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- Native American Question
- Two Key Reports In The Struggle Against Racism

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Pre-Convention Discussion

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THE CONVENTION NEARS

AS THE PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION IN OUR PARTY PROBES MORE DEEPLY INTO THE CRISIS PROBLEMS FACING OUR COUNTRY, AS THE OVERALL CRISIS AND CARTER'S RESPONSE HURLS THE ADMINISTRATION INTO A NEW LOW IN PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, THE HISTORIC NEED FOR A CONVENTION WITH MAXIMUM PARTICIPATION IS EMPHASIZED.

THE CLIMAX OF OUR CONVENTION PROCESS MUST BE A MASSIVE GATHERING AT COBO HALL WHICH POWERFULLY PROTESTS THE HIGH PRICES, THE FUEL SHORTAGES, THE PLANT SHUTDOWNS, THE DECAYING CITIES AND THE INCREASED TURNING TO RACISM TO PILE NEW BLOWS AGAINST THE VICTIMS WHO ALREADY SUFFER MOST WHEN PROFITS ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN PEOPLE. THIS GATHERING AT COBO HALL WILL SET THE STAGE FOR PROJECTING REAL PEOPLE'S SOLUTIONS TO THE CRISIS PROBLEMS. IT WILL SET THE STAGE FOR THE BUILDING OF A REALLY MASS COMMUNIST PARTY TO GIVE LEADERSHIP TO VICTORY FOR THE STRUGGLES OF THE 80'S. THEREFORE IT IS URGENT THAT ALL DISTRICTS AND ALL PARTY CLUBS MAKE CONCRETE TRAVEL PLANS NOW FOR THE FULLEST POSSIBLE REPRESENTATION IN DETROIT.

MEANWHILE THE PARTY ORGANIZER WILL CONTINUE TO GO TO PRESS AS OFTEN AS NECESSARY TO HELP CONTINUE THE PROBING IN ORDER THAT WE CAN PRESENT OUR CORRECT SOLUTIONS IN THE CLEARST POSSIBLE WAY TO THE COUNTRY AT THE COBO RALLY ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 26.

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" . . . A RACIST AND NATIONAL CHAUVINIST IDEOLOGY USED BY THE
BOURGEOISIE AS THE COVER AND PRETEXT FOR THE CONTINUED LUCRA-
TIVE PLUNDER OF NATIVE AMERICAN LANDS, RESOURCES AND LABOR."

Draft:

The Native American Question

By

THE NATIONALITY DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPUSA

A CRISIS EXISTS FOR NATIVE AMERICANS. THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND ALASKA NATIVE PEOPLES AND NATIONALITIES ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR VERY SURVIVAL AGAINST THE POWER OF STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. THEY ARE VICTIMIZED BY THE WANTON exploitation and destruction of their lands and energy resources by powerful multinationals, by the U.S. government's neo-colonialist policies in Indian affairs and its full cooperation with the monopolies, by astronomical unemployment and the exploitation of their labor, by extreme social and economic deprivation, by social and cultural genocide. These immediate realities occur under the justification of a racist and national chauvinist ideology used by the bourgeoisie as the cover and pretext for the continued lucrative plunder of Native American lands, resources and labor.

The expropriation of the lands and resources of the indigenous peoples of the United States constituted the economic basis for genocide in past centuries. It resulted in the brutal extermination of over 90 percent of

the original population and yielded the vast capital in the form of fertile lands and natural resources needed by the capitalist class to economically develop and industrialize the United States. To the genocidal practices of the past must now be added the policies and techniques of the contemporary age, such as sterilization, uranium poisoning, Indian "education," Bureau of Indian Affairs tyranny, FBI "law and order," destruction of the ecology and environment through stripmining and "development," and enforced poverty.

The Native American peoples have a glorious history of militant resistance. Today they are continuing their long struggle by resisting the blitzkrieg launched by monopoly capitalism to drive them off their remaining lands. There is growing unity in their struggle for land rights, sovereignty over rich resources, for culture and self-government, which has resulted in some significant victories. At the same time, however, Native American militants are being subjected to severe forms of repression. Leaders of the political movement have been killed, jailed unjustly, and harassed. There are currently a number of unsolved and uninvestigated murders of Indians in South Dakota, some committed by police against American Indian Movement militants. This occurs within the context of the general oppression, such as the fact that as high as 30 percent of Native American women have been sterilized without their consent.

Poverty is extremely severe for those on reservations. Rates on the 24 largest reservations in 1970 averaged 55.1 percent for those existing below the poverty line. On the two largest, federally-recognized reservations, the deficit family income (the amount needed to reach the poverty level!) was \$2,844 and \$2,329 respectively. In the urban areas one out of four live in poverty. In 1970 the median income was \$7,323 for all families, and \$3,695 for those with a female head.

The official overall unemployment rate in 1970 was 10.7 percent. The

official rate, however, hides real unemployment, which averages about 37 percent percent for those living on or near reservations and rural villages, and 55 percent when temporary employment is added. Only 63 percent were in the workforce in 1970, compared to 75 percent for Blacks and 80 percent for Whites. Tens of thousands of Indian and Alaska Native workers have become part of what Marx termed "the Lazarus layers of the permanently unemployed."

Excluding people from economic life is the structural basis for the social genocide practiced by capitalism against the Native American peoples and is a present-day extension of the genocide of the past.

The Native American political movement is a people's movement involving numerous peoples and nationalities against powerful monopolies, such as Continental Oil, EXXON, AMAX, Shell, Gulf Oil, Peabody Coal, and Utah International Mining. It is therefore an integral part of the developing anti-monopoly struggle and movement. It is imperative for the Communist Party to be thoroughly informed on this struggle and to raise those demands that will move the struggle forward significantly. The Party and its members must also become more actively involved in recruiting, in fighting for increased trade union support, for more support from all anti-monopoly and democratic forces, and, indeed, in helping give leadership to this people's movement.

The key aspect of the Native American struggle is that it is being waged by oppressed indigenous nationalities for survival. The Indian and Alaska Native populations of about one million totally are in reality comprised of many small peoples and nationalities. Despite capitalism's policy of ^{cultural} genocide, the majority still maintain their respective language, culture and identity. Furthermore, these oppressed nationalities have territories comprising some 2.4 percent of the United States and containing an estimated \$1,000 billion worth of coal reserves alone. For most of

these peoples and nationalities there exist treaties, agreements and laws which define territory and recognize a limited sovereignty. This provides a legal basis in the struggle that must be developed into a larger mass struggle for fuller sovereignty over existing land bases and for the full benefits from the exploitation of their natural resources.

Marxist-Leninists understand that there are both positive and negative aspects to a national movement, its class content being the determining factor. The Native American movement, uniting the struggles of Native American nationalities, is a justified struggle against some of the nation's most rapacious energy monopolists. Unity with the working class is fundamental to any winning perspective. The full support by the working class, the trade union movement in the first place, to the just demands of the Native American peoples is in the best self-interest of the class and the vast majority of the people of the United States. It is part of the struggle to curb monopoly power.

Thus the struggle of the Native American peoples is a struggle whose solutions must be found in the application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the national question in the fight for development, full freedom and equality for oppressed national minorities and peoples. The larger nationalities include the 23,000 Apache; the 66,000 Cherokee; the 42,000 Chippewa; the 24,000 Choctaw and Houma; the 17,000 Creek, Alabama and Coushatta; the 35,000 Eskimo; the 21,000 Iroquois; the 28,000 Lumbee; the 154,000 Navajo; the 31,000 Pueblo peoples; and the 48,000 Dakota Sioux. Altogether there are 115 officially-recognized peoples and nationalities with populations of 2,300 or greater. The rich experience of the Soviet Union, with its "cultural in form, socialist in content" formula for solving the national question, will serve as a guide, but, of course, not as a blueprint.

The original or primary accumulation of capital in the United States

was at the expense of both the Afro-American and Indian peoples. The enslavement of millions of Africans provided a vast source of labor for superexploitation, while the genocidal dispossession of the Indians provided the soil on which Afro-Americans were forced to toil. Thus the fate of these oppressed peoples was linked in history, although in different ways, to the accumulation of the great wealth of U.S. capitalism. Karl Marx' historic words should not be forgotten:

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production" (Capital, Vol. I, p. 751).

And, "if money... 'comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek,' capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt" (Capital, Vol. I, p. 760).

