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New York, N.Y. 10003

May 16, 1969

TO ALL ORGANIZERS, NC MEMBERS, AND AT-LARGERS

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are copies of all of the articles which appeared in the Daily World, Peoples World and New York Times on the 19th Communist Party USA convention.

The national office would like any comrades who can get access to other printed material or information from or about the convention to send this material to the national office.

Comradely,

Jack Barnes

Jack Barnes
Organization Secretary

L.A. Communists again disavow Czech intrusion

Peoples
World

April 19, 1969

LOS ANGELES — Disapproval of military intervention by Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia, which had been previously expressed by the district committee of the Communist Party of Southern California, was endorsed last weekend by a majority of the delegates attending the party's Southern California convention.

This position, approved by a narrow margin, came after one of the most heated debates of the two day session.

In acting on a series of resolutions that will be presented for consideration to the national CP convention next month the delegates also said they disapprove "a doctrine (that) has been put forward of so-called 'limited sovereignty'."

Also the Southern California convention called on the national organization to elect at its convention delegates to the forthcoming international (Moscow) Communist conference beginning on June 5. It also voted to "propose that our delegates urge the (world Communist) conference to devote its attention to clarifying, and if possible, settling the disputes (in

the Communist movements) on the basis of mutual discussion."

These resolutions were all adopted by small majorities.

However, the convention was unanimous in its message of greeting to the Friends of the Black Panthers rally last Sunday and the delegates enthusiastically donated \$100 to the hot breakfast fund of the Panthers. A delegation from the convention delivered the message and the money to the rally last Sunday.

It also expressed its support for the Shell Oil boycott initiated by the AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union. In addition the delegates called for full support of the projected Sept. 16 school walkout by Chicano and other students as a demonstration for the much needed changes in the educational institutions to make them relevant to the Chicanos.

The convention was addressed by Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party; Charlene Mitchell, field secretary of the CP Black Liberation Commission, and Hyman Lumer, CP educational director.

Communist party opens convention

NEW YORK — The Communist party of the United States, which will mark its 50th anniversary this September, opened its 19th national convention here this week.

Pre-convention discussion in the party has produced sharp debate on key issues before it. In the party's theoretical journal, Political Affairs, there have been polemical exchanges about party policies with respect to labor, the black liberation movement, and radical developments among youth.

Although in other party discussion journals, there have

been expressions of dissent from the official policy that viewed Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia as necessary, the literature does not indicate that this has emerged as a central issue.

In Communist practice all issues of policy and program are opened up for debate in a pre-convention period, and are subject to resolution at the convention, which is the party's supreme policy-making body.

The convention opened Wednesday (the day The People's World goes to press) was to last through Saturday.

Peoples World May 3, 1969

Communist convention opens today

NEW YORK, April 29 — The Communist Party's nineteenth national convention will be called to order tomorrow morning by Henry Winston, national chairman.

It will meet at the Towers Ho-

tel in Brooklyn.

The convention occurs toward the close of the 50th year of the party's existence. The party's history will be represented in a pictorial exhibit at the gathering.

Following organization of the

convention, Gus Hall, general secretary, will make the main report on behalf of the outgoing national committee which approved it in outline last Sunday.

The remainder of the Wednesday schedule, including a night session, will be devoted to a discussion of Hall's report.

Thursday morning, Winston will present the other major report to the meeting, on the implementation of the party's political line, especially in the context of its workingclass orientation.



HENRY WINSTON



GUS HALL

Increased emphasis on working class struggle, as the focal point of the party's activities, has featured the Draft Main Resolution, the four-month pre-convention discussion, and the recent party state conventions.

Following Winston's report the convention will break up into ten

panels, according to the order of business which the outgoing national committee has recommended. Several of the panels will deal with sections of the draft main resolution; others will deal with the black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and Indian liberation movements; with youth, women, and the party and its press.

Convention committees will be set up to deal with resolutions and with the party's Draft Program and its constitution.

Friday and Saturday will be devoted to reports from panels and committees, the coming world conference of Communist and Workers parties, and election of a new national committee.

It is expected that the convention will be attended by about 275 regularly-elected delegates and alternates and 100 invited guests.

Delegates from 30 states at CP convention tomorrow

NEW YORK, April 28 — More than 250 delegates, from 30 states, are expected to attend the 19th national convention of the Communist Party U. S. A. which opens in Brooklyn Wednesday morning.

The convention, which will continue through Saturday, is described in convention materials as the "50th anniversary convention." The party was established in September, 1919.

The party's 18th convention was held in June, 1966. A special national convention was held last year to nominate presidential candidates. Mrs. Charlene Mitchell for President and Mike Zagarell for Vice-President.

The main reports to the con-

vention will be delivered by Gus Hall, general secretary, and Henry Winston, national chairman.

Hall's report will be based on the "Draft Main Political Resolution" which has been discussed in the party organizations for the past four months. Winston's report will deal with the functioning of the party organization in carrying out its political tasks.

Reports outlined

The party's national committee, which was elected at the 18th national convention, held the last meeting Sunday in New York.

It heard outlines by Winston and Hall of the reports which they will deliver to the convention.

The focus of Hall's report will be the working class; its theme will be the "class struggle," he told the national committee.

Winston told the national committee that "industrial concentration" must become the key to all of the party's activities.

The party leadership is expected to propose to the convention the issuance of an "open letter" by the convention to the party membership on the centrality of the working class to the party's work, and on industrial concentration.

The committee approved the main line of Hall's and Winston's reports.

It approved also a proposed order of business which will be submitted to the convention.

Gus Hall cites rising storm

Report to CP convention sees no letup in crises

By ERIK BERT

NEW YORK, April 30 — The "storm of protest and struggle" of the American people . . . has grown and multiplied in intensity," Gus Hall, general secretary, told the 19th convention of the Communist Party at its opening session here today.

The party's 18th convention in 1966 foresaw the present storm of struggle, Hall told the delegates in the main report. "But few of us dared to believe," he said, "that less than three years later the storm would have spread so far, increased in fury so much."

"It is a storm of great power and there are no signs of let-up," he added.

The change from the Johnson to the Nixon administration, Hall added, was "only a changing of the guards, both serving the same masters, both following the same policies. It's like changing one's pants."

He said Nixon is moving ahead on a reactionary line.

As a result, our society is beset, all sections of the population except the rich, by an aggravation of the existing crises, Hall said.

While "U.S. imperialism has suffered setbacks", he said, it "remains the chief danger to the independence of peoples and nations."

The Nixon administration "continues to escalate the war," while it "talks of negotiating."

On the world scene, Hall declared, the "the anti-capitalist and the anti-imperialist forces, and the overall struggle against

imperialism . . . now determine the overall course of human events."

"These revolutionary forces and ideas", he said, "have blocked U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. They have forced this most powerful of all imperialist states to admit that it cannot win a military or political victory there."

Winston opens session

The session was opened by Henry Winston, national chairman, who described the gathering as momentous in the history of the party.

The delegates and alternates, estimated at 275 in number, are seated in the ballroom of Brooklyn's Tower Hotel at round tables marked with the names of the states they represent.

At the rear of the hall are seated the approximately 100 invited guests.

1919-1969

The convention marks the 50th year in the history of the Communist Party. Across the platform runs a huge banner "1919-1969, 19th Convention, CPUSA."

At the right of the platform a large banner reads: "For Working Class Power. Build the Communist Party." On the left side, a banner reads "Struggle Against Racism Is Central to all Progress."

Along the sides of the hall the banners say: "U.S. imperialists Out of Vietnam Now!", "Black and Brown Control of Community Institutions", "Resist and Abolish the Draft."

