

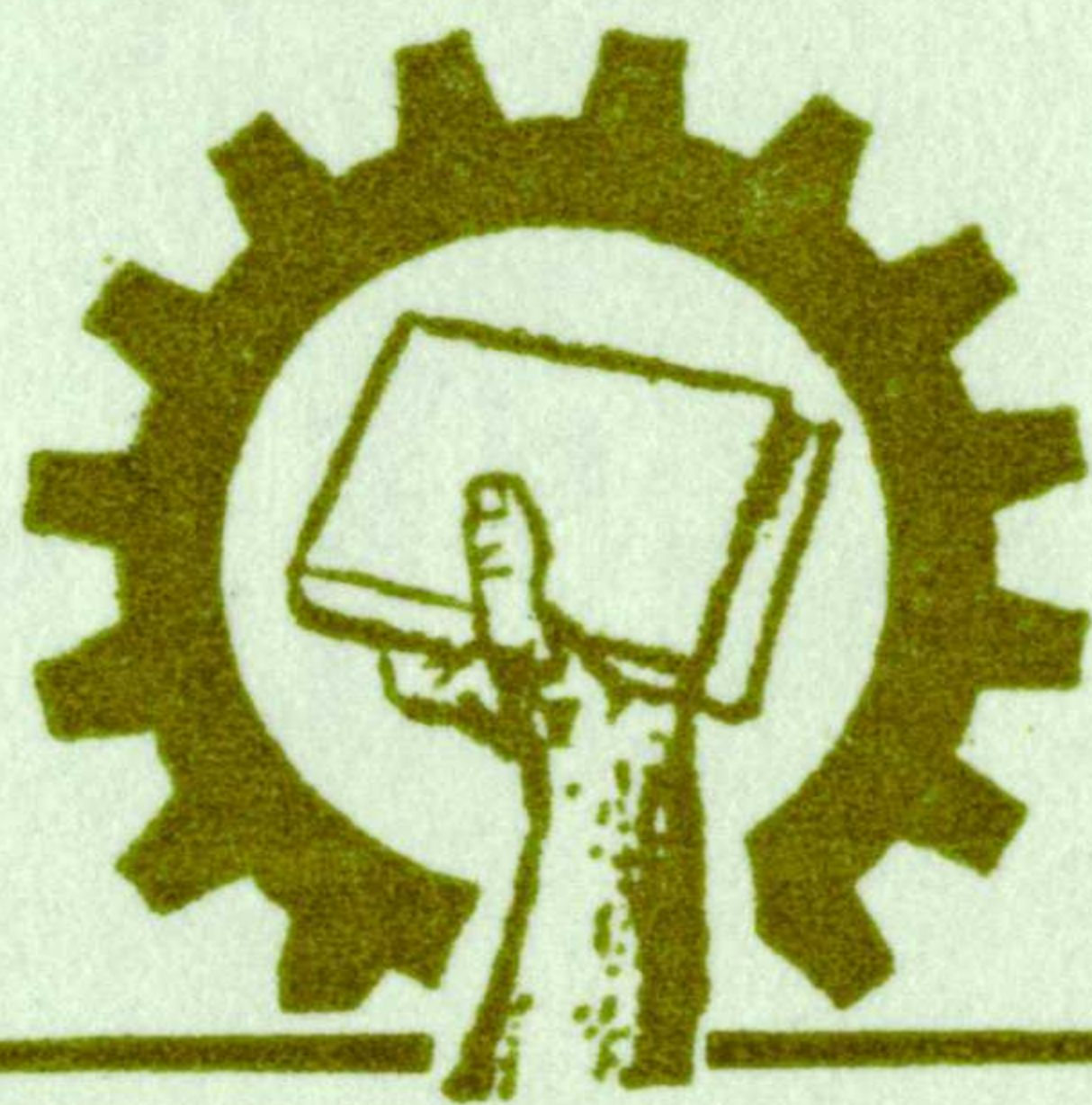
**The** **POLITICS**  
**of** **PEOPLE'S**  
**ACTION**

**The** **COMMUNIST PARTY**  
**in the** **'72 ELECTIONS**

**Henry Winston**

**50¢**

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR



HENRY WINSTON, National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. since 1966, was born in Mississippi in 1911. He is only two generations from slavery—his grandfather was a slave. At the age of 19 he joined the Young Communist League and entered the struggles of the unemployed in New York City. In the 1930s he was a leader of the YCL. He participated in the National Hunger March to Washington in 1932, aided the defense of the Scottsboro Boys, and took part in the National Negro Congress and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. During World War II he served in the Army Engineers and received an honorable discharge. Over the years he has held a variety of leading posts in the Communist Party. In 1956 he began an 8-year prison sentence under a Smith Act frameup. While in prison he became blind as a result of deliberate neglect of his health by the prison authorities. World-wide protests brought about his release in 1961. During the past year he has given special attention to organizing the worldwide movement for the freedom of Angela Davis.

Henry Winston is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets. Among his most recent pamphlets are *Build the Communist Party—The Party of the Working Class, Black Americans and the Middle East Conflict, Fight Racism—for Unity and Progress!*, and *The Meaning of San Rafael*.

Presented here is the text of his report to the Communist Party's National Committee, November 14, 1971.

# **THE POLITICS OF PEOPLE'S ACTION**

## **The Communist Party in the '72 Elections**

**by Henry Winston**

Comrades:

In opening the National Committee meeting this morning I made a televised statement with respect to the struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis. I thought that through this public medium the heinous crime committed by reaction and racism against this Black woman should be exposed.

Angela Davis, because of insufficient food, has lost some 20 pounds. The absence of proper exposure to sunlight and the lack of facilities, in the jail where she resides, to provide proper treatment for glaucoma endangers the sight of Angela Davis. She suffers from dental neglect which aggravates her gums and needed dental care to preserve her teeth is absent. Conditions in the jail make it impossible for Angela Davis to prepare properly for her defense.

Everyone knows that jails have eyes and ears, and that even to talk to potential witnesses quickly becomes known to the prosecution.

The books she reads, the newspapers she reads, the notes taken are left behind when Angela is compelled to return to her cell for sleep during the night. What happens then is anyone's guess. The technique of photographing such material is well known.

The racist persecution of this woman is the extreme use of class justice. Angela Davis is a symbol of the struggle for equality of Black men and women, for democracy as a whole, for the rights and interests of the working class and for peace. Monopoly reaction in this country, in its attack against Angela Davis, is determined to undermine everything that is dear to all the people. The cause of Angela Davis permeates everything that we do. The cause of Angela Davis must become the cause of all democrats, all militants, radicals, anti-imperialists.

To put the question of Angela Davis before this meeting is at one and the same time to pose a question—Where is the conscience of the democratic forces in this country, that it can permit the racists, the anti-communists to continue this kind of bestiality? What hypocrites are those in positions of power who can prate about democracy and act in a way that may send to the gas chamber one of the proudest daughters of our class and our people! Communists will leave no stone unturned in the fight for her freedom on bail and her complete exoneration from this frameup. It is this fight which must permeate everything that we do and become part of the election campaign of 1972.

### **The Lack of Confidence—A Growing Chasm**

These are times and circumstances when what might seem to be a small thing can be the indicator of a major coming occurrence. The antics of a feather in the air, the motion inscribed by a straw in the wind, may signal the impending approach of a hurricane or a furious storm.

I call your attention to a small item that appeared in the press on November 11, 1971 noting the findings of the Louis Harris Poll for the week of October 25-31, 1971. This survey disclosed that a record 65% of the people of the nation now believe that "it is morally wrong for the United States to be fighting in Vietnam." Louis Harris stated that, "The accelerated disenchantment of American public opinion with the war can be traced to a parallel conviction that the war was a mistake in the first place, and that the drain of U.S. blood and money simply has not been worth the effort." Furthermore, only 4% of those polled felt that the election of Thieu again, without opposition, as President of South Vietnam made U.S. support "more justified."

Additional responses to the Harris Poll questions showed that 53% felt that the pace of withdrawal of American troops is too slow. At the same time 53% expressed disbelief that Thieu's

government or any degree of U.S. intervention in Vietnam would prevent Communist advancement. Finally, the Harris Poll found that a majority, 52% of the people, do not believe that President Nixon has told the people the truth about the war. Concluded Harris, laconically, "These results do not indicate that the Vietnam issue is one that has been working for the President."