Today, the theft continues, chiefly through the forced settlement of Native American land claims, the object being to drive Native Americans off their remaining lands. And since there is no more "useless" land on which to "relocate" Native Americans, they are increasingly relegated to the cesspools of poverty in the cities, condemned to extinction as indigenous peoples and nationalities. This is monopoly capital's way of solving the Indian "problem."

The loss of land continues, but it is the gobbling up of natural resources that is the hallmark of the dispossession today. Rich resources have been discovered on Native American lands. According to the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), the 23 Indian nationalities of 10 western states, representing some two-thirds of the total population, have 33 percent of the country's low-sulphur, strippable coal, 80 percent of its uranium reserves, and three to 10 percent of all petroleum and gas. Alaska, with its large Native American population, has an inestimable wealth in

natural resources. Now that the technology has been developed, the energy monopolies plan to extract these resources at an even higher rate of profit than in the past.

Theoretically, energy-rich Native Americans should be receiving substantial royalties. The Department of the Interior and the Department of Energy, in the service to EXXON et al, however, set mineral royalty rates at a minimum. As a consequence, the corporations get richer while reservation Indians continue to live in poverty. The Jicarilla Apache, for example, received a mere \$685,000 in bonus money for oil leases that would be worth at least \$80 million if the fair royalty value had been paid.

The government maintains that energy extraction is a cure-all for reservation undevelopment, but this is not the case. For example, although more than \$1 billion have been invested in plant facilities in the Navajo Nation, only \$17 million a year is realized in both personal and tribal income. A minimum of \$380 million per year for 10 years are required just to bring the Navajo standard of living up to the national average. Under prevailing capitalist relations, energy extraction is leading to underdevelopment and genocide, not development!

The federal government through the BIA runs the reservations and villages from top to bottom. In 1972 an Indian coalition, the Trail of Broken Treaties, found that the Bureau was spending \$1 billion annually on Indian affairs and labeled this the "billion dollar indignity," because little trickles down to the reservation masses. But in spite of government waste and bureaucracy, Interior and the BIA does its real job well --helping monopoly capitalism superexploit Native American lands, resources and labor:

The U.S. Department of the Interior is a chamber of the mighty. Oil and gas billionaires, lumber barons, ranchers and corporate farmers, sportsmen and recreation interests, hydroelectric and mining promoters number

among its customary clientele and constituency (Edgar Cahn, Our Brother's Keeper, 1969, p. 157).

One of the Bureau's main responsibilities is education, yet half of all reservation Indians have less than an eighth grade education, and three of four never complete high school. Those who control Indian education are neither Indians nor educators. The main outcome of Indian "education" is social and cultural genocide. Few Native Americans have been able to attain higher education (there are fewer than 25 Indian doctors in the U.S.), yet Native American programs are being dismantled in the colleges and universities.

The administration of Indian affairs must therefore be radically restructured so that the reservations are under full Indian control and the economic benefits are realized by the masses.

The roots of ^{oppression} stem from the original conquest--the dispossession and genocide. In 1883 the government framed a racist criminal code "to do away with demoralizing and barbarous customs." So-called Indian offenses were on the books until the 1940s, and the reservations run like centers of apartheid rather than as autonomous national areas. Not until 1924 did the Snyder Act give citizenship to all U.S. Indians (as if the 14th Amendment were insufficient).

Indians were forbidden by federal law to drink alcohol until after World War II; many places in the country forbade them to enter public places, and miscegenation laws were on the books in many states. The Civil Rights movement was a decisive factor in lessening some of the worse aspects of racism, but many racist practices and its institutionalized forms remain.

Native Americans are constantly victimized by police; they are given longer sentences and are paroled less often. It is impossible to obtain a fair trial, because an Indian is never tried by a jury of her/his peers,

and usually has no money for a lawyer. Over a century of racist myths affects the judge, jury, and the legal system itself.

An extremely dangerous development is the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR), now organized in 23 states. Comprised of elements of the Klan, Nazis and the ultra-right, it is spearheading legislation to do away with treaty rights and reservation status. Communists must take the initiative in helping to win the labor movement and other anti-monopoly forces to smash this attack from the right.

Native Americans are "ripped off" not only through the exploitation of lands and resources, but through their labor power as well. Racism and its derogatory stereotypes (the "incompetent" or "drunken Indian") provides the justification for the Indian differential.

The vast majority are in the working class: there are no capitalists, very few small business people, only a handful of high income professionals, and a dwindling number of independent agriculturalists and herders. According to the 1970 Census, about 60 percent of all men who work are operatives, including transport; craftsmen, foremen and the like; and laborers, except farm. Seventy percent of all women who work are service workers, except private household; clerical workers and operatives.

Since Native Americans have little real control over reservation development, few jobs are generated. Thus the struggle for self-government is an integral part of the fight for full employment. Ironically, because of ^{the} federal relationship and reservation underdevelopment, the government through the BIA and the Public Health Service is the single largest employer of full-time workers. Twenty-four percent of the Indians in the national work force, and 32 percent of workers on the reservations are government employees of one kind or another, mostly federal.

Because of their small numbers, Native American workers do not constitute a significant percent nationally in any single industry. But in the Indian states it is another matter, i.e., mining in Alaska, construction and manufacturing in Oklahoma, mining and manufacturing in New Mexico, mining and manufacturing in Montana, and mining in Idaho. In these states Native American workers constitute from 4 to 11 percent of the industries specified.

With respect to union membership, it appears that a high proportion, especially in the rural or reservation areas, are unorganized. Many tribal council governments in the past, being under the thumb of the BIA, have barred unions, but this is now changing. The Navajo Nation, which formerly outlawed unions, now has an estimated 6,600 union members, about 12 percent of the work force and 25 percent of all those employed. Membership is in Building Crafts and Skills Unions, Laborers, Railway Workers, United Mine Workers, and Operating Engineers.

Many Native Americans belong to craft unions. They are well represented in the building trades as ironworkers, roofers and laborers; significant numbers are also in plumbers, elevator constructors, asbestos and plasterers. In the non-building trades, almost half are Teamsters. Indian women workers are found mainly in the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and in the Teamsters. The states of Alaska, Montana, New Mexico and Oklahoma have significant percentages of this membership.

While there are no statistics available, presumably substantial numbers are also active in the lumber and paper workers unions, in OCAW, and in the United Steelworkers, which has most of the western metal miners.

It should be noted that Native Americans are especially concentrated in industries with poor safety and health conditions, and high accident rates, such as high rise structural iron workers and bridge builders

(Senecas in New York); small boat ocean fishing (Indian, Eskimo and Aleut workers in Alaska); drilling for oil and gas (Oklahoma and Southwest); asbestos workers; metal mining and smelting; and uranium workers.

Hundreds of Navajo uranium miners face the prospect of lung cancer --dozens are already dead--as a result of unregulated radiation exposure in Kerr-McGee mines during the 1950s and 1960s.

Starting in the 1950s, there has been an increase in the tempo of the political movement among Native Americans. The National Indian Youth Council, the first all-Indian, youth protest group, was formed in 1960. The fishing rights struggle in Washington State, initiated by the NIYC, led to the founding of the Survival of American Indians Association in 1964. The Alaska Federation of Natives, responding to Eskimo, Aleut and Indian regional political agitation for land claims, was organized in 1966. These are among the forerunners.

In 1968 the American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minnesota. Originally organized to combat urban racism and to organize Indian survival schools, it soon founded chapters in many states and organized demonstrations, culminating in what is probably now its best-known support action, the 1973 "occupation" of Wounded Knee in defense of Oglala Sioux civil rights. Earlier, in 1969, the take-over of Alcatraz, the former prison island in San Francisco Bay, signalled the beginning of a series of land occupations.

Recently, the Council of Energy Rich Tribes (CERT) was formed. Termed the "Indian OPEC," it represents an amalgum of class, nationality and political forces with the united purpose of raising royalty rates and getting a better deal from the energy monopolies.

Another significant development is the founding of Women of All Red Nations (WARN), a militant Indian women's organization.

The high points in the growing protest movement have been the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan in 1972 on the eve of the national elections, with its occupation of the BIA offices and presentation of a program of reform, the "Twenty Points"; the 1973 Wounded Knee demonstration on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota; the formation of the grassroots coalition, the International Indian Treaty Council in 1974; and the 1977 United Nations-related Geneva Conference on Discrimination Against the Indian Peoples and Nations of the Americas, the organizational effort having been sparkplugged by the Treaty Council and the World Peace Council.

