

# PARTY AFFAIRS

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## 20th Convention Charts Our Course

### Follow Through and Action on 20th Convention Decisions

Our 20th National Convention was truly historic. The tackling of basic issues in all major areas of our work, the concrete working out of programs and immediate plans of work, charts our course for months to come.

The changed composition of our Party was reflected in the delegates who made up the convention--youth, Black, Chicano, working class, women, stood out in their active participation.

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A political estimate of all aspects of the convention will be published in the April issue of Political Affairs, by Joe North. There will be the following series of individually printed pamphlets and folders containing major reports and programmatic materials:

- 1) Main Report by Gus Hall
- 2) Report on Building the Party and our Organization by Daniel Rubin
- 3) Report on Ideological Struggle for Class Solidarity in the Battle Against Racism by Henry Winston
- 4) Report on the Fight to Free Angela Davis by Charlene Mitchell
- 5) Adopted Main Resolution

and Theses

- 6) Adopted Program on Black Liberation with report by Jarvis Tyner and introduction by Gus Hall
- 7) Program on Chicano Liberation
- 8) Election Platform for 1972
- 9) Party Program as Amended and Adopted at the 20th Convention
- 10) Party Constitution as Amended and Adopted at the 20th Convention

We will have all other reports and programs adopted in this and subsequent issues of Party Affairs, as well as floor discussion material that is valuable for improving our understanding and plan of action on any given point.

The general concensus of opinion on the part of convention participants is that this convention was basic, practical and inspirational in most aspects. It is our hope that this spirit will be carried over into our club life and Party work. Our Party can and must demonstrate fully its role in the United States as a vanguard political Party of the working class.

#### How Every Member Should Get Convention Materials

Our experience in the pre-convention discussion period of every member receiving materials including Party Affairs through mailing directly to clubs proved quite successful. We want to continue this practice for all materials listed above and for all main reports from Central Committee meetings and published in pamphlet form as well as Party Affairs.

To make this possible, it will be necessary to charge, at the rate of \$3.00 per member, for the period from now to the end of 1972. This amount does not cover the full cost of all materials that will be issued. It will be necessary for the Organization Department to plan additional ways of raising funds to subsidize this publishing program. We consider this most necessary so that every member will have the benefit of deliberations from the 20th Convention and Central Committee meetings.

Clubs and District organizations need to discuss how the \$3.00 per member should be collected. We will bill the district \$3.00 per member. The important aspect of this is that every member is to receive these materials as club and/or Districts get them. It is not a voluntary matter for a club to decide--but every member is to receive all material.

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## Panel Report on Women

By Alva Buxenbaum

I would like to start with the commentary that there is a much higher level of awareness at this Convention on the whole question of women. This is also a part of the assessment of the times and the fact that the Party is relating correctly to the demands and needs of our people today. This was also true in the pre-Convention discussion and is now reflected in other areas of the Party's work including industrial concentration, Black liberation, cadre training, etc. This points to a new unity of approach. We are now in a stage of relating to the mass questions of the day and implementing policy in a mass way.

We lacked time in our panel and, thus, were limited in our ability to discuss many of the theoretical questions and mass tasks for the Party. However, even though there was a time limit on discussing and strengthening the draft, there was no evident disagreement with the scope and direction of the "Thesis on Women's Equality" as it appeared in Party Affairs.

There was agreement with the characterization of new developments and direction of the movement in Comrade Hall's Main Report, and in agreeing with the collective assessment of the period reported on by Comrade Hall, we want to project the following mass tasks in keeping with our Party's assessment of the qualitative change in developments and what is required of us.

First, on updating the Draft Thesis I'm going to give some proposals interspersed with some characterizations of new things that are happening. Included are the new developments added in Comrade Hall's Report of what has taken place since the draft document was written several months ago. Already, in that short time, there have been some very big changes in the movement for women's equality--also an indication of the high level of mass struggle which characterizes today.

In addition to the effects of the productivity drive and its special effects on women workers in industry, we must also add a second description of the effects upon the unemployed, the least skilled, the lowest paid and unorganized--the effects on Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, Asian and white working class women.

We must describe just how state monopoly capitalism makes the people pay for the crisis and the specifics of its effect on these sections of the population, which is epitomized in the recent attacks on welfare recipients through legislation. The aim is to pit welfare recipients against other sections of the work force, especially the least skilled, the unemployed and unorganized workers.



The intentions of this tactic are to create a permanent category of unemployed and thereby a growing section of the population which has no future and consequently become demoralized, dehumanized and immobilized from working class struggles.

That is the intent of state-monopoly-capital at this stage of the game. That is what they intend to do with the current productivity drive, not only in relation to the industrial workers, women in industry at the point of production, but also in relation to other sections of the work force including those women who are unemployed and unorganized and those who are now on welfare.

We used sections of a document on welfare submitted by Southern California to strengthen the document in this respect. The Southern California document on welfare was a fine contribution to our discussion and will add a great deal to the work of our Commission. It refers specifically to measures that the Administration uses, as HR-1, the so-called Family Assistance Plan (which we call the family destruction plan) and other legislation aimed in this direction.

Secondly, we must work out--and this is the job of the Commission--proposals for an industrial concentration policy specifically relating to women. This policy is to include the following proposals as a beginning:

- 1) That Party members lead the fight in local rank-and-file movements including TUAD and in the trade union movement as a whole to bring women into union leadership. This fight can only be successful by fighting on issues especially related to the special exploitation of women in industry.

George Meyers' very good report was a fine contribution to this Convention, placing a correct assessment of what has to be done in relation to women in industry. We felt, however, that the report still reflected a failure of the Party to recognize the fact that most industrial workers in our Party are men. Whole shop clubs are made up of men because we have so few women who are shop workers. Especially lacking are Black and other oppressed minority women who are also shopworkers. Therefore, our Party men, not women, have to lead the fight to end special exploitation of women workers. We just don't have enough women to do it effectively yet. The main burden of responsibility for involving women in rank-and-file movements lies, primarily, on men in the Party.

Out of this involvement will also evolve working class women able to lead struggles and, simultaneously, to join our Party.

We also want to be constructive and realistic in proposing certain ways of doing this. One form for developing women cadre in the rank-and-file is through the building of women's caucuses. We should single out certain industries, such as electrical and textile, i.e., those industries in which women constitute a large percentage of the workers, and build women's caucuses. Where possible we should send women cadre into these plants. This is obviously going to have to be done district by district, singling out plants in relation to their industrial concentration policy.

2) Where there are men working in plants where women predominate, one of their main responsibilities has to be the building of women's caucuses. We feel that in plants employing mainly women, although it would not be easy, it is not unrealistic.

3) The Women's Commission should work out specific proposals on protective laws with the Labor Commission. We have the beginnings of that. We're not satisfied with it but we do have some comrades who are working on it and we hope to have something out soon.

On new trends and alliances (since the writing of the Thesis on Women's Equality) the thrust and the dominant forces in the movement for women's equality have changed. Three things have emerged on the scene with greater impetus to make this major change both in class composition and direction. When we wrote the Draft Thesis we spoke of the scope of the movement as embodying what has been known as women's liberation but at the same time going beyond it. (When I say women's liberation I mean that specific section of the movement dominated by the feminist trend and composed mainly of professional white women.)

We dealt then with the women's movement in its broader sense. At the same time we recognized the contribution they made in emphasizing the need to make women aware of their oppression as women and in directing a major thrust at male supremacy as the ideological weapon. Although there are weaknesses in how they've done this, I won't go into detailed description of our analysis of that movement now, except to point out that their main weakness, that of accommodating to racism, has isolated that struggle from the broader movement.