At the rear of the hall the banners read: "For an Anti-Monopoly Peoples Party", "Organize the Unorganized", "Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America Against American Imperialism", and "What We need—Not ABM, but Hous-

ing, Schools, Hospitals."

The experiences of the massive popular struggles, Hall said, "are giving rise to a process of radicalization, to a higher level of consciousness."

For the party, he added, "this process of radicalization is the most vital sector of present-day reality."

This new consciousness ranges he said, from the understanding by some that the problems are "not due to some personal failure", to the willingness of others to "listen to concepts about another social system" as a "basic solution to the evils of this system."

Among the 25 million Afro-Americans the "process of radicalization has deeper roots and affects wider sections than among the people generally.

In the working class this "process of radicalization becomes interwoven with a development of class consciousness."

On the basis of this "Process of radicalization", Hall said, a "revolutionary and socialist consciousness is developing." This movement is "more than militancy. It is a Leftward moving process."

The development of radicalization in the working class is "the most significant" feature of this movement, Hall said.

This working class radicalization is being fed by the "new forces in the class structure, the new elements in today's drive for maximum profits".

The "high degree of monopoly development," the "open brutal use of the state machinery" in the "drive for bigger profits"; "job security, speedup, the menace to life and limb on the job"; extortionate taxes; "mounting inflation" have "resulted in a sharpening of the class contradictions", giving rise to the "process of radicalization."

In the enemy camp

"Never in the history of our country have the dominant sections of the trade union leadership been so completely and openly in the camp of the class enemy," said Hall. They are a "millstone around the neck of the working class."

The issue of working class and trade union unity is "as critical as at any time in history," he declared.

However, the struggle for such unity must be related to the "struggle for class struggle policies," he said.

"Unity is not a thing in itself. It must serve the ends of the class struggle. It must strengthen the class-struggle character of the trade union movement."

Furthermore, Hall said, "there can be no meaningful struggle for class and trade union unity without a struggle against racism."

The "key link" in the class struggle today, Hall said, is the "rank-and-file upsurge." The rank-and-file movements are also,

struggle for social progress."

He urged the winning of "the leadership of this upsurge" by "programs, tactics and forms that truly reflect the upsurge," not by "manipulations".

He described the black caucuses in the trade union movement as "an important special form of the class struggle, one which has added a new dimension to it." The "fight for black participation at all levels of trade union leadership is fundamental to the fight against racism", he said.

While the party's "basic orientation is toward building unity of workers at the rank-and-file level", Communists "must work for united front policies at all levels of the trade union movement," Hall said. "We reject limiting our work to 'united fronts from below.'"

Hall stressed that while the "historic struggle of the 25 million Afro-Americans for freedom and equality continues at a very high level", and despite "important victories", the system of racism "still remains intact", and the movement is "confronted by many new problems."

The Nixon administration is operating on the racist "concept of halting any further steps in guaranteeing civil rights," he said.

This is complemented by the "escalation of the attacks on the militant section of the movement."

Hall warned that under pressure of the "racist drive that endlessly repeats that 'The Negroes are going too fast and too far', there has been a "slowing down of the expressions of protest and support from the broader white sectors that were active in the past periods."

Gus Hall reports

Continued from page 3

He said that on some questions of basic questions discussion in the party is still going on. At the convention two documents will be presented to the Black Liberation panel, he said. For that reason, he said, he was not presenting any definitive conclusions in the main report.

Any "realistic assessment" of the oppression of Afro-Americans, he said, must start from the "threefold character of the oppression", as "racist oppression", as "class oppression," as "oppression of a national minority." The "black freedom movement is a struggle against all forms of this oppression."

(Hall had not concluded his report as this edition of the Daily World went to press. The rest of his speech will be reported in tomorrow's Daily World.)

'Build CP in shops': Winston

By ERIK BERT

NEW YORK, May 1 — Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party, called today for an intensive campaign by the entire party to recruit workers into its ranks from the "basic, trustified industries."

He told the 275 delegates and 100 visitors to the party's 19th national convention meeting in Brooklyn, that this objective was especially appropriate to May Day, and to the coming celebration of the party's 50th anniversary.

The convention delegates interrupted their work in the late afternoon to participate in the May Day demonstration.

The "party can be built quickly in the nation's workshops" Winston said, adding that expansion of the party is the key to unfolding the "full potential of all the mass movements."

He proposed that the convention issue an open letter carrying this message to the entire party membership. The proposal, referred to the party and the press panel for action, was greeted with prolonged applause.

"We are going into a period of sharp class battles," Winston said. "Storm signals" mark the sharpening confrontation of the people and the monopolies, he declared.

"We can have faith in the future," he said, "only if we have faith in our class, and faith in our class only if we have faith in our party. A mass Communist Party is the key to the victorious struggle for peace, democracy and socialism."

The mass policies of the party, he stated, will have meaning if there is a consistent fight by the party to implement them.

'Rapid reorganization'

He proposed that there be a "rapid reorganization" of the

party's structure to give "operative leadership" in the party's campaigns, especially in the basic industries.

Winston cited as two major achievements of the party since the 18th national convention in 1966 the restoration and expansion of the party organizational structure, and the launching of the Daily World.

Most important in expanding the party organization, he said, was establishment of party organization in the nation's basic industries and among shop workers.

Establishment of a daily Marxist-Leninist newspaper, he added, makes it possible to speak to masses, thus laying the basis for building a mass Communist Party in the nation.

(In his report Wednesday, Gus Hall, general secretary, had described the founding of the Daily World as "one of our greatest achievements." He added: "We can say without any reservation that it is a great paper)."

Winston reported that in Pittsburgh, where "no daily Marxist paper had been sold for 30 years, and where the party had been practically driven out of existence," the Daily World is now sold on 13 newsstands.

He lauded the regular weekly sale of 600 copies in Chicago.

Both news items were applauded vigorously.

The Daily World, he said, has a "bright future, it is becoming more and more a crusader for the people." It must be given "every possible support" to "win

the mass movement for a correct policy".

Fight on racism

The dealt at length with the responsibility of white Communists in the struggle against white racism. This struggle, he said, is crucial to the overthrow of capitalism.

The "first duty of white communists is to become experts in how to change the situation among the mass of white Americans," he said. "The fight against chauvinism is a primary task of the party."

It is the responsibility of white Communists, he declared, to help change the situation in the white communities to "prevent the outbreak of bestial attacks on the ghettos, to prevent the fascization of the police, to prevent the use of the National Guard and the armed forces against black people."

He called on the party to heighten also its participation in the struggles of the Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American Indians.

Hall's report lauded

Winston said that the report by Gus Hall yesterday had been warmly received by the delegates because it "registered the will and the thinking of the overwhelming part of our membership".

Hall's report, he said, "charts a mass course of struggle which is bound to strengthen the ties of our party with the masses from one end of the country to the other."

The report, he said, was the result of discussion that had taken place in all party organizations, from the bottom to the top.

Winston said a heightened "fight for Marxist theory" was urgent. He reported that a great increase has taken place in the sale of Marxist classics, and "great strides" made in the establishment of workingclass bookshops. He called for sharply increased educational work within the party, especially among the youth.

The struggle for the mass line of the party and for a mass Communist Party, Winston emphasized, requires a struggle against bureaucracy within the party and a struggle for democratic centralism as the method of party functioning. Bureaucratic methods of work blunt the party's efforts and prevent the emergence of new forces from within its ranks, he said.

He called for revising the par-

ty's constitution to include a more explicit statement of democratic centralism. This proposal was greeted with applause.

Factionalism, he said, must be fought as an "alien conception and practice", "usually the work of the enemy within our party and usually coordinated with repressive measures outside the party."