These actions and others show the steady progress toward ever greater unity in action and in a common set of demands. There are also greater efforts to bring the Native American question to the attention of progressive international forces and to enlist their support, which shows a maturing consciousness that the Native American question is part of the general world revolutionary struggle.

This upsurge in political action is being met by increasing repression by the State. AIM in particular has been targeted for attack. In South Dakota hundreds of activists have been murdered, have been jailed as political prisoners, have simply disappeared, or their deaths listed as "accidental" by the officials. The Oglala people at Pine Ridge have filed more than 6,000 written complaints concerning violations of their civil rights, but to no avail.

Among those jailed for political reasons are John Hill (survivor of Attica), Herbert Powless, Michael Sturdevant, Richard Marshall, and Leonard Peltier. Russell Means, an outstanding Oglala leader of the movement, has been shot and jailed innumerable times since Wounded Knee in 1973.

A broader movement needs to be developed by the anti-monopoly and democratic forces in defense of these courageous leaders.

The Indian left is increasingly giving its attention to the anti-monopoly aspects of the struggle and is beginning to work with progressive unions. The Treaty Council, for example, is represented in the Progressive Alliance, formed last spring in Detroit by Doug Fraser of the UAW. New, too, is an interest in electoral politics. The need for electoral struggle, and for the Native American masses to be represented as nationalities at the state and federal level, is vitally important.

At the same time, there are still forces in the movement following a narrow nationalism, who assert a "fourth world" identity, who see "industrialization" or "Westernization" as the enemy rather than the bourgeoisie. It is therefore the task of the Party to help build and strengthen the position of the Indian left in the movement, and to help Native Americans develop a Leninist approach to their struggle.

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NATIVE AMERICAN QUESTION:

ISSUES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
LAND, CULTURE, SELF-GOVERNMENT,
AND SOCIAL SECURITY

1. The right of Native American peoples to be recognized as distinct nationalities, with sovereignty over reservations, including the right to levy taxes on corporate property, to self-government, and full jurisdiction over trial and punishment for violation of laws.
2. The right of Native American peoples to retain and expand their land

bases, to control their resources, which include historic water, fishing and mineral rights, and recognition of the treaty relationship as a basis for reclaiming jurisdiction over land and resources.

3. The right to receive full value for all resources taken from their lands and waters, and the right to take over monopoly enterprises and place them under cooperative or other forms of people's control, and to develop their own industries and resources.

4. An end to all genocidal practices, such as sterilization and medical experimentation, being carried out against Native American peoples.

5. The right to use their respective languages, religions, customs and traditions, and to the sanctity of religious sites and burial grounds.

6. Prompt turning over to the indigenous peoples of Alaska all of the 40 million acres due them under the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act. Also add to reservation and village lands contiguous to towns and mineral areas, so as to improve the economic viability of Alaska Native peoples.

7. The right to elect one congressman from each reservation with a population of 2300 or greater, and one U.S. senator from each nationality with a population of 20,000 or more. Also the right to elect representatives to state legislative bodies on a similar basis, thus giving the Native American peoples and nationalities a voice in those bodies that make the laws and decide the policies affecting their lives and interests.

8. The right to employment and job training on the basis of affirmative action, to union protection and on-the-job safety, whether on the reservation or in the city.

9. The right to special benefits in health, education, housing, economic and job development, in order to counter centuries of oppression, benefits to be received irrespective of place of residence. ■

"THIS STUDY TEAM WORKED SKILLFULLY ON THE PREMISE, NOT THAT THEY HAD ALL THE ANSWERS, BUT THAT THE ANSWERS WERE IN THE EXPERIENCES AND THINKING OF THE COMRADES IN THE CLUBS."

THE WAY TO A MASS PARTY

By

Jarvis Tyner

Chair, New York District

(EXCERPT FROM HIS REPORT TO THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION)

COMRADES, LAST FALL WE HAD A WONDERFUL EXPERIENCE IN OUR STATE LEADERSHIP. THE POLITICAL BUREAU ASSIGNED A NATIONAL STUDY TEAM TO COME INTO OUR DISTRICT AND EXAMINE THE WORK OF OUR PARTY. SIMILAR WERE IN DETROIT, CHICAGO AND ELSEWHERE. OUR TEAM WAS HEADED BY COMRADE WINSTON, AND IT DID A BRILLIANT JOB. ITS TASK WAS TO EXAMINE two areas of work: industrial concentration (focused on steel in Buffalo; transit in New York, auto in Tarrytown, garment and waterfront) and Black liberation (which focuses in Harlem). This study team worked skillfully on the premise, not that they had all the answers, but that the answers were in the experiences and thinking of the comrades in the clubs. As a result of the team's report and the continued discussion of the state leadership, some basic conclusions were developed.

During the McCarthy period, our Party nationally suffered a tremendous setback. The combined effects of the fierce external attack of the ruling class, and the internal effects of factionalism, resulted in a retrenchment both politically and organizationally. With the advent of the late 50's and 60's, our Party began to strengthen itself. We became a greater factor in the political life of our country, gaining in influence and respect. But the rate of growth was very slow. In New

York State, even with a platoon of excellent, brilliant leaders, comrades with tremendous experience and commitment and respect, (I speak of Clarence Hathaway, Bob Thompson, Betty Gannett, Gil Green, Rasheed Storey, Frances Bordofsky), our Party did not begin to show an increase in real growth until the 19th Convention in 1969. At that Convention a new level of Party unity was achieved and the rate of growth increased. This shows that you need a disciplined, unified Party to be successful. This shows that political unity is necessary to achieve organizational gains. The potential for greater growth throughout the 60's was always there, but the lack of strong Party unity blocked our finding the ways of fully turning our influence into actual membership.

During the late 60's and early 70's there was the fight for peace in Vietnam, the struggle to free Angela Davis, the development of the concept of intermediary forms, the re-establishment of a Marxist-Leninist youth organization, the YWLL, and a new and bolder style was developed in the Party's electoral work.

This further accelerated the Party's influence, and the rate of recruitment increased. It still did not meet the potential for growth. During the Browder period, the period of liquidation, the basic units of our Party, the clubs, were weakened. Club treasuries were dissolved; clubs ceased being the primary vehicles in struggle; clubs tended to

take on an administrative character. This was a major obstacle to the Party closing the gap between its influence and its actual growth.

In general, people did not join our Party because of club activities. They joined because of overall political agreement, overall political work of the Party and its leadership. The clubs are still not the main vehicle of growth for our Party. Yet the club is the point of production for a Communist Party.

This contradiction, this whole problem reflects a lag, from the 50's, between politics and organization which accounts for the gap between what we say and what we are able to do, between our influence and our actual gain in membership. Comrades, overall leadership and overall politics are strong; but organizational politics, and our leadership situation down below, tends to be weak. Most clubs lack a political focus and a political reason for their make-up.

weak at the bottom is like building on sand. It is to correct this basic problem that we talk about clubs with a purpose.

In order for our Party to be able to become a mass Communist Party, emphasis on our clubs is decisive. First of all, our Party must have grass roots. It is not enough to build a club on an industrial base; we cannot be complacent about that. We must build shop clubs in the Communist Party. It is not enough to build a club with a vague or unreal geographical focus. We must have neighborhood or even block clubs in the Communist Party. That is where we must lead. Why? Because during the times when our Party was most successful, it did not just build on top and service movements on top. It built down below, on the block, where we put people's furniture back in their houses. We have to be a factor not only in the broad movements but in the day-to-day lives of the working class if we are going to be a mass Communist Party. This means that the basic unit of our Party, the club, has to be the breadline to the day-to-day struggles of the working class.

To be strong at the top and

"THE PERIOD CALLS FOR OUR PARTY AT THIS TIME TO CONDUCT AT EVERY LEVEL OF OUR PARTY THE PROBING FOR A DEEPER THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF RACISM AND METHODS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IT."

By
Elsie Dickerson
Eastern Pennsylvania

R E P O R T T O A P A R T Y C O N F E R E N C E

The Struggle Against Racism

THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF THE WORLD, TOGETHER WITH ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES, HAVE BROUGHT THE STRUGGLE TO ROLL BACK IMPERIALISM'S GLOBAL POSITIONS TO A NEW STAGE, OPENING UP UNPRECEDENTED PERSPECTIVES FOR THE WORKING CLASSES AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND CAN BE SEEN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SITUATION TODAY AND THAT OF THE 30'S. TODAY, AS THEN, BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE KEY TO CARRYING OUT THE PARTY'S INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION POLICY. BUT THE DIFFERENCE IN LEVEL OF OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN THE 30'S AND THE PRESENT IS INCALCULABLE. IN THE MAKING IN THE U.S. IS A COUNTERPART OF WHAT IS DEVELOPING ON A WORLD SCALE.

