

Party Affairs



FEATURES ON THE
60TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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-- A GIFT IN POETRY
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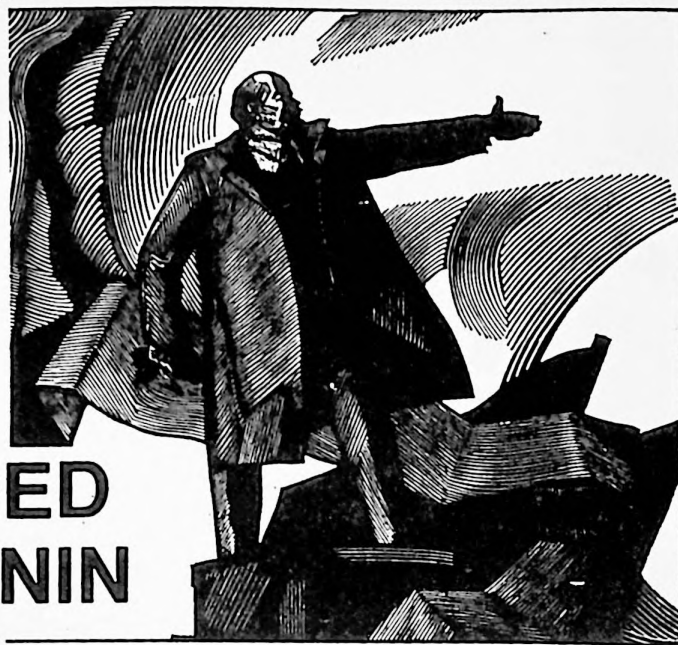
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Central Task of our Day: Peace and Disarmament

Perhaps sometimes the word "historic" is overused. And that makes it difficult when those moments arise that are truly historic, when clear-cut, dramatic turning points of major import take the spotlight. Yet, we should not shy away from using the proper word to describe what is TRULY AN HISTORIC PROPOSAL ON THE AGENDA OF WORLD HISTORY, the call

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GUS HALL AWARDED THE ORDER OF LENIN

On the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution our General Secretary, Comrade Gus Hall, was awarded the Order of Lenin, the highest award of the Soviet Union.

A year ago it was our National Chairman, Comrade Henry Winston, who received a top award from the First Land of Socialism: the Order of the October Revolution.

These high honors are a tribute to our entire Party, and at the same time a recognition that our Party has as its outstanding leaders two able sons of the working class, two uncompromising fighters against racism and reaction and war, two brilliant leaders of the exploited and the oppressed in the struggle against monopoly and for social progress, two giants of the world revolutionary movement.

The tribute to our Party places a high demand on each of us: to ever more firmly build our Party in the ranks of the working class; to continuously strengthen it as the Party with the science of Marxism-Leninism, as the vanguard Party of Socialism in our country, as the

Party of all the oppressed, and as the Party of proletarian internationalism.

An important concrete test of how well we measure up to these high standards in the weeks and months ahead will be the quality of our participation in the many-sided struggles for peace and solidarity projected in the materials in this special peace and solidarity issue of Party Affairs. We are confident that our membership will meet that test.

We believe this confidence will be verified by the successful completion of our present press building campaign.

There is no doubt that that success will create the basic precondition for unfolding, on a much broader mass base than has existed, the practical activities required to expand the peace and solidarity struggles and to win breakthrough victories.

(The enormous potential of these struggles is discussed in the Party Affairs editorial which begins on the front cover and continues on page 3.)

Central Task of our Day: Peace and Disarmament

PARTY AFFAIRS EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1.)

.....
presented by Comrade Brezhnev on the eve of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, in the name of the CPSU, all Soviet people; indeed, in the name of all peace-loving peoples throughout the globe:

- STOP ALL PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS;
- DECLARE A MORATORIUM ON ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS.

In presenting these historic proposals, Comrade Brezhnev said: "If the main task, that of preventing a new war and ensuring a lasting peace, is successfully tackled, this will open up new prospects before the inhabitants of the world."

"These clear and reasonable proposals," said Gus Hall in an interview with Party Affairs, "place the decisive questions of peace and disarmament on the table in a way that any honest person who is for peace has to accept. No matter which angle you are looking at it from--hesitation on Salt II, promotion of the neutron bomb, the cruise missile or the B-1 bomber--these proposals remove all obstacles and cut through all problems standing in the way of total victory for the goal of lasting peace and real disarmament."

"To fully grasp the significance of this new moment in the struggle for peace and disarmament, we must set our eyes on the prize. Our eyes must become fixed on 'successfully tackling' the task of reversing U.S. foreign policy."

Remember the old chant in the peace movement marches during the Vietnam war -- "All we are saying is, give peace a chance"? Many of us felt these words were rather passive in the face of grotesque imperialist aggression and infamy. But if the words were switched around a bit, they might capture the present moment: WHAT WE ARE SAYING IS THAT PEACE HAS A CHANCE, a real, immediate fighting chance of moving from dream, hope, necessity and goal to living reality.

We would like to urge, in accordance with the dramatic possibilities opened by the Soviet peace proposals, and in accordance with the overriding nature of the peace and solidarity struggles generally, that every club take on immediate tasks to pressure Congressional and Senatorial representatives to respond positively to the Soviet Peace proposals, to cut the military budget, to isolate the racist Vorster regime of South Africa, to support the Transfer Amendment along with solutions to the pressing domestic problems which the people suffer from daily.

The Christmas-New Year holiday period is a time when the Congress is in recess and representatives can be visited in their home districts. Each club should find out in advance when they are expected to be available and take immediate steps to initiate the broadest possible delegations of trade unionists, peace and solidarity activists, and participants in people's organizations fighting for day-to-day needs. A maximum number of comrades should participate in these delegations.

This issue of Party Affairs presents some of the reports and proposals from a conference of leading Party peace and solidarity activists from around the country, held on October 29-30. The January issue will contain additional material, including a survey of the latest developments in the trade union movement in support of peace. We hope the clubs will make use of these articles in the period ahead and draw from them material that will be of use in the preparation of and participation in delegations to Congresspeople during the holiday recess.

Additional useful material can be found in the Daily World and in the Peoples World. As well, the districts have received copies of the Congressional Black Caucus 12 Action Points on South Africa, which representatives should be urged to support.

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Dear Comrades:

Our warmest wishes for a happy new year of struggle! The holiday visits projected above to U.S. Senators and Representatives in their home states is an important and immediate beginning in the kind of struggle that is needed.

But keep the struggle going. Help it to expand. Let the whole of the year 1978 ring with victories as growing numbers act to wrest the initiative from the war makers and the racists, to take it into their own hands and to create a democratic force with the strength to win ever wider breakthroughs for the working class and all oppressed peoples and in the cause of peace, solidarity, people's welfare, national liberation and revolutionary advancement.

May all comrades and all club executive committees find this issue of Party Affairs with its reports, articles, editorials, literature pages and poetry useful - useful in the most practical sense in planning and organizing the contributions of our Party to the rising struggles and the growing victories.



The Movement of Solidarity with Southern Africa

BY TONY MONTEIRO
MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Comrades, our purpose is to define the essential characteristics of the southern African struggle and its relationship to the basic currents of the struggle of our people for their rights against the monopolies. We seek to reject the concept that the struggle for solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa is somehow departmentalized in the area of Black liberation.

In fact, this struggle is at the heart of the international class struggle and is of vital importance to our working class regardless of color, and to the entirety of the democratic masses of our country.

Allow me to define the basic characteristics of the fight for national liberation in southern Africa.

1. Its overriding character and that which makes it an all-humanity question is the fact that it is a decisive component of the fight for world peace which centers upon liquidating those hotbeds of imperialist aggression and military build-up. South Africa is a highly developed capitalist economy with its own war industry and conventional armed forces which are on a par with those of France, Britain and West Germany. This also includes a developing nuclear capacity.

South Africa has been called a threat to international peace and security by the U.N. General Assembly. Its military forces illegally occupy Namibia and have invaded Angola and Zambia and until recently have fought with the Ian Smith army in Zimbabwe. The regime in 1976 contended that its "defense perimeter" includes all of Africa south of the Equator, i.e., all of Black Africa. Its capacity to produce nuclear weapons, which the Washington Post says could be ready for deployment in a matter of four months, further elevates its danger to world peace.

The fact that both Angola and Mozambique have signed defense treaties with the Soviet Union indicates that South African aggression, in southern Africa would engage friendly nations such as the Soviet

Union, as well as many African nations, in a major conflict in the region.

Furthermore, the fact that South Africa is the centerpiece of an imperialist conspiracy to construct in the South Atlantic a South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO), which would include fascist Chile, Brazil and Argentina, draws attention to its threat to peace outside the African Continent. In connection with this, it was reported on October 21, by the Mozambique paper, Noticias de Beira, that the Chilean armed forces are engaged in combat activity in Namibia alongside the South African forces.

2. The colonial relationship that exists between the white minority and the vast majority is in no way denied by the highly developed capitalist character of the South African economy. The economy is a colonial form in which the colonially oppressed and the colonizers share the same territory. The goal of the struggle is to end the colonial relationship and to achieve national liberation, i.e., the seizure of power by the majority.

3. The special colonial relationship between the white minority and the majority is fortified by the entrenchment of over 1,200 multinational corporations from the capitalist countries. This includes over 600 from Britain and almost 500 from the U.S. The colonial oppression of the South African Black majority is, therefore, a special form of intense exploitation of African labor.

The denial of all political and civil rights, as is the custom under classical colonialism, is the superstructural form to preserve the social system of class exploitation. It is for this reason that, although the U.S. has the second highest rate of investment in South Africa, its highly modernized plants allow it to have by far the highest rate of profit. Britain, which has the highest rate of investment in South Africa, has a rate of profit of 13 percent; the U.S. has a profit rate of 19.1 percent, on an average with much higher rates in strategic areas like auto, steel and electronics, and reaching 30 percent in mining. This compares with 11.1 percent return on U.S. investments in the rest of the world.

Finally, the U.S. is the largest exporter to South Africa, with trade of \$2.3 billion in 1976, about \$1.5 billion of which were in exports. These exports have been predominantly advanced by industrial equipment to expand both the magnitude and the rate of profit from its investment.

4. The fight for national liberation is a special and decisive component of the struggle against the multi-nationals. South Africa, with its highly developed industrial base, its vast abundance of precious and vital minerals, and the enslaved labor force, is now a haven for the run-away shops. The intensity, as well as the magnitude of this investment, with total investment from capitalist nations of about \$20 billions, is an unprecedented phenomenon. Hence, solidarity between the trade union movement and the national liberation struggle is a self-

interest question for U.S. workers. This is of particular importance to the basic industries of the U.S. including steel, auto, coal and electronics. The defense of the rights of Black labor in South Africa is a defense of the rights of labor of all colors in the U.S.