"Under cover of 'free discussion', factionalism makes free discussion impossible", he said. Factionalism is "incompatible with membership in the party," he declared, to loud applause.

Two-party system is political trap, says Hall in report

NEW YORK, May 1 — The task of breaking out of the political "entrapment" in which the American people find themselves is a "task to be worked on now," Gus Hall, Communist Party General Secretary, said in his report to the 19th national party convention Wednesday. (The first part of his address was reported in yesterday's Daily World.)

This entrapment is the present two-party system, he said.

This system, he declared, "is not now and never will be a path to political power for any sector other than monopoly capital. In its basic sense it is an airtight system of capitalist class rule."

He recalled that after exerting "tremendous power" that forced Lyndon Johnson to step aside, the people were compelled to make the "impossible choice between Humphrey and Tricky Dick."

However, millions of Americans still have illusions about the two-party system, he added. These illusions have been sustained by the fact that they have won concessions and victories through the two-party apparatus.

The party's "three-pronged electoral tactic" is designed to lead the people out of the entrapment, Hall said.

One prong is designed to help millions to break out of the "dead end" two party system.

The second prong of the party's electoral tactic, Hall said, is to "give life and form to political independence outside of the two-party vise."

The third prong is the running of Communist candidates, Hall said. The party's presidential campaign in 1968 was "an important break with past hangups," he said. The "struggle for Communist candidates must be continued," he added.

Although the "independent mass movements around the Democratic nomination campaigns were without precedent" and "moved in the direction of breaking out of the entrapment," they did not make the break "in a mass sense," he went on.

Because of "sectarian and wrong attitudes toward these developments on the Left and in our Party," the "Left forces were in no position to influence these masses at the moment when they had made the great discovery

about the class charade" of the two-party system.

The "new party formations outside of the two-party system" in 1968 were "responses to the new sections of the mass movements which were ready to break out of the entrapment."

They were not "premature," Hall asserted. "Whatever mistakes occurred were not in helping to organize them," he said, "but in thinking that they could become the only form of political independence." This became their "most formidable roadblock," he said.

"The whole outlook of political independence must be restudied," Hall said, in respect to its "relationships to the working class and the Afro-American communities. Any formation that is not rooted in these two sectors is on shifting sand," he said.

The party's "one task" in the electoral field, Hall declared, is to achieve an "independent political force based on the working class in alliance with the Afro-American community and all other victims of oppression."

Hall warned that the "open fascist-like movement" which surfaced in 1968, with the George Wallace campaign, "did not disappear with the elections."

Peace struggle

The struggle for peace demands above all, Hall said, the "coming together of all forces who want to put an end to the war in Vietnam by compelling a complete U.S. withdrawal from that devastated country."

"The possibilities of the peace struggle are immense," he said. However, organization of the movement "lags far behind these possibilities."

Furthermore, a "vacuum of leadership... has opened the doors for disruptive elements to step in." Their "provocative actions" have "tended to narrow" the movement. Hall said he did not favor "unity" with such "disrupters."

Hall noted also that there is a "new level of consciousness in the U.S. peace movement," that "wars and the militarization of the economy arise out of the aggressive drives of imperialism, and that U.S. imperialism is the main stronghold of reaction, war, and aggression."

He recalled that in the U.S., for many years the Communist Party, alone "Patiently explained the nature of the war danger of imperialism."

National minorities

The "brutal and inhuman character of U.S. imperialism" is demonstrated in its "special oppression of 40 million Americans" within the boundaries of the U.S.

These include the 25 million Afro-Americans, eight million Mexican-Americans, more than one million Puerto Ricans, and the American Indians.

The oppression of these Americans "gives the class struggle" in the U.S. a "special character," Hall said. This requires "special attention to these sectors," especially to "their unity as vital to the unity of the working class of which most of them are a part."

Youth

The demands raised by the student youth "go into some very basic issues of our capitalist society," Hall said. They "not only affect our schools but go to the heart of basic problems of our capitalist society."

In industry, the young workers are becoming "the shock brigades for the working class. They spark the rank-and-file movements... They are a strong force in the struggle against racism... They are of the radicalized generation. They are more open to socialist ideas."

They must be a "central concern" of the party's industrial concentration efforts, Hall said.

Women

The party's pre-convention discussion, Hall said, made it "obvious that we need a drastic updating of our understanding and our activities" with respect to the problems and developments affecting women.

These weaknesses are reflected in the daily activities of the party, he said.

"The problems and the role of women must now become increasingly of special concern in all questions of the class struggle and of black liberation.

"They must be given special attention in our own work for black-white unity, for working-class and trade union unity... in rank-and-file work... in the fight for political independence."

Hall stresses CP ties to worldwide struggle

NEW YORK, May 2 — The “national and international responsibilities of each Communist party are indivisible,” Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A., told the party’s 19th national convention here. (Other sections of Hall’s address were reported in the Daily World on Thursday and Friday.)

Hall told the convention’s delegates Wednesday that the question of the “relations which should prevail between socialist states and between Communist and Workers parties” is one of the “controversial questions which have appeared in the international Communist movement.”

“The meetings in preparation for the world Communist gathering,” which is to meet in Moscow in June, “performed a great service in indicating the path to resolving these difficulties,” he said.

The “argument that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is for ‘limited sovereignty’ of socialist nations... is false... a slander,” Hall told the delegates.

“It is a repetition in our ranks of capitalist propaganda intended to discredit the Soviet Union and divide Communists.”

The Soviet Union, he recalled, “came to the aid of socialist Czechoslovakia against the dangers of subversion by anti-socialist elements linked with world imperialism.”

“The socialist countries,” he declared, “cannot stand aside when a fraternal socialist country, in the very heart of Europe, in the very center of the socialist community, is in danger of losing power to the anti-socialists.”

Hall condemned also the “challenge in our ranks” to taking into account the “existence of a socialist community.”

“This community,” he said, “is the chief and most decisive factor in the right against imperialism against the socialist countries.”

In Czechoslovakia, “there has been progress,” he said. The recent changes in the leadership “will result in strengthening the discipline of the Party and in more resolutely carrying out its program and politics.”

Chinese-Soviet relations have worsened, he said. “We can only express severe condemnation of (the) crass and dangerous violation of socialist unity and socialist internationalism” by the “Mao dictatorial leadership,” Hall said, and “we hope that the initiative of the Soviet Union in calling on China to settle the dispute through peaceful negotiations will be fruitful.”

Anti-monopoly coalition

The idea of the democratic anti-monopoly struggle is central in defining the strategic aims of our party, he said. “It forms the very core of the path ahead as developed in our draft program.”

Hall dealt in detail with two challenges from within the party to the “anti-monopoly concept.” One of these, the “Portland Youth Club statement,” submitted by Don Hammerquist, was “the most outspoken attack on the party along these lines,” he said.

It “calls for a ‘pure’ revolutionary strategy — for an ‘anti-capitalist’ or ‘anti-imperialist’ strategy,” but this search for ‘purity,’” Hall said, is in fact abandonment of the “real struggles of today, into which growing masses are being drawn.”

The “second line of opposition,” Hall said, was expressed in a resolution adopted by the convention

of the party’s Southern California district.

It “sees only the existence of individual democratic struggles... rejects any idea of their integration” and would substitute a “non-class approach to democratic struggle for a class approach,” Hall said. It “leads only in one direction,” Hall said, “into the bog of social democracy.”

Struggle against opportunism

Hall said that a “struggle against opportunism is an integral part of the class struggle.”

Opportunism is “a form of accommodation to the pressures of the enemy... a form of retreat in the face of difficulties in struggle.”