Although it controls the means of communication with electronic propaganda, reaching boxes and tubes in every household, spewing out lies from morning to night; although it uses blackmail through control of jobs and pensions of millions and millions of citizens, the Nixon government has failed in its unprecedented efforts to hold the allegiance of the majority of the people of the country for support of its continuing aggressive war against the peoples of Indochina. It is a great thing for the future of our nation and the prospects for peace for all mankind that the ruling clique of the aggressive U.S. monopolies has been unable to hold the nation enslaved in its entangling web of lies. The majority of the people of the U.S. have not lost their capacity to seek the truth, and they have the courage to assert their judgment of no confidence against their high placed misleaders.

The truth about the crimes against humanity that the Nixon government has committed, and still commits, against the people of Indochina, has been carried to the ears and reason and conscience of the nation. And, therefore, the majority has been moved to assert their demand for an end of the killings, despite the thunder of the guns and jingoist shrilling of the super-patriot buglers.

It stands to reason, then, that the American people are capable of discerning the real enemy—the capitalist, monopolist ruling class, their servitors in government, and "labor leaders" like George Meany and Jay Lovestone. They will see that this ruling class is fully responsible for all the misery, exploitation and deprivation that afflicts and blights the lives of the jobless and the working people of our country—Black and white, men and

women, the young and the elderly, the toilers of the city and the countryside.

When the masses of people lose their illusions concerning the wisdom of the judgment of the ruling class on such an enormous issue as the continuation of a war in which the government is currently engaged, and upon which it has squandered the blood and treasure of the country, then the credibility gap between the ruled and their leaders has become a chasm. Public criticism of government ruling circles carries with it a new quality. Mass actions exert a new magnitude of political consequence. The credibility gap between the government and the people has widened greatly. The crisis of confidence, in the policy of government and claims of the ruling class that its actions are in the true national interest, has deepened.

The suspicion is growing that the actions and policies of the ruling government are opposed to the people's needs and aspirations. This suspicion grows into the constantly solidifying conviction of increasing millions of working people of hand and brain, Black and white, that the corporate interests at the helm of government are squandering the wealth of the nation and exploiting the patriotic loyalties of the people for further aggrandizement of their own narrow, selfish, monopolist class interests. Masses of people are registering the fact, in Harris polls and many other ways, that a growing consensus of consciousness is taking shape in the minds of millions. These millions are beginning to conclude that it is no longer possible to live under the policy and positions of a ruling class that pursues a course of action against the interests of the people and the nation. Resistance of the people to these anti-national, anti-humane, anti-working class, racist, anti-youth policies of monopoly increases in breadth and depth. They infuse old forms with new content and give rise to the need for new forms of organizational and political expression.

The ruling class, confronted by this new upsurge of popular resistance to the dominance of its will, first in respect to its

Vietnam war, then to its traditional use of racism against Black people as a special catalyst in its capitalist exploitative system, also reacts. The monopolists are forced to the recognition that they can no longer maintain their rule and dominating will by the same style and methods. They respond to the new challenge from the oppressed and exploited masses with a combination of changes. They give the smallest possible liberal concessions on the one hand, and on the other hand beef up police repression against the exercise of popular liberties and the rights of labor, with the sharp edge of the attack directed against Black people.

Lenin's statement as to what objectively constitutes the essence of a revolutionary situation is well-known; that is, that such a condition obtains when the masses are no longer willing to live in the same old way and the ruling class is no longer able to rule in the same old way. It cannot be said that the crisis factors in our situation approximate the Leninist test of a revolutionary situation. Nevertheless, on single issues, first one and then another, it is a manifest fact that the masses actively reject and counter given policies of the ruling class and force it to alter its course.

Such issues as the wage-price freeze, Black freedom from racism, the stopping of the war of aggression in Indochina, etc., interact and tend to converge the participating forces into one anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, anti-racist, pro-working class democratic popular movement. This movement takes a sharper focus on securing political power, acting as an independent force within and outside the traditional parties. The single issue revolt of the masses on the decisive current issue of the war in Vietnam and Indochina foreshadows and forecasts the building of all the objective factors which define a new stage of development of the anti-monopoly movement which could, at a later stage, grow into a revolutionary situation.

More meaningful yet is the opportunity that this level, to which the deepening crisis of capitalism has arrived, provides to



bring up to requisite strength and proper deployment the subjective elements within and in the van of the masses. Most important is the opportunity for the all-sided strengthening of the trade union movement, the raising of its political and class sights, and for the furthering of the unity and alliance of the Black liberation movement with the working class movement.

A decisive prerequisite for accomplishing the tasks of this moment, of fulfilling the promise and overcoming the peril of the period we have entered into, is the necessity to give top priority attention to the task of recruiting into our Party and perfecting its organizational and ideological capacity. This we must do if we are to give the necessary guidance to the commencing advance on the plains of class struggle of multiple millions of the masses of our countrymen.

Our Party's ears are to the ground. The fact is that we feel the pulse of the people in general, and the working class in particular, Black, white, Brown, Yellow and Red. The fact is again confirmed in a Louis Harris Poll.

I was on a tour in Minneapolis and St. Paul when this poll was published in the *Minneapolis Star* of October 25, 1971. I returned to New York to find that such a poll was not published on the East Coast. If we read this poll we will understand why the class conscious organ, the *New York Times*, did not print it. Under the general heading of "Trust of Institutions Falls" the poll gave the following figures, after the introductory sentence of:

"As far as the people running these institutions are concerned would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?"

	<i>Great Deal</i>	<i>Only Some</i>	<i>Hardly Any</i>	<i>Not Sure</i>
Major companies				
1971 .....	27%	50%	15%	8%
1966 .....	55	35	9	5
Organized religion				
1971 .....	27	40	25	8
1966 .....	41	32	17	10

	<i>Great Deal</i>	<i>Only Some</i>	<i>Hardly Any</i>	<i>Not Sure</i>
Education				
1971 .....	37	46	15	2
1966 .....	61	32	5	2
Executive branch of federal government				
1971 .....	23	50	18	9
1966 .....	41	42	11	6
Organized labor				
1971 .....	14	42	35	9
1966 .....	22	42	28	8
The press				
1971 .....	18	51	26	5
1966 .....	29	50	17	4
Medicine				
1971 .....	61	29	6	4
1966 .....	72	22	2	4
Television				
1971 .....	22	48	25	5
1966 .....	25	44	26	5
Banks and financial institutions				
1971 .....	36	46	13	5
1966 .....	67	26	3	4
Mental health and psychiatry				
1971 .....	35	40	15	10
1966 .....	51	32	6	11
The U.S. Supreme Court				
1971 .....	23	41	27	9
1966 .....	31	29	12	8
The scientific community				
1971 .....	32	47	10	11
1966 .....	56	25	4	15
Congress				
1971 .....	19	54	19	8
1966 .....	42	46	7	5
Advertising				
1971 .....	13	42	40	5
1966 .....	21	43	30	6
The military				
1971 .....	27	47	20	6
1966 .....	62	28	5	5
Local retail stores				
1971 .....	24	56	15	5
1966 .....	48	42	7	3

What these figures reveal is a crisis of confidence in this

country relating to all institutions defending the foreign and domestic policies of Nixon today, and Johnson yesterday. They reveal a lack of faith in those who have been assigned the task by the monopolies of directing masses in this country. It is in this period, and under these conditions that our Party works and projects its program.

From time to time I, as well as other Party leaders, appear on radio and TV talk programs. Apologists for capitalism call and undertake to put us on the spot, so to speak. They ask, "How does it come about that the Communist Party, which has been in existence since 1919 in the United States, has not won the allegiance of the American people?"

The answer to that question can be found by putting another—such as "Why, since the victory over chattel slavery, have Black folk not won the most elementary of democratic rights?", or put another way, "How explain the fact that the majority of workers in this country remain unorganized, why only 16 million?" Or, how explain the fact that there is not an independent class party, a party of workers and farmers, of working class Black people, all oppressed people in this country?" Or, why is there not in existence a people's party of the kind Comrade Hall speaks about?

The solution to this kind of problem requires an objective understanding of class struggle, and what is required in the struggle to beat back all the propagandists of capitalist exploitation, of racism, of unjust wars of aggression. There cannot be any oversimplification of the struggle for tactics, the struggle for strategy under conditions of a decaying imperialist system and the element of time involved in that struggle to bring about fundamental social change—to bring about socialism. In order to do this there is a need to understand every stage in the development of the struggle for the vital interests of our class and people, and I emphasize—*every stage*, because each stage requires tactics adaptable to that stage—geared to and conditioned by the strategic goals.

I would like to take an example from our history to emphasize this point in more detail.

Early in the decade of the 1850s Frederick Douglass, the great genius and architect of anti-slavery strategy, was already completely committed to the goal of forging a wide coalition of diverse forces to stop the expansion of slavery. This brought him under the sharpest attack from William L. Garrison and many of his associates in the abolitionist movement. But Douglass never flinched in the face of these sectarian tendencies within the movement.