5. The fight in southern Africa is a revolutionary struggle; it addresses a wide range of problems confronting the global class and national liberation struggles.

(A) It is vital to the global struggle to defeat neo-colonialism and create the new world economic order. It is, so to speak, a centerpiece in the fight for economic independence, which is the key question for the present stage of the global struggle for national liberation. More specifically, it is decisive to the total emancipation of the African Continent, to the strengthening of the leftward trend among the African nations and to accelerating the process of non-capitalist development among the independent nations on the African Continent.

(B) Because the struggle has become one against imperialism and capitalism itself, it strengthens the position of world socialism in the global struggle against imperialism and is therefore a fundamental contribution to world socialism.

6. In that this struggle is so clearly focused against the main banking and industrial monopolies of the entire capitalist world, it is a key component of the anti-monopoly struggle of the workers of every capitalist country. It is therefore a part of the struggle to resolve the crisis of everyday living.

Moreover, because it is so precisely directed against one of the main bastions of racism and racist oppression, its meaning to fighting racism and achieving class and peoples' unity here is basic. The unity of the working class, of the Black liberation and working class struggles, and of the peace and Black liberation struggles is unavoidably tied to the attitude of white workers and white people in general to the right, to self-determination in southern Africa. That is to say, the unity of our own working class is in large measure based upon the quality of the fight for solidarity with the Black majorities of southern Africa. Finally, its meaning to the global anti-racist struggle, including the fight against Zionism, enlarges upon its meaning to the struggle for peace.

I have so far confined my remarks to South Africa. This in no way is to diminish the significance of the struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The point is that South Africa and the Vorster regime are the nerve center of imperialism in Africa and key to liberation in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

South Africa is at the heart of the entire front of struggle in southern Africa, which has reached a revolutionary stage. In recognizing this fact, it must also be recognized that national liberation and

self-determination are inconceivable without recognizing the vanguard role of the liberation movements. Hence, we must fight against any concepts, especially as they are now being put forward by the Carter Administration, that majority rule can be achieved without the liberation movements or with them playing a diminished or secondary role; and secondly, any attempt to bring forward bogus groups as liberation movements.

In South Africa the struggle for national liberation is not for "civil rights," as Andrew Young places it; it is for the seizure of power by the people headed by the African National Congress. In Zimbabwe it means the recognition of the leading and decisive role of the Patriotic Front--an alliance between the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, headed by Joshua Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union, headed by Robert Mugabe. In Namibia it is the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) that must play the leading role in any government that is established. Moreover, the case of Namibia also requires the recognition of the legal authority of the U.N. and the U.N. Council on Namibia. This means that, contrary to the Carter-Mondale-Young proposal, South Africa has no legal authority in Namibia and cannot be considered a media for its decolonization process.

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I will now turn my attention to the Carter Administration, its policies and maneuvers in southern Africa, and what they indicate. George Murphy, the well-known Black journalist, said that the fight against racism and for national freedom is the fight for peace.

The Carter Administration is now confronted with a situation it has attempted to avoid for ten months, i.e., a meeting of the U.N. Security Council on South Africa. This is because the credibility of Andrew Young and the Carter Administration in Africa in large part is based upon not having to veto an African proposal for sanctions. However, on Tuesday, November 1, Young cast three consecutive vetoes of African proposals against South Africa.

The first veto was against the resolution citing South Africa's role in Zimbabwe and Namibia as "constituting a grave threat to international peace and security." State Department officials said, according to the Washington Post, November 2, 1977, that this would undermine the racist regime's "generally helpful" efforts to resolve the situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Young then vetoed a ban on all forms of military aid to South Africa. The resolution required all nations to prevent the multinational corporations from "providing any form of direct or indirect assistance to the South African government in its military build-up." Also, the U.S. objected to this resolution's call for a ban on "any cooperation with the racist regime in nuclear development." A U.S. official rationalized this position by saying that such a ban "would remove any ability on our part to influence South Africa to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to agree to international safeguards for its nuclear facilities."

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The fight for the Transfer Amendment

BY GIL GREEN
MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN, PEACE & SOLIDARITY DEPT.

The key at this time to both foreign and domestic policy is the struggle to end the arms race and to slash the gargantuan military budget. Without moving toward disarmament, the threat of nuclear war will grow. Without greatly reducing the military budget, there can be no headway toward ameliorating the vast accumulation of human needs at home.

Yet the present course of the Carter Administration is toward a still further escalation of military spending, despite frequent assertions to the contrary.

The facts tell the story. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) recently released its projections for the next five years. These point to a year by year unprecedented and shocking increase in the military budget--from \$122 billion for fiscal year 1978 to \$170 billion for fiscal year 1982--a leap of \$48 billion. This would represent double the yearly military expenditures at the peak of the Vietnam War. (Since this was written, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, has tentatively approved a military budget for the next fiscal

year, 1979, of at least \$130.5 billion and possibly amounting to \$134.2 billion.--Ed.)

Federal funds for community and regional development, however, are projected to decline from a paltry \$7.3 billion in 1978 to \$7.1 billion in 1982. Total grants-in-aid to states and localities are expected to fall from 12.1 percent of total federal outlays in 1978 to 7.8 percent of such outlays in 1982.

Thus, as can be seen, armaments will devour an ever larger portion of federal expenditures, but our decaying cities, our jobless, poor and aged, our health and public facilities, will be even worse off than they are today.

This is the shameful and alarming picture of what is in store for the people in the years ahead unless a stop is put to this continuous escalation in military spending. And putting a stop to it is possible because the growing collision between the needs of the people and the insatiable appetite of the military is becoming ever more evident. It is now becoming possible to organically fuse the struggle over

immediate economic and social needs with the struggle for detente and for ending the arms race and slashing the military budget.

Proof of the growing receptivity of the American people for the view of cutting the military down to size is to be seen in the very demagogic posturing and maneuvering of the President. Sensing the popular mood, he promised a cut in spending during his election campaign, a promise cynically forgotten once in office. But he has continued to piously speak about disarmament, about a desire for zero nuclear weapons, even while embracing the tremendously expensive cruise missile system, pushing the neutron bomb, and announcing through the Pentagon a still newer nuclear weapons system, the M-X, to cost upwards of \$30 billion.

The neutron bomb, more than anything else, exposes the real intent of the Carter Administration. This weapon is the product of so cynical an immorality that it has shocked the entire world. It is based on the view that human life is cheaper and more expendable than private property. Even worse than this, if anything can be conceived of as being worse, is its military significance. The neutron bomb is being pushed so aggressively by the Pentagon because it is seen as the bridge between so-called conventional tactical weapons and nuclear ones of mass destruction. The neutron bomb therefore greatly increases the danger of all-out nuclear war, for it feeds the illusion that "little" nuclear wars are possible without inviting total nuclear disaster.

While the neutron bomb is ostensibly meant to be deployed only in Western Europe, and has therefore aroused great opposition there, its possible use in other areas of the world should not be

overlooked. It should be recalled that the nuclear bomb has been used in warfare only twice, and both times against the Japanese people. Also, that the most barbaric weapons of mass destruction short of the nuclear bomb were used against other peoples of color in Southeast Asia. Thus the racist mentality of the U.S. ruling class could see the neutron bomb as a weapon to be used against peoples of color elsewhere such as in southern Africa. If this weapon is produced and deployed, it is only a matter of time before it will reach the hands of U.S. imperialist henchmen such as Vorster in South Africa or Pinochet of Chile.

From all this it should be clear that the fight against the neutron bomb assumes a special importance. Because of the mass revulsion to this weapon, it can be and must be stopped.

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The antagonistic relationship between Pentagon gluttony and the hunger for funds to serve domestic human needs is now embodied in a new important movement. This calls for an outright transfer of funds from the military to the human side of the federal budget. The leadership for such a transfer was taken by Congressman Parren Mitchell of Maryland who is also the leader of the Congressional Black Caucus. Congressman Mitchell introduced a bill in the form of a Transfer Amendment to the budget. While the final version of the Amendment is considerably below the \$15 billion switch of funds originally called for, it still represented an important watershed in the struggle to alter the course of the nation on this question. The Amendment received 102 votes which represented something of a breakthrough. This first direct Congressional challenge to military spending, even short of a victory, has had

and will have its effects in warning those who up to now have had it their way for too long.

Importantly, the transfer idea has now considerable support from precisely those sectors of the population which up to now tended not to connect their demands to changes in military and foreign policy. The leaders of a number of large and influential unions have now begun to question the size of the arms budget and to support the idea of transfer. These include the leaders of the UAW, the International Association of Machinists, the State, County and Municipal Employees, the United Electrical Workers, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the Longshore and Warehouse Workmen's Union of the West Coast and others.

This movement also has the full support of the Black leadership and of city governments led by Black mayors. There is also support for it in the Latino, Hispanic and Native American Indian communities, among small homeowners, farmers and middle class people gouged by unfair taxation. And the Amendment has the endorsement of the National Council of Senior Citizens and other movements of the economically hard-pressed.

Some of the largest peace organizations like the Mobilization for Survival and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy are also playing a leading role.

A new version of the Transfer Amendment is being prepared for the 1978 session of Congress. Special efforts are also being made by a variety of groups to build powerful coalitions in as many cities and communities as possible in time to act in a coordinated way to bring pressure to bear on Congress and the White House when the budget comes up for action in March-April, 1978.

So urgent are the needs of our cities that even the last session of the National Conference of Mayors adopted a resolution supporting the Transfer Amendment. Thus the possibilities are great for bringing into being a powerfully aroused and militant movement for a transfer of funds this year.

Every Congressperson who voted for the Amendment in 1977 must feel the support of his constituency on this issue, and conversely, every Congressperson who voted against the Amendment must feel the ire of voters and the demand for a positive vote in 1978.

Around the neutron bomb and the Transfer Amendment the broadest and most effective movement against military spending can be built at this time. And to the extent that this arises it will be possible to enlarge and deepen the struggle for a complete end to the arms race, for a strengthening of detente, for zero nuclear weapons and universal disarmament.

**political
affairs**

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- detente and world peace • Middle East conflict • Southern Africa • international solidarity
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- the anti-monopoly movement • the struggle for socialism

U.S. Peace & Solidarity Council: An Important Breakthrough

BY SANDY POLLACK
PEACE AND SOLIDARITY DEPARTMENT

For many years now, there has been a need for a U.S. peace organization which identifies with the World Peace Council (W.P.C.) and projects an effective program of action based upon its fundamental premise: that the fight for peace must be integrally linked with the struggles for economic, racial, political and social justice and equality, for no true and lasting peace can be achieved while basic injustice and lack of freedom persist.