Such opportunism, he said, is found in some of the activities of those working in Democratic Party clubs, and in party trade union work, in the mass work among the Jewish people, in the fight against racism, in “conservatism,” in “never putting one’s political neck out.”

Opportunism is also a “worldwide problem,” Hall said. It has expressed itself in the crisis of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in accommodation to anti-Semitism, and in “endless opportunistic responses to anti-Communism.”

“Within the party itself,” he said, “such opportunism leads to liquidating the party. It starts by liquidating its role, and it ends up by seeking for something new to replace it.

“The struggle against opportunism is a struggle for workingclass revolutionary policies. It must be firmly waged at all times.”

Party’s status

Hall concluded his report with a brief estimate of the party’s status. The major report on the work of the party would be made by the party’s national chairman, Henry Winston, he said.

The party is now more consolidated,” he stated. He noted, however, that during the Czechoslovak crisis some Communist party members “showed their total disregard for party discipline and for democratic centralism.”

A “small number of leading comrades have developed some factional methods of fighting against adopted party policies.”

The convention, he said, “must demand an end to all such methods... We must put an end to a situation where a small number of

comrades can keep the party in constant internal turmoil...”

“We must continue to keep the avenue of democratic discussion open. We must encourage criticism and self-criticism. We must involve our membership in policy-making...”

“In coming to political decisions we will try to get unanimity if it is possible. We will decide by majority vote when it is necessary. But we must demand unanimity in carrying out the agreed-on policies...”

“I think our party has now reached a qualitative turning point. We are now ready to move on to a new level of work. We are ready, and the new level of the class struggle demands it. That is the real challenge to this convention.”

Global greetings to CP convention

NEW YORK, May 2—The Communist parties of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People’s Democratic Republic, the Korean People’s Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and France are among the many which have greeted the 19th national convention of the Communist Party U.S.A. in session here.

Their greetings were read to the convention by James Jackson, secretary of the party’s international affairs commission.

The DRV Workers Party declared the solidarity of the U.S. Communist Party with the Vietnamese people, in the struggle against U.S. imperialist intervention, was unbreakable. It predicted the coming liberation of South Vietnam from the occupation forces.

The Korean Workers Party lauded the CPUSA’s struggle for

peace in Vietnam, for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea, and for the freedom of all Korean people.

It greeted also the U.S. Communist Party’s fight for the liberation of the Negro people.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union’s message emphasized the steadfastness of the CPUSA in resisting the attempts of the imperialists to destroy it. It hailed the party’s firm adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of France hailed the CPUSA’s struggle for world peace and for black liberation in the U.S. It expressed confidence in the solidarity of French and U.S. Communists in the work of the coming conference of Communist and Workers parties scheduled for Moscow in June.

CP hails Puerto Rico struggle

Convention also greets delegate from Canada

By ERIK BERT

NEW YORK, May 2 — Prolonged standing ovations greeted the fraternal delegates from Puerto Rico and Canada to the 19th national convention of the Communist Party in session here.

"Puerto Rico Libre" (Free Puerto Rico) was chanted repeatedly as the two Puerto Rican delegates were introduced.

Sergio Kentish, international affairs secretary of the party's central committee denounced the 70-year U. S. occupation of Puerto Rico as "imperialist."

"Nothing is changed in a colonial country," he added, "until it ceases to be a colonial country". U. S. imperialism will never quit Puerto Rico voluntarily, "it must be thrown out," he said.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico, he said, calls for the united action of all forces seeking "independence for our country."

There are now 300,000 unemployed in the island.

The independence of Puerto Rico, he declared, is in the common interest of the people of both Puerto Rico and of the U.S.

Labor in Puerto Rico

Rafael Romero, labor secretary of the Puerto Rican party, discussed the large amount of anti-labor legislation enacted in Puerto Rico in the past year. The Communist Party of Puerto Rico has undertaken to aid the workers of Santo Domingo who are being repressed by the U.S.-supported regime. He asked that the Communist Party of the U.S. join in this effort.

Romero praised the expanding youth movement of Puerto Rico.

"They are militant youth just like you have here," he said.

Norman Freed, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, said that the problems facing the Communist parties of Canada and of the U. S. were remarkably similar.

Lauding the reports of Gus Hall, general secretary, and Henry Winston, national chairman, to the convention, Freed stressed the common outlook of the two parties. This common outlook, he said, reflects their common adherence to the "creative science of Marxism-Leninism." Both parties, he stated, have a "class point of view," the viewpoint of the working class.

Plainfield Case

The convention gave wholehearted support to the appeal by William Patterson, veteran civil rights leader, for support of the victims of the Plainfield, N.J., frameup.

Patterson, speaking on behalf of a subcommittee of the party's national committee, told the convention Wednesday night that the Plainfield frameup must be placed before the entire nation, "as the Scottsboro case was, 40 years ago."

In the Plainfield case, Miss Gail Madden and George Meritt were sentenced to life imprisonment following the slaying of a

white policeman during a ghetto outburst in July 1967. A third defendant, Bobby Lee Williams, who was wounded by the policeman's bullets, is still under indictment for inciting to riot and assault with intent to kill a city patrolman.

The three victims were among 12 defendants originally accused of murder. Eight were acquitted, and one case, which resulted in a hung jury, has not been retried.

Patterson urged that the struggle for civil rights be unified and given maximum support everywhere. He cited, in addition to Plainfield, the Huey Newton, Black Panther, Chicago, Detroit and other cases.

He called for a campaign to unite white and black in defense of the rights of black people."

Panel reports

Reporting of the ten panels set up by the convention began Thursday night. The delegates had adjourned in the afternoon to participate in the May Day celebration at Union Square.

The first panel reports were those on the U. S. and the World Scene and the Struggle for Peace. Both were accepted by the convention, with only a scattering of 'no' votes, following a one and one-half hour discussion.

Both of the panels recommended that the relevant sections in the Draft Main Political Resolution before the convention be strengthened. William Weinstone reported for the panel on the U.S. and the World Scene, and Pauline Jones on the Struggle for Peace.

In the U. S.-World-Scene panel, Weinstone reported, a proposal had been made that the party's delegation to the coming world conference of Communist and

Workers parties, scheduled for Moscow in June, be chosen by the convention instead of by the incoming national committee. This was rejected by the panel.

In the discussion two delegates opposed the panel reports and five supported them.

Labor panel

The Labor panel presented a seven-point program which was approved by the convention overwhelmingly. George Meyers, the party's labor secretary, told the convention that 24 of the 32 trade unionists present had spoken during the panel discussion. Victor Perlo, economist, presented a summary view of the economic situation as it affects the labor movement.

The seven points adopted by the convention:

1. Supported the organization of black caucuses in the trade unions.
2. Supported the black Revolutionary Workers Leagues in Detroit; Chicago and other areas; declared that white Communist trade unionists must participate in the development of Left rank and file caucuses that also fight against racism," and cautioned that "black workers fighting racism alone are in danger of becoming isolated."
3. Declared that the struggle against racism is in the self-interest of white workers.
4. Called for the building of rank and file movements in the trade unions.
5. Called for building the united front in the form of Left-Center coalitions.

6. Described the Alliance for Labor Action as a "hesitant break with the bankrupt policies of the AFL-CIO leadership," adding that the ALA "continues to have the potential to be an important factor in redirecting and revitalizing the labor movement."

7. Welcomed the rising challenge of the workers to those who advocate defense of U.S. capitalism and support "management prerogatives."

Tim Wheeler, Daily World reporter who came to the convention from the Charleston, S. C. hospital strike scene, was applauded vigorously following his report on the struggle there.