They charged him with betrayal because his strategy was directed toward involving the abolitionist movement in the forging of a coalition with forces that did not have the aim of abolishing slavery where it existed, but did have the goal of stopping its spread by *taking control of Congress and the federal government out of the hands of the slave power.*

Douglass did not hesitate to even refer to some of his sectarian abolitionist friends as "practical enemies of the colored people," because they refused to recognize that such a coalition strategy was essential to the formation of the *precondition* for the abolition of chattel slavery. And it is a matter of great historical significance that during every phase of the anti-slavery struggle there existed a unique parallelism between the anti-slavery strategy of Douglass and Marx.

Theirs was a strategy that sought always to advance the *independent* strength and influence of the abolitionist movement, while simultaneously refusing to surrender to sectarian pressures. It was this strategy which brought about the realignment of forces that broke the hold of the slave power over the Federal government in 1860.

Can anyone doubt, after an analysis of the implications of the Louis Harris Poll, which indicates what the mass of the people are and are not in a mood to do, that there is at least a common thread of response to the varying forces and diverse tendencies—a common thread that suggests the increasing loss of

confidence in the policies and leaders responsible for the country's present condition—and this common thread involves growing mass receptivity to the advocacy of a contemporary version of the strategy Douglass and Marx pursued in the last century.

## **The 1972 Elections—Main Focus of all Party Work**

Today, the mood in the country, especially among the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Indian masses, and now increasingly within the rank and file of labor, both Black and white, more and more harmonizes with a strategy of challenge to corporate monopoly's domination of the Federal government and Congress.

Only such a strategy can halt the extension of monopoly's aggressions abroad and repression at home, and defeat the threat of full-blown fascism. And we, no less than Douglass and Marx in the anti-slavery struggle, must lead the struggle against today's sectarian and separatist tendencies that fail to see that in our time, the strategy aimed at breaking the power of monopoly over the Government and Congress is the strategic path toward winning the *preconditions* for ending racism and oppression, for the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of socialism.

And this means not only more concentrated attention to the basic industrial workers in major working class areas of the country, but also special attention to the South. This is urgent not only because of the fascist demagoguery of George Wallace and the racist Southern strategy of the Nixon Administration, but more so because of the popular democratic upsurge in the South. This includes massive forms of struggle against racism through union organization and strike struggles, independent political action in the elections of Black public officials, and the organization of our Party as an important factor in coalition politics.

The 148,000 votes for Charles Evers for Governor of Mississippi together with the election of 28 Black public officials is

significant. At the same time, the Black office holders in South Carolina were increased from 38 to 61. Alabama now has 105 Blacks in elected offices. There are 1,860 Black elected officials in the United States, which is an increase of 400 in the past two years. This is a mass movement in the South and the overriding majority are elected by a coalition of Black and white voters. On this basis the drive to elect an additional 25 Black Congressmen in 1972 becomes a real possibility with 76 Congressional Districts in the country having a Black population of 25 percent or more. That provides the basis for a meaningful coalition with such an election objective. In practical terms, this is up for a first decision in the primaries.

In such a struggle there is, and always has been, ebb and flow. This will continue to exist, even when one is guided by the most advanced of all sciences, the only science which can effectively lead the class and all oppressed masses to the goal of socialism—the science of Marxism-Leninism. This is the science which has already liberated a billion of mankind and womankind from capitalist exploitation. Not even after the remaining two thirds of mankind have been freed from capitalism and is moving from socialism to communism will there be, or can there be, any other science for the forward movement of the people. Marxism-Leninism not only points the way to the future—Marxism-Leninism also guarantees that that future will be reached, because a full understanding of the basic conceptions of that science makes it possible to find concrete answers in defending the class and people today against the attacks of monopoly.

That defense today demands the widest democratic unity against the forces of growing reaction and fascism in the country: It is a fight to maintain and defend democracy under conditions in which the overriding fight is for ending the war in Indochina, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab lands, putting an end to the huge military budgets, dismantling military bases all around the world. In domestic life it means the

pursuance of those kinds of policies which will meet the economic, political and social needs of the people. This means that we have to understand the reports and discussions at this meeting in the light of the tasks ahead.

The question before us is whether our Party is preparing itself fully and completely to perform the tasks which the present moment demands of us. For the first time since the birth of this Party our country is faced with a crisis of this nature, on this level, at that stage in history which finds united the three most powerful revolutionary currents in the world: Socialism, in the van of which is the great Soviet Union, the national liberation movements, and the working class in the capitalist countries. Our epoch has seen the elimination of classical colonialism in the major sectors of the world, Asia, most of Africa, Latin America. And in all capitalist countries, including in the womb of the most powerful imperialist country the world has ever known, the growing questioning of a system, with millions seeking answers to questions of how to defend and advance their common interests.

That is why the Political Committee has proposed to enter into this election campaign in a new way. This new way is not only a recognition of the new conditions in which the campaign is being projected. This new way also consists in the fact that changes in policy and practices are required as a condition for the maximum, all-out participation of the Party in projecting and fighting for its program. Therefore we are saying that the main content of the work of the Party as a whole for the year 1972 is the election campaign. By this is meant that the election campaign, in content, involves the totality of the Party's mass work. The key word is "struggle"—struggle on every front. We are saying that the election campaign is not a task for an election campaign committee alone. That would not be understanding our task. That would not be the correct reflection of the mood of the masses in the period we are now going through. It is not a task for any single department.

The election campaign, as understood by the Political Committee, becomes the task of the National Committee and the Political Committee, the task of the organizational department, the task of each and every commission of the Party, the task of every state committee, every state board, every county and section committee. It becomes *the* task of the most important organization of the Party, the club, which must become more and more the instrument through which contact and relations are established with organized and unorganized masses, in the shops; in the communities, on the campus, on the farm, everywhere. We are saying then, that the election campaign is not merely for this or that speaker, for this or that meeting. The election campaign is the alpha and omega of the work of the Party in 1972.

What does all this mean? For the National Committee it means that it must become the committee where electoral policy is determined and guarantees established for the unity of policy and organization. We deliberately read here the Louis Harris Poll. We concluded that masses are searching for answers. Therefore the Political Committee, in the daily fight for the line established by the National Committee, must undertake the task of helping to solve all of the mass questions, all of the ideological and political questions in the minds of the masses. It must undertake to give concrete answers to those questions, and become a more effective organization whose day to day work must not only be increased quantitatively, but qualitatively as well. This is a serious fight.

We have to develop in a new way for 1972 the conception of the economic royalist. We must be able to arouse the nation to a hatred of monopoly, racism, exploitation, aggression and war. To do it requires improving in every way the role of the vanguard.

We must learn to better understand a development, which we have hoped for, now taking place in the ranks of labor. We must show that the growing organized and spontaneous move-



ments in the ranks of labor, the wildcat strikes, rank and file movements like Miners for Democracy, TUAD, the growing Black caucuses in steel and auto, are historic developments in trustified industry. These movements are but weathervanes which, if properly assisted in their growth, can be developed to the point where the mighty movement of the rank and file will become all pervasive in the labor movement.

These rank and file developments signify a qualitatively new development in the ranks of labor which carries with it a growing class consciousness which expresses itself in a growing class militancy against opportunism, labor bureaucracy, racism and anti-democratic practices. Important is the fact, that from below there is a growing awareness of the relationship between the fight to end the war in Indochina, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab lands, military budgets, etc., and the struggle for their own economic needs in general and against the wage freeze in particular.

Simply put, these developments represent the maturing of our class, a development which cannot but lead to greater class solidarity. The future of working class leadership of an anti-monopoly people's movement is being determined by present day events. The motive force of history, which in the final analysis will determine everything, is moving ahead.

The Party will do everything to guarantee that its leadership will help this process of independence from the monopolies. The Party must show that Nixon's offensive against the labor movement is the iron fist of monopoly against the organized working class. It is at the same time a fist directed against new attempts to organize the unorganized, and when we fight such polices we are fighting Nixon as the executive head, leading the fight for monopoly reaction. The monopolists defend their class interests. We must give that kind of Marxist-Leninist leadership which will help speed a development in which the working class, in struggle against the monopolists, defends its own class interests.

This is the road to the solution of the economic and social problems. Take the question of taxation. How are we going to defend the real wages of the workers? How are we going to prevent monopoly from throwing the burden of this crisis on their backs? How are we going to end the inequality between Black and white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, all oppressed, by ending the taxation of the poor and placing it on the backs of the rich? How are we going to expose the policies of the Nixon administration, the high command of the Democratic Party, Tweedledee and Tweedledum, with a foreign policy geared to the interests of those who wish to wage an offensive against national liberation, and against democracy at home as well? Our Party, and our Party alone, is capable of providing the kind of leadership that is needed in this period.