BUILDING OUR PARTY IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN SPEEDING THE FIGHT AGAINST THE RACIST, CLASS-COLLABORATIONIST POLICIES OF LABOR'S MISLEADERS; IN UNITING THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS; IN BRINGING ABOUT A BREAKAWAY FROM THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM; AND IN BUILDING INDEPEN-

DENT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS WITHIN A BROAD ANTI-MONOPOLY STRATEGY TO ROLL BACK MONOPOLY AND ADVANCE AN ALTERNATIVE TO WAR, POVERTY, RACISM AND REPRESSION. In this period as the Party grows and develops, more and more cadre will be needed for filling leading positions in the movements as well as the Party. The period calls for speeding up the development of an overall policy for cadre development and training.

The period calls for our Party at this time to conduct at every level of our Party the probing for a deeper theoretical analysis of racism and methods of struggle against it. During the course of our pre-Convention discussion, we must answer some questions. Why does our class, the working class, the most revolutionary class in society, lag in the struggle against racism? Why is it that our own Party's propaganda has not been more effective?

True, the level of struggle against racism has been raised as a result of: (1) The great strength of the world liberation movement; (2) The role of the socialist countries; (3) The change in the composition of the working class, with a large number of Black workers now in basic industry and with the special role of Black women in the work force; (4) Last, but not least, the struggle of our Party to raise the level of trade union consciousness in our country. There is a challenge before us: how to link up the struggle for the advancement of Black people and all minorities with that of the needs of the white working masses and the entire class. How to win white workers to curb their racist notions, to join forces, to unite around issues, and see Blacks and other minorities as allies and not enemies; this is our key task. We cannot fail in this task. As the economic conditions continue to deteriorate there will be increased motion among white workers. These activities can go in a progressive or a reactionary direction. This depends on who the masses will accept leadership from.

Racism remains the main weapon to divide the class. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of that class, must be ready to lead the fight against racism. We must do it in the shops, in the union halls, in the schools, community and every mass organization. The Communist Party has

a long history of fighting racism. While other groups perpetuated racism, the Party was in the forefront against it. However, the myths, the fallacies and concepts of the bourgeoisie have spilled over into our Party, and this has had a tremendous effect upon many of our Black comrades.

Let me pose some questions: We say that Black trade unionists, Black activists, are leading the militant upsurge in unions and other mass movements. We say that the level of understanding of many is very advanced. They are willing to work with Communists, seek advice, take leadership from Communists. The question I want to ask is: Why isn't this militancy reflected in the change of composition in our Party in relation to Black membership? Why is there such a large gap between our ability to influence and our numerical growth? Why, among Blacks who joined the Party, do we find that many are now leaving the Party? Why has our Party not grown in a larger way among industrial workers? Why are new recruits, especially Black women, becoming disenchanted with our Party? Why do a number of Black comrades have a feeling of being expendable? Isn't this an indication that there are serious problems in our Party in relation to recruiting and holding workers, especially Blacks?

There are still many reservations in the Party when it comes to speaking about racism and white chauvinism. There are still far too few examples of initiatives being taken in the struggle against racism. Take the April 4th anti-recycling, Whitman Park demonstration here in Philadelphia. What prevented our Party from fully mobilizing to win the support of the trade unions and the mass organizations for this important and united action of the Black community, a movement that is at the forefront in the struggle for democracy? State Rep. Milton Street called for a massive action on April 4th to mobilize the democratic masses for action. Whitman Park has become the symbol of racist resistance in this city. Remember that Mayor Rizzo used Whitman Park to escalate the racist drive in the city and to announce his nationwide campaign for so-called "Rights for Whites."

Did comrades doubt that it was worth the fight to convince white leaders, white masses, especially in the trade union movement, to support the struggles of the most oppressed sector of our class? The fact is

that although there was discussion on the top level, proposals for action to conduct the struggle were either met with silence, or were accepted with nothing done about it. I don't believe that any club had a serious discussion about it. Did white comrades see the important role they could play in this event? Did they see their key task -- the task of mobilizing themselves and other progressives and white trade unionists to participate in this event? The participation of large numbers of whites was important, especially when Black leaders had made a strong appeal for Black-white unity, when Black leaders had made unity the theme of the demonstration.

White comrades did not see the importance of this movement. They did not mobilize in the clubs. They did not mobilize support in their unions, peace organizations and other mass organizations. In total, they did not fight for support of this action among the white masses.

What were the results of this failure to fight for support of white masses for this key struggle? The role of the mass media in trying to discredit the movement was made easier. It gave an opportunity to the ruling class to bring pressure to bear on white leaders not to participate and set the stage for racist ideology, under the guise of patriotism, to play a dominant role. We witness the waving of the American Flag, the racist slurs, signs that read "We got ours through mortgages" -- all racist currents. About 2 percent of the 3,500 marchers were white. As a matter of fact, only a half dozen white comrades turned up. Is there any wonder that Blacks, and particularly Black comrades, feel the Party is not carrying out its historical task? Not one white trade union leader, not one white elected official appeared in the march, or spoke at the demonstration.

This lack of initiative on the part of white comrades to struggle against racism in the mass arena, has led many Blacks close to us to question the sincerity of white Communists. Our failure to fully mobilize ourselves for ideological, political and practical struggles holds us back in recruiting. I am talking about the fact that for some time a large group of Black people, mostly Black women, have been around our Party. They are with us ideologically and politically. They regularly

fight with us, supporting our line in mass organizations. They are people with great admiration for our Party. Still they do not join the Party. They sense that something is wrong. They know we are not fully mobilized and they will not join until they see our Party move the way our literature says we should. Comrade Hall put it this way: "Because of our advanced position, masses in general, and Black Americans in particular, rightly expect more from our Party than any organization. They rightly expect higher standards from us. Weaknesses in living up to standards must be challenged as impermissible and dealt with as a serious problem within our Party."

The tendency by some of us is to overestimate the role of practice in the development of consistent class consciousness and to underestimate the ideological role of our Party. Such styles and methods of work have given rise to a tendency to moralize abstractly, to scold, to agitate whites from afar. This is a coverup for our own shortcomings in dealing with racism in its specific expressions where it exists. There are concretes leading us to believe that we are accepting the seepage of white chauvinism into our ranks.

Are Black leaders recognized or is there a pattern of ignoring Black leadership? There are decisions that are made outside the collective, when Blacks are among the top leadership of that collective. There is an ignoring, a going around of Black leadership. Sometimes this prevents important decisions from being implemented, but it also exhibits a style of work that is influenced by racism.

Another example: Take the question of how white comrades handle differences within the Party. At an expanded board meeting last August, called to discuss our role in the Philadelphia charter change, Black comrades made a special contribution to our Party, bringing in proposals for Party action. It must be noted that until that meeting we were tailing, we were not mobilizing ourselves for struggle. Those proposals were addressed by leading white cadre in such a way as to exaggerate differences, when in fact it was not clear that any real political differences existed. Super-critical approaches to Black cadre and to proposals from Black comrades is a common occurrence in our Party. This style does not promote unity. It is not a style that sees the many-sidedness of struggle. This style of work permits the seepage of white chauvinist influences in our Party. These are hardly the conditions for a fighting unity that must characterize a Communist Party.

There is routinism, silence sharpness in relation to Blacks. There is insensitivity and paternalism which becomes patronizing. There is on the part of some white comrades a taking on of the question of white chauvinism in a crusading fashion.

As the struggle against racism sharpens, more and more the form of paternalism in the Party becomes more blatant. Take the approach to a Black trade unionist running for City Council-at-large in Philadelphia. Some comrades embraced the campaign of the Black trade unionist without knowing his stand on issues, without knowing whether his ideas or his program reflected those of the growing mass movement. As it happened, it did reflect masses in motion. The thinking of white comrades was that they could run this campaign, could mold a program, whatever the candidate thought. This is an example of paternalism.

Our Party, as a matter of principle, seeks to build unity with the most democratic forces. The class struggle molds leaders; the Party cannot do that. We are developers of struggle with democratic leaders and masses and in the final analysis, it is the masses who choose their leaders. Not only was this an error of paternalism, but it also contributed to the already existing inertia around the candidacy of a Black man for mayor.