Shop workers top CP leaders' list

NEW YORK, May 5 — The 19th national convention of the Communist Party concluded its work Sunday morning at four o'clock when the new 83-member national committee unanimously reelected Gus Hall as general secretary and Henry Winston as national chairman.

The final credentials committee report showed 245 regular and 19 alternate delegates participating. About 100 invited visitors were present during the sessions.

The convention had been meeting in the Towers Hotel in Brooklyn from Wednesday morning, with sessions running late each night, hammering out the party's policies for the coming period.

A unique feature of the convention was the placing as first in the 'pool' of nominees for the national committee, the names of 16 shop workers. All of them were elected in the final balloting on the final 'pool' of 103.

Working class primacy

In his concluding remarks to the convention Gus Hall said that the convention gave the party a "new understanding" of the role of the working class.

This theme dominated the work of the convention as it had the main political resolution prepared for the convention, and the 4-month party discussion prior to the convention.

Hall stressed also that the convention had provided new insights into the black, Chicano (Mexican-American) and Indian liberation movements, in the struggle for the emancipation of women, and in the youth movement.

He singled out as a serious weakness the inadequate discussion of the influence of white chauvinism within the party.

Two anniversaries

Hall urged that preparation for the celebration of the party's 50th anniversary which occurs in September be stepped up, and that a program be prepared to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, which occurs next April.

Hall attacked the influence of anti-Sovietism which, in the guise of disagreeing with one or another Soviet policy, insists that the Soviet Union "has to prove itself." This view, he insisted, had nothing in common with the right to discuss all Soviet policies and actions.

The policy, he implied, is a policy which holds that the Soviet Union is 'guilty' until proved innocent.

What CP convention agreed must be done

By ERIK BERT
(Part I)

NEW YORK, May 5 — The four-day convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which ended here early Sunday morning, developed a program of action for the party's struggle to achieve the maximum mobilization of forces in the fight for peace and for working class unity against racism, poverty, and neo-colonialism. The convention also adopted measures to improve the party's structure and functioning.

With efforts to weld an anti-monopoly coalition based on the working class as its central strategy, the convention agreed on the following objectives:

CHARLESTON, S.C.: Approved a resolution hailing the "just and militant struggle of the hospital workers in Charleston, S.C., Local 1199B for decent working conditions, higher wages and dignity."

As a "symbol of the sense of solidarity" the delegates took up a collection for the strikers "with warmest fraternal greetings."

DRAFT PROGRAM. Approved amended by the convention. The convention directed the incoming national committee to name an editing committee to prepare the final version.

The motion, submitted by Hyman Lumer on behalf of the program committee, was adopted by

a hand vote, with a few nays and abstentions.

The draft on which the convention acted was the third version which had been prepared during several years of discussion, Lumer told the delegates.

He enumerated the main areas in which revisions were to be made.

MAIN RESOLUTION. The Draft Main Political Resolution approved as amended by panel and committee actions of the convention. The motion, submitted by Daniel Rubin, national organization secretary, was adopted by a hand vote with a few abstentions.

PROGRAM. To popularize in abbreviated form, for mass distribution, the programmatic content of the party's program and main draft political resolution.

"RADICALIZATION." Approved a resolution defining the concept "radicalization" which was one of the main themes of the draft political resolution. The motion provided that the text of the definition be referred to the committee which will edit the draft main political resolution for publication.

EDUCATION CRISIS. Approved a resolution directing the national committee to include a "summarized statement on the education crisis in the nation" in the main political resolution.

MEDICAL CARE. Adopted a resolution directing the national committee to initiate a committee to investigate the high cost of medical care, the inadequacies of Medicare, and the availability of assistance to disabled veterans.

NATIONALITY GROUPS. Approved a resolution citing "nationality group approach" as an "integral part of party policy, planning and work."

CULTURAL WORK. Approved a resolution providing guidelines on the party's cultural work. An amendment submitted from the floor, and approved by the delegates, directed the national committee to call a national party cultural conference within six months.

BLACK LIBERATION. The conclusions of the panel on black liberation were submitted to the convention by Claude Lightfoot. The following resolutions were approved:

SELF-DETERMINATION. The struggle for black liberation has attained a "stage... where power has become the common objective." It is described in such concepts as "black power, people's power, representative government, self-government and community and determining their own destiny."

"Even though black people do not now constitute a nation," the resolution said, "we do not place any limitations upon fur-

ther development of the national struggle of black people to satisfy their aspirations up to and including their right to develop self-government and to exercise the right of self-determination."

The resolution summarizes the results of prolonged discussions, especially during the pre-convention discussion. It was adopted unanimously.

SELF-DEFENSE. The convention had before it two resolutions, representing majority and minority views on the black liberation panel. Both views agreed on the right of self-defense. The minority view stressed, in addition, as increasingly important, the preparation of self-defense in the "black communities' ability to continue and develop its struggles for complete liberation."

The minority view lost by a vote of 80 for, 146 opposed, and four abstentions. The majority view was then adopted with only a few opposing votes.

The convention approved resolutions calling for cooperation with and defense of the Black Panther Party; for unity of black and white workers; the struggle of white workers against racism, as the conditions for the struggle for democratic demands, for the overthrow of capitalism, and the building of a socialist society.

It supported also: determined struggle for the democratic demands in a "revolutionary" rather than a "reformist" way, rejection of "black capitalism" or "cultural nationalism," and against a "rigidly defined 'stages'" theory concerning the attainment of various demands; the Plainfield, N.J. and Huey P. Newton defense campaigns.

A 12-point program outlining work to be undertaken in the South was approved. A statistical study, prepared by Charlene Mitchell, was recommended for a future conference on the black liberation struggle.

The convention referred to the incoming national committee, by a vote of 142 to 96, with nine abstentions, a proposal to bar the use of the word "Negro" in party documents.

REPRESSION. Approved a resolution instructing the national committee and state party organizations for the creation of a mass national defense organization to initiate a "massive counter-offensive against repression". The resolution cited the "constant increase of repressive measures and use of police-state tactics".

ANTI-SEMITISM. Approved a resolution calling for "sustained activity" for the "defeat of anti-Semitism, and of bourgeois nationalism among the Jewish people — both of which stand in the way of mobilizing the full potential of the Jewish people and all other people for struggle against racism and every form of national chauvinism, oppression and reaction."

WORLD CONFERENCE. The main line of the document submitted for the coming world conference of Communist and Workers Parties, scheduled for June in Moscow, was approved. The document is entitled "Tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces".

The motion was submitted by James Jackson, international affairs secretary of the party. Jackson presented a survey of the world scene, and of the stages in the preparation of the document. The conference, which "will be a landmark" in the history of the world Communist and anti-imperialist struggles, represents the overwhelming commitment of the participating parties to their common objectives, despite differences in approach on one question or another, he said. The conference, Jackson said, will "concert the experiences" of the participating parties, and establish "further cohesion" among them.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Approved a resolution reaffirming the position adopted by the party's national committee last September on the situation in Czechoslovakia. The resolution, greeting the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, cited the leadership given the party by Gus Hall at that time, and stressed the necessity for heightened ideological activity in the party.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY. Approved a resolution calling on the national committee to prepare, for mass distribution, a manifesto on the 50th anniversary of the party, to develop a popular educational program about the party, prepare a recruiting campaign for new members, and a \$500,000 fund drive to be raised between Labor Day and the Christmas-Chanukah holidays.

CHICANOS. Time limitation made it impossible for the panel on Chicano Liberation to complete work on the statement presented to it. The statement represented a new departure of the party in dealing with the situation confronting the eight million Chicanos in the Southwest. The convention approved a 12-point program of organizational directives submitted by the panel.