If in 1972 the election campaign becomes the totality of Party work, that is if the Party as a whole is helping to develop this rank and file movement, the result will be both in quantity and quality, a class movement in existence, which will exceed by far any past developments in labor history. The potential is great for organizing the mass fighting power of the people, in which the working class is the core, fighting monopoly, fighting trade union bureaucracy, class collaboration and social democratism. Our Party must emerge in a new way among masses who are not only listening today, but insist on hearing more about Communism. They will come closer and closer to us, and among them there will be many thousands who will join this Party.

That is why we are putting our best foot forward, committing the entire Party in this battle. That is why Comrade Gus Hall, our General Secretary, has been selected as our presidential candidate. That is why Jarvis Tyner, National Chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League and a member of the Political Committee, has been selected as his running mate, our vice-presidential candidate.

We are in a new situation which requires new responsibilities

for new tasks. Our accomplishments in fulfilling this role will depend upon our ability to solve a number of questions. There is, first of all, the necessity of helping to establish that kind of a committee which will bring together Communists and non-Communists on a national scale who will lead in the fight for the legality of the Communist Party, and organize the campaign to get the Party on the ballot. Such a battle will include the concept in many areas of urging civil libertarians and others to test the anti-Communist laws in the majority of states in the country.

In 1968, when Charlene Mitchell ran for President and Mike Zagarell for Vice President, the Party was on the ballot in only two states. The situation at that time had not developed as it has today. The crisis of confidence had not reached its present level of development. The growth in the peace movement, Black liberation movement, the labor movement, youth and women's movements has reached a new and higher stage of development than was the case in 1968. At that time it was possible to get on the ballot only in the states of Washington and Minnesota. Nevertheless, despite the difference in the political climate four years ago from now, the outstanding role of the Party and the outstanding role and candidacies of Mitchell and Zagarell contributed to a process of development which led to the present situation.

The new efforts of the Party must be a struggle, together with all democratic forces, to get on the ballot in at least 30 states. The maximum of concentration and the mass exercise of ingenuity must be brought into play in defense of democracy, which begins with the ballot rights of the Communists.

### **The Struggle for Ballot Status—A Survey**

Our Political Committee, together with our attorney John Abt, made a survey of the election laws in all the states.

This digest updates a similar digest prepared for 1968, and includes legislation in effect on the date indicated for each

state, in most cases the date of the adjournment of the 1970 legislature.

The principal legal problems raised by this survey are summarized below.

### 1. *Anti-Communist laws.*

Twenty-nine states have laws which bar, or may be construed to bar, the Communist Party and its members from the ballot. They include Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. All of these laws are unconstitutional under a series of decisions of the Warren Court. Light may be shed on the attitude of the Burger Court by a case, to be decided at its next term, in which a three-judge federal court upheld Ohio's loyalty oath for political parties.

Whatever that decision proves to be, however, it can be anticipated that state election officials will use the existing anti-Communist laws against the Party and that litigation will be required if it is to win a place on the ballot.

### 2. *Nominating petitions.*

Supreme Court decisions involving Illinois and Ohio and growing out of the 1968 elections gave promise of forcing the states with restrictive election laws to liberalize their requirements for placing a new party or independent candidate on the ballot. In fact, however, these decisions have not resulted in any major liberalization even of the laws of the states directly affected, let alone halted the trend toward more restrictive legislation, notably in a number of western and southern states where access to the ballot had been easy in 1968. (e.g., Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Mississippi, Virginia, Wisconsin.)

In *Moore v. Ogilvie* the Court invalidated Illinois' county quotas for independent nominating petitions (25,000 signatures, including 200 from each of 50 counties) on the ground that it violated the "one man, one vote" principle. This was followed by decisions invalidating similar county quotas in New York and Michigan.

Illinois and New York amended their election laws as a result of these decisions. But both states retain county quotas which, although less onerous than formerly, clearly violate the "one man, one vote" rule (Illinois, 25,000 signatures, but not more than 13,000 from any one county; New York, 20,000 signatures, including at least 100 from each of at least half the state's congressional districts). Michigan has not yet amended its law. Moreover, five other states (Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio and Utah) still require county quotas of one kind or another.

*Williams v. Rhodes* invalidated the Ohio law which made no provision for independent candidates and permitted new parties to qualify only by obtaining signatures numbering 15% of the vote for governor at the preceding election and complying with complex organizational requirements. These restrictions, as the Court held, made it virtually impossible to break the ballot monopoly of the two old parties.

Following this decision, Ohio amended its law, reduced the number of signatures for new party petitions to 7% of the gubernatorial vote, and provided for independent candidates on petition of voters numbering 4% of the gubernatorial vote, with specified county quotas (see digest). A three-judge federal court has invalidated these provisions as too restrictive, and Ohio has appealed to the Supreme Court which will hear the case next term.

The outcome of the Ohio case and the possibility of prevailing on the Supreme Court to require liberalization of restrictive provisions in other states (e.g., California) has been clouded by a recent case (June 21, 1971) in which the Court unanimously upheld the Georgia statute requiring independent or new party petitions to be signed by 5% of the registered voters of the state (roughly, 40,000 signatures) within a six-month period ending in June preceding the election. The Court distinguished *Williams v. Rhodes* on the grounds that Georgia permits a write-in vote, does not impose burdensome organizational requirements

on new parties, does not fix "an unreasonably early filing deadline," and does not require an "unreasonable" number of signatures.

As appears from this summary, the Party will have to institute litigation against anti-Communist election laws if it is to get on the ballot in a number of key states. It may also want to initiate court proceedings challenging high signature or other unreasonable restrictions on independent electoral action. Accordingly, the designation of concentration states—based on political and organizational considerations—should be made as soon as possible so that the legal situation in each of them can be reviewed and needed litigation started in time to secure decisions before the elections.

DIGEST OF STATE ELECTION LAW PROVISIONS (1)  
FOR INDEPENDENT OR NEW PARTY NOMINATIONS  
FOR PRESIDENT, AND (2) BARRING COMMUNIST  
CANDIDACIES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE.

Our Party as a whole must be aware of the following:

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1969

*Alabama*

Petition by 300 voters to be filed with Secretary of State prior to first Tuesday of May preceding election. Code 17-145.

Declaration of candidacy must be filed by March 1. Code 17-145 (3).

No Communist or nominee of the Communist Party may appear on the ballot. Code 14-97 (6).

1970

*Alaska*

Petition by 1,000 voters to be filed with Secretary of State prior to June 1. Stats. 15.25.150 and .160. No anti-Communist provisions.

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- 1970 . . . *Arizona*  
Petition by voters numbering 1% of vote for governor at last general election to be filed with Secretary of State not later than 10 days after the 8th Tuesday preceding election. Rev. Stats. 16-601, 301, 305, 702. Communist Party may not appear on ballot, and membership in it with knowledge it has an unlawful purpose is a felony. Rev. Stats. 13-706 and 707. Rev. Stats. 38-231 requiring non-Communist affidavits by public officers was held unconstitutional in *Elfbrandt v. Russell*, 384 U.S. 11.
- 1969 . . . *Arkansas*  
Petition by voters numbering 15% of vote for governor at the preceding general election to be filed with Secretary of State not later than 60 days before the election. Stats. 3-837. Held constitutional in *Coffelt v. Bryant*, 381 S.W. (2d) 731 (1964). Communist Party barred from ballot and non-Communist affidavits required of all newly organized parties. Stats. 3-1604. Little McCarran Act requires registration of Communists. Stats. 41-4125 et seq.
- 1970 . . . *California*  
Petition by voters numbering not less than 5% or more than 6% of vote cast at preceding general election. All excess signatures are discarded. Signatures may not be obtained more than 84 or less than 59 days before the election, and petitions must be filed with the appropriate county clerks within this period. Elections Code 6831 et seq.  
Prohibition against use of name of Communist Party

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on the ballot (Elections Code 2540.3 and .4) appears to have been repealed.

1970 *(Calif. supplement)*—A new party may be formed by qualifying it to participate in the primary. This is done by having voters numbering at least one per cent of the preceding vote for governor appear in person at the county clerk's offices and re-register (or register) with a declaration of their intent to affiliate with the new party. Elections Code 39, 6430, 311, 312. The required number of registrants must be obtained not later than 154 days before the June primary (i.e., by January 2). Elections Code 2501, 2503, 6460. Having qualified, the new party nominates presidential electors at a state convention in August. Elections Code 8002, 8022.