Now a word on criticism and self-criticism. Unfortunately, in our Party there are still cases where comrades, when the question of racism arises, keep quiet and do not express their opinions. In our Party, the same as in the working class, people come and go. There are dropouts, expulsions. There are some who appear to make it, but never let go of anti-working class ideology. The Party must eradicate these things. That is why a vanguard Party is based on democratic centralism, which means a constant flow of criticism and self-criticism. We are not an elite organization with all the answers. We make mistakes. We should apply criticism as well as self-criticism in an ordinary fashion. Why is criticism so difficult? How do we raise criticism of a comrade? Surely it is not done in the same sense as it is done toward an enemy. Personal attacks upon comrades is a bourgeois tactic. Name calling, gossip, a lack of proper examination of a comrade's work are all incorrect methods of raising criticism.

In many cases much more is expected of Black comrades, and at the same time there are those in our Party who accept a higher level of oppression for Black people. Let's take an example: In our district, we opened a bookstore. Four comrades were given this as their assignment, three whites and one Black. The three whites had cushions to fall back upon. They had families that could aid them financially in order that they could carry on their political work. This was not true of the young Black man. The three white comrades, after a short period, decided that they could not live on the amount of money that was at their disposal. They quit and found more lucrative jobs with high salaries. They left the young Black comrade alone to carry out the task of building a Marxist-Leninist bookstore in the heart of a Black community. They felt it was alright for him to go on welfare. At that time \$69.00 twice monthly was the amount he would receive. They felt he could live off of this, but they could not.

Does this not reflect the same ideology that the monopolies and the bourgeoisie in general spread in regard to Blacks, that they need less? Is it not the same ideology that is a part of the concept that lower wages for Blacks are okay? Isn't it a reflection of the same method that shows the large gap in wages of Black and white workers? Never once did these comrades struggle within the movement for a program that would insure a decent living for this young man. As a result of this and a number of other factors, we have lost the young Black comrade, and in losing him, we lost a number of young Black industrial workers who saw this and who felt that the Party had "used the Black man."

Further, this young man was loyal. He fought for the Party line; he implemented it. He was very learned in Marxist-Leninist concepts. But when it came to teaching a class, or taking leadership from him, this did not happen. It was all right for him to do the routine work, but they did not see his ability as a Marxist leader.

Another example is the fact that I was in this Party thirty years before it was made possible for me to attend a National Party School. Many times I was asked to attend, but I had to turn it down. All I received was criticism because I did not attend. However, no one asked why. No one took into consideration that I was a single woman, responsible for the care and upkeep of a home that involved an invalid mother. No one said: You go to school; we will help pay the expenses at home due to loss of salaries. No one made it possible for me to attend. I dare say that I still would not have been able to attend if I had not retired.

I am saying that we should pay more attention to the development of cadre, and especially Black workers, in our Party. How are we going to make it possible to develop workers as leaders in our movement, especially Black, without a careful examination of their needs, of their obligations? There will have to be concrete plans in order to insure the development of such cadres. Another weakness that raises its head in our district is the lack of personal relationships. There is a widening gap between Black members and white members. At our social affairs Black participation becomes smaller and smaller each year. There is also the question of the falling off of Black membership in our district. How do we explain this?

Now a word about how we sometimes utilize the talents of Blacks coming into the Party. Sometimes, because of struggles that Blacks have been involved in, they come with many talents. The experiences in the mass arena have prepared them for this. So we take them and many, many times, we place them in assignments without their really having the benefit of what the Party is all about. We expect them to implement the Party line with the expertise of a comrade that has been in the movement for years, has had the benefit of Party organization, Party standards, etc. Many times the comrade is left alone to carry out a task. The comrade does not have the benefit of a Party collective that he or she receives guidance from on a day-to-day basis. As a result of this errors are made. The Black comrade is harshly criticized. Sometimes the comrade is given a tag that is demoralizing, such as "Oh, that comrade is irresponsible, not dependable." Not once has the comrade been in discussion as to why he or she could not carry out the task. Comrades are too often placed in a position where they are forced to make individual decisions. This weakens the comrades and feeds their weakness. They lose self confidence as well as confidence in the Party.

I am not saying that being in a collective is insurance that the comrade will receive the proper guidance. I am saying that when new comrades are pushed to the top, our Party has a commitment to make certain that they are placed in collectives that will give the correct guidance, that will also see the comrades as human beings, will get to know them and help in times of personal difficulty, as well politically and ideologically.

There is also the situation in which a comrade may be the only one in his family who is a Communist. Do we consider the tasks we place upon that comrade? Do we place such demands that the comrade is completely isolated from family and friends, and if so, have we considered how that comrade's family may view the Party? These are questions that are important and, if dealt with correctly, we will not only develop a strong comrade, but will also win friends to our Party. Insensitivity to this question has been responsible for family break-ups. Our Party builds families; it does not break them.

Now a word about Black women. There has been a notable increase in activity among Black women. They figure heavily among the major outspoken opponents of reactionary domestic and international policies. They form the very backbone of the struggle that is unfolding in many areas today. Why is it so hard for a Black woman's leadership to be accepted by many in the Party? Why is it especially true in relation to working class Black women? Comrades, our document at the convention must deal concretely with this problem. It must deal concretely and clearly with the triple exploitation of Black women and the role they are playing as an important element in our class.

There has been a growth among the ultra-Left in Philadelphia, at least a growth in the organizations. More and more these petty bourgeois elements have moved to dress themselves to appear like the Party. But their actions speak louder than words. They are nothing more than the disruptive forces of the petty bourgeoisie, frightened by the class struggle and moving into working class shops and movements to disrupt and confuse the struggles of the workers. It is no accident that they are able to get jobs in shops and industry where our people are blacklisted. They enjoy a free hand in shops while militant workers are fired and harassed. This is a pattern not only in Philadelphia but throughout the country.

Their activity in the Charter Change Movement and in the struggles of workers to stop run-away shops was to divide the workers in the name of militant action. There have been a growing number

of bookstores recently opened in the Black communities. There are all kinds of newspapers. There is one called "Community." The Trotskyites say it is an independent left publication. Their March 15, 1979 issue lead article and editorial states: "On April 4, if Milton Street has his way, the usual quiet of Whitman section of South Philadelphia will be disrupted by 50,000 demonstrators. At issue," the article continues, "is not only the fate of the neighborhood but the ability of the city and federal government to provide adequate solutions to a housing crisis compounded by racial antagonisms."

It gets worse as the article continues: "Whitman resembles most urban areas thirty or forty years ago. Its population is stable with only a slight increase in recent years. Its residents are also stable holding regular jobs and leading family centered lives. It has escaped the transience that has swept suburban areas, or the

changes in family patterns and life styles that have swept downtowns. Whitman residents take pride in their community." This is pure low level racist mentality and there is nothing "left" about it. This new newspaper is a product of these forces at a time when the role of the Left, particularly whites among the Left, needs to be in the struggle against racism among white workers. The clear hand of the enemy is present. Our Party must expose these dishonest elements.

Similarly, we have to look at the Consumer Party. Some of our white comrades had differences with our Party with respect to this organization. They felt that our main work should be here. Our district rejected this and facts of life have proven us correct.

The Consumer Party enjoyed a period of leading and working with masses on the question of consumer fraud. More recently they have been falling into the phony "Left" pattern that I have described. Their role in the Charter Change Movement was to organize the Stop Rizzo Coalition. The main elements were phoney leftists. They played a role of diverting the struggle and making consistent attacks upon trade union leaders, especially the head of the hospital union who is Black. They tried to divert attention away from moving white workers, from moving the entire trade union movement. The Consumer Party is running a white candidate against the best interests of the democratic movement. If they were sincere they would have withdrawn their candidate for Mayor on the day Charles Bowser announced his candidacy. They are capable only of diverting and dividing.

In the upcoming primary, our Party, along with other progressives, and democratic forces of the Black community, have a tremendous

opportunity to deliver another blow against racism. The city's monopolies and their political lackies fear the growing resistance on the part of the Black community. They face a new level of struggle from the City's Black community, and among rank and file workers, from teachers and from the poor. So they knew they had to come up with new candidates and even some alteration of tactics.

We must clearly understand that the candidacies of Green, Klenk, Gaudiosi come out of a sense of fear that has developed of the mass movement. The monopolies fear that their rule is being challenged, that the racism they rely upon so heavily is being challenged and rejected.