PUERTO RICO. The panel on Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican national minority in the U.S. approved a 10-point program of activity submitted by Jose Risorucci.

The program provided for a survey of the situation of Puerto Ricans in the U.S., the party's activities on this front, a plan for publications and organizational activity, the struggle against chauvinism, and involvement of Puerto Rican members in all phases of the party's activities.

INDIANS. The convention approved enthusiastically a program for heightened activity in the Indian liberation movement, and for appropriate revisions of the main political resolution.

(Continued tomorrow).

NY Times
5/1/69

COMMUNISTS SPLIT ON AID TO BLACKS

'Liberation' Move Beaten
by Vote at Convention

By THOMAS F. BRADY

More than a third of the delegates to the 19th annual convention of the Communist party of the United States last week supported a resolution for "struggle for complete liberation" by "black communities," but they were voted down by the majority.

The party newspaper, Daily World, disclosed yesterday that the vote had been 80 to 146. The disclosure was viewed as significant because the party does not usually make public its divisions.

Gus Hall, who was unanimously re-elected general secretary of the party, said at a news conference yesterday that a majority resolution subsequently recognized the right of black self-defense "if the government doesn't defend the ghettos," but he added, "It is not yet time to organize armed struggle."

The five-day convention at the Towers Hotel in Brooklyn ended early Sunday morning so delegates could return home on excursion air fares. He said the party had saved \$3,000 in fares by using excursion rates. The news conference was held at the party's national headquarters at 23 West 27th Street.

Revolt Emphasized

The conference room was decorated with artificial flowers, and Mr. Hall sat beneath a tapestry portrait of Lenin.

He emphasized "the revolution" in trade unions, which he said was being overlooked because of what was happening on college campuses. He said "coattail unionism" was coming to an end and denounced labor leaders like George Meany, Jay Lovestone, David Dubinsky and I. W. Abel, who, he said, "cling to the coattails of big business and the Democratic and Republican parties."

Reds in U.S. Urged to Give More Support to Negroes

The Communist Party U.S.A. has sanctioned a more revolutionary approach by its members to demands related to problems of American Negroes.

This was disclosed yesterday as the party concluded its 19th national convention at the Towers Hotel in Brooklyn. A so-called "Negro liberation panel," headed by Claude Lightfoot of Chicago, provoked a sharp fight on the floor with its rec-

ommendations but it prevailed. "We believe that these demands must be put forward in a revolutionary way as opposed to a reformist way," he said. He held the struggle must go beyond "the norms of bourgeois legality" and Negro protests.

The 275 delegates chose an 83-member national committee. Only two identities were given, those of Gus Hall and Henry Winston, who were re-elected general secretary and national chairman. The party claims 12,000 members.

Mr. Hall said the party "has men in the rank and file" and "we will concentrate on building the revolt." He said the convention had voted for organization of "black caucuses" in unions, and cautioned that "black workers fighting racism alone are in danger of becoming isolated."

The majority approved cooperation with the Black Panthers and rejected "black capitalism" and "cultural nationalism," according to the Daily World report.

Black Label Favored

The convention referred to the new national committee by a vote of 142 to 96 a resolution to bar the word Negro (instead of black) in party documents.

The majority resolution said: "Even though black people do not now constitute a nation, we do not place any limitation upon further development of the national struggle... including their right to develop self-government and to exercise the right of self-determination."

However, Mr. Hall said the term "self-determination" applied only to nations and was consequently not now applicable to the black community in the United States.

He disclosed that Gilbert Green, former head of the New York party and an outspoken critic of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, had been re-elected to the committee.

But he said that Dorothy Healy of the Southern California party had not been re-elected but had "a sabbatical year for study."

CP gears for shop concentration

Letter to tell members of decision

By ERIKBERT

NEW YORK, May 6 — The Communist Party will issue a letter to its entire membership, calling attention to the decision of the 19th national convention last week for a policy of industrial concentration.

The convention selected for concentration the auto, steel, transportation and electrical industries. It selected as main concentration areas: Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Western Pennsylvania.

A plan for the national concentration effort is to be prepared, the committee on party organization proposed. The proposal, submitted by Daniel Rubin, national organization secretary, was approved unanimously by the convention.

Concentration goals

Organizational goals of the industrial concentration effort, to be obtained by Jan. 1, 1970, include: the sale of 1,000 copies of the Daily World weekly at concentration plants; the securing of 200 subscriptions from concentration plants and 125 new party members in the four concentration industries; and 200 industrial workers from other industries.

The goal of 325 industrial recruits represents more than 60 percent of the party's total recruiting goal of 500 by Jan. 1, 1970.

The party panel proposed also the expansion of the party's national educational activities to all state organizations; initiation of an ideological campaign against social-democracy and petty bourgeois notions; and denunciation of factionalism.

The panel on party organization urged strengthening of the sections of the political resolu-

tion dealing with party organization, racism and the working class, and the anti-monopoly alliance.

The panel report on industrial concentration, submitted by George Meyers, was approved by the convention. It established the party's position supporting black caucuses, the struggle against racism "on the job and in the community"; the self-interest of white workers in the struggle against racism; support of rank-and-file movements in the trade unions; support for "united front" and "Left-Center coalition" in the trade unions; the party's estimate of the Alliance for Labor Action; its view on wages and management prerogatives.

Party press

On the motion of John Pittman, reporting on the party's press activities, the convention approved a five-point program.

This included: an educational campaign in the party on the role of the press; to make "press building and press circulation an integral part of the mass activities of every party member" and of all party work; recruitment of worker and shop correspondents, and organization of readers' and supporters' committee; and "to support fully the efforts of the Daily World to conclude its annual fund drive by July 16, and its circulation campaign by Dec. 31, 1969

Equality of women

The panel on the equality of women was by consensus one of the most inspiring of the convention.

Its report, submitted by Anna Becton, called for appropriate reference to the struggle for equality of women throughout the main political resolution; the issuance of a special issue of Party Affairs devoted to women's problems; the reorganization of the party's "women's commission" into a "commission on women's freedom", in which men should be included; convening of a special meeting by the black liberation commission and the commission on women's freedom to deal with the struggle of black women; to popularize the party's position on the necessity for a working class basis for the struggle for women's freedom, and to define the capitalist system as the enemy of women's freedom; and to expand the role and activity of women in the party.

Youth panel

There were two main points of debate in the youth panel, Mike Zagarell reported to the convention.

The majority of the panel favored "broad democratic youth unity against monopoly", with its base among young workers, as the "main strategic line of the party." The minority opposed this as not representative of working class struggle.

The second point of difference related to the "procedure" for organization of an independent Marxist-Leninist youth organization, in fraternal relation with the Communist Party. The majority of the panel favored creation of such an organization on the basis of specific points of principle. The minority favored a gathering of all youth who call themselves Marxist-Leninists to determine the basis for such an organization.

The majority views represented the overwhelming sentiment of the panel, Zagarell reported.

Constitution

The convention approved the constitution committee's recommendation, presented by Mickey Lima, for inclusion of a new stronger section on democratic centralism in the party's constitution.

It approved also a variety of other changes in the constitution, and referred still others, which the panel did not have an opportunity to discuss, to the national committee.

National committee

The 'pool' of 110 names from which the new national committee was elected, was created in a prolonged process beginning with presentation to the convention of a list of 81 names by the outgoing national board, its revision and increase to 83 by the presiding committee of the convention, the addition of 16 names from state delegations, and finally, nominations from the floor.

Analysis of the composition of the new national committee was not available at press time.