Secondly, we pointed to the broader scope of the movement among women which also includes those sections of the working class led predominantly by Black women and embodied in issue oriented special class issues such as welfare rights, child care, education, housing, trade union demands. We saw building this latter trend but at the same time realized that it was not yet dominant.

Since that time the scene has shifted. Three new and growing trends have appeared and are ascending to dominance: 1) The growth of the women's political caucuses all over the nation, on national, state and local levels including voting districts and neighborhoods within communities. These caucuses although initially called for by professional and mainly white women are attracting new sections of Black and minority women, many who are likewise professional but also many who are anti-poverty workers, welfare workers, women who have been active in local Democratic and Republican clubs and women active in community issues. We are urging people to work with these caucuses, not by shifting mass work but by relating their work to the women's political caucus.

The second trend is the coalition of the National Welfare Rights forces and the child care forces. This is an extremely necessary and important coalition that has developed. Within its class and racial composition lay the basis for the most effective unity of Black and white working class including within it the poor and unemployed, working and trade union women; Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Indian, Asian and white. The emergence of this coalition to dominance was best seen in the recent child care and development conference in

Washington, D. C. February 5-7. Two things emerged out of that conference: one was the role and participation of parents of various non-white oppressed minorities--trade unionists, workers and poor. The other was a press conference simultaneously called outside of the conference itself launching the Children's March for Survival on March 25.

There is within this movement, however, a very strong feeling against the trade union movement based on the kind of role the trade union leadership has played in not fighting for the interests of these workers and this section of the population. Therefore, we have a specific role to play in changing that by emphasizing trade union participation and contributions to the Children's March for Survival. We must aim for busloads of children accompanied by their parents under the banner of their trade union.

At the National Committee meeting which took place a few months back, the Womens and Labor Commissions called a meeting of several people from districts to discuss the launching of a national conference to save our children. Some of the districts received materials on this. From this meeting there was a decision to outline a rationale for such a conference to be used as a basis for discussion with others. Since that time some mass organizations have picked it up and developed it into the Children's March for Survival initiated by the National Welfare Rights Organization and now including many other sponsors. It must be broadened in scope, especially the involvement of the trade union movement and in terms of other sections of the movement.

I also want to refer to Roscoe Proctor's remarks. He spoke of developing a coalition in the communities. I'm not describing it as well as he did but I think the kind of coalition that he was talking about was one in which the trade union leadership would be a part and would help initiate and organize. This march for survival and the building up to a conference can be that kind of development. Therefore, we are proposing the following for the Party:

A. That the Party make this a special issue for March and that there be some public Party role played in it. For example, we are proposing that there be some leading Communists who are part of that initiating force also, but as Danny Rubin pointed out in his report, we want to mobilize, to make it as broad as possible and not get into situations where we hug it to death.

B. There must be emphasis on trade unions and our role is to emphasize the involvement of the trade unions, getting leading trade unionists to commit themselves or parts of their organizations where that is possible, not just putting their names to it but helping to organize for this march. This is something that unites all the issues that we have been discussing and epitomizes the issue and the future of our children, that our children are dying and our society is dying.

With this kind of concept we can help develop during this period that necessary anti-monopoly coalition that is needed. This can make a significant change in the whole character of the coalition.

We must begin to organize now busloads of parents and children to Washington with parallel marches in the Midwest and West Coast, and we must discuss now how to involve substantial Southern participation.

This Convention must make the Children's March for Survival a priority task for community clubs and districts. The ways of implementing this campaign need to be worked out nationally and in every district. We must think through the involvement of the trade union movement along with the possibilities of the March leading to the kind of mass anti-monopoly demonstration spoken of by Roscoe Proctor.

We must urge all women's peace groups and women's organizations to endorse and mobilize for the March 25th demonstration. Ties with the women's political caucus should be considered and worked out.

To suggest one possible way: in New York, the Women's Commission, along with some other forces, is calling a meeting in March prior to this which we plan to make a broad community meeting in Harlem at which leaders in the Welfare Rights Organization and in trade unions that relate specifically to child care speak, and I would also speak on the question of socialism and child care. The whole tenor of this meeting will be to mobilize buses and parents to go to Washington. This could be done in other areas of the country.

The Women's Commission would like to meet with people involved in welfare rights, child care and teaching, people involved in women's organizations and trade unions, and people that the districts designate should come to this meeting to discuss the march.

The third trend that is growing to dominance is the fight to free Angela Davis. I won't go into all the aspects but will focus on some. The combination of the first two trends with the fight to free Angela has potential for the eventual formation of a mass anti-monopoly women's organization. Comrades, I think you should consider this concept. This can be the future.

We've talked about an anti-monopoly women's organization. I think we have the makings of it now. The fight to free Angela is going to bring class and international content to that, and we must think now in terms of building forms with that in mind. This idea could be considered as a task for our Party. It can be done if we realize the possibilities and work toward them.

The proposal is, therefore, made that the Women's Commission aid in the building of women's committees to free Angela which seek out and emphasize working class and advanced trade union women. In other words, we need not just any women's committees, not just any women you can get, but emphasis on trade union, minority and working class women.

Our concentration must be on building Free Angela Committees in certain key shops and industries where women predominate. The Women's Commission is being asked to discuss the details of this and to offer some ideas for consideration.

Fourth, in relation to the Communist Party campaign, we must

gather a list of Party and non-Party women who openly endorse and speak for the Hall-Tyner candidacies, similar to the list of 100 Communists. The Women's Commission will work out sections of the platform regarding specific demands for women.

All people working for the Children's March should seek the endorsement of all candidates for the March.

We must find some ways to protest the recent gerrymandering of Bella Abzug's district as a blow to the peace movement.

Fifth, in relation to the Party, we felt that the draft section on the Party was still appropriate, but we want, in addition, to propose a form of cadre training: 1) that each district organize seminars for Party women on problems and questions of women in the districts. Perhaps we can plan one national seminar and district seminars based on issues that are decided in those districts but specifically relating to the problems of women. We had discussed a cadre training class but felt that the seminars would be a better and more effective form.

2) That the districts examine whether or not it is now possible for them to set up women's commissions. We are not proposing women's commissions if you don't have a Black liberation commission or a labor commission. But if you are in a position, we ask that you re-examine your district's status in relation to this. If you can set up a women's commission, do so. Commissions have been set up-- two in California and one in New England.

Short of this, we ask districts to see that the commission receives names and addresses of leading women who should receive our minutes and mail concerning our plans and tasks. Our minutes are pretty comprehensive. If you read them, you know what we are doing, and we do discuss current developments. We would like names of women who should receive these materials such as trade union women and women involved in community struggles whose ties are mainly with women.

As Comrade Hall said, people are ready to listen to us. We must open up to them. Since most of the Party women are in community and peace organizations we should encourage more women to play an open Communist role, especially those who have established bases through struggles.

Comrades, I want to say from my own experience, that since I began playing an open Communist role as a leader in parent activity, my work has been tremendously enhanced. I know this is going to be true of other Communist women. We have to prove ourselves in struggle but we also have to show that the Party is there and that this is going to be the answer in life.

We seriously ask: are there not many, many more women who can work openly as Communists: And we ask that the question be examined and that districts decide on this, especially regarding women in the peace movement.

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# Report from Indian Liberation Panel

By Lonnie Healy

We do not expect in this convention to adopt a theoretical document. We recognize the need for more work and will be continuing the probing and discussion. Throughout the Party we have not drawn into this discussion sufficiently deep enough comrades with living links and involvement in consistent struggle in this field. Without these consistent living experiences it is difficult to speak of how Indian people relate to other forces arrayed against monopoly.