This mass movement is centered in the Black community around the issues of urban removal. It is in the schools. It is among city workers. It is against police brutality. It is a highly militant, highly visible fight. This movement has found concrete political expression. That expression is in the campaign of Charles Bowser for Mayor of Philadelphia. Around the candidacy of Bowser are the most militant, most outspoken, democratic people's anti-monopoly leaders.

What is the most logical political step for Philadelphia, coming out of the charter change election? The answer is the election of the most qualified, most democratic candidate, the Black candidate for Mayor of this City. It must be noted that to this date no major progressive white organization, no white trade union leader, no peace organization has come out and endorsed his candidacy why? I think we conclude that there is acceptance of racist ideas. What are some of the false concepts that have developed?

1. Bowser supposedly will not represent the whole of the people of Philadelphia.
2. A Black man supposedly will not and cannot represent white people.
3. It is acceptance of the current monopoly concept that supposedly there is no more institutionalized discrimination, and Blacks are "free" to discriminate against white people.
4. It is the lie that Blacks have made it in this society.

Let's us examine some concepts that hold back white progressives, white workers, white liberals from supporting Bowser.

1. The lesser of the two-evils concept still holds back workers and progressive middle strata from supporting a candidate like Bowser. They say Bowser cannot win, so the task for them is to prevent Gaudiosi from winning.
2. They look for a "pure" organization and center their attack upon the charge that he has taken money from Lonstreth, a leading Republican. Well, where does the money for Green, Klenk and Gaudiosi come from?
3. Another concept is that a Black man supposedly cannot unite this City.

Such false concepts are indicative of the failure to see what is the main content and direction of the struggle. These struggles do not emerge in pure form. We are talking about the main content, the main direction and the important potential for this development.

I am confident that our Party can pick up the challenges that face us and come out of our Convention with the Marxist-Leninist

strength that will enable us to carry out our work in a most united manner.

Let me be very clear, comrades. Pointing to our weaknesses is not to condemn. It is not meant to ignore some of the excellent work comrades have done in Philadelphia. But we raise weaknesses in order to strengthen the struggle, and to strengthen the struggle at this time is to take on the question that holds back our class from action, from united struggle, from Black-white unity, from union solidarity, from unity of the labor movement with the struggle of the Black Liberation Movement.

We as the vanguard would not be carrying out our task were we not to discuss these weaknesses frankly.

It is a time for probing, for discussing, and a time for finding solutions to these problems.

It is a time to examine concretely the new forms of racism and to examine some of the tactics used to sell racism to the U.S. people. We must combat the idea that the Blacks have made it, and there is no need for special attention to their needs.

I think we have to dig deeper into the character of labor leadership in this period. We have to ask ourselves the question: What affect have the class collaborationist policies of the AFL-CIO had upon white workers, center forces and upon the work of our own comrades in the trade union movement?

We must show the relationship and influence of Bakke and Weber on militant class struggle policies.

REPORT ON TRANSIT
TO THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION:

Build On Our Proud History

OUR PARTY HAS A LONG AND PROUD HISTORY IN THE ORGANIZING AND BUILDING OF THE TWU. OUR PARTY PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION. COMMUNISTS WERE A LEADING FORCE IN MOLDING A MILITANT, FIGHTING UNION. OUR PARTY WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN BREAKING THE BACK OF THE RACIST HIRING, which resulted in the multiracial, multinational, male-female character of the transit work force that exists today.

We are proud of this rich heritage and we are deeply committed to building on it in the coming period. Communist transit workers are increasingly playing an important role among the transit workers: in the struggle for uniting the rank and file; for militant, class struggle union policies; and for the TWU again becoming an outstanding progressive force in the labor movement of the City of New York.

We believe that we have made a significant beginning in re-establishing our roots. We believe that our Committee, composed of comrades who work in the industry and comrades involved in DAILY WORLD transit distributions, can make a major contribution to the tasks ahead.

Based on our work and discussions relating directly to this Convention, we would like to present the following Plan of Work for the coming period. Included in this plan are the issues, demands and concerns which, we believe, reflect the major needs of both the rank and file in transit, the transit workers in general, and the needs of the worker/riders.

This projected plan is the result of a collective effort and reflects the thinking of comrades involved in transit work and of comrades who are transit workers, as well as the contributions of our Labor Secretary, Press Director and Harlem Organizer. The plan is based on our pre-convention discussion and the Draft Main Political Resolution, as well as the Draft Resolution on the Afro-American Struggle, issued by the Central Committee of our Party.

*** PLAN OF WORK ***

1) Our goal is to double the number of clubs participating in DW transit distributions between now and the end of the year, with special campaigns to get subscriptions from transit workers;

2) We will give the highest priority to realizing the possibilities that exist for building a Party club in transit within the same period;

3) We will work to persuade every club and every comrade in NYC of the need to participate in some way;

4) We are presently working on the development of an educational/discussion guide to be used by the committee and/or clubs which will familiarize comrades with the industry, the work force, rank and file groups, issues, etc. We will act as a speakers bureau and make ourselves available to visit clubs to share

our ideas and experiences, and hopefully to convey our enthusiasm about the work and our plans, as well as to emphasize the necessity for others to join us;

5) In addition to building the Party and press in transit, a main goal, running through all our work, and related to every issue and struggle, will be the fight for unity of our class; unity among the rank and file, Black-Hispanic-white and women, between workers and riders, between workers and the communities and to help strengthen the union, build militancy and rank and file support;

6) Within this framework and approach, and in order to achieve unity, we will fight for affirmative action and against racism and all forms of discriminatory practices against Black, Hispanic and women workers, and for Black, Hispanic and women to play leadership roles within the rank and file and union. We will project, in all our work, the special needs and demands of women workers, especially Black and Hispanic women transit workers;

7) As part of our on-going work, we will make special, conscious efforts to seek out contacts and build relationships with Black and Hispanic transit workers. In the long run, this will contribute to Harlem concentration work, since many of these workers will be residents of Harlem;

8) We will also make special efforts toward improving the composition of our committee, so that it will reflect the multi-racial, multi-national composition of the transit work force. We believe, however, this can only be achieved in the process of our concrete struggles; but we can have a conscious, planned approach toward this goal;

9) We will work toward building expertise in all areas of our work -- in the mass transit industry, the Transit Authority, including budget and funding, as well as on the union and the rank and file;

10) We will encourage our comrades to join mass transit rider groups to sharpen the struggle for better service and lower fares, and to build solidarity and support for transit workers;

11) We will take the Party's 1980 election campaign to the transit workers, building toward independent political action and winning votes for Party candidates;

12) We will issue leaflets, written by the Committee and produced for city-wide transit distributions, on key transit issues. We will also assist clubs in the production of leaflets, petitions, flyers, etc.

FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF MAJOR ISSUES/DEMANDS AROUND WHICH UNITY BETWEEN TRANSIT WORKERS, RIDERS AND COMMUNITIES CAN BE BUILT:

1) Increase work force. Restore cuts.

a) Demand no farming out of work;

b) Open more token booths, with full-time workers only. Provide more protection and improved work conditions.

c) Restore cuts in platform conductors (loss of 100 in recent period);

d) Fight for affirmative action, with teeth, in hiring, promotion and on-the-job training. Publicize and build support to defeat Weber-Kaiser.

2) Fight proposals to do away with half-fares and reduced fares on unlimited basis for senior citizens;

3) Fight for improved health, safety & maintenance - for workers and riders;

4) Reduction of fares and better service - all to be financed by government, corporations, Wall Street and the rich;

5) Expose the racist concepts and "crimefighting" schemes that blame Black and other nationally oppressed peoples for violence in transit system;

6) Support wage demands of workers and 6-hour pay with no cut in pay; expose the outrageous salaries and payoffs to MTA officials (Ronan, Fisher & DeRoos) and ripoff by banks on interest - while quality of mass transit deteriorates;

7) Initiate a fight to repeal the anti-labor Taylor law;

8) Tie in transit with anti-labor offensive in general - take-aways, give-backs, trade-offs, the 3-tier pension system, declining real wages;

9) Demand mass transit be financed by federal government, big business, Wall Street and rich - not workers and poor;

10) Show how budget cuts affect mass transit and tie in the military budget & SALT II - transfer funds from mass destruction to mass transit;

11) Work to defeat Westway;

12) Ground R-46's until they are safe;

13) Project concept of public ownership and control of mass transit system; compare mass transit systems in capitalist countries with those in socialist countries.