The general outlines are indicated, however, in the composition of the original 'pool' of

nominees submitted by the presiding committee. This 'pool' included 16 industrial workers; 27 black, two Chicano, and three Puerto Rican nominees; 17 women, of whom seven were black women; 14 nominees under 30 years of age and 22 under 40 years.

The convention decided, with a few 'no' votes and a few abstentions that there could be no declinations from the list of 83 names which the presiding committee had submitted. Declinations were possible for those who had been nominated by the state delegations or from the floor.

Structure simplified

The convention decided to simplify the party's national structure which consists of the national committee, the national board, and the secretariat. It will be replaced by a two-stage formation consisting of the national committee and a national executive board.

This board will be elected at the next meeting of the national committee. Until that time, the convention decided, the present secretariat will continue to function.

In introducing the presiding committee's 'pool' of nominees, Hall stressed expansion of the work of the national commissions in various aspects as essential to improved functioning of the party.

The convention decided to increase the annual Southern Solidarity Fund contribution from each member from the equivalent of one month's dues to two months. The fund will be collected in September, instead of in June as hitherto.

Labor upsurge ending era

Communist leader says it 'will revamp trade unions'

By ERIK BERT

NEW YORK, May 6 — The "most significant development on the American scene today" is the tremendous upsurge in the shops and unions, Gus Hall, Communist Party general secretary, told a press-TV conference today.

The "rank and file working class revolt" in the labor movement will "revamp the trade unions and the character of the class struggle," Hall said.

He cited as evidence of that revolt the manifold rejection by rank and file unionists of contracts negotiated by their leaders; the very large vote against I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers union, in his recent race for reelection; the 'black lung' revolt of the West Virginia miners; and the emergence of rank and file caucuses including

the black caucuses.

The "overall focus" of the party's 19th national convention which concluded last week centered on these developments in the ranks of the working class, Hall said.

Coat-tail unionism out

The developments in the labor movement, Hall declared, "mark a fundamental change in the class struggle in the U.S." A "new militancy" is emerging.

The "coat-tail type of unionism is coming to an end," he said. That type of unionism is repre-



GUS HALL

sented by George Meany AFL-CIO president; Jay Lovestone, Meany's foreign affairs operative; and Abel, Hall said.

They have been riding on the "coat tails of big business, of the Republican and Democratic parties" Hall said. "That era is coming to an end."



HENRY WINSTON

The party will concentrate major efforts on the "rank and file revolt" and in the major industries, Hall said.

It is "likely," he declared, "that there are Communists in 'most of the rank and file caucuses.'"

He recalled that the party's national committee had stressed organized effort by the trade union rank and file three years ago and would "continue to build" caucuses.

Winston's election

In his opening remarks to the press conference, Hall reported that following the convention, the new national committee had re-elected Henry Winston "an outstanding Marxist-Leninist" as the party's national chairman.

The party is proud of Winston, a "great American, a black and Communist leader," as its national chairman, Hall said.

Hall added that he, himself, was also re-elected unanimously as general secretary.

Hall was asked about other members of the national committee. He said that the first meeting of the committee, which took place about three o'clock Sunday morning, had been too brief to establish a policy with respect to releasing names of the committee's members.

He recalled that in the past, during the McCarthy period, the names of national committee members had not been made known. The new national committee had left the decision up to individual members until its next meeting. Among those who gave permission for use of their names, he said, were Claude Lightfoot, Mike Zagarell, Jack Kling, Al Richmond, Bill Taylor, Louis Weinstock, Gil Green, William Weinstone.

Issues — not tactics

In reply to several questions on the student movement, Hall warned that America should not get "hung up" on the tactics used by the students. It should get "hung up" on the "real issues." These issues are the right of every youth to an education, the rejection of "tokenism" as a response to the demands of the black, Chicano and Puerto Rican students, and the divorce of education from the military.

Asked about "violence" in the student movement, Hall said, there "tends to be violence when there is resistance 'to just demands.'"

Asked about the possibility of student revolts in the Soviet Union similar to those here, Hall said that under socialism the "people are the establishment" and that Soviet students feel there are

channels through which their grievances can be settled.

Mayorality race in N.Y.

He added, that the "socialist countries have learned something," however, from the student movements in the West, and have speeded up the "process of democratization" in the universities.

Hall said he was "critical" of the leadership of the party in New York for not having taken up the running of a Communist Party candidate in the mayorality elections.

He said he understood reasons for the delay which had occurred because the leadership had been eager for a "broader type of candidate" to emerge.

While agreeing with this desire, Hall said it would have been possible to carry on such an effort and also file a Communist candidate. Such a candidate could have been withdrawn if a broader candidate had emerged, he said.

Black America's rights

He cited the example of the Communist Party of France which, according to this morning's press, had nominated Jacques Duclos for president, while still striving to unite with other popular forces around a single candidate.

He said he expected that the New York Communists will be active in the mayorality campaign on one front or another.

The two main aspects of the convention's discussion of the black liberation movement were "self-determination" and "armed defense", Hall said.

There is "no question about the right of black America to determine its destiny," Hall said, but the slogan of "self-determination" which refers to "nations" is not applicable in the case of black America.

In respect to "armed defense," Hall pointed out that if the "government does not defend the people they have a right to defend themselves," but that "now is not the time to organize armed struggle."

Contribution to peace

The three focal points of the convention, Hall said, were: to end the unjust war policy, and get the nation out of Vietnam; automation, job security in the shops; and racism.

The Nixon administration is not thinking of getting out of Vietnam, Hall said in reply to a question. The people of the U.S. "will have to force this Administration" to get out of the war," he said. "Gimmicks will not do it."

The assessment of the positive and negative aspects of the peace movement as considered by the convention represented a significant contribution to the peace movement, Hall said.

Other positions

Other positions presented by Hall in response to questions, included:

There were "no splits, no defections" at the convention. "Most resolutions were adopted unanimously or close to it."

*The "black community will finally decide on whether it wishes to be designated as 'black' or 'Negro' or by any other term.

*The main arena for the struggle against white racism in the working class is in the unions. The Communists will strive to

convince the white workers that "it is not to their interest to follow racism."

*The convention gave full support to the "anti-imperialist and Communist movements" in Latin America, and to the "building of socialism in Cuba."

*The convention, with only a "handful" dissenting, endorsed the previous national committee's position on Czechoslovakia. Events since last Fall have confirmed the position which the party took at that time as sound, he said.

*The convention endorsed unanimously the report by James Jackson, international affairs secretary, and the preparatory statement, on the world conference of Communist and Workers parties scheduled for June 5 in Moscow.

*The party program adopted at the convention, which was four years in the making, is the first fundamental program that the party has ever formulated.

The press-radio-TV conference was held at the party's headquarters, 23 West 26th St., New York City.

CP convention decides to build Daily World

NEW YORK, May 7—The 19th Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which closed here last Sunday morning after a four-day session, adopted unanimously a resolution supporting the Daily World and calling on party members to help build it.

The text of the resolution follows:

An event of historic importance was the founding in July, 1968 of a daily newspaper with a working class standpoint and a Marxist-Leninist perspective for a socialist United States of America. This event occurred

at a time when the 1,753 other daily newspapers, plus the country's entire mass communications media of radio, television and publications facilities, are disseminating the standpoint and program of the capitalist class and U. S. imperialism.

The founding of the Daily World marks the successful realization of the decision of the 18th national convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., to initiate a movement of Communists and non-Communists for the establishment of such a newspaper. It represents, therefore, a

victory for the Party and for all Americans engaged in daily struggles for peace, democracy, economic security, freedom from national and racial oppression, and for socialism.