As W.P.C. President, Romesh Chandra, explained in a recent speech:

"To achieve world peace, the peace movement must not only mobilize to prevent nuclear war. It must also concern itself with every problem facing ordinary people of the world--inflation and high prices, unemployment and all the economic consequences of the present crisis in the capitalist world; the struggle against neo-colonialism and for economic development, against hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy; the struggle for human rights against racist and new-fascist regimes, the effort to protect the environment, and the continuing struggle against the old forms of colonialism, against racism and apartheid."

Based upon this outlook, the world peace movement, as embodied in the W.P.C. has grown significantly in breadth and effectiveness. Started in 1949 as a mainly European-based organization, it now has associated movements in over 120 countries, with the most sizeable expansion occurring in Asia, Africa and Latin America. And having begun as a coming together of prominent individuals, the W.P.C. now enjoys the support of the broadest range of mass movements and political parties--even of many non-socialist governments.

So as is occurring around the world, more and more democratic

forces in the U.S. are coming to see the importance of building a movement in this country which approaches the fight for peace in its integral connection with these other major issues. Though there has not been a U.S. peace council organization per se, many leading democratic forces, including union leaders, Black liberation activists, elected officials, etc. have worked closely with the W.P.C. gatherings and are now committed to the formation of a peace council in the United States.

Our Party has participated with these forces in helping to launch a U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council which can make a unique contribution to the building of an anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist peace movement in the United States. In our opinion, such an organization will not only strengthen the presently existing U.S. peace movement, but will add to the development of the overall anti-monopoly strategy as well.

Translating the W.P.C.'s fundamental premise into U.S. terms, the Peace and Solidarity Council's unique contribution is based upon the ability of such a formation to make the essential links between the struggle for peace (to end the arms race, cut the military budget, limit U.S. imperialism's war policies abroad, work toward full disarmament) and the basic struggles for economic and political freedom and equality in the U.S. (for jobs, decent schools and housing, affirmative action, against racist attacks and repression which have been increasing). It can be built based upon a growing understanding that no problem we face in this country can be effectively solved without winning the basic struggle for peace. And further, it is based upon the realization that no injustice faced by other peoples around the world can be overcome without limiting U.S. imperialist aggression and interference, a situation which places special responsibilities on us in the United States. Therefore, the indispensable role of anti-imperialist solidarity is a point of emphasis as well.

From our Party's point of view, we fully agree with this approach, seeing that it is the correct basis for a peace movement that, in fact, can express the concern of all anti-monopoly forces for peace, as crucial in furthering their particular goals. Our work in the struggle for peace should emphasize the same priorities we now stress in carrying out our overall strategy of building an anti-monopoly coalition: 1) emphasis on industrial concentration and the centrality of Black liberation: 2) confronting the main ideological roadblocks in the way of progress: racism and anti-communism.

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Under discussion now are four programmatic points of concentration --issues that the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council (W.S.P.) wants to devote major attention to during the next period. Below is a summary of the Council's thinking so far.

1) Ending the Arms Race:

Many forces that presently make up the Council's sponsoring committee have been active over the last year on the Stockholm Peace Appeal

Campaign, and are committed to continue this campaign through next May when the signatures gathered worldwide will be presented to the U.N. special Assembly on Disarmament.

In planning for the remaining portion of the Stockholm Appeal Campaign, recent developments in the peace movement were taken into account: the formation of the Mobilization for Survival which represents the coming together of some of the forces active in the Vietnam peace movement and the growing anti-nuclear energy environmentalist movement; the strengthening of the Washington-based Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy based on the impressive victories won during the 1977 Congressional season: the B-1 Bomber campaign--perhaps the broadest outpouring on a peace issue since the Vietnam War, etc. with illusions about the Carter Administration's peace policies rapidly dissipated last Spring, given the performance around the Salt talks, the rise in the military budget, the threat of proceeding with construction of the B-1 bomber, etc., new energy on the question of peace was unleashed.

Leaders of the Stockholm Campaign emphasized that the Appeal, too, enjoyed an enthusiastic response with about 20 Stockholm Appeal Committees formed; close to half a million signatures gathered; hundreds of prominent sponsors obtained; actions across the country on October 15; and important organizational endorsements for the campaign. And in many areas, the Stockholm committees formed last Spring can now be the basis for local peace council organizations.

(For a more detailed discussion on the Appeal, see the article by Frances Bordofsky in this issue.)

2) Solidarity with the Struggles in Southern Africa:

With a revolutionary situation existing in South Africa, one that will have deep-going implications for the entire African Liberation struggle, the world revolutionary movement, and in fact the very world balance of forces, the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council considers the mobilization of a massive solidarity movement in the U.S. as one of its primary tasks. How it can most effectively play a role in making this an issue that the entire peace movement takes up has been the major focus of discussion.

NAIMSAL, a U.S. PSC affiliate, has declared 1978 as the Year of Action Against Apartheid in the U.S., during which time literally millions of people must be mobilized to isolate the racists -- to demand full breaking of all U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military ties with the Vorster regime, an end to U.S. corporate investments, of all sports and other exchanges, etc. Included also in this Year of Action will be the raising of significant funds for the liberation movements. It was proposed that the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council promote this campaign among all the forces with which it works and that, to the greatest extent possible, it assist in the strengthening of NAIMSAL across the country by developing close working relations and cooperation.

It was also emphasized that, while building this campaign and movement, we are in fact accomplishing another important process: strengthening the ties between two vital components of the struggle in the U.S. -- the Black liberation movement and the peace movement as a whole. As has been seen in the past, the unity in action of these two movements is a mighty force!

(For a more detailed discussion of the movement in solidarity with South Africa, see the article by Tony Monteiro in this issue.)

3) Solidarity with the Struggles in the Mideast:

The seriousness of this question and its implications for world peace were recently highlighted at the World Peace Council's International Conference for a Just Settlement to the Middle East crisis, where the participants from over 100 countries issued a declaration which placed the question very well:

"The participants in the International Conference view with deep concern the growing arms build-up by imperialist and reactionary forces in the Middle East, particularly in Israel. A Just solution to the Middle East crisis is vital and essential for the success of the world-wide movement for peace and ending the arms race, for disarmament, national independence and social progress, for the consolidation of detente. The struggle for a just peace in the Middle East is inextricably linked with the efforts for peace and security in the Mediterranean and with the struggle of the people of Cyprus and the Gulf, of Africa and the Indian Ocean.

"The Conference appeals to all peace forces to unite their efforts to prevent a new conflict in the Middle East and for achieving a just peace in the interest of all the peoples of the region and the world."

While several peace organizations, most notably the American Friends Service Committee and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, do take up this question, it is fair to say that there remains great resistance to move on it, due to the influence of Zionism and the fear of "alienating" broad sectors.

As the most advanced component in the peace movement, the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council sees that it has a major responsibility to move the rest of the peace movement on this question. Until recently, a problem in moving was lack of a mass national form or campaign. But now, with the development of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, there is an excellent avenue for national activity. This campaign, initiated by several individual members of the Arab American University Graduates Association, and already supported by nearly 40 organizations, is moving on two central questions: 1) cutting U.S. economic and military aid to Israel; and 2) working for the freedom of Palestinian political prisoners and for human rights.

Continued on page 46.

**APPEAL
- Stockholm 1975 -**

The victories for peace and détente have created a new international climate, new hopes, new confidence, new optimism among the peoples.

Peace can be defended. A world of peace can be built.

The unity of the peace forces has the power to overcome the obstacles which still remain along the road towards a new world, from which aggression, exploitation and domination, hunger and poverty will be banished for all time.

The principal obstacle to making the process of détente irreversible is the arms race.

The arms race still threatens our planet with nuclear destruction. With détente this threat has begun to recede. The arms race keeps the threat alive and endangers détente itself.

The arms race weighs heavily on the shoulders of vast masses of peoples in many countries of the world - who are faced with an ever-soaring cost of living, inflation and economic crisis. It robs the peoples of a great part of their wealth and resources.

Détente has opened up fresh prospects for victories in the struggles for a new international economic order, for the rights of the peoples to the riches of their own soil. It is a weapon in the fight for ending the plunder by monopolies and multi-national corporations.

The arms race, the stockpiles of weapons in the hands of the imperialists incite and encourage the forces of aggression, militarism and fascism, colonialism and racism; détente is a vital factor for strengthening the efforts in all lands for national independence, justice and social progress.

Détente creates new possibilities for the solution of the most urgent international problems of the day, for the liquidation of the hotbeds of tension and conflict; the ending of the arms race would open the road to mankind's goal: prohibition of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, general and complete disarmament - a world without arms.

World public opinion has greater responsibility and greater power than ever before. It can turn the tide against the armaments profiteers, the cold warriors, the enemies of mankind.

The World Peace Council appeals to all governments and parliaments, all peace and other movements, to political parties, trade unions, women's and youth organisations, to religious, social and cultural bodies which are engaged in endeavours for mankind's advance, to join hands in a great new worldwide offensive against the arms race.

To make détente irreversible - **STOP THE ARMS RACE**

To move forward rapidly towards a New International Economic Order - **STOP THE ARMS RACE**

To defend the peace and build a new world - **STOP THE ARMS RACE**

TOGETHER for Banning All Nuclear and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction!

TOGETHER for General and Complete Disarmament!

TOGETHER for the Calling Without Delay of the United Nations World Disarmament Conference!

The Stockholm Peace Appeal Campaign

BY FRANCES BORDOFKY
SECRETARY, PEACE & SOLIDARITY DEPARTMENT

As correctly estimated at the May 1977 meeting of the Central Committee and the National Council of our Party, the Stockholm Peace Appeal has begun to fulfill the need for a peace movement that would focus on detente and disarmament, relating these basic requirements for world peace to the national liberation movements as well as to the economic and social needs of the people of the U.S.

While the campaign for the Appeal had initially been launched at a conference of peace activists early in 1976, no national structure had sufficiently developed to mount an all-out campaign with the petition. It was circulated mainly in Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland in the Midwest, and in Seattle and Los Angeles on the West Coast. The response came from these cities as a result of the establishment of local committees identifying themselves with the World Peace Council (WPC) in the wake of a WPC delegation visit to those cities. But lacking a national focus and coordinating cen-

ter, the petitioning could not realize its full potential.

In February of this year when a national Stockholm Peace Appeal Campaign office was established in New York with a full-time coordinator, momentum began to build in the petitioning. The movement was further accelerated by the preparations for, and participation in, the World Assembly of Builders of Peace held in Warsaw in May. This also resulted in a number of the returning delegates circulating the petition and building new committees around it.

Another important development which spurred activity with the Appeal was the participation of its activists in the movement on the B-1 bomber and other such programs, on the transfer amendment campaign, and, in some instances, in solidarity with the liberation and anti-apartheid struggle in Southern Africa.