1970 *Colorado*  
Petition by 300 voters to be filed with Secretary of State 45 days before election. Rev. Stats. 49-7-1.  
No anti-Communist provisions.

1969 *Connecticut*  
Petition by voters numbering one-half of 1% of vote for same office at last preceding election to be filed with appropriate town clerks and by them filed with Secretary of State within three weeks after submission. No deadline for filing with the town clerk is specified. Gen'l. Stats. 9-453-57.  
No anti-Communist provisions.

1970 *Delaware*  
No provision for independent candidates. Political



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parties nominate at state conventions held before second Saturday in May. Code 15-3301. 1969 amendments repealing Code 15-4101 and redefining "political party" (see Code 15-101) make it virtually impossible to qualify a new party in the state.

A newly organized political party must file an affidavit that neither it nor any affiliate advocates violent overthrow. Code 15-4101. Members of the Communist Party who reside in or enter the state are required to register with the state police. Code 20-3501-03.

1970

*Florida*

Petition by 1% of registered voters to be submitted no later than August 15 preceding election or 35 days before the first primary, whichever is later, to county supervisors of registration who check the names and certify the result to the Secretary of State by September 1. Code 103.021.

1951 Op. Atty. Genl. 203 holds Communist Party not a political party and its members not eligible as candidates in view of state's Little Smith Act. Code 876.05.

1970

*Georgia*

A newly organized political party must register with the Secretary of State 60 days after its organization. Code 34-901. The party may nominate presidential electors at a state convention held in accordance with Code 34-1012. It may also nominate by petition of at least 5% of the eligible voters of the state at the last general election. The petition must be filed not later than the second Wednesday in June before the elec-

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tion, and all signatures must have been secured during the preceding 180 days. Code 34-1010, 1011. The Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of these provisions.

Sedition and Subversive Activities Act, Code 26-901a et. seq. does not in terms bar candidacies of the Communist Party or its members.

1970

*Hawaii*

A new party may be formed by petition of 1% of the registered voters of the state and filed at least 120 days before the primary. The party must have a statewide organization and maintain county committees in every county but Kalawao. Election Law, 11-61, 62. Presidential electors are nominated at a party convention and certified by August 31. Election Law, 14-21. There is no provision for independent nominations.

1970

*Idaho*

A new political party may be formed by petition of voters equal in number to 10% of the vote for governor at the preceding election and filed not later than June 20. A party convention, held not later than June 30, nominates candidates. Code 34-501, 707, 708. No provision for independent candidates.

1970

*Illinois*

Petition by 25,000 voters who have not voted in the primary, but not more than 13,000 from the same county, to be filed with state electoral board at least 92 days before the election. Code 10-3, 6. Non-Communist affidavits required of all candidates.

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Election Code 7-10.1, 10-5. Communist Party apparently disqualified from appearing on ballot. Election Code 7-2, 8-2, 8-10. But see *Feinglass v. Reinecke*, 48 F. Supp. 438 (1942), holding latter sections invalid, at least in the absence of proof of unlawful activity by the Communist Party.

1969

*Indiana*

Petition by voters numbering one half of 1% of vote for Secretary of State at preceding election, to be filed with Secretary of State by September 1 preceding election. Stats. 29-3801, 29-3805.

Affidavits required of all political parties that they do not advocate violent overthrow and have no relation to any foreign government or party. Stats. 29-3812. Membership in Communist Party is unlawful, and no Communist may hold public office. Stats. 10-5204, 10-5207.

1970

*Iowa*

Presidential electors may be nominated by a caucus of 250 electors, including one from each of 25 counties, and certified to the Secretary of State at least 60, and not more than 85, days before the election. Code 44.1-44.4. They may also be nominated by a petition signed by 1,000 voters and filed as in the case of the certificate of a caucus. Code 45.1, 45.4. No anti-Communist provisions.

1970

*Kansas*

Independent nominations are made by petition of 2,500 voters to be filed with Secretary of State, by June 20 preceding election. Stats. 25-303, 305, 205.

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New party nominations are made by petition of voters numbering at least 3% of total vote for governor in the preceding general election. The petition must be verified by the appropriate county clerks and filed with the Secretary of State by April 20 preceding the election. Stats. 25-302a.

The Communist Party is barred from the ballot, and newly organized parties must file affidavits of non-affiliation with it. Stats. 25.116-117.

1970

*Kentucky*

Petition by 1,000 voters to be filed with Secretary of State at least 55 days before first Tuesday after fourth Monday of May preceding election. Rev. Stats. 118.130, 119.040.

No anti-Communist provisions.

1970

*Louisiana*

Petition by 1,000 voters to be filed with Secretary of State by date of second primary preceding election. Rev. Stats. 18-623, 18-624. For primary dates see Rev. Stats. 18-356, 18-299.

Communist Party may not appear on ballot, and all candidates are required to file non-Communist affidavits. Rev. Stats. 14-365, 14-372.

1970

*Maine*

Petition by voters numbering 1% of votes for governor at preceding election to be filed with Secretary of State by August 15 preceding the election. Rev. Stats. 21-492.

No anti-Communist provisions.

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1970

*Maryland*

Petition by 3% of registered voters to be filed with county boards for verification at least 70 days prior to September primary and with state board at least 35 days prior to the primary. Code 33-7.1, 5.2.

Candidates are required to file "non-subversive person" affidavits. Code 85A-15, 1. Requirement held unconstitutional in *Whitehill v. Elkins*, 389 U.S. 54, and inapplicable to congressional candidates in *Shub v. Simpson*, 19 Md. 177.

1970

*Massachusetts*

Petition by voters numbering 3% of vote for governor at preceding election, not more than one third from any one county, to be filed with Secretary of State by the 14th Tuesday preceding the election. Laws 53-6, 53-9, 53-10.

Communist Party declared to be a subversive organization. Laws 264-16A. Party and its members may be ineligible to appear on ballot. Laws 53-8, 50-1, 264-19, 264-20.

1971

*Michigan*

New party secures ballot status by filing with Secretary of State 6 months before the election petition of voters numbering not less than 1% nor more than 4% of vote for successful candidate for Secretary of State at preceding election, petition to include at least 100 voters in each of 10 counties. Not more than 35% of minimum signatures required may come from any one county. All signatures must be obtained within the period of six months preceding the filing date of

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the petition. Stats. 168.685. After qualifying, the new party nominates presidential electors at a state convention. Stats. 168.42.

Stats. 28.243 (17) barring Communists and nominees of the Communist Party from the ballot held unconstitutional.

- 1971 *Michigan* (supplement)  
The provisions for county quotas were declared unconstitutional. But there were no amendments as of July, 1971.
- 1970 *Minnesota*  
Petition by voters numbering 1% of the state-wide vote at the preceding general election, but not more than 2,000 to be filed with Secretary of State by the first Tuesday after the second Monday in September preceding the election. Stats. 202.09, 202.11, 202.13, 202.02.  
No anti-Communist provisions.
- 1970 *Mississippi*  
A 1970 amendment to the election law (Code 3260) has eliminated provisions permitting the nomination of candidates by petition, and there does not appear to be any provision for qualifying a new political party.  
All candidates must file affidavits that they are not "subversive persons" as defined by statute. Code 4064-07, 4064-01.
- 1970 *Missouri*  
Nominations are made by petition of voters numbering, in each congressional district, 1% of the votes for

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governor cast in the district at the preceding election, or by voters numbering, in at least one half of the congressional districts, 2% of the vote for governor in each such district. Petitions must be filed with the Secretary of State by July 31, in the case of a new party, and by the last Tuesday in April, in the case of independent candidates. Stats. 120, 160, 180, 240, 340. No group advocating violent overthrow may qualify as a political party. Stats. 120, 140.

1970

*Montana*

Nominations by petition of voters numbering at least 5% of the total vote cast for governor at the preceding election, and filed 90 days before the election. Code, 23-3318.

Subversive Organizations Registration Act does not in terms bar the Communist Party or its members from the ballot. Code, 94-4411 et seq.

1970

*Nebraska*

Presidential and vice-presidential candidates may be nominated by a new political party which is organized by petition of voters numbering at least 1% of the vote for governor at the preceding election and distributed so as to include at least 1% of the vote for governor in at least one-fifth of the counties of the state. A sample petition must be filed with the Secretary of State and the complete petition filed 90 days before the primary. Upon certification, the party participates in the primary and nominates presidential electors at a post-primary convention not later than October 1. Presidential electors may not be nominated by independent nominating petitions. Stats. 32-526,

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556, 504 (1969 amendments).