In terms of recent discussion we believe the material from the Commission on Indian Liberation has helped the process of challenging and forcing us to think more deeply about this question.

The Commission believes that we should continue the usage of the term "Indian peoples." Alaskan Native Peoples and Canadian Native Peoples use this term, although in Alaska there is examination of the use of a word in their own language. Individually the Indian people use the word in their language for the people of a particular area. The Indian peoples of the lower 48 will determine what it will be and "Native American" may not be the final decision of the discussion going on now in the Indian Press.

Comrade Winston in the January Political Affairs describes the three sided attack against the masses signaled by the betrayal of Reconstruction. It was the period when "former slaves were forced into semi-slavery, segregation and racist oppression. At the same time, the escalation of the military plunder and massacre of the Indians was reaching a climactic stage and simultaneously, the courts that upheld the betrayal of Emancipation were declaring that workers, Black and white, did not have the right to organize."

Today the specific politics of the Indian people concerns itself with land policy of the Federal government, land uses, land claims, land leases. It concerns itself with water and mineral rights, with special treaty rights to hunt and fish "in the usual and accustomed places." It concerns itself with tribal autonomy over Indian land. It concerns itself with the preservation of the Indian language, Indian history, oral literature, music, dance, art and Indian concepts of Man's relation to nature. It is therefore concerned that the education of its children not only be adequate in quantity, but that this education be geared to the needs of Indian life and that it be under Indian control. It is concerned with the serious problems of Indian health and housing. It is concerned with unemployment and the low income level of the Indian people. It is concerned with the gross

violations of the rights of Indians when they are away from their communities. It is concerned with the crude encroachment in all of these areas by local and state governments in flagrant disregard of established treaty rights. It is concerned with the heavy hand of big corporations in their designs on Indian land, resources, treaty rights and the special exploitation of the Indian people.

In all matters it must be concerned with the policies of the federal government, with the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), with the Congress, the President and the courts, for it has a special relation to the federal government. In its relations with the federal government it must be constantly alert to the role of the government as the agent of the big monopolies, out to exploit and steal Indian land and resources by all available means. And it must be concerned with the BIA as an apparently "necessary evil," because it is the mechanism of its special relation with the federal government. This is the structure through which Indian politics must tread. And much of this is not the formal structure, but rather the heavy stench of racism which pervades it.

Between 1900 and 1935 not one road was built on Indian land. The 1971 census gives a picture of the concentration of Indian people by states:

Oklahoma	98,468
Arizona	95,812
California	91,018
New York	28,355
Texas	17,957
Alaska	16,276
Pennsylvania	5,533
and so on.	

The 1971 census gives 8.3 average years schooling of the Indian people. The figure of life expectancy put out today by the U.S. government is a lie and a cover-up of the continuing oppression of the Indian people. In 1960 the figure was 43 years; today the figure given is 63.9 years. Indian organizations and press dispute this as a falsehood. One of the most prevalent health problems of Indian children disproportionately higher than the average is middle ear infection which goes untreated and is resulting in Indian children with partial hearing in high numbers.

The urban Indians retain as their basic point of reference their tribe and their tribal land, and through these their identification with the Indian people. While there are no large concentrations of Indian workers in decisive industries, there are Indian workers in sufficient numbers to serve as an important link between the working class and the tribe. In Buffalo, New York there are Indian steelworkers and Indian women who are electrical workers. In a New Mexico Kaiser gypsum plant, the president of the local union is Indian and the majority of the workers are Indian. This plant borders Indian land, as does Ford, Alcoa, Reynolds Aluminum border Akwesasne (known as St. Regis Reservation) in upstate New York.

There are sufficient numbers of Indian workers in lumber, agri-

culture, mining, the fishing industry and the electrical industry. There are many unorganized Indian workers, especially in agriculture. The highest concentration of organized workers is in lumber.

Among the chief gains of the resistance struggle of the Indian people are those incorporated in nearly 400 treaties, 2,000 statutes and a whole body of court decisions. But the principal gain is this: that, if the Indian people had not struggled, or if they had struggled with less firmness, skill and courage they would have ceased to exist.

The political significance of the Indian people is not in their numbers, whether one accepts the official census figures of roughly 800,000 (with 460,000 of these living on or near reservations) or various larger estimates, based on the inadequacy of the census, which range from one million to five. Nor is it in the fact that they have an average annual income 75% below the average of the nation. The overwhelming majority of Indian families make \$5,000 or less. Nor is it in the fact that their unemployment rate is ten times the national average, their infant mortality rate three times the national average, their push-out rate in school fifty percent, their housing grossly substandard. Nor is the Indian labor force of 120,000 strategically concentrated in decisive industry. In general these statistics have this significance: they suggest something of the consequences of genocide, and of the continuing failure of national policy to deal with these consequences. They accuse. But we must go beyond these statistics to correctly gauge the impact of the Indian people's struggle on our national life.

In 1887 estimates of 250,000 Indian people had won or retained 135,000,000 acres. In 1930 only 45,000,000 acres were still under Indian control. Today 55,000,000 not including Alaskan Natives' land is held by the Indian people.

A program was issued January 1971 by a small section of the Indian movement for discussion. It reflects a bringing together of the needs of the whole of the Indian people and is put out by part of the embryonic left. This program called for a minimum land base of 105 million acres by 1976. This date is used as the 100th anniversary of Wounded Knee. This land base includes the present 55,000,000 now under Indian ownership in the lower 48 and the 40,000,000 fought to be retained by the Alaskan Native Peoples. This increase would include winning back 1,000,000 of Menominee land in Wisconsin, 1,000,000 in California and more stolen from the Klamaths and other bands in Oregon and other states. These lands in the main were stolen as a part of the onslaught of the Eisenhower-McCarthy period. Further, the program called for 50,000 new homes including electrical utilities, water systems, sewage facilities within the next 5 years. 50% of Indian reservation families have contaminated water supply. The program called for 15,000 new permanent jobs annually for the next 15 years, for an Indian referendum on whether or not the Bureau of Indian Affairs should exist provided this did not jeopardize Indian control of land, funds, and services. There is more we do not have time for.

The Commission on Indian Liberation believes this is a minimum program possible only within an anti-monopoly coalition but at the

same time we believe that more is possible. Basic reforms can be made. The minimum demands were put forward on an expectation of great problems in winning support for these demands from non-Indians.

From Maine to California Indian participation in the '72 elections may be the biggest in history. At present no Indian holds elective office nationally. Only a handful hold elective office outside of tribal government. We have information on candidates for Maine, Arizona, California. Indians have indicated interest in running in South Dakota, Nevada, Montana and North Dakota.

We have few comrades with links to their Indian heritage, to their homeland, with living ties to the Indian communities, urban or rural. They appear to be one to a District. NONE of these comrades has an assignment to work in Indian communities, to organize Indian workers to the defense of Angela Davis, to be links to the anti-monopoly democratic struggles. Their main assignments are in other areas of work.

To build the Left, a left with working class leadership in the Indian movement, requires a change in how we place the question of assignment of comrades who have the potential of developing living links to the Indian liberation movement.

We have just made a beginning, which points up to how much more work we have to do. No longer can Indian liberation remain the property of the Commission on Indian Liberation. That is not sufficient.

How are we going to make the fight for clarity on this question?