The Peace Appeal and its petition have helped to organize new independent committees. It is also

receiving major attention in already established organizations such as the WPC committees, branches of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women for Peace organizations, Emma Lazarus Clubs, Peace & Justice groups, etc. There are 19 such organized centers across the country, plus 24 other cities in which one or more activists give consistent attention to this campaign. With but few exceptions, the individuals and the organizations relate their petitioning to other peace and solidarity activities, as well as social and economic struggles in which they are engaged.

Through the efforts of those individuals, organizations and committees which are directly involved in dealing with the Appeal Petition, a large group of sponsors and endorsers have been enlisted, which greatly expands the breadth and influence of the program and demands of the Stockholm Peace Appeal.

The list of sponsors (over 200 names and still growing) is quite impressive. It includes members of city and state legislatures; clergy of the Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and other churches, as well as of the Jewish faith, officers of international and local unions, rank and file leaders, including unions in steel, auto, transport, longshore, electrical, teachers, meatcutters and government workers, to name a few. Also included are leaders of organizations of Black people, women, youth, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, senior citizens, scientists, as well as Nobel Laureates, leading personalities in the arts and professions, and many community leaders.

Limited efforts have thus far been made to obtain organization endorsements of the Appeal, the results indicating what is possible. One local union and the Women's Auxiliary paved the way for the endorsement by the international convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Through the efforts of the Chicago Peace Council, the national conventions of PUSH, Church Women United and the National Assembly of Women Religious passed resolutions endorsing the Appeal. Similar action was taken at the founding convention of Women for Racial and Economic Equality.

Another important first was the unanimous adoption by the Cleveland City Council of a resolution endorsing the Stockholm Peace Appeal and calling for the transfer of funds from the military budget to meet the crises of the cities. The support of such transfer of funds by the Conference of Mayors makes possible endorsement of the Appeal in dozens of cities. The initiative waits to be taken.

All of the aforementioned efforts have helped to produce over 125,000 signatures on petitions, plus some 300,000 organized supporters.

One can only conclude that the desire for peace and detente, to stop the arms race, to cut the military budget and fund human needs is universal. It is the concern of millions of people - the majority of the people of the U.S. - who need only be asked to express that desire by signing the petition, sponsoring or endorsing it, and then, circulating it.

Continued on page 38.

Andy Johnson works for peace petition



WORLD PEACE PETITION is being circulated by Andy Johnson, a citizen interested in an end to the arms race.

Reprint from the MESABI DAILY NEWS (Virginia, Minn.) Sep 20 '77

If an elderly gentleman approaches you on a Virginia or other Range sidewalk, don't be too alarmed, it's probably Andy Johnson, a 77 year old Babbitt resident who is circulating a petition sponsored by the World Peace Council which seeks "an absolute ban on atomic weapons and weapons capable of mass extermination," world-wide.

Headquartered in Helsinki, Finland, the Council was founded in 1949 and is a non-governmental organization with the United Nations, consisting of national movements representing peace, trade unions, religious, political, youth, women and social organizations.

The petition is known as the New Stockholm Peace Appeal and will be sent to President Carter and the United Nations in November, 1977. Basically,

the appeal calls for all governments, organizations, and individuals to "join hands in a great new world-wide offensive against the arms race."

The organization claims to have already collected 500 million signatures in 120 countries. Johnson himself has collected over 1,800 names. He has gone door-to-door in Babbitt but says he gets better results approaching people in the streets.

Johnson says he has had favorable meetings with most of those he does approach. "Generally the young people are more receptive than the older generation...especially more than the businessman type," he said. He hopes that others will become interested in his work and will join in. "I'm getting older and its hard to do it all myself," he said. Johnson urged any interested parties to contact him.

READER'S CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Comrades:

The Mesabi Daily News and the Ely Echo both gave our petition drive a nice write-up. As a result, we were getting signatures at a faster rate on street corners--about 100% increase.

Times have changed. In 1951, while getting signatures on the first Stockholm Peace Appeal, the same Virginia paper (under a different name and ownership) carried a full page ad sponsored by the American Legion, warning people in big letters across the whole page "DON'T SIGN." In 1977, so far, there has not been a peep from the Legion. We think the signature drive will have to continue until all nuclear weapons are eliminated and the arms race ended, and until world-wide peace really takes root.

To Party Affairs:

Hannah and Andy Johnson, whose combined years in our Party total almost a century, are an inspiration to the comrades in our district (Minnesota-Dakotas). They have collected close to 3,000 petition signatures for the Stockholm Peace Appeal! Their work with the Daily World is also exemplary.

Best Wishes,
Jeff Farmer

- Hannah and Andy

NOTE FROM THE NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

The following club educational by Comrade Sandy Pollack of the National Peace and Solidarity Department is recommended for use by all clubs. The Education Department suggests that it be used in conjunction with the other materials in this issue of Party Affairs.

Club Educational: Peace and Detente

1. How has the decisive shift in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism affected the essence of the struggle for peace?

In this historical epoch, where the main contradiction in the world today is between capitalism and socialism, peace has always been an important component in the struggle to defeat capitalism precisely because peace objectively weakens the capitalist system.

But before the decisive shift in the balance of world forces, the forces for peace necessarily approached the peace struggle from a defensive standpoint. The objective was to limit capitalism's ability to wage war--to defend the world from war. What is crucial about the decisive shift in the balance of world forces is that it has reversed the positions of the two systems playing out the main contradiction in the world today-- capitalism and socialism. Now the capitalist system is on the defensive; the system of socialism and the class it represents, the working class are on the offensive. We have become the decisive factor in the development of human society.

In relation to the question of peace, the qualitative difference is this: whereas before we struggled to limit imperialism's tendency toward war, coming from a defensive stance given our objectively weaker position, today we objectively have the power not only to limit imperialist war but to hold it in check. This is the essence of detente, and defines the main content of the struggle for peace today. Furthermore, we are saying that the three world revolutionary currents (the socialist countries, the national liberation forces, and the working class and its allies in the advanced capitalist countries) together have the power to make detente irreversible--to create the conditions whereby it is impossible for imperialism to wage another major war.

It should be emphasized that although we now objectively have the power to make detente irreversible, it is by no means an automatic process. It is a realizable goal only if the full power of the three world revolutionary currents (which brought about the

decisive shift in the balance of world forces to begin with) is deployed in this vital strategic effort.

2. In the context of the overall fight to make detente irreversible, what is the content of the struggle for peace? (i.e. what do we mean when we say the word "peace"?)

With the forces for peace and socialism now on the offensive, we are in a position to address the fight for peace on our own terms.

Today we can base our struggle on the fundamental premise that peace is not only the absence of war, but that there can be no true and lasting peace while economic, racial, political, social injustice and lack of freedom persist.

This change in the content of the peace question can be most clearly illustrated by looking at the work of the World Peace Council, which over the last 30 years has been the broadest organized expression of the international peace movement and continues to be today.

When the WPC was formed in 1949, it had one single objective--to prevent another world war, an even more dangerous prospect with the advent of nuclear weapons. Its first major accomplishment, the gathering of a half billion signatures on the First Stockholm Peace Appeal, had a major impact on preventing the use of the A-bomb in the Korean War, and was a basic step in transforming world public opinion into a powerful political force. So, while the peace movement was a vitally important element, conditions were such that it had to address itself to one single issue.

In the words of today's WPC President, Romesh Chandra:

". . . with the change in the balance of forces, with detente, the dangers of a world nuclear conflagration have begun to recede, though they have by no means been eliminated and continue to threaten us at all times. This change in the international climate has transformed the world peace movement--its activities, its character, its method of work and composition.

"While preventing a nuclear war is still an essential issue, this movement also concerns itself with every problem facing ordinary people of the world--inflation and high prices, unemployment and all the economic consequences of the present crisis in the capitalist world; the struggle against neo-colonialism and for economic development, against hunger, poverty, disease, and illiteracy; the struggle for human rights against fascist and neo-fascist regimes, the effort to protect the environment, the continuing struggle against the old forms of colonialism, against racism and apartheid."

3. Why do we say that peace is the overriding issue of the day? How can we show this concretely?

We say that peace is the overriding issue of the day because there is no front of struggle anywhere in the world that is not crucially linked to the struggle for peace--in

our day--to the struggle to make detente irreversible. On the one hand, an atmosphere of peace is the best condition for victory on all fronts of the world struggle, and at the same time, each victory scored by the revolutionary forces on any front contributes to the overall struggle for peace--the struggle to force imperialism to abandon its most vital mechanism of survival--war.

Thus, the peace question embodies one of the fundamental dialectics of our time: that while freedom and justice are primary to peace, the overall fight for peace is a crucial element in advancing the fight for freedom and justice.

How can we show this concretely in the world today?

Looking into the role and character of each of the three world revolutionary streams, we can see that peace plays a crucial role in advancing each particular front of struggle, and that victory on each front makes an overall contribution to the struggle for world peace.

Socialist Countries: Just as war is the fuel for capitalism, peace is the fuel for socialism--the best condition under which the world socialist system led by the USSR can strengthen and continuously increase its effectiveness as the bulwark of the world revolutionary movement and the major force holding imperialism in check. The more it can guarantee peace, the stronger it can become; the stronger it becomes, the more it can guarantee peace.

In conditions of peace, the socialist system can direct energies to further outstripping capitalism economically, technologically, militarily. And the stronger it grows, the more capable it becomes of holding imperialism in check, thus weakening it and creating the best atmosphere in which the other two flanks of the world revolutionary movement can gain victories over imperialism. And the stronger it grows, the more material assistance it can provide to the other two flanks. As stated by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party:

"Proceeding from the nature of its economy, the socialist camp consistently upholds the line of safeguarding peace, constantly raises high the banner of peace, and resolutely opposes the plots and maneuvers for war of the imperialists headed by the U.S. This line for safeguarding peace plays a role of organizing and encouraging millions upon millions of working people and other peace loving people to rise in the struggle and resolutely smash the policy of war--the most fundamental policy which the imperialists headed by the U.S. are pursuing at present. This is a powerful offensive against imperialism."

National Liberation Forces: As the stream which is today in the most direct conflict with imperialism, composed of the nations mostly concentrated in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which have achieved varying degrees of independence but are still oppressed and exploited by imperialism and colonialism (plus a small number of countries still under direct colonial rule), the peace-guarding role of the socialist camp has been decisive in the tremendous victories achieved during this period.

- In the context of detente, imperialism, the direct enemy they're confronting, is in a weakened state; it is not free to follow its instincts to wage all out war to safeguard its exploiting position, as was the case most recently with Angola.
- The vast material assistance from the socialist camp, made possible under the present condition of detente, has been of decisive importance in winning crucial victories for the national liberation forces.
- In addition to those nations in direct military and/or political conflict with imperialism, significant victories are being scored on the economic front--the breaking away from the neo-colonialist reign of control exerted by the world capitalist system (Algeria, for example). Here too, the economic assistance provided by the socialist camp has made this possible, presenting viable economic alternatives to developing countries which previously had no choice but to depend upon capitalism (e.g. long term no interest development loans, technical assistance, etc.). This process, as well, has an important effect of weakening the world capitalist system, and in so doing is making a contribution to the overall struggle to make detente irreversible.