The Communist Party may not be recognized as a political party, and all of its rights are terminated. Members having knowledge of the unlawful purpose of the Party are guilty of sedition. Rev. Stats. 28-747 et seq.

1969 *Nevada*

Petition by voters numbering 5% of vote for congressman at preceding general election to be filed not earlier than second Monday in June nor later than second Friday in July preceding the election. Rev. Stats. 293.200.

Members of organizations on the U.S. Attorney General's subversive list are ineligible for "a position in the public service." Rev. Stats. 284.425.

1970 *New Hampshire*

Petition by 1,000 voters to be filed with Secretary of State 40 days before the election. Rev. Stats. 56:65-56:68.

"Subversive" and "foreign subversive" organizations are illegal and their members are punishable. Rev. Stats. 588:1 et seq.

1970 *New Jersey*

Petition by 800 voters to be filed with Secretary of State 40 days before the election. Stats. 19:13-3 - 19:13-9.

No anti-Communist provisions.

1970 *New Mexico*

A new party files its rules with the Secretary of State and then nominates candidates by a petition signed



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by voters numbering at least 5% of the vote for governor at the last election, and filed with the Secretary of State not less than 57 days before the election. Stats. 3-7-1—3-7-6; 3-8-2—3-8-4.

Communist organizations are required to register and file lists of their members. Stats. 4-15-1 et seq.

1971

*New York*

Petition by 20,000 registered voters of whom at least 100 reside in each of one half of the congressional districts of the state. Signatures must be secured within 6 weeks of filing date. Election Law, 138 (1971 amendment). Filing date, usually September, will be fixed at 1972 legislative session.

No anti-Communist provisions

1969

*North Carolina*

New party is organized by petition of 10,000 voters to be filed with Secretary of State by July 1 preceding election. New party nominates by convention and certifies nominees to State Board of Elections no later than August 1. Gen'l Stats. 163-96—163-98. Independent candidates may be nominated by petition of voters numbering 25% of vote at preceding gubernatorial election filed before last Saturday in May. Gen'l. Stats. 163-122.

No anti-Communist provisions.

1969

*North Dakota*

Petition by 300 voters to be filed with Secretary of State 40 days before the election. Code 16-03-02, 16-05-03.

No anti-Communist provisions.

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1970

*Ohio*

Independent candidates may be nominated by voters number 4% of the vote for governor or president at the preceding election, including at least 200 from each of 30 counties, and not more than 35% from any one county, to be filed 90 days before first Tuesday after first Monday in May. Code 3513.25.8. New party may be organized by petition of voters numbering 7% of vote for governor or president at preceding election and filed 120 days before the primary. It then nominates like other parties. Code 3517.01. Both provisions held unconstitutional, now on appeal to Supreme Court.

Parties advocating violent overthrow barred from ballot and all parties required to file affidavits they don't so advocate. Code 3517.07. This provision was upheld and included in the appeal.

1970

*Oklahoma*

New party must hold a convention, adopt a platform and principles, and then file a petition of 5,000 voters with Secretary of State, after which its candidates will be placed on ballot. Stats. 26-229; *Cooper v. Cartwright*, 200 Okla. 456.

No person directly or indirectly affiliated with Communist Party may be a candidate. Stats. 26-162b.

1969

*Oregon*

Petition by voters numbering 3% of votes for president at preceding election to be filed with Secretary of State not more than 100 nor less than 70 days before the election. Nominations may also be made at a

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convention attended by at least 1,000 voters. Rev. Stats. 249.710, 249.730, 249.740, 249.770.

Members of organizations advocating violent overthrow may not be candidates. Rev. Stats. 236.030.

1970

*Pennsylvania*

Petition by voters numbering 2% of the largest vote cast for any elected state-wide candidate at the preceding election to be filed with the Secretary of the Commonwealth on or before the seventh Wednesday prior to the fourth Tuesday in April. Signatures may not be obtained earlier than 3 weeks before the deadline for filing. Stats. 25-2911, 2913, 2753. Petition must state the names of the presidential and vice presidential candidates. 25-2912.

Political party or body whose purpose is violent overthrow may not nominate candidates. Stats. 25-2936. Communist Party declared illegal and not entitled to any rights under state law. Stats. 18-311.

1970

*Rhode Island*

Petition by 500 voters to be filed with Secretary of State not later than 30 days preceding second Tuesday after first Monday in September preceding the election. Gen'l. Laws 17-16-1, 17-16-11, 17-15-1.

No anti-Communist provisions.

1969

*South Carolina*

Independent nominations may be made by petition of 10,000 voters to be filed with Secretary of State at least 60 days before the election. Code 23-400.16. A new party may be organized at any time by petition of 10,000 voters filed with Secretary of State. The new

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party nominates by convention and certifies its candidates to the Secretary of State at least 90 days before the election. Code 23-251.

"Organizations subject to foreign control" and their members are required to register. Code 16-581, et seq.

1971

*South Dakota*

Independent nominations may be made by petition of voters numbering not less than 2% nor more than 5% of votes for governor at last general election to be filed with the Secretary of State 65 days before the election. Code 12-71; 12-8-5, 6. A new party may be organized by petition of voters numbering 10% of the vote for governor at the last general election and filed with the Secretary of State 40 days before the primary. Code 12-5-1.

No anti-Communist provisions.

1970

*Tennessee*

Independent candidates are nominated by petition of 25 voters filed with county election commissioners by the 1st Thursday in September before the election. Code 2-1206. A new party is organized by petition of voters numbering 5% of preceding vote for president and filed, with certificate of nominations, as in the case of independent nominating petitions. Code 2-1205.

No party or candidate advocating violent overthrow may appear on the ballot. Code 2-106-107, 2-1203-1204. A new party must file an affidavit that it does not so advocate. Communist Party found to advocate violent overthrow and declared unlawful; membership is

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prima facie evidence that member advocates violent overthrow. Code 39-4420 et seq.

1970.

*Texas*

Petition by voters numbering 1% of vote for governor at last general election to be filed with Secretary of State within 30 days after first Saturday in June preceding election. Election Code 13.50, 10.03.

No candidate of Communist Party may appear on the ballot. All candidates except for presidential electors must file loyalty affidavits. Election Code 13.6.02 (as amended 1963) and 13.6.03.

1970

*Utah*

Nominations may be made by a new party which is organized by petition of 500 voters, including at least 10 from each of 10 counties, filed with the Secretary of State by March 15 preceding the election. Nominations are then made at a party convention and certified to the Secretary of State. Code 20-3-2; 20-4-3. No anti-Communist provisions.

1970

*Vermont*

Petition by voters numbering 1% of vote for governor at last general election to be filed with Secretary of State (after certification by the Town Clerks) not more than 60 nor less than 47 days before the election. Stats. 17-573, 574, 576, 577. No anti-Communist provisions.

1970

*Virginia*

Nominations are made by petition of voters numbering  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the qualified voters of the state as of

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January 1, preceding the election, and filed 60 days before the election. Candidates may appear under a party designation if the party had a central committee and chairman in existence for 6 months prior to filing the petition. Otherwise, candidates appear as independents. Code 24.1-159. No anti-Communist provisions.

1970 *Washington*

New party nominates at convention held Tuesday following second Monday of September preceding election and attended either by 100 voters or by 10 voters from each congressional district. Delegates must sign nominating certificate to be filed with Secretary of State by the Tuesday following the convention. Code 29.24.010, 29.24.080, 29.13.070.

Person convicted of knowing membership in "subversive" or "foreign subversive" organizations may not be a candidate. Code 9.81.040. Loyalty oath required of public employees by Code 9.81.070 held unconstitutional in *Baggett v. Bullitt*, 377 U.S. 360.

1971 *West Virginia*

Petition by voters numbering not less than 1% of the vote for president at the preceding election, to be filed with the Secretary of State not later than the Monday preceding the second Tuesday in May. Candidate's declaration of candidacy must be filed at least 30 days before deadline for petition. Code 3-5-23, 24. No anti-Communist provisions.

1970 *Wisconsin*

Nominations are made by petition of not less than

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3,000 or more than 5,000 voters, which may not be circulated before August 1 and must be filed with the Secretary of State by the third Tuesday in September preceding the election. Stats. 8.20.

No party directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party may participate in an election. Stats. 12.49.

1970

*Wyoming*

Nominations are made by petition of voters numbering 5% of vote for representative in Congress at the preceding election and filed with the Secretary of State not more than 90 or less than 40 days before the election. Stats. 22-27, 29, 30.

No party directly or indirectly affiliated with Communist Party, and no member of the Party, may participate in an election. Stats. 22-118.79, 9-698.