What are the roadblocks? The main roadblock is the degree of the penetration of racism. This hampers the work of our Party. Our work in this area internally and among white workers is inseparably tied with the struggle against racism. This barrier in our path from moving more speedily is chauvinism--a special form of chauvinism--great power chauvinism. One area we can pinpoint is the question of arrogance--that we have the answers, that Indian people are backward, that they in themselves bring nothing to the struggle, to our Party. This arrogance is an anti-Party attitude expressing lack of confidence in the working class.

A concrete experience is that of two rank-and-file workers in lumber aided in uniting a particular struggle of the Indian people as a people with a union's organizing drive during 1970-1971. The key to this was the trade union experience of several leaders of this particular struggle of an Indian tribe against the timber barons. These Indian workers were the link between the organized section of the class and oppressed people. This bridge was built in the process of a continuing struggle put up by white comrades to advance Indian workers to leadership positions at all levels, beginning with shop stewardships.

The use of our press, the Daily World and the People's World has become an organizing tool for developing support for these concrete struggles, for influencing trends within the movement, and for internationalizing the movement.



In order to overcome the consequences of long oppression the immediate demands should cover the following areas:

1. The land base of the Indian people must be radically increased at the expense of the monopolies and the military establishment;
2. Emergency measures must be taken to preserve the Indian languages as living languages;
3. Emergency measures must be taken to establish a rounded and full program of Indian education under Indian control, from kindergarten through college, and including special technical and scientific schools;
4. Emergency measures must be taken to establish a fully adequate Indian health program under Indian control, and including the training of Indian doctors and other medical personnel;
5. Emergency measures must be taken to establish an Indian housing program under Indian control adequate to meet the housing emergency of the Indian people;
6. An emergency Indian economic program must be established under Indian control, whose immediate aims must include raising the standard of living of the Indian families to the average of non-Indian families within three years; providing employment for Indian workers in enterprises on Indian land, operated by the tribe and for the benefit of the tribe;
7. An emergency program to meet the needs of urban Indians for health, housing, employment, Indian cultural life and freedom from special harassment by urban police must be established with Indian personnel and under Indian control.
8. Indian control as here used does not mean control of Indian personnel appointed by non-Indians. Generally it means under the control of the tribal structure, unless more than one tribe is involved in a program, in which case it means under the control of a structure agreed upon by the tribes involved.

What the vanguard Party of the working class can add to the struggle to help guarantee victory are the following strengths:

First, the Party wages an uncompromising fight against all forms of racism. It therefore challenges every concrete manifestation of racism directed against the Indian people. It conducts a continuous ideological campaign against the ruling class racist subhuman image of the Indian. In all of its behavior it strives to demonstrate by example its high respect for the Indian people and for Indian leadership.

Second, the Party gives its full and unreserved support to the special rights of the Indian people. Its members are committed to organize practical material aid for the ongoing struggles for these special rights, and in other ways to assist in the defense of these rights.

Third, as an integral element of its class standpoint, the Party gives special emphasis to the task of building an ever more firm unity of all other components of the working class with Indian workers in the shops, mills, mines and logging camps, in the trade unions and other organizations of the class and in the working class communities. In order to build this unity the Party fights for the special rights, needs and interests of the Indian workers as workers and as Indians, and it fights against all the special discrimination they encounter, both on and off the job. An important focus of this fight is the defense of the right of the Indian workers to maintain strong connections with their communities, tribal organizations and families. The exercise of this right means in practice the right to special job conditions, particularly to work schedules which accord with the pattern of Indian community life. To guarantee the realization of these special needs, the Party fights to advance Indian leadership in the trade unions, the rank and file committees and in the working class movement generally.

Fourth, in its participation in the broad range of struggles of the working class, the oppressed peoples and the democratic strata, the Communist Party continually strives to overcome the relative isolation of the Indian people on the only basis that is acceptable to the Indian people--on the basis of recognizing the right of the Indian people to be Indian, to maintain their language, their culture. The Party fights against any concepts of building the unity of the Indian people's movement with other anti-monopoly forces which in practice serve monopoly's policy of forced assimilation. Any political platform which advances "the right to assimilation" ignores the fact that the real issue is the right of the Indian people to exist as a people. The Party recognizes that the primary responsibility for overcoming the relative isolation of the Indian people, an isolation imposed by the ruling class, does not rest first of all on the Indian people, but rather on the working class and democratic forces. This responsibility arises from the nature of the special form of the racist oppression of the Indian people.

Fifth, the Party gives special attention to overcoming the historic permanent ruling class policy of consciously fostering divisions between the Indian people and other oppressed peoples. The ruling class has used every possible means at its command to pit each against the other, and especially has this been true of its efforts to prevent Red and Black unity, and Indian and Chicano unity. The Party recognizes that Red and Black unity is a strategically key concept in the fight for Indian liberation because of the centrality of Black liberation. The Party strives for the unity of Red and Black on the basis of the strength that this unity will bring to the struggles of both. This unity is of great importance in changing the politics of the South. For similar reasons the Party strives for the unity of the Indian and Chicano liberation movements, a unity which is especially important in the Southwest. The Party makes a special contribution by fighting to forge the firm working class unity of Red, Black and Chicano workers on the basis of working class internationalism.

Sixth, the Party is a part of the world Communist movement. It brings the strength of its worldwide outlook, its connections with a hundred Communist and Workers parties fighting for the common inter-

ests of the international working class and the oppressed peoples, to the side of the cause of Indian survival and liberation. It brings to this struggle the practical experience of more than half a century of victorious socialism in overcoming special oppression. The world Communist movement has proven that the liberation of oppressed peoples can be transformed from a hope and a dream to a living reality. It is especially this international strength which drives the bankrupt rules of U.S. capitalism into a frenzy of hysteria against the Communists; but this hysteria only proves how important internationalism is in the struggle against oppression.

Finally, the Party continually strives to overcome its own weaknesses so that its own members who are Indian will never encounter arrogance, disrespect and other manifestations of racism within the Party; so that its Indian members will feel no contradiction between being members of the Party and their fullest participation in Indian life; and so that its Indian members will in fact find that their Party membership gives them and their Indian communities a new dimension of strength in the struggle for Indian liberation, a strength that is the guarantee of victory.

We make the following recommendations to enable this question to become the property of the whole Party.

1. Examination by our Party's electoral committees, nationally and locally, of methods by which Indian demands can be raised in the 1972 election campaign.
2. Our national leadership consider assignments in selected areas to implement the work. These areas should concentrate on Indian workers who have ties to the Indian communities.
3. Examination of how to include within the developing anti-monopoly coalition, not only demands of Indian workers, but the special demands of the Indian people as a people.
4. The National Education Dept. and the Commission on Indian Liberation, with the help of the national leadership, develop plans to bring about an effective educational program including history, trends and organizations, and short and long range demands.
5. Recommend plans be developed for a seminar or workshop of comrades to assist this process of probing and clarification. This workshop should be held as soon as possible while guaranteeing sufficient planning in preparation, and involvement of Party bodies, to assure success.

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# Report from Youth Panel

By Carolyn Black

I'm just going to go over very briefly some of the things that were discussed in the Youth Panel.

Basically, we discussed the problems that young people face in this country, the special problems of young people. We noted the crisis in this country and how it affects young people. We dealt with the special problems youth have around unemployment, jobs, militarism, education, repression, reaction, family problems, political problems, drug problems.

We said in the workshop that youth can become a most valuable ally to the working class struggle for progress and revolution. We felt that the dominant trend in the youth movement, among the younger generation, is toward the Left. I don't think it's necessary to rehash some of the things we went through in the workshop. I think the most important thing for us in this panel is to just very quickly go through how we feel about the need for a very special Marxist-Leninist youth organization in this country today.