The working class and its allies in the advanced capitalist countries: This third component in the world revolutionary process, the struggle of the working class and its allies against their own imperialism becomes even more decisive as the general crisis of capitalism deepens and imperialism grows weaker. In all advanced capitalist countries, the economic crisis becomes more profound and chronic, the burden of it is more and more placed on the shoulders of the working class, the capitalist economy, in order to survive, must become even more highly militarized, posing a terrific threat to world peace and proving to be an unbearable burden to the working people, whose wealth is being used to fuel the war machine. In this context, the centrality of the struggle for peace and detente has never been greater.

4. What does the centrality of the struggle for peace indicate for us in the United States?

Today, with the Carter administration facing seriously limited options for rescuing the economy due to the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the peace question takes on additional centrality. Never before has there been such a close correlation between increasing the military machine and budget and decreasing the social budget; never before has it been more of an either/or choice.

In carrying out our strategic line of building an anti-monopoly coalition, and strengthening the anti-monopoly democratic (youth) movements fighting for their economic, social and political rights--fighting for jobs, for decent schools and housing, fighting against increased racist attacks and repression, fighting for full equality, etc., there are two basic propositions that we must integrate into our work:

(1) that no problem we face in the U.S. can be solved without curtailing U.S. imperialist war policy (without slashing the military budget, without ending the arms race, without directly confronting the militarization of our economy and national life, etc.); and

(2) that no basic problem faced by other peoples can be solved without limiting U.S. imperialist war policy (apartheid in Southern Africa, colonialism in Puerto Rico, fascism in Chile, the role of Zionism in the Mid East, etc.). The fact that we are not an isolated entity but a crucial component in the world revolutionary movement, and the fact that it is our government more than any other in the world that is the roadblock to peace, freedom and equality for all peoples, and the fact that we are in the best position to influence the policies of our government, places a special responsibility upon us--anti-imperialist solidarity.

While we see around us impressive developments in the peace and anti-imperialist solidarity movements, we must see clearly the special contribution we have to make on the overall building of an effective movement for meaningful peace, to make detente irreversible.

What we are talking about is the building of an anti-monopoly peace movement in the U.S.--a movement for peace that is the expression of all anti-monopoly forces' concrete concerns for peace as crucial in furthering the goals of each particular struggle--activities on peace that represent the sum total of the power of the anti-monopoly movements in the U.S.

Logically, in contributing to building such a peace movement, we should place the same priorities we place in our overall strategy of building an anti-monopoly coalition:

- (1) on developing, first and foremost, our thrust in terms of industrial concentration and the specially oppressed national minorities;
- (2) on confronting, as we generally do, the main ideological problems in the way of progress: the fight against racism and anti-communism.

While we generally understand the connection between what we traditionally define as "peace" issues (ending the arms race, cutting the military budget, etc.) and what we traditionally define as the major struggles in the U.S. (the fight against racism, for jobs, etc.) we must break through in making the connection in the way we work. How can the question of peace be part of the agenda for struggle within every anti-monopoly movement?

Discussion questions:

1. Is there any contradiction between the struggle to make detente irreversible on a world scale and the waging of armed struggle in a particular country or region? Explain.
2. Examine in more detail how the three world revolutionary currents aid and relate to one another, taking specific examples.
3. How are the various concrete aspects of the peace struggle in the U.S.--pressuring our government to end the arms race, slash the military budget, end support of apartheid and minority rule in Southern Africa, stop aiding racist and fascist regimes, promote a just peace in the Mid East, etc.--related to the overall struggle to make detente irreversible?

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Party Affairs here reprints 3
pages from an 8 page issue of the
Ohio Steelworker. For the complete
shop paper write to the Steel Com-
mittee at the address listed below.

OHIO STEELWORKER

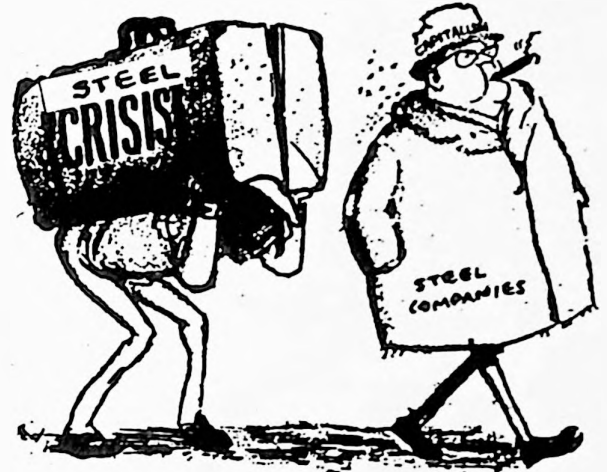
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Issued by Steel Comm. Communist Party of Ohio,
P.O.Box 02086, Cleveland, Ohio, 44102

October,
1977

HEAVY-HEAVY-HEAVY-

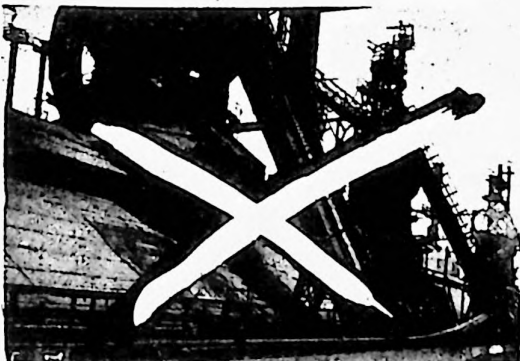
**THE STEEL BOSSES
ARE PUTTING DOWN A
HEAVY LOAD ON US....**



SHUT-DOWNS - LAYOFFS -
GHOST TOWNS - AND A FLOOD OF LYING PROPAGANDA

**IT TAKES A HEAVIER LOAD - THE TRUTH -
TO KNOCK THEM DOWN. HERE IT IS :**

Smaller steel companies have shut down or been taken over. Big steel is using the steel crisis to strengthen its position by squeezing its weaker competitors, putting the clamps on workers for more speed-up, demanding more government handouts and an easing up on pollution controls.



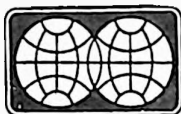
WASHED UP?

Layoffs have taken place in all capitalist countries: 20,000 steelworkers in France and 10,000 in Belgium; thousands were made jobless in Italy, Great Britain, West Germany while in Japan thousands were transferred to other industries. Whole steel regions are being sacrificed: the Lorraine area in France, the Charle-roi Basin in Belgium, the Saar in the Federal Republic of Germany. (continued)

All facts and figures used are based on information from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the American Iron and Steel Institute, Standard & Poors and the United Nations Bulletin of Statistics.

The problems of the capitalist steel industry are the direct result of capitalism in its final stage, the period in which the very system itself is in the crisis of its life. So long as the capitalist governments pin their hopes on armaments as the means of prolonging the system's life, so long will the steel industry remain stagnant and deteriorate while the steel communities wither away.

The Way To Gain Jobs and Save the Steel Industry---



On the other hand, by getting into step with the march of history - by providing low-cost steel to the steel-hungry developing countries (who make up one-third of mankind), and by making steel-containing products available to the socialist countries (who make up another third of the world's peoples) - the steel industry would need to further expand and hire tens of thousands of additional workers.

But this calls for an end to the arms race, for disarmament and a policy of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries and democratic, no-strings-attached aid to the developing countries.



This would provide a different framework within which the steel industry could operate, - one that helps it, not hinders it.

The fight for peace is a bread-and-butter, life or death matter for steelworkers.

While fighting for this new framework for the steel industry to operate in, other measures are needed to defend steelworkers, their communities and the country against the greed of the steel corporations:

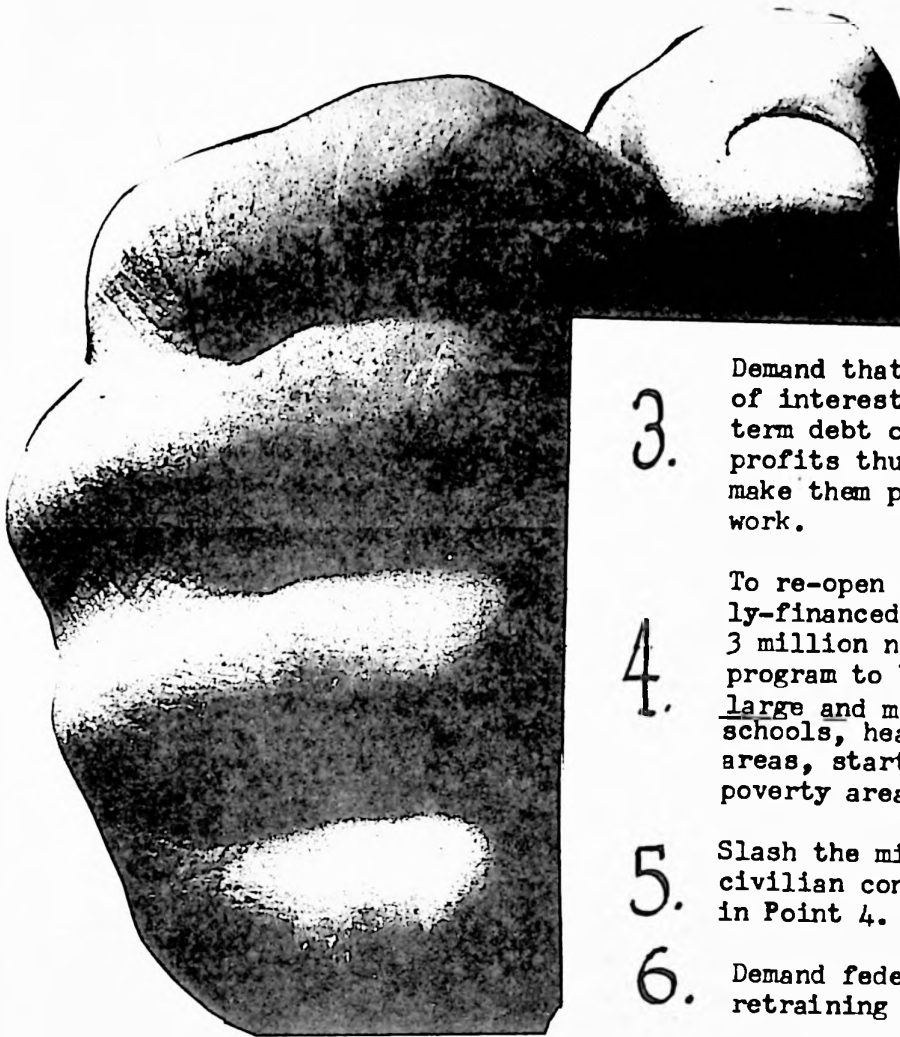
A FIGHTING PROGRAM:

1. REDUCE THE WORK WEEK WITHOUT ANY REDUCTION IN PAY. THIS WOULD INCREASE EMPLOYMENT, PROLONG LIFE. THE AVERAGE STEELWORKER PRODUCES AS MUCH IN 30 HOURS TODAY AS HE DID IN 40 HOURS 13 YEARS AGO.
2. ROLL BACK AND FREEZE STEEL PRICES TO KEEP U.S.-MADE STEEL COMPETITIVE AND TO PUT A CURB ON INFLATION WHICH EATS UP WORKER PURCHASING POWER.

