework of the democratic struggle and the struggle for a new economic system of socialism.

Defeat of the ERA at this point would be a serious blow to the developing movement for women's equality. The battle to ratify the ERA has dragged on for over 1100 days. No other federal constitutional amendment has succeeded in being ratified after such a long debate (Majority Report, January 25, 1975)

The right-wing has realized this, and the news media is playing up all the backward arguments imaginable against the ERA, at the same time giving the public none of the facts about it. While in the initial days of ERA ratification, state legislatures were accepting it as a matter of course, now major efforts have to be mounted by citizen lobbies for the ERA--and then with little success, Young Americans for Freedom, the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan and "white Christian" groups, insurance lobbies and other business interests have combined to launch a massive drive to defeat the ERA.

Phyllis Schlafly, organizer and writer for various right-wing causes, is setting up organizations of women across the country to oppose ERA. Their purpose is to "keep women in the home" in an unequal system based on male supremacy. The anti-ERA campaign has been linked more recently with the budding "right to life," anti-abortion campaign.

In short, an attempt is under way to use the fight against the ERA to retard growing consciousness among both women and men, to set back the movement for women's liberation and a just society, and at the same time to build a further right-wing constituency for militarism, racism and sexism. Because of our Party's position, in our own state of Tennessee (which has "rescinded" the ERA) we were lumped with these right-wing organizations and put into a position of political paralysis. If we stated our Party's position, we joined the anti-woman, right-wing clamor; if we remained silent, we simply became irrelevant to one of the pressing issues of the day.

At this point, one cannot be "neutral" about the ERA and its related issues. Our club urges the Party comrades to take an affirmative stand in support of the ERA and a Women's Bill of Rights.

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# On the Problems of Ballot Status

By Richard Pell, Bay Cities Club

Comments on the Draft Resolution, Political and Electoral Struggles

The section of the Draft Resolution on electoral struggle points the way for the development of a great political movement independent of the monopoly political parties. (Also see the section on electoral struggles, pp. 4-7 and "On Mass Movements" by Gus Hall, Political Affairs, January 1975.) A key question here is that of ballot status for minor parties on the left. In California there are three electoral reforms, any one of which would, if enacted, result in a good possibility for the Communist Party and other parties to obtain some degree of ballot status.

When the signature requirement was sharply raised in California in 1937 for minor or new parties, the Communist Party and other parties were in effect excluded from the ballot. The Voters Choice Initiative of 1974 attempted to remedy this situation by seeking a return to the old law. Though unsuccessful, the initiative campaign was an important pioneer effort.

We should also look at the possibilities for obtaining ballot status at less than the state-wide level. Here we find that the California election code requires a party to meet the requirements for ballot status for statewide offices in order to appear on the ballot in a district race. We are referring to offices such as House of Representatives, State Senate, State Assembly. Even with very high signature requirements, it is probable that the Communist Party and others could obtain ballot status in some electoral districts in the state if the law permitted it. We should note, however, a relevant factor here would be any geographical residency requirements for petition circulators.

We have checked the election codes of 44 states. Twenty-three of these states provide for a party to qualify for the ballot for federal (Congress) and state district offices, without having to meet the requirements for state-wide ballot status. The state election codes in many of these 23 states provide for a party to qualify for county offices without having to meet the requirements for state-wide ballot status. Probably every state which has cities with a partisan ballot allows a political party to qualify for such city ballots without having to qualify for the state-wide ballot. The

signature and other requirements for such city ballots are in some cases contained in the state law, in other cases left up to the cities. California, with no partisan city elections, is one of only a very few states in which a political party which cannot meet the ballot requirements for state-wide office has no opportunity to be on a ballot anywhere in the state.

The final reform we shall discuss is that of repealing non-partisan elections. The local non-partisan election denies needed opportunities for minor left parties to obtain ballot status. The non-partisan ballot arose and spread rapidly during the Progressive Era (early twentieth century) under the guise of combatting municipal corruption. Advocates of the non-partisan ballot also pushed for two other undemocratic municipal reforms. These were to reduce the size of city councils and to abolish ward (district) systems of representation. We should endorse a movement to bring back the local partisan ballot in California and everywhere else. In California, at least, our focus should be on the chartered cities for success here would be the least difficult. A partisan ballot could entail merely listing on the ballot the political party affiliation of the candidates. Later, we can think about complete local partisan primary (or nominating convention) systems.

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## Strengthening our Work with the *Daily World*

By Jacob Ivens, Philadelphia, Pa.

When we speak of Party activities the key question is to activate the club. The club is the link to everything you want to think of--the struggle against racism and for equality, for jobs, against the high cost of living and foreclosures of mortgages and high rent, and so on. The clubs too often are not geared that way.

The Daily World, if used, could be a great help. As yet, it's not used enough. It is my opinion that without the Daily World and literature, we would not be able to build the Party. The Daily World is not just another item separated from all struggles. It is an indispensable tool for all our work.

We have discussed some parts of the Draft Resolution. But we have not discussed it as a document relating to problems we are faced with, such as in the factory where we work, the shop, community and mass organization. It is a necessity that every Party member work with the Daily World in hand.

Comrade John Gallo visited our club in Philadelphia and we discussed the work of the Daily World. A comrade proposed that I should bring a plan of work to the next meeting. It was accepted as a good plan, but in practice, the Daily World is considered as secondary in importance. We have to develop, one way or another, Daily World, recruiting and literature consciousness.

Now to some experiences selling the Daily World and literature and recruiting in the community. In the first place, we cannot recruit into the Party without the Daily World and literature. Political development must be created first and then we can speak to some about joining the Party. It is also a necessity to create close friendship, inviting each other for a cup of coffee or whatever. Rotating the distribution of the paper is not the best way of making friendships. It rather appears in the eyes of the readers as paper deliverers.

The club organizer should give as much time as possible to press work. He should make himself felt as an example in the club and in the community. In order to be able to give more attention and time to mass work, it may be necessary to do away with some inner-meetings. As one district organizer called it, "stewing in our own juice." I am writing these lines with the purpose of bettering our work.

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#### CORRECTION

We regret an error in the make-up of Preconvention Discussion Issue No. 7 (p. 46) which confused the last sentence in an article by Hosea Hudson with a paragraph from another article. The last sentence should read: It can be said that this can be a way to separate the good youth from the bad ones, and at the same time unite these good ones in helping to win over many of the socially bad ones to struggle for such a program and demands today.

--The Editor

Dear Comrades:

This concludes the Preconvention Issues of Party Affairs. A few articles came in well after the deadline as this issue was going to press. We regret that they could not be included in these issues but have referred them to workshop leaders to make sure they are considered at the Convention.

The end of the Preconvention Discussion does not end Party discussion on our work. Party Affairs continues to be a vehicle for that convention years.

Towards a great and historic 21st Convention!

The Editor