As to the special problems that we feel youth have in this country, we feel that it's a responsibility of Communist youth in this country to bring Marxism-Leninism to those youth. There are many ways to bring Marxism-Leninism to youth. It can be done in various forms. It can be done in various forms of activities that we're in--the peace movement and other different kinds of movements. But our role as young Communists is to bring the ideology of Marxism-Leninism through to the youth movement, to the masses of young people in this country by building the Marxist-Leninist youth organization which is already formed as the Young Workers Liberation League. We found that the most important thing this panel should deal with, since it was at a Party convention, was to try to deal with some of the problems within the Party and relationships with the Party.

We felt that the overall relationships of the League and the Party were good, but that in certain areas there have been a great number of problems. Many in Party leadership still do not see the need for building a Marxist-Leninist youth organization, for building the League, and some see the need in a very abstract kind of way. When it gets to the point of assigning youth cadre to the League, that is not really done. People see the League as the form where your most inexperienced youth are put, that form where you don't put



your most developed cadre. You put those youth into other areas of work instead of leaving that stabilized youth leadership in the youth organization. And this has happened in areas throughout this country. I can name a lot of them but I don't think it's really necessary. I think they know which areas they are without my naming them. But that is a very big problem.

The whole question of recruiting youth into the Party without recruiting other youth into the League has also been a problem. But I think the main problem has been the question of not seeing the League as the youth organization that we, as the Communist Party of the United States, have to build. And if we say that that is one of our major tasks, as we have said that building in the trade union movement is one of our major tasks, then we must present the necessities, the needs that it takes to carry out that kind of demand in the Party. To build that trade union movement, the rank-and-file movement, or the peace movement, we lay a certain basis for building those movements. So if we say the League has to be an organization that we have to build, then we have to get guarantees for the leadership necessary for building the League throughout the country and in all the local areas.

We made some specific proposals to try to deal with some of the problems that we felt in terms of guidelines for overcoming the problems in the Party and some concrete proposals for assistance to the League's mass tasks.

We felt that this entire Party should be mobilized to give concrete aid in the following mass tasks being projected by the League.

1. Building of youth committees to free Angela Davis, including supporting mass actions such as high school students strikes, mass marches and summer task forces which these committees may initiate.

2. Rendering all possible support to the campaign to build the Children's Hospital in Hanoi as part of the world's youth's efforts to render concrete material solidarity to the people and youth of Vietnam, victims of U.S. imperialism and aggression. (There are a whole lot of tasks and I'm not going to read through all of them.)

The other task that we felt should be singled out for the Party to become very active in is the National Youth Act. This would develop through concentration with the League and will be a program to fight for jobs and decent unemployment compensation for youth. We must rally the entire Party to crusade on this vital youth issue, to assist the League in its preparations for a successful and exciting mass convention in Chicago, Illinois on April 28 - March 1, 1972, and to help provide the best possible conditions for the work of the convention. This includes guaranteeing the widest possible circulation of the League's draft resolution. Those districts in which there are no League organizations at present should make a special effort to send youth to the convention and develop League organizations in the process.

You can read through the guidelines for overcoming problems which have been distributed. The Party should conduct an extensive

educational campaign on the youth question, the need for the YWLL and its role, and how the Party can assist in the development of the League in its work.

At the time of the 19th Convention, there was a memo sent out to most of the areas on a lot of these guidelines. But it was felt in our panel that a memo isn't sufficient, that, in fact, it is very easy for the Party to send out a memo to the districts, and it's very easy for the districts to read the memo and fold the memo up and place it in the drawer. And we feel that many people in the Party, older members in the Party, don't even know that there's a Young Workers Liberation League around. And if it's at the point where districts are still throwing memos in the drawer and not even getting those memos down to the rest of the membership on what their responsibility is to building the League, then it's not just a question of a memo going out. It's a question of an actual campaign being waged in this Party, for everybody to understand the need for building a youth organization.

I think it has been a long time (I don't remember exactly when Comrade Rubin said it was) when the Party used to have an educational program in the Party on what it meant to build a youth organization and how the Party goes about building it. I think that is going to have to take place now, today, in order for the League to grow as the kind of organization that it can be. I think the Party is responsible for helping build the League and, as young Communists, our assignment from the Party is to build the League.

We felt that, in many areas of work, it has been good to have regular meetings between the Party and League on a monthly basis to try to work out some of the problems that exist between the League and the Party, not simply meetings where you work out problems but where you have discussion on program and activity, where you work out guidelines for work and where the League participates, Party and non-Party. At such meetings the League meets with the Party. There's a real relationship between Party and League people.

And that relationship should not just be on a leadership level, but even branches and clubs should meet when they're located in the same area. If you're a Harlem club or a Harlem branch, or a South side club or a South side branch, a North side club or a North side branch, or whatever, League and Party clubs in relationship to their work should have a working relationship where people can really get a chance to know the League Party people who are working in the Party, and Party people can also get a chance to know League people. Working relationships then become real and not abstract.

One other thing was said, that the Party must step up its recruitment of 30 - 50 year olds. This will help overcome pressuring cadre problems and relieve the tendency to rely exclusively on youth to solve all the Party's cadre needs. I think this is one of the central problems that we have. A large number of recruits have come into the Party through the League, and the same old back-breaking problem really causes a great deal of turmoil between League and Party people, even Party people who are in the League. Some youth never even get to be assigned to the League because of the cadre problem that the Party has. And we realize that the Party has to be

built. We don't place that over and above ourselves, but they have to be built together. And we really have to work out methods and ways where we don't cut off the youth from developing and building a youth organization.

Special proposals to implement the above guidelines:

The National Education Dept. should organize an inter-Party educational campaign on the youth question, the need for a Marxist-Leninist youth organization, and how the entire Party can be mobilized to build a youth movement and the League. The materials should be prepared and the campaign begin no later than 3 months after the Convention.

The Organization Bureau and other appropriate Party bodies should issue as soon as possible, but in no case later than three months, a memo based on the above guidelines and summarizing Party policy with regard to youth. This memo should be read in every club of the Party as part of the educational campaign.

The Organization Bureau and other appropriate Party bodies on a national, district and club level should check up periodically to see to it that these policies are being implemented throughout the Party on every level.

I want to say that I don't think that this report-back from the Panel is in any way adequate at all. I don't think it really covers much of the discussion that took place in the workshop. It doesn't deal with the whole concept of community club houses; it doesn't deal with the concept discussed in the workshop of what defines youth, what age defines youth, who is a youth. Questions of sports, questions of the united front, questions of building an anti-monopoly coalition among youth, questions of building a youth united front-- there is just really no time to deal with all these questions.

I move that proposals for concrete assistance for the League and on the mass tasks proposed by the Youth Panel be adopted.

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## Panel Report on Puerto Rican Liberation

By Jose Ristorucci

Comrades, as the others have pleaded, I also plead poverty to the fact that I did not have the chance to finish the report in full collectivity with all the comrades involved in the meeting of the sub-committee of the Panel. But we did meet, some of us, and we drew up some notes.

What we're going to try and do is report back what took place in the Panel. Comrades, our Panel concluded that in the future we should--and this is very serious--reverse the scheduling of the Panels. We should start at sunrise so that we can go home at sundown instead of starting in the evening to end at sunrise the next day.

But seriously, Comrades, our Panel, consisting of some 28 comrades, unanimously approved the line of the report to the Panel and the discussion. The report was based on a report given by the Puerto Rican Commission prepared by its executive committee, Comrades Alberto Moreau, Eliseo Arroyo and myself, given to the New York State Party Convention. And the Panel also based its deliberations on agreement with the section on Puerto Rican liberation in the Theses and the section on Puerto Rican questions in Comrade Gus Hall's report.