(continued)

A FIGHTING PROGRAM

(continued)



3. Demand that the government order cancellation of interest payments to the banks on the long-term debt of the steel industry; and that the profits thus saved be used to update the mills, make them pollution-free and safe places to work.

4. To re-open markets for steel, demand a federal-financed, low-cost housing program to construct 3 million new units a year; a federal-financed program to build mass transit systems in all large and medium-sized cities; to provide new schools, health facilities and recreation areas, starting with inner-cities and rural poverty areas.

5. Slash the military budget, shift funds to civilian construction projects, as indicated in Point 4.

6. Demand federal guarantees for jobs or retraining for new jobs.

7. STAND FAST AGAINST ANY DEMANDS FROM THE STEEL CORPORATIONS THAT YOU GIVE UP THE WAGE INCREASES COMING TO YOU OR THAT YOU TAKE WAGE CUTS " TO MAKE THE STEEL INDUSTRY COMPETITIVE AND SAVE YOUR JOBS. "

8. DEMAND NO PLANT SHUT-DOWNS. IF "PRIVATE ENTERPRISE" CAN'T RUN THEM EFFICIENTLY, LET THE GOVERNMENT TAKE THEM OVER AND KEEP THEM RUNNING. THE STEEL INDUSTRY CRIES IT CAN'T COMPETE WITH NATIONALIZED STEEL INDUSTRIES IN OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. IN THAT CASE, PUT THE U.S. STEEL INDUSTRY UNDER PUBLIC OWNERSHIP TOO, BUT UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROLS WITH A DECISIVE VOICE FOR WORKING PEOPLE IN ITS DIRECTION AND POLICY, ALONG WITH SOUND TECHNICAL MANAGEMENT.

THIS WOULD ASSURE THAT THE PRIORITIES IN STEEL ARE SHIFTED FROM CORPORATE PROFITS TO THE NEEDS OF THE WORKERS, THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY FOR STEEL, AND THE NEEDS OF THE WORLD FOR STEEL PRODUCTS THAT U.S. WORKERS CAN PROVIDE.

9. END THE TRADE RESTRICTIONS AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THIS IS A MARKET WHICH CAN EASILY ABSORB \$20 BILLION A YEAR IN U.S. EXPORTS, WITH A FINISHED STEEL CONTENT OF SOME 8 MILLION TONS. THIS WOULD MEAN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS JOBS IN BASIC STEEL, FABRICATING, TRANSPORT, MINING, ETC.

10. UNITED ACTION OF STEEL UNIONS OF ALL COUNTRIES AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL STEEL CARTEL

Making Hay at the State Fair

BY ANTON KRCHMAREK & RAYNA FAYE
OREGON DISTRICT

From August 26 until Labor Day, more than 528,000 people attended the 112th Annual State Fair held on the Fair Grounds in Salem, Oregon, the state capitol. It was the second year that the Communist Party had a booth at the Oregon State Fair which is attended by a cross-section of the population who come from both urban and rural areas.

This year, the weather played havoc with the Fair, tucking periods of bright, welcome sunshine in among the long rain-filled days, and sometimes nights, leaving messes of mud and wetness all about. However, in spite of the inclement weather, people came to the Fair in great numbers from early in the morning until late at night.

Although reactionary elements involved with the planning of the Fair put pressure on the committee to refuse the Communist Party a booth, the management overrode their protests and were most cooperative. The Communist Party was well situated and adjacent to the army reserve recruiting booth and the Coast Guard.

The booth workers felt that it was a profound experience with much opportunity to share our knowledge, our philosophy and to distribute our literature among the great numbers of people who came to visit the booth. Some aspects of being there were very exhausting. Sometimes we don't remember that people can be beautiful and ugly at the same time! And the military was most unhappy about our presence, at times encouraging people to come over and hassle.

Everyone who stopped at the booth was curious--about Communists and/or about communism. And many asked challenging and pointed questions, some of which came out of genuine curiosity and some of which were downright provocative. A middle-aged woman asked to see Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's book, "My Life as a Political Prisoner." She was "amazed" to hear that Flynn was a political prisoner. She said she didn't think we had any political prisoners in this country! She then asked if we were Communists, claiming that she had never seen a Communist in the flesh. She might have been doing a lot of leg-pulling, but she was pleasant and she took some of our literature to read.

There also came countless missionaries--all white and all out to save souls and the world from communism. They work in countries such as South Africa and Vietnam and are quick to tell their version of what the Communists did to the missionaries. If you ask them about the right to self-determination for newly emerging nations, they have cotton in their ears and pretend they didn't hear what you said. Many of those who were curious about communism wouldn't/didn't relate it to the United States. It seemed to be difficult for them to focus on us right here in our own country because "every other place is worse; we are best", and "go back (to the USSR) if you don't like it here, but leave us alone."

It was sad when people could not focus on reality, when they denied the truth of what is really happening. And it was painful, too, to see behavior modification, brain-washing, conditioning--whatever name the process gets--really hard at work making people think things are different from what they really are.

Many people, it seems, are overwhelmed by what is happening today in our country and cannot believe that such terrible things (Watergate, suppression of human rights, etc.) would actually happen in a land they have been taught to love and respect.

Our experiences were an interesting mix. A member of our group who is almost 80 and who has been a spokesperson for the Communist Party for years, was threatened by a bully from the American Legion who told him that if he ever found him walking the streets of Salem, he would kill him.

Some fine moments of courage and spirit came when a group of young people came by to sing--in firm, clear voices. It was a great experience for the whole Fair to see these wonderful young people singing peace, struggle, labor songs at our booth, putting into song words of what we are all about. Large crowds gathered when they were singing, and at one point a security guard warned one of our young supporters that he would put him out if he caused a riot!

Not every person stopped but many gave us a sign that they were with us. They would smile or nod or make positive comments. Maybe, for some, it took a lot of guts to stop and talk with us; someone commented that it took a lot of guts for us to be there.

Of course, it was a good feeling to have the people with us and provided us with ample opportunity to pass out our literature and sell the People's World. Now, we look forward to another season at the Oregon State Fair and to again be able to say about our experience, as one of our comrades remarked, "exhilarating!"



Building the Party — A Daily Task

BY BRAVEY
MEMBERSHIP SECTION
ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

A rising tide of labor struggles is developing and gaining momentum from day to day. Struggles are taking place in all parts of the U.S. in various trade unions, organizations of the unemployed, anti-racist movements and among youth.

The constant rise of unemployment generally among youth, Black and other minority youth in particular, who have not as yet experienced being on a job, gives us a great opportunity to become involved in these struggles and to provide our experience and leadership that is so badly needed.

The chief concentration of our work to build our Party must be the trade unions and basic industry in particular. Our main attention must be focused on recruiting in an organized fashion so that it becomes a daily priority task in our entire organization throughout the country.

We have an additional avenue for recruiting and building our Party, and that is through the many letters that are sent to us from all parts of the country

requesting information about the Party and, in many cases, requesting to join the Party. This influx of letters has increased greatly since the Hall-Tyner campaign which reached many people in many new areas, creating a new interest in the work of our Party.

Unfortunately, we have fallen down on the job to a great extent by not following up these new contacts and making it possible for them to become a part of our movement. Every month we receive many inquiries from various parts of the country from potential recruits who are trying to find out why they have not been contacted.

I think it is important to make some comparisons between the kind of serious attention we paid to recruiting in the past and some of the laxness today. In my younger days I was the Party organizer in the Lehigh Valley which included such industrial areas as Bethlehem Steel cement works, textile and other industries of a smaller nature. To us, the County leadership, all of these were important and we saw to it that most re-

ceived our message regularly and the remaining only received it from time to time. Our efforts brought us considerable success generally, and particularly during the campaign to build the CIO.

We had already prepared the groundwork even before there was any mention of the CIO. A shop paper called "The Crucible" was regularly distributed at the gates of the Bethlehem Steel mill. It was a good shop paper and was favorably received by the workers.

Open air meetings were also held from time to time. In short, our message was fresh in the minds of the steel workers. The result was that when the CIO came into town and asked me to join their ranks, we were able to make gains in a shorter time than in other areas.

Building the Party was on the order of business at all of our Party meetings. Assignments for follow-ups were given to the comrades. Those who were members of foreign language organizations played a great role in the movement to organize steel.

Our movement presented a challenge as evidenced by a request from a professor at a college in Boston to the CIO that we debate him on the topic: "Is the C.I.O. Communist?" The regional CIO was afraid to debate this professor; hence, I was delegated to be the representative of the CIO, even though I was a known Communist in the area.

When I arrived, the college hall was filled with students and members of the faculty. It was announced that the professor was ill and could not appear. Just

before I was ready to leave, a motion was introduced by one of the students that I give a talk. I gladly accepted the invitation and spoke for about 45 minutes. I was introduced to the audience as a leader of the Party of the Lehigh Valley. I was accepted very favorably by the audience judging from the many questions asked and the nature of the questions. Following the meeting, two students requested information on joining the Party, and subsequently joined.

In every situation we had the building of the Party in mind. We had only one comrade in a large bakery when a strike began. At the end of the strike, in which we played a role, several workers joined the Party. A number of cement workers from a small town nearby likewise joined the Party through contact with one of our members who lived in that town.

I mention these experiences, though they are a part of the past, only to show that because of our consistency and determination, we were able to build our Party to 100,000 members.

The situation at present is favorable for the building of a mass Party, with concentrated effort which must include response to those who make inquiry to join the Party. We can become acquainted with those who are a considerable distance from district organizations through correspondence and mailing of literature. Perhaps meetings could be organized at which Party representatives could be invited to speak

There are many ways if there is a will. We must not lose these new opportunities for building the Party that resulted from the campaign of Comrades Hall and Tyner.



A demonstration against apartheid led by ANC women

SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA
Continued from page 8.

.....