## **Gear Our Party to Masses in Elections**

The denial of ballot rights to Communists by law, and/or impossible qualification requirements, is at one and the same time a denial of ballot rights to all minority parties and a conscious class act of monopoly to prevent the emergence of a popular people's party. Here is a clear example which shows how in practice the fight against democracy in general always begins with an attack against the Communist Party. The fight for the ballot rights of the Communist Party is a battle for democracy as a whole.

Our determination to get on the ballot in 30 states is a major undertaking. A decision of this meeting should be that, without delay, the party undertake all legal measures aimed at challeng-

ing the anti-democratic, fascist-like laws which bar Communists. These legal initiatives must be backed by struggles on all fronts for the needs of the people in general, and the right, the democratic right to get on the ballot.

The Political Committee and the organizational department of our Party will undertake to direct this aspect of our electoral work in 1972. It is also urged however, that this approach of the Political Committee and the National Committee be followed up by state committees and state boards. This approach does not preclude a situation where Hall and Tyner may be nominated by other political parties.

It is absolutely essential that the work of our educational department be reconstructed and completely geared to issuing mass material in written form, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets, material for use on radio and TV, and other forms of visual education, using drama and what have you, in order to get the message of the Communist Party to the millions in this country. New organizational measures must be taken to solve the special question of literature. The classical documents? Yes—but popular mass documents as well.

One of the basic criteria of the effectiveness of our work will be determined by the extent to which there will be a growth in the circulation of the *Daily World* and the *People's World*. This must be a major undertaking. These papers must become the medium through which we speak daily and weekly to the masses. Our press, just as must be the case with our Party, must be geared to the single task of expressing the main position of our Party.

I say single, but single, in this instance, means the war in Indochina, it means the wage freeze, it means racism, it means all the problems of the Puerto Rican community, Chicanos, Indians, women and youth. This is the content of the single task.

At the same time, Communists are in a position to convince friends and sympathizers of the Party who are editors of many national group papers who will understand that this is a mo-



ment in which the maximum effort possible is required to defend the interests of the class, the interests of the people. They will recognize that crimes committed in the name of so-called national interests in Indochina, in Africa, throughout the world, are conducted in the name of the American workers, Black and white, while it is precisely these people who have to pay both in foreign and domestic policy, while monopoly waxes fat at their expense. The national group papers must find ways to bring to their readers and friends the truth about socialism, the Soviet Union, working class struggles against monopoly which will be expressed by Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, and by the Communist Party during the campaign.

The growth of the Party will be a major measuring rod of the effectiveness of our work. The building of shop and community clubs, the winning of masses to our party is an indispensable requirement of the moment, but also for the future. We must prepare ourselves for the big task already upon us, but also for bigger ones to come.

What then have I been saying? Simply this—that Nixon has a concentration policy, and within that policy works to defend the interests of monopoly. This is the essence of the wage freeze. This is the essence of the floating dollar and the fight to strengthen his position among the ruling class here in the U.S. and on a world scale. The essence of his concentration policy goes to the core of the problem. It is a concentration policy directed against that class which is on the side of history, the class which will win the future. That is why his concentration policy, expressed in the wage freeze, is a dagger in the hands of monopoly against the working class. Nixon knows concentration. He knows that by an offensive against the working class you can have an offensive against all the people.

I said earlier that we must have a change in policy.

The effort of the Party must be two-fold—on the one hand it must consist of supporting all militant and progressive currents to the end of leading toward greater unity and a higher devel-

opment in consciousness, and on the other hand, to help extend the labor movement by participating in the drive to organize the unorganized in general and in the south in particular.

We must help to extend the struggle further and move it to a higher plane, giving an organized form to spontaneous movements of workers, greater content to the movement against opportunism, racism, and trade union bureaucracy. We say that today, the winning of this class is a many-sided fight which must involve all social forces in the country, including the student body.

Winning the working class includes, in my judgment, a fight to change the curriculum in the school system. This curriculum distorts the role of labor in general and the role of Communists in particular. It conceals the role of monopoly, its greed, its planless plundering of the country in its drive for profits, its use of racism to keep the people divided. When you reach the young people in our schools you are reaching a stratum of the population who basically come from working class parents. It is about these things that Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, and our Party will talk during the election campaign of 1972.

Now some try to make a distinction between consumer and worker. All right, let's accept this for the sake of argument. But isn't it true that under conditions of monopoly attacks on the conditions of life of people generally, that all strata of the people are concerned with ever rising taxes and prices and deterioration of services? Professional and middle class, skilled and unskilled alike, there is no community in which work is not needed which can help a total policy aimed at strengthening the ranks of labor, its class position, its fighting position, the alliance of labor with other sectors of the people. It is a sectarian point of view not to see two questions at once—solidarity and alliance, and the development in that alliance of working class ideology.

You see, Comrades, this is already happening. Take Chicago—what does Operation Breadbasket mean? This is a significant development in that city. Its significance however, goes far beyond the boundaries of Illinois, and dips into every city in the country, and in the first place into the ghettos.

Operation Breadbasket is an arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, one of the most important movements among Black people championing the cause of Black liberation. The significance of this development is emphasized by a specific approach to the special problems of Black men and women. The sharpening economic, political and social problems which hit Black people hardest, find major emphasis given by the leaders of this movement to the 45 billion dollar market in the ghetto. The question as to who will control this market—the monopolists or the Black capitalists, is a major concern of the leadership of Operation Breadbasket.

This struggle is a reflection of the national struggle—that is, unity of an entire people, of all strata, under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie and small business people against the monopoly chains. It is a concrete expression of national discrimination on the one hand, and the unity of that national movement against the source of that oppression. At the same time, the income of Black people does not come primarily from the ghetto, but from industries outside the ghetto, controlled by the white monopolists.

The main arena in which the job fight is developing is to make advances in the fight against job discrimination—to break down discriminatory barriers in job training, the fight for skilled jobs for Black workers, and against all the special forms of discrimination in the shops.

This main struggle, in the womb of monopoly, merges with the struggle on all fronts inside the ghetto. The entry of the labor movement into such a fight represents a new day in the fight for the alliance of the labor movement and the whole of the Black people for equality. Thus Jesse Jackson of Operation Breadbasket and Charles Hayes of the Amalgamated Meatcutters are symbolic of a profound development which has great meaning in the fight to strengthen class solidarity with that of an alliance with the whole Black people. Necessarily, there will be within the movement varying tendencies. I think that everyone will agree that this is life, but that finding agreements and

answers to problems which may emerge are resolvable only in the course of the struggle itself.

It is clear that within such a movement, led by the petty bourgeoisie, the primary concern is not advance of the masses of Black men and women, but rather that of the top social strata. To achieve that necessitates an appeal by them to Black masses, expressing their special interests as being those of the Black people as a whole. The limitations of such a leadership are obvious. There will be many vacillations among them—some may even be satisfied with receiving a few more crumbs for themselves from the rich white man's table, even though the material conditions of the masses remain unchanged.

That is why entry of the organized sector of the working class into this development is so essential. That is why it is in the interests of the whole people that labor share in, and assume even greater leadership of the movement in, the fight against monopoly. This will guarantee that the movement of solidarity and alliances here expressed will be prepared for any and all possible developments.

Marxist-Leninists must understand that which is developing and not lose their bearings during the zigs and zags of this kind of movement. They should never be surprised if some of its leaders, even at the point of its greatest achievements, will give up this battle. Communists must, on the contrary, skillfully and more boldly develop their work in such a way as to guarantee that the interests of the masses are defended and advanced at all times.

To refrain from participating in such a movement because of its present level of development, and because of differences, is an expression of a form of sectarianism which fails to see the forest for the trees. On the other hand, let not the forest prevent us from seeing the trees. Should we not ask this question: if such a movement can develop in Chicago, then why not in Harlem, Brooklyn, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Newark and elsewhere? For that kind of development, our Party is needed.

Why do we need such a party in the campaign? Well, of course

we are interested in votes, there can be no mistake about that. But the election campaign must become the mass forum through which the ideas of our Party become known to the people. It is in this context, and with this kind of approach, that we should undertake to prepare all state conventions, all district conventions.

## **'72 is Decisive**

The year 1972 is decisive. What we do is important, not only for our own country, but for the entire world. The opportunities are great. What is needed is for our Party to be there. The leadership our Party can give is needed to help further develop the mass movements which are now engaging every single family in this country around issues concerning the pocketbook.