We found this a big step forward on the question. It treated it in this manner, a qualitatively different way from in the past. But we felt that we still have a long way to go, and we have proposals along that line.

I should mention that there were five Puerto Rican comrades in the Panel, seven Black comrades, one Cuban comrade, one Asian comrade, and 14 white comrades, a total of 28. Yet the discussion was very concrete, very much to the point, and enthusiastic, and united. There was real satisfaction on the part of all Panel participants with the discussion that was held there. We thought that it was a qualitatively different panel from those at previous conventions.

And also I should mention that we had with us two heroes of the U.S. youth and working class, a Puerto Rican comrade Dennis Mora and a Black comrade James Johnson, two members of the Fort Hood Three, who continue their exemplary roles in our Party's industrial concentration work.

We also had the presence of our long-time beloved comrade Pat Toohey who didn't resist the opportunity to address our panel on some very appropriate activities from the past and present in our work. But, Comrades, we had participation of comrades from steel in Buffalo and New Jersey; auto from Tarrytown and Cleveland, Ohio; from the communities in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, etc.; as well as New York City and its garment shops. This was very important to our deliberations.

But, of course, conspicuous for their absence were Comrades Jesus Colon, who sent greetings to our Convention through Comrade Sam Perez who was recently in Puerto Rico, and Comrade Alberto Moreau who sends his greetings. Both comrades were having a spell of poor health and were unable to attend.

We elected Comrade Dennis as chairman and Comrades James Johnson and Jackie were elected secretaries.

Comrades, our panel places before this Convention the following propositions:



1. The Party's advances in the areas of Black liberation and the fight against racism, and its adoption of a resolution on the Chicano question at this Convention, raises the standards of work and the level of theoretical understanding on the national question to a new high plane. Such experience is reflected in our Puerto Rican work to great benefit, which makes it possible for our panel-- and this is one of the first proposals--to propose that this Convention instruct the new National Committee to take the steps necessary to develop a resolution on the Puerto Rican question.

2. Due to the development and utilization of our Party's policy of industrial concentration, our Party is beginning to hit the nerve center, the key to Puerto Rican liberation, the Puerto Rican workers in basic industries. It is this force that has the economic and political muscle to forge a unity with other sections of the class and the people to bring about concrete victories for the Puerto Rican community. And Puerto Rican workers in basic industry are increasing in numbers. For example, there are 1.5 million Puerto Ricans in the United States. Approximately one million of those are in New York City, and of those 1 million people, approximately 300 thousand are workers. That is over 30% of the population are workers, which is a very high percentage. And then when you add to that the families of these workers, husband and wives, grandparents and what have you, parents and grandparents and children, that's a good good chunk of the population which makes it over 90% working class in essence. And these basic industrial workers are organizing themselves into caucuses and joining with other rank-and-file movements to help lead the struggles at the point of production.

3. With regard to the 1972 elections, we see three key areas for the Puerto Rican community electoral work.

A. The Comrades Gus Hall-Jarvis Tyner campaign. They're the only candidates truly concerned with full equality, liberation, for the Puerto Rican national minority in the United States and who call for the independence of the Puerto Rican nation from U.S. colonialism. It is the campaign that points the way to full unity of the working class and allied with all anti-monopoly elements to advance the basic needs of all workers and all oppressed minorities. We propose a mass brochure, which the campaign has already underway, for distribution in mass all over the country, not just in Puerto Rican communities, but emphasis in Puerto Rican communities; all Puerto Rican comrades to be available to travel on behalf of the campaign anywhere in the country, and we know that the Puerto Rican community is spreading all over the country--they're in key cities throughout and form key aspects in the political life of those cities; also the mass use of the Daily World and the Spanish section in the Daily World and the People's World, whichever way it comes about in this campaign; and that New York City would concentrate on one particular community, where we will canvass door-to-door, family after family, on this campaign and the issues that it presents.

B. The second part of the elections. We see the continuation and follow-up of the recently held Chicano-Puerto Rican conference in Arlington, Va. as an important step forward for independent politics within the Spanish communities in this country. La Raza Unida established independence outside the Democratic Party in

the Chicano community, and we have similar developments in the Puerto Rican community. It's also independence within the Democratic Party, as that Conference developed a national caucus to go to the Democratic Party Convention.

The third part of the electoral scene is that we must struggle to guarantee Puerto Rican representation in the U.S. Congress. You should know that comrades are concerned about the dilemma presented by the candidacy of Herman Badillo in New York City. Herman Badillo is the first Puerto Rican elected to Congress and his seat in Congress is jeopardized through gerrymandering in the State Legislature in New York City. There's a big danger of losing the only Puerto Rican representative in Congress. At the same time there's a struggle against Badillo from the ultra-Right, there is also one from the ultra-Left. But the problem here is that Badillo himself is not an ideal candidate--he is a bourgeois element, a Wall Street lawyer and worse. The fact that he has represented Wall Street corporations doesn't make him a bourgeois element in essence. I should correct that. But he has represented them.

The dilemma is, due to the Puerto Rican community's pressure, he has taken liberal positions on peace and several other questions and played an exemplary role around the Attica situation in New York State. Nevertheless, he takes very poor positions on other questions. This is the contradictory influences of the petty bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, we feel that the struggle is not to oust Badillo but to increase Puerto Rican representation in New York City. And, therefore, for those who want to present a better alternative to Badillo in Congress, the thing to do is to join together and elect Badillo and elect other Puerto Rican Congressmen. But the struggle for representation and against racism and chauvinism will not be advanced by dumping Badillo and not electing Puerto Ricans.

And the struggle for increased representation is only meaningful within the context of Black and Brown unity, which therefore then falls into sway with the questions of uniting of the entire class. And that's how we see the question of increasing Puerto Rican representation--not the Puerto Rican community uniting by itself and trying to do it--because then we'll be taking the ruling class at its own terms.

4. In regard to the youth question. The average age in the Puerto Rican community is less than 22. High unemployment and poor educational facilities for the Puerto Rican youth perpetuate the poverty cycle in the Puerto Rican community. And you don't hear this talk of the hope of the future that will eliminate the situation of the parents, and so forth. That does not exist because of this vicious cycle. And here we see a key role for the Young Workers Liberation League, especially in New York City, in regard to changing our stature among Puerto Rican youth.

5. With regard to the woman question. Puerto Rican men and this question of "machismo," let's keep this in mind, Puerto Rican men are not the exploiters of Puerto Rican women or other women in this country. That distinction goes to General Motors, ITT and all the other monopoly corporations in this country. Nevertheless, we

are aware of the fact of "machismo" and how it affects all people and resolutely resolve to struggle. Our Constitution dictated it.

6. On community control. It's important to support the Puerto Rican community struggle for control of their own schools, medical facilities, housing facilities, police and prison reform. We're not interested in controlling prisons; we're interested in reforming the whole prison-penal system. And in this context, it's important to keep in mind that the Puerto Rican community is not the majority, that we want the voice of the Puerto Rican community in all these institutions to be heard.

7. On the Wage-freeze. Unemployment is hitting Puerto Ricans hardest due to this wage-freeze and due to the economic crisis. And similarly, the rank-and-file of Puerto Rican workers are in the lower-paid jobs, and they're viciously hurt by the freeze. Struggle is needed on these questions, and we propose a second proposal--the forming of an organization of Puerto Rican trade unionists and workers, including those who are leaders in trade unions. Actually, they would not be leaders. You don't have any Puerto Rican trade union leaders; you have functionaries in unions, Puerto Ricans who have been hired. The purpose of organizing them together would be to be able to function stronger in the rank-and-file movements together with other workers.