RESOLUTION ON INDEPENDENT
POLITICAL ACTION, THE UNEMPLOYED
AND THE UNORGANIZED

EMPHASIZE THAT WHICH IS NEW

By

EMMA STERN CLUB

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA

THE MAIN DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION NEEDS TO EMPHASIZE MORE SHARPLY THAT WHICH IS NEW IN THE POLITICAL SITUATION, ESPECIALLY THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THE NEW STAGE OF STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND ITS EFFECTS, AS IT WAS DISCUSSED IN GUS HALL'S REPORT OF DECEMBER 2, 1978. While the Draft refers to this question more than once, it needs more emphasis in order to stand out as the key to our approach to economic and political action in the coming period. Likewise, certain responsibilities which arise out of the new situation must be more clearly defined in relation to our industrial concentration policy.

The new stage of state monopoly capitalism has a number of central aspects:

1. The state machinery is now being used to redistribute the wealth, so that gains won at the bargaining table are taken away in taxation.
2. The policy of concession has given way to a policy of "take-aways" and "setbacks," both in the shop and in politics. This refusal to grant concessions is not a whim; it is a necessity which stems directly from the economic and political crises of the system.

3. The capitalist class is stepping up its use of racism, hoping to play upon workers' fears for their jobs and their economic desperation. The aim is to wipe out the gains made in recent years, particularly in affirmative action on the job, and to divide and disarm the working class in its growing militancy.

4. Even in periods of relative economic upswing, there is now a large, permanent army of unemployed.

5. There is a stepped-up attack on detente.

In view of these five factors, the Resolution needs to be strengthened in the following ways:

1. Independent Political Action. This concept needs to be more clearly defined, with more indication of the specific content and of steps which move in the correct direction and which reflect that which is new in the situation. According to Gus Hall's report, the fight around issues of taxation has now become a "critical issue in the class struggle." The fight against military spending has become a "central issue for both domestic and foreign policy." (Military spending is the only issue which brings together the questions of detente, taxation, and the government's subservience to big business.) Likewise (the Hall report says), the "crisis of the two old parties cannot be separated from the new role of the state." The importance of the issues of taxation and military spending is not sufficiently emphasized in the Draft Resolution.

Because of the "no concessions" policy, it is getting harder to convince people that there is a point to demonstrations and lobbying in Sacramento or Washington, since most legislators do not respond no matter how large or how broad the demand. The lack of success in issue-oriented political action contributes greatly to the apathy of so many non-voters. Only the injection of moves toward a change in the nature of government can restore confidence in the effectiveness of issue-oriented struggles.

For all these reasons, the Draft Resolution must make absolutely clear that the necessity for independent political action is on a qualitatively higher level than before. Also, independent political action is not simply past politics, even the past politics of the Left. It is a new politics, consciously directed (on our part) towards the development of the first step of the anti-monopoly coalition. Because of the new role of the state as the naked instrument of the capitalist class, this kind of revolutionary new politics should be clearly placed as part of our industrial concentration policy.

2. The Unemployed and the Unorganized. The problem of unemployment is a problem of the whole working class. But a basic tactic of the capitalists is now to push the heaviest burden of unemployment first, upon young people of color: Black, Hispanic, Native American Indian, and Asian; and second, upon women, especially minority women. The aim is to divide the working class, and for this reason racism is used to justify the disproportionate burden borne by minority young people and women. Racist ideology seeks to put

the blame for unemployment upon its victims. The racists push the line that the unemployed are lazy, don't want work, or are insufficiently educated.

The capitalist class supports, encourages, even fights for a deterioration of facilities and standards for the education of many minority young people in order to use poor education as an excuse for unemployment. Large numbers of unemployed youth have never been employed; they lack the experience of trade union or working class struggles. They desperately need the participation of the Left. The organization of the unemployed, and the struggle for jobs, benefits and education must be clearly placed in the Resolution as a part of industrial concentration policy, and as a key necessity to defend the interests of both employed and unemployed workers and to protect the labor movement. Above all, the fight to organize the unemployed must be placed as a key aspect of the fight against racism.

The unorganized workers also suffer from a sharp attack on their living standards, and they are the workers most likely to become unemployed. The organization of the unorganized must also be placed as part of industrial concentration, and as the responsibility of the whole Party--not simply of the trade union movement as such.

We need to develop more concrete standards for independent political action for this advanced stage of monopoly capitalism. These standards are not to be used as a mold into which we can jam all the diverse political movements, but to give us criteria by which we can judge the level and direction of movements. We suggest as such standards the following:

1. Political movements may begin with issues, but such movements must go beyond issues, to look toward and to develop tactics to win labor, Left and minority candidates to office. A change in the nature of government, not simply concessions, must be the goal of true independent political action.
2. Communists must participate, not simply as individuals, but as a Party, as a recognized component of the political struggle. This includes the right of the Communist Party to run candidates, both independently and as part of a slate--all operating outside the two-party system.
3. Grass-roots organizations for independent political action, with some permanent structure, must be developed in the near future.
4. Independent political action should direct its main organizing force towards working class people, most especially people of color, and members of trade unions--especially those in basic industry.
5. Independent political movements must begin to link issues together, as the beginnings of an inclusive anti-monopoly position.

Our approach to independent political action must break with any concept of spontaneity, which assumes that the anti-monopoly coalition will evolve automatically from issue-oriented struggles. The Communist Party vanguard and the entire Left must have a conscious strategy with specific, intermediate steps directed towards that goal.

" WE MUST UNITE ALL WHO BELIEVE
IN PUBLIC EDUCATION WHICH IS
OPEN EQUALLY TO EVERY SEGMENT
OF OUR SOCIETY. . . "

Program Proposals For Education

The crisis in education in a dying capitalist society is many-faceted. It stems from a deliberate effort to withhold funds for education through the "Proposition 13 Syndrome". It consists of undermining the role of education as a central determinant of social well-being. Many reactionary theories have been put forward to produce a climate which attempts to show that the quest for education is of limited value to the poor and to minorities. These include articles, theories and pseudo-scientific papers portraying a negative view of the Black family (Moynihan), a racist thesis that marriage of welfare Blacks creates a genetic breakdown (Shockley), a blatant use of testing to "prove" inferiority of Blacks (Jensen), and the ultimate view that education is not important (Jencks).

The attacks on public education have been growing more vocal and increasingly effective. A retrenchment in financial aid, especially in local school districts, has taken place, usually based on excessive taxation of the middle class.

Public education, especially in the urban areas, has failed miserably in accomplishing desegregation. Educational policy makers have used elitist methods to claim that a tiny percentage of integrated schools are, in fact, proof of desegregation (e.g., "Access to Excellence" in Chicago). Indeed racism is the evil in public education.

We must fight for the egalitarian approach in public education so that universal access to education becomes a reality.

The trend toward reversal of all equality in public education is graphically shown by the "Bakke case," by the recent Congressional moves to restrict busing for purposes of integration in the schools and by the rising clamour for withholding needed funds for public education.

An insidious effort to strangle public education has been sponsored by the Moynihan madmen in the form of tuition tax credit legislation. Although defeated in 1978, the danger to the public school systems of the nation still exists and must be resisted actively by supporters of a genuine public school system. Government aid to private and parochial schools must be vigorously fought.

We must unite all who believe in public education which is open equally to every segment of our society, to oppose the elitists, the racists and the pseudo-intellectuals who would destroy, rather than improve public education.

An exposure to academic areas is being denied to the poor and to minorities through the trend toward so-called "vocational train-

ing." Access to academic areas must be combined with vocational-technical training in multi-purposed general secondary education, open to all students in urban as well as rural areas. The vocational areas must be meaningful and must be kept up to date in order to relate to a rapidly changing technology and to serve as an introduction to developing skilled technicians. This is especially important for minority youth in order to help fulfill expanded affirmative action programs in industry and skilled training programs.

We propose free public education from kindergarten through college. Money should be made available by transferring funds from wasteful military spending to education.

We need affirmative action programs in professional schools based on quotas which will correct past inequities.

We need a united teacher organization which will give positive leadership in implementing future educational programs.

We must combat the burden being placed on the teachers which lays the blame for continuing disintegration and inefficacy of the whole educational system on teachers through the introduction of teacher accountability.

We must support the introduction of more education on the positive role of women in society.

We must support a gearing of curricula to reflect a genuine cultural exchange among all peoples.