In this regard we have to see that there will be in motion not only the workers, not only Black folk, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Indians, not only women and youth as separate and distinct forces, but also as a part of the total. And we must see that these masses, as a group but also as individuals, will do things requiring special approaches, special appeals, special programs. The platform which our Party will elaborate must be adapted to those special problems. Our Party can help develop to the maximum the rank and file movement which includes all of those movements about which I spoke, but especially TUAD, as a force which can help to bring into being in a parallel united way, on the basis of a common program, a movement in which the Left asserts itself—in which the Left can become a factor in promoting all of the demands of the people.

Let me give you an example of what I mean. Take Black folk as such. The *New York Times* the other day had an article from Atlanta based upon a study there on the position taken by Black workers. They argue that what is needed in this period is an organization of Black folk which expresses the demands of Black folk in every sector of life, but a program which sees as its first task that of unity in the ghetto itself, separate and distinct from

other social forces in the country. Now everyone will agree that unity of the Black community is essential. But the question is, unity on the basis of what kind of policy? Will it be a policy, after formulation of a program which corresponds to the vital needs of Black folk, that will chart a course which will guarantee that it will be achieved? Such a course presupposes unity with all sectors fighting monopoly.

Within the Black community there exists one of the most advanced forms of democratic and anti-imperialist activity. It must be developed. The concept of independence here is on a much higher level perhaps than in any other social group. Lorne Bennett Jr., in an article entitled "White Hopes and Other Coalitions" in the October 1971 issue of *Ebony*, writes of the tasks before Black folk, and poses six questions as they relate to the development of a coalition.

The first, as he puts it, is a coalition with the power structure. This approach is "based on the idea that the powerful are not in direct competition with Blacks for goods and services," hence, "can afford to be more generous and charitable." The second is the attempt to create a Black and white coalition which, Bennett writes, has revolved around middle-class white progressives or liberals who, he grants, have made substantial contributions to racial progress, . . . but tend to be conflict shy." He quotes Ralph Bunche as saying in the 1940s that . . . "White liberals are attempting to work within a system which is opposed to basic change, and they do not try nor do they desire to change that system in any of its fundamentals."

The third coalition strategy, according to Bennett, is "based on a projected alliance with relatively poor whites. This is the basis of the ancient and enduring dream of Black and white labor solidarity . . . unfortunately, however, white workers are in direct competition with Blacks for jobs, commodities and living space. . . ." The fourth strategy proposes an alliance between "Blacks and radical whites of the old and new left." "These radical whites," he says, . . . "articulate radical programs and adopt radical life styles. But they have never created

substantial white constituencies."

The fifth idea is that of coalition with "other minorities and ethnic groups"—the third world concept. Sixth and last, "Black people," he says, "have attempted to ally with themselves. By and large these attempts have been based on the idea that it is impossible to create an external coalition without an internal coalition. They have been based generally on the eminently correct idea that a group which coalesces from a position of weakness and confusion always helps its allies and harms itself."

Now Bennett's conclusion is that the problem of coalition for Black people in 1972 consists in the need for inner unity. Not unity between the UAW and the Urban League, but unity between the Urban League and the NAACP. And when you achieve that kind of unity then you are able to perform from positions of strength.

What is missing here? The problems of Black masses, Black workers. Their demands are not sharply put as a major need. And yet I hasten to say that their problems, all the way down the line as Bennett projects them, are problems which must be solved nonetheless, and the Party must help to solve them, because this is an indispensable part of the fight for the broadest kind of unity with all social forces fighting monopoly, and the Party, in the first place, must help to achieve that.

Then there is the position of Bayard Rustin. He calls for a coalition of workers, liberals and Black people, but at the same time he said at a dinner held in his honor sponsored by a national committee of labor, religious, civil rights and business leaders, that . . . "I think it's a mistake to concentrate on racism." So he sees a contradiction between a coalition of liberals, workers and Black people and fighting racism. This kind of conception must be rejected. A coalition which doesn't battle racism is not a coalition which serves the needs of the oppressed people.

This was highlighted by the Congressional Black Caucus when, at their strategy meeting in October they sounded the alarm about the danger of the number of Black Congressmen being re-

duced by racist gerrymandering. In a letter to the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic Parties, Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Cal.), vice president of the caucus, stated . . . "Failure on the part of the national committee of both parties to strenuously oppose the deliberate breaking up of black voting blocks by redistricting constitutes tacit approval of such procedures." (*New York Post*—October 26, 1971).

According to an article in *Muhammad Speaks*, November 5, 1971, Washington Director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights, James Robertson, charges that a backlash of racist maneuvering is already being felt in various sections of the country. As many as 17 states already have begun submitting new redistricting plans that he feels could end the terms of seven Black Congressmen. Mr. Robertson states that Congressmen who could be affected by redistricting include Rep. George Collins of Illinois, Rep. William Clay of Missouri, Rep. Ron Dellums of California, Rep. Louis Stokes of Ohio, Reps. Charles Diggs and John Conyers of Michigan who might find themselves in the same district, and Rep. Parren Mitchell of Maryland.

This fight by the Congressional Black Caucus and other Black officials against the danger of racist gerrymandering is just one of the issues they are considering in devising strategies for 1972. And this group is just one example of the many independent forms mushrooming all over the country, inside and outside the Democratic Party. This fight for independence at the present time develops along many lines, takes many different forms, but all headed in one direction. For example there are the reform Democrats, the independent Democrats, the young Democrats, and the committees for liberal representation. There are COPE, DRIVE, LNPL, and others. There are the voters leagues and the registration leagues that are developing throughout the country. We do not have to mention such groups as the Black caucuses which exist in the unions and the Democratic Party as well. Nor do we have to mention the National Democratic Party of Alabama, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the recently organized National Women's Political



Caucus, the Youth Caucus, or the millions of new young voters, or the multitude of Democratic hopefuls seeking the nomination of the Democratic Party, such as McGovern, Muskie and the like. The primaries become the first arena of struggle not only for Presidential candidates but also for Congressional and legislative candidates and convention delegates of the Black caucus, and of labor, women and youth, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Indians, as well as the peace advocates. The need for coalition and the importance of the primaries becomes obvious.

I have mentioned these developments for one purpose only, and that is to place this question: Are we, or can we be indifferent to the struggle of the masses now taking shape in the country? Are we not interested in the shape of things in those parties in which the issues of peace, of racism become the issues? I would like to give my position, and the position of the Political Committee, and I say without hesitation, we are interested.

Our Party will help to steel the movements for independence and work to win them for a concerted action against Tweedledee and Tweedledum, against a Nixon or a Jackson. At the same time the Party will give support to all tendencies which lead toward the formation of a people's party which will bring together all independent forces around an anti-monopoly movement which fights for peace, democracy and equal rights.

The three pronged tactic of our Party consists of the fight for a large Communist vote, the maximum development of the independent movement of labor and the people in whatever form it may take in promoting progressive policies, and all out support to efforts being made for the creation of a people's party.

From the vantage point of mass struggle, I think that the second prong of our policy during 1972 is not, and must not be one in which sectarian political formations are established, but must be independent forms which bring pressure to bear at every point where it needs to be brought to bear. This does not mean that in areas like California where the Peace and Freedom Party is on the ballot our Party would oppose this. I am not

speaking of state formations. I am speaking about a national direction, a national focus of politics in which the main form would be that of building up an independent movement of an advanced character which can play a role in the wider struggle. This wider struggle and the massive nature of developments inside the Democratic Party must be understood by us. The objective of this struggle should be to fight for a peace alternative against the candidates of two labels for U.S. imperialism.

If reaction is able to defeat such an effort at the Democratic convention, then the only correct course for independents must be the creation of a people's party. Such a party, in program, will sharply move not only against the machine, but against reaction in capitalism's two party set-up as well. If in 1968 George Wallace was able to create his own party and get on the ballot in most states and develop his fascist program, what prevents the independent forces within the Democratic Party from uniting and forming a people's party which puts forth its own candidates who will fight for peace and democracy?

Such a development is possible, the achievement of which would be a tremendous forward step for the people. It would be the expression of a mass breakaway from the Democratic Party. This aspect of our policy will be actively fought for by our entire Party, especially by Comrades Hall and Tyner.

It is clear that a people's party, which would be the leading expression of a mass breakaway from the two parties of capitalism, while expressing a very high form of independence, is not yet an anti-monopoly coalition developed to the point of an anti-monopoly party as formulated in our Party program.

I think, Comrades, to conclude, that the key element is the concept of the total election, and how we mobilize the Party, organize the Party, present its views and make use of the public meetings. If we do this, Comrades, we will come to November 1972 with a Party we can be truly proud of, a larger press, a larger membership, a Party whose ties with organized masses have been strengthened many times over.

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