8. On the question of Puerto Rican independence. The Theses calls for independence for the 2.8 million Puerto Ricans on the island. It states that they are directly oppressed through the use of U.S. colonialist oppression of Puerto Rico, direct colonialism. We should recognize that Puerto Rico is a part of the Latin American community and, as such, it should be a member of the independent nations of Latin America. And in this regard, we propose--third proposal--the formation of a North American organization for the independence of Puerto Rico, consisting of Puerto Ricans and North Americans, to meet our internationalist and national responsibility to the Puerto Rican question, and to get this onus of our being part of the colonialist exploiters of Puerto Rico off our backs.

9. In the struggle for freedom of Angela Davis and its full meaning to the struggle of independence for Puerto Rican political prisoners. Let's face it, with the freedom of Angela Davis will come the freedom of many other political prisoners and that will include Puerto Rican political prisoners. And notable in today's cases--and I think nationally we should raise this--is the question of the frame-up of Carlos Feliciano in New York City, a Puerto Rican worker who has been framed-up by the New York police. And here--fourth proposal--we propose the formation of a citizen's committee in the Puerto Rican community for the freedom of Angela Davis.

10. In New York City. We propose an intermediary form, that of a community project to deal with the abovementioned issues, but also specifically to concentrate on the formation of a Puerto Rican peace organization. Peace is a very strong sentiment in the Puerto Rican community and it must be put into an organized form. Possibly the PCPJ could serve as that. And you should understand that this peace sentiment is strong in New York City and on the island of Puerto Rico itself in terms of the VietNam War.

11. Fight against racism. Here it's important to recognize how Puerto Ricans themselves have promulgated racism, although not the same degree and same intensity as it exists in this country. The fact of the matter is that the Puerto Rican nation is composed of different races--Black, white, Indian--and there are influences of chauvinism although it doesn't express itself that clearly. But it exists, and therefore the struggle has still to be waged there. At the same time, Puerto Ricans are victims of racism and chauvinism, as a nation and because of their cultural background and their color. And this we have to keep in mind outside the Party and inside the Party. I can't go into details on that because I have to rush through.

12. The concept of anti-monopoly coalition. It includes the fact that it's not the size of the oppressed minority but the fact that it is an oppressed minority. So, because Puerto Ricans are 1½ million or because the Indian population is ½ million or Asian population is small, does not mean that we do not consider these very important in the context of the anti-monopoly coalition in this country. For example, in New York City, Puerto Rican workers and the Puerto Rican community as a whole are a key element because of their size in New York City. And we know that New York City is a key mover in this country as a whole.

13. Build the Communist Party.

A. Through membership recruitment, and I cannot go into some of the ways the comrades suggested; I'm sorry about that.

B. Through the use of the press, the Daily World, and the Spanish section which is soon to flourish in a much fuller way (which was a decision of our last Convention and is being carried out.)

C. In terms of educational institutions, the panel proposes the Puerto Rican Commission develop a series of lectures and forums for utilization of all the centers, such as they exist in New York, in Harlem, the Harlem Institute for Marxist Studies and the Center for Marxist Education. I'm certain other cities have similar forms or are planning them.

D. Relations with other organizations. It's important here for us to develop the greatest unity in the Puerto Rican community but we propose that the only way we're going to carry this out is through polemics, bringing the position of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the entire working class in this country to the Puerto Rican community, the Puerto Rican movement. Therefore we must fight Maoism and nationalism and the reactionary intrusions in collusion with anti-Castroite Cuban "Gusanos," a threatening reactionary force.

14. Comrade Chairman: The Puerto Rican Commission is a joint status commission, meaning it is a joint committee of the National Committee and the New York District and it will be formed as such at this Convention.

Proposals to the Commission by the panel:



A. It must initiate a monthly report to increase communication with the districts and with the comrades in the work.

B. Write a pamphlet on Puerto Rican people in the United States and write a pamphlet on the Puerto Rican independence movement to elaborate further on Patricia Bell's fine pamphlet on the question, and to use the New York State and National Conventions documents and discussions as resources.

C. Special projects. Again reminding you of the intermediary organizations that we're proposing among workers, labor, one for the struggle for independence, one for the struggle for freedom of Angela Davis and other political prisoners, in terms of the Puerto Rican community specifically.

D. A community project as I elaborated from which will emanate different forms of mass organizations and intermediary forms.

I will move its adoption.

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We are in the midst of fund-raising and circulation activity for the Daily World. This article, therefore, is of special significance because it shows a concrete and systematic way of approaching this activity.

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## A Nine-Point Plan for Building Grass Roots Contacts

By O. L., Queens, N. Y.

1. The club discussed and decided to concentrate on a low-income housing project.
2. We made a survey of the project, noted the number of buildings, number of stories, number of apartments per floor, so that we had an overall view of the layout.
3. We decided on the first day of general mobilization and asked all club members to participate. We did a door-to-door free distribution and rang the bells of each apartment. If there was no answer, we left the paper under the door. We made notes of any reactions, friendly or hostile. We decided to go back each week on the same day and time, about noon on Sunday.
4. One club member was selected to be responsible for the mechanics

of the project. He is responsible for ordering the bundle, keeping records and organizing the club to go out in pairs on a rotating basis. We found that pairs of male and female have the best results.

5. Record keeping is very important. All responses from people should be recorded. Hostile responses and apartments where no one answers the door will be eliminated. Those who regularly pay for the paper and engage in conversation can easily be selected for special attention and for selling subs. Canvassers should always have sub cards with them or they should be inserted in the paper.

6. We found that the following form for recording information was very helpful in maintaining the route with rotating pairs.

Apt.		Name	Paid	Subscription		
Fl.	No.			Type	Expir.	Remarks

Codes:      W    welcomed paper                      N    no answer  
               A    accepted paper                        S    subscribed  
               P    paid for paper                        L    left paper under door  
               R    refused paper                       Y    does not speak English  
               H    hostile

7. After a sufficient period of friendly relations and short doorway or hallway talk we started asking people if they would be interested in getting together with other readers in the project to discuss problems of the day. We found one family that agreed to have such a meeting in their house. We agreed to bring the coffee and cake.

8. We have now had three meetings with about 15 non-Party readers at each. We hope to start involving some of the readers on the route and to have some fund raising affairs. This should be a very good source for recruiting.

9. Our approach both at the meetings and while selling the paper is to be very pleasant and polite and not pushy.

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## Resolutions of the 20th Convention

A wide variety of important resolutions were adopted at our Convention, all of which will be published in Party Affairs. In this issue we are publishing:

- 1) Resolution on Asians in the U.S.A., and
- 2) Resolution on our position regarding caucus organization in the Trade Union Movement.

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### Resolution on Asians in the U.S.A.

Whereas, ever since the rape of the Philippines and the Boxer Rebellion, down through the atomic atrocities of Hiroshima-Nagasaki, on through the aggression against Korea and the genocidal assault on Indochina, the peoples of Asia have borne a major weight of the criminal and bloody aggressions of the U.S. imperialism and

Whereas the same U.S. ruling class has systematically oppressed Asians in the U.S. ever since masses of Chinese workers were brought to our country for the semi-slave labor upon which the fortunes of U.S. railroad barons were founded. After passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Japanese were brought in for the same purpose, followed by Koreans, Filipinos and other Asian workers. All were subjected to inhuman exploitation and oppression by the U.S. ruling class and

Whereas one and one-half million Asians in the U.S. today include

600,000 Japanese--approximately 400,000 of them in Hawaii, chiefly workers in sugar, pineapple, shipping and other industries, and 200,000 on the mainland--all of them subjected to racism.