RE - AFFIRM THE COMMITMENT
OF OUR PARTY

KEY FORCE FOR PROGRESS

By

OHIO STATE CONVENTION

THE 1979 CONVENTION OF THE OHIO COMMUNIST PARTY WISHES HEREBY TO REAFFIRM THE COMMITMENT OF OUR PARTY TO INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION AS A FUNDAMENTAL POLICY.

THIS COMMITMENT FLOWS FROM OUR MARXIST-LENINIST VIEW OF THE BASIC industrial workers as the key force for progress in the struggle against the monopolies and their state apparatus and in the struggle for socialism. This policy holds special importance in Ohio where huge numbers of workers are concentrated in basic industry making Ohio one of the largest producers of steel, autos, rubber, electrical equipment and machine tools as well as being a major producer of coal.

Therefore we reaffirm our policy of concentrating our work in these basic industries with special emphasis on steel and auto. Our aims are to build the Party, our press and our influence among the industrial workers. Our basic tasks in this regard include the fight for class unity, against racism and male supremacy and for affirmative action; the fight for class struggle trade union policies; the fight for peace, trade and jobs; and the fight for independent political action.

We wish to stress that the fight against racism, national oppression and sexism and male supremacy is absolutely necessary in pursuing our policy of in-

dustrial concentration, since the overwhelming majority of Afro-American, Hispanic and other nationally oppressed minorities, as well as growing numbers of women, are basic industrial workers.

To achieve these goals requires concrete plans of work and selection of key plants where we seek shop clubs, shop papers, press and literature distributions, study groups and rank and file organization .

The convention calls on the incoming State Committee and District Leadership to develop such plans of work for industrial concentration.

"SPECIFIC TASKS FOR THE PARTY, WHICH MIGHT ALLOW IT TO MOBILIZE
AND LEAD BROADER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION . . . "

On The Draft Main Resolution

By
AN OHIO COMRADE

I DO AGREE WITH AND ENDORSE THE CONTENT OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, PARTICULARLY THE SKILLFUL ANALYSES OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL SITUATIONS.

HOWEVER, I RECOMMEND THE INCLUSION OF A FEW ADDITIONAL SPECIFIC TASKS FOR THE PARTY, WHICH MIGHT ALLOW IT TO MOBILIZE AND LEAD BROADER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF BUILDING LEFT-CENTER ALLIANCES.

1) Under the heading of "Monopoly and Anti-Monopoly," the energy monopolies in general and oil monopolies in particular, could be singled out as targets for a broad popular campaign. Recent developments, such as the malfunction of the Three Mile Island plant, rising utility costs and gasoline and oil prices have generated very strong popular resentment which should be harnessed and strengthened. Very illustrative are the current efforts of independent truckers.

The fight against the energy monopolies could be coupled with a call for the provision of an efficient mass transportation system as an alternative to the increasingly prohibitively expensive mode of private individual transportation.

2) Under the heading of "Struggle for Peace," the Party should commit itself more explicitly to the task of systematically, with the cooperation of other progressive forces, educating the mass public concerning --

- a) the need for strengthening detente and promoting disarmament. The recently initiated effort to organize Ohio voters to urge Senators Metzenbaum and Glenn to support SALT II is a good start in that direction.
- b) the economic benefits that are made possible by a slow-down of the arms race. Appropriate data are already available.

FACTS THAT CONVINC

By

JOHN MARKEN

NEW YORK STATE

In considering the effect of the Main Political Resolution on its readers, we should be conscious of the necessity of presenting "facts" in a convincing fashion. When a statement of "fact" is open to serious question by someone who attempts to check it, the validity of other statements becomes suspect. Such a statement appears on page 36, beginning on the fourth line from the top: "The fact that seventy per cent of a worker's wage is garnished for taxes rent, or mortgage payments..."

This statement implies that only thirty per cent of a worker's wage is available for all expenses of daily living not covered by "taxes, rent or mortgage payments," something hard to believe. Let's look at some data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the April 1979 Monthly Labor Review. According to Table 20 in that issue the gross average weekly earnings of production or non-supervisory workers in private non-agricultural employment during 1977 was \$189.00. If we assume full year's employment for such a worker, his year's total earnings would be \$9,855.

The Monthly Labor Review for November 1978 contains a set of budgets for an urban family of four calculated on the basis of costs prevailing in the fall of 1977. The lower of three budget levels totals \$10,481 on an annual basis, just \$626 above the \$9,855 figure the average worker might have earned in 1977. The difference is too small to effect significantly the proportions of the total budget allocated to its sub-divisions.

These are:

Food	30.4%
Housing	19.9
Transportation	7.7
Clothing	7.9
Personal care	2.7
Medical care	9.3
Other consumption	4.7
Other items	4.5
Social Security	6.0
Personal inc. taxes	6.9
	<u>100.0%</u>

Thus, 32.8 per cent of this budget is allocated to housing and taxes, exclusive of sales taxes, a far cry from the 70 per cent stated as a "fact." Even a very generous allowance for sales taxes on consumption items other than food would not raise the 32.8 per cent to as high as forty.

If the 70 per cent figure is to be retained, its derivation should be documented in a fashion which would permit independent verification.

**June 12 to
August 10, 1979**

**60 Days of Creativity
to Honor
60 Years of Struggle**

The 60th Anniversary Committee of the Communist Party, USA recently announced a cultural competition in celebration of 60 years of working class struggles. The main elements of the rules are as follows: (The complete rules will be sent to all who send for entry forms.)

Any person 18 years or older may enter one or more of the adult contests with one entry per contest. Any person 6-17 years of age may enter one or both of the children/youth contests with a limit of two entries per contest. **ALL ENTRIES MUST BE SUBMITTED/POSTMARKED NOT LATER THAN AUGUST 10, 1979.**

ADULT CONTESTS:

All entries must express the following theme or an aspect of the theme:

In celebration of 60 years of workingclass struggles; struggles against racism, for equality for women, for the rights of youth, for extension of democracy, for economic justice, for socialism; struggles in solidarity with the world socialist community, with the fighters for national liberation; and 60 years of struggle for a world of peace.

CHILDREN/YOUTH CONTESTS:

All entries must express the following theme or an aspect of the theme:

International Year of the Child: For peace, friendship and solidarity with all children around the world.

Winners and prizes will be announced at the 22nd National Convention of the CPUSA in Cobo Hall, August, 22-26, 1979 and the names of winners will be subsequently published in the **Daily World**.

Prizes will include \$60 cash awards for top prizes and other cash awards for other prizes in addition to specially inscribed copies of the soon-to-be-released book, **Highlights of a Fighting History, 60 Years of the Communist Party, U.S.A.**, other book titles in the appropriate age categories and 60th Anniversary pins.

ALL ENTRIES MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE OFFICIAL CONTEST ENTRY FORM.

SEND ALL REQUESTS TO:

60th Anniversary Committee
235 West 23rd Street, 7th Floor
New York, New York 10011

Please send contest entry form(s) to me for the following category(ies):

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Adult | 1. Essays | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Fine Arts | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | 2. Poetry | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Poster | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | 3. Songs | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Photography | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Children/Youth

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------------------|
| Graphics: | Ages 6-8 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Literary: | Ages 6-8 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Ages 9-13 | <input type="checkbox"/> | | Ages 9-13 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Ages 14-17 | <input type="checkbox"/> | | Ages 14-17 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

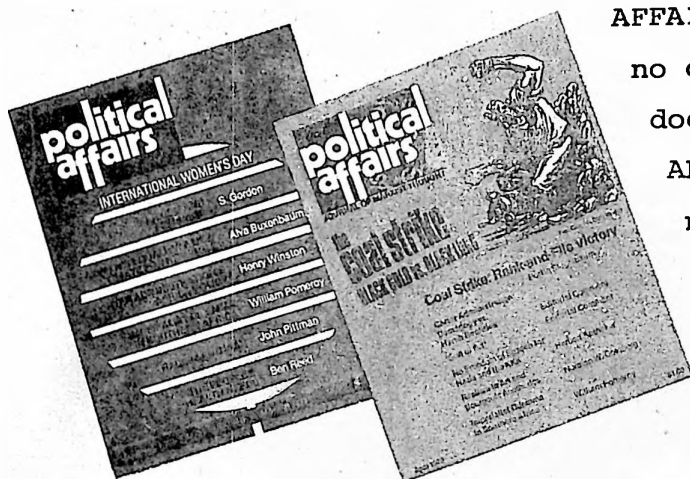
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