Finally, Young vetoed the call for economic sanctions against the racist regime. The same U.S. official stated, "This goes well beyond what the situation warrants at this stage."

This series of vetoes which were also cast by Britain and France and supported by West Germany and Canada (demonstrating a crystallized racist alliance) indicates that U.S. policy has no intention of supporting international efforts that would break the back of the Vorster regime. It indicates a close alliance with that regime.

However, the Carter Administration was compelled to respond to the crackdown on moderate organizations and leaders. These arrests and banings went in an opposite direction to the course of creating what the Carter Administration sees as a moderate Black leadership to act as a buffer against the African National Congress. This is the fundamental point of difference between Carter and Vorster.

The Carter Administration's opposition to firm military (including nuclear) and economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter can only be viewed as a slap on the wrist to the Vorster regime. Moreover, the limited military sanctions that the Carter Administration is willing to accept without vast economic sanctions in no way inhibit the racist regime from further developing its own military industrial complex, as it has been doing for several years.

It was clear in Carter's press conference of October 28 that his view of sanctions was seen as a mild reprimand to Vorster and would apply only as long as Vorster refused to lift the banning orders of those organizations which came under the orders recently issued. In fact, Carter stated that the alliance with Vorster is vital to the Administration's policies in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

As Carter indicated in his press conference, he feels that the Vorster regime cannot be pushed away from its "positive" role in bringing peace and majority rule to Namibia and Zimbabwe.

According to Carter (and this has been elaborated fully by Andrew Young), the question for the Black majority in South Africa is the extension of civil rights under the existing regime of the white minority. U.S. policy is, then, to convince Vorster to extend certain civil rights to the Black majority. This, by its very definition, is a contradiction to the struggle which is being waged by the African people which is for self-determination and for the seizure of power in that country. To place the matter in this reformist context is to hold that Vorster should remain to allow him to make certain changes in the apartheid system. This is, in effect, an open defense of apartheid and, concomitantly, of the large U.S. investments, and of the profound military collaboration between South Africa and the United States which extends to the nuclear area.

The Anglo-American Plan for Rhodesia is important to our understanding of this defense of Vorster. It concedes to the Black majority on two points: it calls for Smith to be removed and for one-man, one-vote; and it calls for democratic elections. At the same time, the proposal includes elements that would decisively shift the weight of events to neo-colonialism, undermining genuine majority rule and the Patriotic Front:

1. The proposal for an international peace-keeping force to stand between Smith's army and the advancing liberation forces is, in essence, a defense and a protection for the Smith army. The Smith army is now about to be totally defeated. The peace-keeping army would defend that army and protect it and allow it to remain viable and intact. At the same time, it would deny the strategic military victory to the Patriotic Front, thus serving to bring forth as negotiating partners sell-out elements from the Black population who have not been engaged in the struggle.

2. The call for the new army of Zimbabwe, to consist of the freedom fighters and elements of the Smith army, is a corollary to this concept of the international peace-keeping force. But such an army is itself an instrument of coup d'etat and for the overthrow at a propitious moment of a government seeking radical solutions. This would be an army of divided loyalties, an army which, in part, is made up of freedom fighters and in part consists of those loyal to racism and imperialism and aggression in Africa generally.

3. The concept of the British High Commissioner being appointed to have absolute legislative, executive and military power in the transitional period. This is totally unacceptable because where, then, would the freedom fighters have anything to say about the process of dismantling the colonial apparatus? The Patriotic Front holds that this obligation should be shared by themselves and the British equally over a one-year transitional period.

4. We need not elaborate on the notion of a "bill of rights" to defend the privileges of the racist minority. It is a contradiction to democracy, of majority rule; it would preserve the right of veto of the white minority.

This Plan is essentially an attempt to (a) divide the patriotic forces and to drown them in a sea of neo-colonialism, (b) bring forth puppet forces from within the country among the Black people who could act as a counterweight to the Patriotic Front, (c) preserve intact a portion of the racist army, and (d) direct post-independence economic development along capitalist lines.

The Carter Administration, along with the four other western nations in the Security Council (Britain, France, West Germany and Canada), has attempted to reach a separate settlement with Vorster on Namibia outside of the legal authority of the United Nations and the U.N. Commission on Namibia. Although they again talk in terms of majority rule and one-man, one-vote, they have not accepted the concept of the removal of all South African occupation forces from the country, or the release of all political prisoners, nor the fact that SWAPO, the liberation movement, is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Their notion is that there are many representatives, including the representatives of the racist elements of the minority white population, and the African tribal servants of Vorster that must be represented in an independent Namibia.

These are new initiatives of neo-colonialism; they are efforts to defend the multinational corporations and the strategic military positions of U.S. imperialism and of imperialism in general in southern Africa.

Our task, therefore, becomes very, very crucial. It is clear that there is a growing anti-apartheid majority in the U.S. We must admit that the people of this country have not yet fully understood the dangers inherent in the neo-colonial policies of our government. Many do not realize that these are neo-colonial policies. Many are confused by the utilization of Blacks, bourgeois-reformists and social-democrats who execute these policies. This, however, is temporary.

In this sense, there are many organizations and many people who see in the image of Andrew Young, reformist and participant in the civil rights movement, and in the image of a Walter Mondale, a social-democrat and reformist, a genuine human rights policy for southern Africa.

It becomes incumbent upon us, especially in the peace movement which has suffered from so many weaknesses that have been described, to build up those forces that are prepared not only to oppose apartheid but who are now prepared to actively struggle for national liberation and against the Carter Administration policies. This would be a crucial step for the peace movement and would further the process of uniting it and the Black liberation movement.

In much of our work we have seen that Black liberation forces pose to us the relationship of the question of detente and peace to Southern Africa. When we speak of Chile we are asked about our position on South Africa. This is because of the overriding importance of the fight against racism and its crucial meaning to the struggle for peace. This is not only a subjective consideration that comes from the Black liberation movement, but it objectively represents an organic link.

The year 1978 has been declared by the United Nations as the Year of Action Against Apartheid. A program of action for the Party is in process of development to coincide with the anti-apartheid demands. The Party should work with NAIMSAL and other national organizations as well as the liberation movement of South Africa in the realization of a united campaign and program for the year 1978.

We should join with those forces who are calling for the launching of a national petition campaign specifically directed toward the Carter Administration, calling for immediate and mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, as well as a total military embargo, including nuclear technology and material, computers, licenses and spare parts, and the immediate breaking of diplomatic ties with the Vorster regime.

We should join with those who are projecting the declaration of the anniversary of the Sharpsville massacre, March 21st, as the International Day for the Elimination of Racism. The days between June 16th, the anniversary of the Soweto massacre, and June 25th, South African Freedom Day, are critical days in the fight to unite and make a crucial breakthrough in uniting the democratic, peace and anti-racist forces of all political persuasions. The labor component of these actions should be heavily emphasized.

(Editor's Note: Please see Editorial Comment in this issue of Party Affairs, which suggests additional actions during the holiday Congressional recess to pressure legislators to react to the most recent onslaught of the Vorster regime. The remainder of Comrade Montero's report, detailing the demands to our government, should serve as a guide in these extremely urgent actions.)

Comrades, I would like to finally present a list of basic demands that we think are vital and critical to the movement in this country.

Diplomatic: 1. The call for the immediate and permanent break of all diplomatic relations with the Vorster regime.

2. Support the total expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

Military: 3. An end to the shipment of all nuclear material and technology to the racist regime.

4. A total arms embargo against the Vorster regime, including aircraft and ships that have both military and civilian value. Sanction on spare parts and licenses.

Economics: 5. All profits of U.S. Corporations in South Africa to be taxed at 100 percent rates without reduction of local taxes paid.

6. OPIC shall not insure any new investments in South Africa and shall cancel all outstanding insurance, investments already in South Africa.

7. The President shall instruct the Export-Import Bank and all U.S. credit agencies to refuse all credits or trade with South Africa and instruct U.S. representatives of international lending agencies to oppose all credits to the Republic of South Africa.

8. The State Department shall denounce all existing investments, trade and commercial treaties with the Republic of South Africa, and the President shall reverse the most favored nation treatment that exists between the two countries.

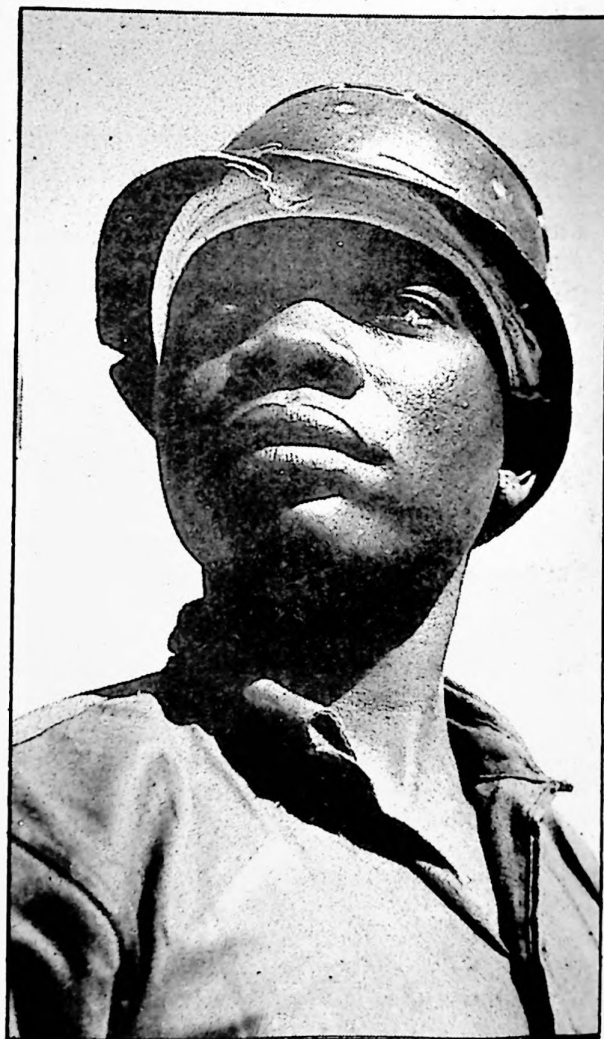
9. Immediately withdraw the sugar quota to the Republic of South Africa.

10. The demand for the release of all political prisoners and detainees in South Africa and the recognition of the African National Congress as the sole legitimate representative of the people of South Africa.

Those are the basic list of demands that we think are viable to the campaign against the collaboration between our government and apartheid South Africa.



United Nations



U.S. PEACE & SOLIDARITY COUNCIL
Continued from page 15.

.....
As a member organization of this campaign, the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council is ready to make an important contribution.

4) Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico:

The U.S. Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization (USCPRD) -- still not a year old -- provides the Peace and Solidarity Council its lead on this question by clearly defining our role and responsibility as people in the U.S. in support of independence for Puerto Rico. All USCPRD work is based upon the proposition that the political future of Puerto Rico is a matter for the Puerto Rican people to Decide. As people in the U.S., our role is to force our government to relinquish its colonial hold -- to withdraw militarily, to stop robbing the national resources of that nation, and to cut the ties of political domination. This is precisely the content of the Dellums resolution in Congress, the support of which is the Committee's main work.

Here, too, the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council sees that it can make a meaningful contribution by developing joint activities with the USCPRD, as well as by establishing a relationship of cooperation and exchange with the Puerto Rican Peace Council, the Puerto Rican World Peace Council affiliate and a leading force in the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico.

It is important to emphasize that, by singling out the above four concentration issues, the USPSC does not say that other peace and solidarity struggles are not important or should not be worked on. It is saying that these are the areas where it can make a unique contribution. It is saying that without concentrating its work, a new organization like the Council will not grow to be effective. And it is aware that on other important questions, like Chile, there already exist strong movements with which the Council must cooperate to whatever extent possible.

*

Already, local peace council organizations (at varying degrees of development) exist in the following cities: Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Minneapolis, New Haven, Providence and Milwaukee. Where they do not exist, the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council is calling upon all forces to assist in the formation of local Councils.

Nationally, the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council is in the process of formation, having outlined the following organizational tasks it will be responsible for:

a) Initiating national campaigns and working to mobilize national support for actions and campaigns initiated by other organizations (as we've defined above);

STOCKHOLM PEACE APPEAL *Continued from page 18*

Many will join with others to create an organized grouping. Such was the case when two senior citizens channeled the peace interests of their neighbors in a housing project to circulating the petition. They collected almost a thousand signatures. One or two people in Rhode Island built an organization, got petitions circulating in a number of churches and obtained an impressive list of sponsors. In all such instances, petitioning was accompanied by participation in actions and demonstrations with other organizations, visiting Congress-people, etc.

While continuing the use of the official printed Appeal/Petition, a flexible approach is needed so that it does not become an obstacle to building the whole movement. The Appeal is not a static document; its basic demands—to stop the arms race, to cut the military budget—must be seen as the means for pressuring our government to make available the now wasted military funds, personnel and resources to provide more jobs, schools, health care, equal opportunity and other vital human needs. This is the basis on which to approach those who are concerned with certain self-interest issues.

Trade unions, for example, will deal with the Appeal in terms of transferring military funds for a greater number of civilian jobs provided by the same dollars. Those concerned with housing, education, free health care can easily link the need for more funds for such services by cutting back on armaments expenditures. And while there can be no peace without freedom, to achieve equality, the elimination of racism and apartheid, there must be a stop to the arming and financing of the

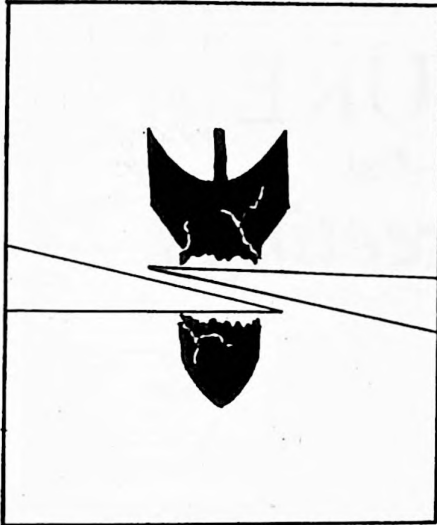
war-makers, the repressive regimes, the profiteers who foment wars and intensify racism and repression to swell their coffers.

These are the links between the issue of peace, detente, stopping the arms race and the community, the shop, the organization through which we engage in day-to-day activities.

Groups or organizations which subscribe to stopping the arm race and cutting the military budget to fund human needs would, therefore, be encouraged to write their own petitions or resolutions which would either embody these two basic demands, or in some manner endorse the Stockholm Appeal as a means of fulfilling their demands.

A second consideration to extending the base for this movement is to reject the idea that only those who agree with the total demands and concepts of the Appeal may join in. For example, an organization in Chicago was approached to support and circulate the petition. Their main program is for disarmament, but they did not feel comfortable with the name "Stockholm" on the petition, nor would they endorse the demand on SALT II. Based on a respect for these reservations, the organization agreed to issue its own petition which could then be considered as part of the whole Stockholm campaign. This is the kind of flexibility in the use of the Appeal and petition that will mobilize and coalesce the broadest spectrum of the peace majority in this country.

Another proposal now being considered by the Appeal organization is to introduce a new petition featuring a special appeal to President Carter to "SAY 'NO' TO

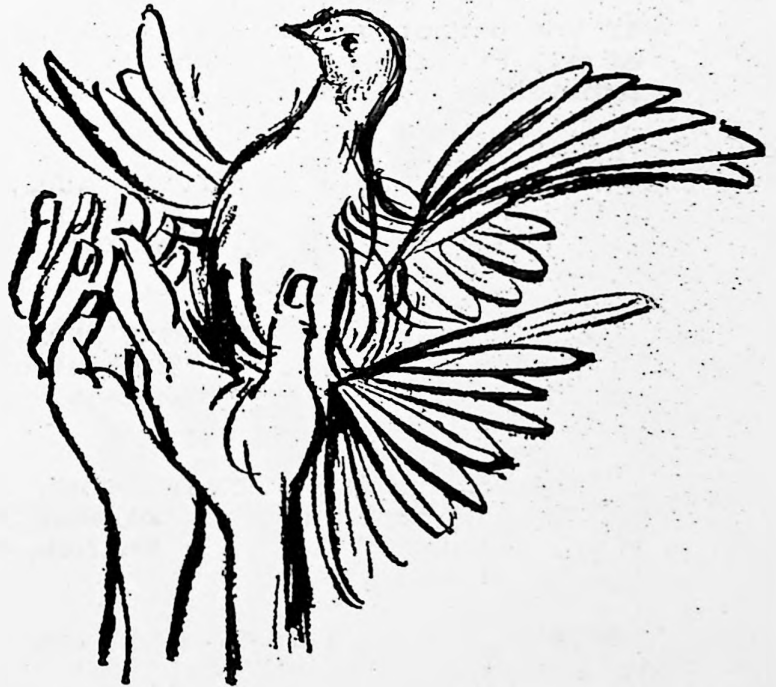


Moving in this direction, in cooperation with the already existing organizations established by the Appeal, the million-signature goal can be reached by next Spring when they will be presented to President Carter and, along with the hundreds of millions from around the world, to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, during the Special Session on Disarmament.

From this brief report, it can be seen that the Stockholm Peace Appeal campaign has broken ground in reaching hundreds of thousands of people with a more advanced and broader approach to the meaning of peace. It has also helped to create a movement which will be able to be tapped for the establishment of a more permanent peace and solidarity organization in the U.S.

THE NEUTRON BOMB." This will most likely be accompanied by a post-card and letter-writing campaign. In this way the Appeal becomes a living instrument which responds to the immediate issues and new factors that enter into the struggle.

Through its endorsement and participation in the Stockholm Peace Appeal Campaign, the Party has helped in much that has been accomplished to date. But not enough has emerged at the grassroots level. Clubs should be creatively using the Appeal, as indicated above, in their day-to-day activities, whatever the issue. Not only will peace then become recognized as the overriding issue in providing solutions for the critical needs of the people, but a significant contribution can be made in deepening and extending the grassroots base of this movement.





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**CLAUDE M.
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Field Secretary,
Communist Party, USA

AUTHOR OF "HUMAN RIGHTS - U.S. STYLE"
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U.S. PEACE & SOLIDARITY COUNCIL

Continued from page 15.

b) Serving as a resource center for literature, campaign material, films, slide shows, posters, buttons, etc., produced by the Council and by other organizations active in the peace and solidarity field, including material published by the World Peace Council. As well, the Council will publish a monthly newsletter;

c) Assisting in the development of a national network of local Councils;

d) Promoting international interchange by organizing delegations from the U.S. to attend World Peace Council and other international gatherings, as well as hosting tours of international delegations to the U.S.

Publication of a statement of purpose, the gathering of endorsers, the formation of a national board to lead the work, the establishment of an office, and the publishing of materials and the newsletter, are all in the works.

For 1978, the U.S. Peace and Solidarity Council has set the goal of getting at least 1,000 individual members in addition to developing as many organizational affiliates as possible. The Council emphasizes that the question of organizational affiliation should remain flexible. The main objective is to work with as many organizations as possible, whether they are prepared to officially affiliate or not.

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From Socialism, Theory and Practice, July 1977

ANTAR MBERI--CONTINUED FROM BACK COVER

Today,
we light sixty years of honor
celebrating you, your many children;
We also celebrate your many dead
heroes and heroines
who died honorably so you could thrive
and grow strong
with your youthful muscle;
So you could live and work
as you do today:

Uncompromising fist hurled against imperialism.

Goblet of emancipated labor.

Bushel of peace.

Silo of tenacity and sun light.

As you wear your garland'
of 15 roses,
of 15 red-celled republics,
of 15 star jewels,
of 15 songs of humanity:

This poet hears
your risen dead singing
in the snowcapped tundras,
in sonorous hydro-electric looms:

Oh they are singing in your fields, yields,
your factories, furnaces, they are
sixty years of immaculate sweat, invincible bloodnames
singing
in your man-made lightning,
your steel range of love-
opened hands

In the frozen tundras of light
they live on, sixty years of sacrifice:
energy flowing in your subterranean veins.

Amidst it all, proud Lenin stands,
that five feet and inches man, Immortal
Father, stretching out his guiding hand,
saying to us who tell yet for others:

Look
here is the fine home of my family
my children,
this too can be yours,
this too can be yours.....



ANTAR MBERI

Hail the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution

(This poem by Antar Mberi was written especially for the occasion of the 60th Anniversary. It was carried to the Anniversary Celebration by the U.S. delegation, headed by Comrades Henry Winston and Gus Hall, as a gift from the Communist Party, U.S.A.)

YOU

WHO TURNED THE SOIL, THE SOUL

THE SEED AND THE STEEL SONG

INTO SIXTY YEARS OF IMMEASURABLE

SELFLESS SOLIDARITY

ON YOUR SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

Once there was only war's armor, poverty
(brutal bayonet buried in the poor man's back),

But then you were born:

Land of Lenin,
land of light, wheat,
harnessed water,
fruit and endless flowers.

Oh then you were born
In swaddling red
in the revolution
of your workers, mothers:
those women and men who create
the red blood cells of plenty
and peace:
the red plasma of the world.

From childhood to manhood, womanhood
you grew
under Lenin's immortal eye. You
grew
from his vociferous sun-voice,
active hands,
impregnable spirit,
unflagging heart,
and time-piercing mind.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 47