435,000 Chinese, most of them confined to TB-ridden big city ghettos and relegated to the lowest-paying drudgery under sweatshop conditions;

350,000 Filipinos, super-exploited at stoop labor by U.S. agribusiness and in the canneries, hospitals, and most marginal service jobs;

50,000 Koreans and additional thousands of Indians, Indonesians and other Asians in the U.S. who are similarly oppressed and exploited politically, socially and economically, and

Whereas, these one and one-half million Asians in the U.S. today are more and more responding to the world-wide rise in revolutionary consciousness which is especially marked in the countries of their origin, and

Whereas, despite this rise in consciousness, our Party has only a handful of members of Asian origin and far too few roots and ties among the Asian peoples in our country, and

Whereas our Party at its 17th Convention publicly repudiated past errors, reflecting the very grave inroads of racism in our ranks, a struggle against the racist incarceration in 1942 of more than 110,000 Japanese in U.S. concentration camps and

Whereas, this Convention's vibrant fighting spirit, revolutionary confidence, and determination to raise our standards to the very highest Communist standards can now be brought to bear to organize a major advance in our work among masses of oppressed and exploited Asians in our country, who, like all our people, need the leadership of the Communist Party, with its scientific Marxist-Leninist theory and its international proletarian outlook, therefore be it

Resolved, that this 20th Convention of the CPUSA rededicate our Party to the elimination of all remaining racist and big power chauvinist attitudes and practices with regard to Asian peoples in our country, in the spirit of the late working class hero, Sen Katayama one of the founders of the Communist Party of the United States, who also helped establish the parties of Mexico, Canada and Japan, and be it further

Resolved, that we call upon the incoming National Committee to organize a study of the Asian peoples in the U.S. with a new depth and seriousness that is fully worthy of our Party, bringing to bear upon this subject the full resources of our Marxist-Leninist science, and be it further

Resolved, that appropriate educational material on the history, status and demands of Asians in the U.S. be prepared, distributed and used throughout the Party and among the working class to greatly raise the level of ideological clarity on this question, and be it finally

Resolved, that we ask the incoming National Committee to give very serious consideration to the establishment of a Commission on Asians in the U.S. so that this hitherto neglected side of our work may receive the consistent attention it merits.

Submitted by the Resolutions Committee

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## Resolution on Trade Union Caucuses

**RESOLVED:** That this 20th Convention reaffirms the need to build and strengthen forms of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian American workers' organizations within the trade union movement, coordinated at the state and national levels, and mandates the incoming leadership to take immediate steps to guarantee:

1. That we seek out already existing caucuses of specially oppressed workers and encourage them to come together in coordinated form within and across industry and union lines.
2. That we encourage these caucuses to concern themselves with the problems of workers arising at the point of production, the struggle for trade union democracy, and the defeat of the ruling class offensive against their living standards. In addition, we will also urge them to deal with the problems of specially oppressed peoples in their various communities. Our aim shall be to bring the weight of the trade union movement to bear on the resolution of these problems.
3. Guarantee the provision of necessary personnel to implement the above goals.
4. Guarantee the necessary coordination within the Party to provide for communication and exchange of experiences.
5. Preparation of the needed documents to acquaint the Party at all levels with the reasons for this special effort and the steps necessary to carry it out.
6. Preparation of popular mass literature for sale and distribution around this campaign. Guarantee the widest possible circulation of the pamphlet by Comrade Roscoe Proctor "Black Workers and the Class Struggle."
7. Take initiatives on the part of the Party to seek out joint efforts with the YWLL to implement the above goals.
8. Seek out and initiate certain joint efforts with people's organizations concerned with the economic offensive of the ruling class against working people.

Submitted jointly by: The Trade Union Dept.  
and the Black Liberation Commission

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# Discussion Guide on *Black Workers and the Class Struggle*

By ROSCOE PROCTOR

By the National Education Department

1. How do the demands to eliminate discrimination against Black workers coincide with the interests of all workers in relation to the productivity drive and the wage freeze? Give concrete examples.

As a result of this, how is it then that the struggle of Black workers against their special problems is the spear point against the drive of the monopolies?

What are the issues in the shops and communities which clearly reveal common interests and the need for common struggle?

2. Why are Black workers more advanced and militant than white workers? On what basis do Black workers play a leading role in the rank-and-file movement?
3. Why do we say we are for unity of the trade union movement and at the same time support Black caucuses? What distinguishes the Black caucus movement from nationalist separatism? Why does Black nationalist ideology find some receptivity in the Black caucus movement?
4. What features do militancy and class consciousness have in common? What distinguishes them? How does a worker develop class consciousness?
5. Why do we reject the concept of parallel all white forms in the trade unions (or any organization)? Respond in the form of arguments and points to your white shop mates and co-workers in mass organizations.
6. How does the Black caucus movement reflect a new level of struggle against racism? How does this affect the standards for unity? What special meaning does this have for white progressives and for Communists?

7. What are the guidelines for a united front alliance between the Black caucus and rank-and-file groupings? What are the special responsibilities of class conscious white workers in fostering unity?

8. What is the special link between the Black caucus movement and the peace movement? Angela Davis defense movement? electoral struggles on all levels? the fight for women's equality?

What would it mean for the mass movements to have these Black workers involved? What are the means by which a community club can begin to build relationships between these issues and groupings?

How can a community club win leadership of Black workers in mass organizations in a Black community?

How can community clubs help build intermediary forms of organization of workers aimed at raising the class consciousness of workers?

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ECOLOGY: Can We Survive Under Capitalism? By Gus Hall.  
Illustrated by Anton Refregier.

Pollution and environmental deterioration are often ascribed to the negative effects of science and technology, and remedies are seen only in that area. Gus Hall ascribes these new dangers of extinction basically to the unplanned, anarchic system of capitalism and to the profit motive of monopoly. He gives the discussion a class dimension showing that workers suffer the most, both at the place of work and at home. While urging immediate remedies, he holds that socialism provides the solution, as shown in the countries which have made the turn to the new social system.

Order from: International Publishers  
381 Park Ave. South  
New York, N. Y. 10016

LNW - \$1.25

## New Literature and How It Can Be Used

We now have available some fine, new literature that we consider especially valuable for shop workers and our working class contacts. We want to propose that every district consider working out a plan that will make sure we have the maximum possible circulation and use of this literature. To make this possible, we are proposing that state and district organizations offer to all clubs that are based in shops or industries, or are involved in industrial concentration work, these three pamphlets in a packet for \$1.00 per packet, in quantities of 3 or more packets.

At the National Convention considerable attention was given to two of them:

BLACK WORKERS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE, by Roscoe Proctor; and PROVOCATEURS AGAINST THE PEOPLE, by Art Shields.

The third one, which has come off the press since the Convention, is

ROBBING THE POOR TO FATTEN THE RICH, by Victor Perlo and Barry Cohen. Its subtitle is Inflation, Wages, Prices and Profits.

The total retail price for all 3 is \$1.40.

The National Literature Commission would welcome receiving your plans for this specific project, as well as any plans discussed on how we can triple our general pamphlet sales during the coming year, per decision of the 20th Convention.

Helen Winter,  
National Literature Commission  
and  
National Organization Dept.

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MARCH, 1972

### Editorial Comment

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Dimitroff and the Reichstag Fire Trial

George Meyers

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Carl Winter

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### COMMUNICATIONS

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