A going concern

In the ten months since the Daily World began publication, other daily U. S. newspapers with far greater material resources and advantages have suspended operations. But the Daily World, although pioneering in the use of new technical equipment, in-

adequately staffed in all departments, and severely disadvantaged in respect to distributive facilities, has coped with these difficulties sufficiently to establish its viability.

It is a going concern, with the possibility of building national coverage and circulation in a country where factors of time and distance have denied such coverage and circulation to all but three other daily newspapers.

It is a growing enterprise, with the prospect of attaining standards of journalistic excellence usually reached only by staffs of experienced and competent professionals.

And above all, in the crucible of complex national and international developments, the Daily World has demonstrated its great potential as an instrument for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism, to the defense of the interests of the working class and its allies, and for the mobilization of masses in the struggle for socialism.

This potential of the Daily World cannot be realized, however, solely by methods and processes available to the press of the capitalist class, although some measures of capitalist management and organization can be used to advantage. The monopoly character and control of commercial outlets, and the tremendous costs of establishing independent means of transportation and distribution place a lid on circulation by such means.

Nor is there a formula for editorial content, no matter how appealing in form and rich in substance, which alone can compensate for the lack of such financial resources and connec-

tions, although here, of course, such editorial content helps to gain and hold readers.

Experience in our country as well as in other countries teaches that a Marxist-Leninist newspaper, which calls its readers to selfless and disciplined struggle, can be sustained and built only by people committed and dedicated to such struggle, among the foremost of whom are Communists.

Party's help essential

It follows, therefore, that the potential of the Daily World can be realized only if the Communist Party undertakes to realize it, only if the Party becomes its main organizer of resources and its main builder of circulation.

From the ten months' experience of the Daily World we see that primarily the Party must help solve the problem of adequate staffing of its managerial and editorial departments. Despite its efforts to do so, the Daily World has not yet succeeded on its own to attract all the necessary qualified and competent personnel.

With an annual budget of nearly one million dollars, the paper desperately needs personnel to augment its revenues through advertising, circulation and promotion.

It needs young men and young women for news reporting and news editing work, particularly in respect to labor, Black and Spanish-speaking liberation movements, consumer questions, science, and women's struggles.

It needs volunteer field writers and worker correspondents in every district in the country. It needs systematic reportage and polemics from Party leaders, local as well as national. It

needs special distributors in every district who will be responsible for placing the paper within reach of people engaged in struggle.

Because only the direct participation of the Party, on every level of its organization, can fill these needs of the paper and help realize its potential, this 19th national convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., hereby resolves:

1. To initiate an educational campaign throughout the Party with the aim of imbuing all Party members with an understanding of the reciprocal relations of Party and press, and of the central role of the press in the Party's work, with the

first objective that every Communist family becomes a subscriber.

2. To make press building and press circulation an integral part of the mass activities of every Party member, subject to checkup and control by clubs and Party commissions.

3. To make systematic distribution of the paper a regular, mandatory part of Party work.

4. To call on every district organization to appoint worker and shop correspondents, and to organize readers and supporters committees.

5. To support fully the efforts of the Daily World to conclude its annual fund drive by July 16 and its circulation campaign by Dec. 31, 1969.

DAILY WORLD Thursday, May 8, 1969

Daily World Editorial May 9, 1969

Of importance to all

The recently-concluded 19th national convention of the Communist Party in its deliberations and conclusions dealt with matters of prime importance to all Americans, Communist or not.

The party's decisions challenge the class-partnership, do-nothing program of the George Meany type of union leadership. The party calls on the rank and file of labor to assert its power despite this top AFL-CIO hierarchy, in a united front against the corporations.

The convention demanded not only adequate organizational activity but, equally important, a heightened ideological offensive on the primacy of the working class in the struggle against capitalism, in the struggle to establish a socialist society.

The Communist Party's convention was of great significance, also, for the greater light it shed on the black liberation movement.

It also made an auspicious contribution to the mobilization for struggle against imperialism through unity of the socialist movement which will be discussed at the world conference of Communist and Workers' parties convening in Moscow in June.

The decisions of the convention to work for increased circulation of the Daily World, to assist its financial campaign, and to expand its network of correspondents are of great significance, we believe, for the cause of peace, national freedom, welfare, and the struggle for socialism.

The C.P.U.S.A. Program, finalized by this convention, will deserve the careful study of all who seek to contribute to effective struggle for social progress.

National party convention

Communists chart policy in key areas

By AL RICHMOND

NEW YORK — The 19th national convention of the Communist party of the United States concluded at 4 a.m. last Sunday (May 4) with these major results:

- A more militant position in such vital areas as the labor movement, the black liberation struggle, and others.

- A tightening of internal discipline, which was expressed most formally in the adoption of a new clause on "democratic centralism" in the party's constitution.

- A reaffirmation of party positions in such sensitive international areas as Czechoslovakia and the Sino-Soviet tensions.

- The election of a new national committee of 83, headed by National Chairman Henry Winston and General Secretary Gus Hall, with some changes in social composition and retention of essential political complexion. (Hall and Winston were re-elected unanimously to their posts by the new national committee).

- A great emphasis on activity and party recruitment in "the nation's workshops," especially in the "basic, trustified industries," as Winston phrased it in his report to the convention

- A commitment to help build a youth organization of a "Marxist-Leninist type," that will maintain warm, fraternal relations with the party.

- Final adoption of a draft program, which has been under discussion in the party for more than three years, approving the program's principal theses and

giving a final editing committee specific instructions for sharpening, clarification or elaboration in particular areas.

- Approval of the main line of a document drafted by a preparatory committee of various Communist parties for submission to the world Communist conference in Moscow in June. (The document is titled "Tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces.")

- An accent on the party's unity.

The political setting for the deliberations was provided by Hall's opening report to the 245 delegates, 19 alternates and 100 invited guests, assembled in the ballroom of the Towson Hotel in Brooklyn.

Hall emphasized two features of the national scene: a growing and increasingly intense "storm of protest and struggle," and a vast "process of radicalization" on the basis of which "revolutionary and socialist consciousness is developing."

The most significant feature of this overall process, he said, was development of radicalization in the working class.

Growth of monopoly and a more intensive "drive for bigger profits" — highlighted by "the open brutal use of the state machinery," "mounting inflation," "the criminal use of the technological breakthrough . . . as a means of speedup, layoffs and a higher rate of exploiting workers", "extortionate taxation — have "resulted in

a sharpening of the class contradictions, a sharpening which gives rise to the process of radicalization." Hall said.

These developments, he continued, "have further widened the gap between the top labor leaders and the masses of organized and unorganized workers.

PROGRAM FOR LEFT

"The rank and file are moving toward policies of class struggle and the top echelons openly toward class collaboration. Never in the history of our country have the dominant sections of the trade union leadership been so completely and openly in the camp of the class enemy."

He hailed the growth of organized rank and file movements — black caucuses and others — as "the most dynamic and potent expression of the radicalization process" in the working class.

He called for creation of "an organized Left current" in the labor movement "based on a Left program of struggle."

As suggested points for a Left program in labor, he listed the following:

- **Automation** — "the starting point must be the interests of the whole class" and not "only workers who remain in the production process."

- **Imperialism** — "development of an anti-imperialist consciousness in the working class movement . . . is a task the Left must accept."

- **Racism** — "we are for a Left program that concretely takes up the task of eliminating every form of racism at every level of the production process and at

every level of the trade union structure."

- **Political independence** — "breaking out of the two-party entrapment" remains the historic task facing the working class" and "this is the task the Left must take upon itself."

Hall argued "for united front policies at all levels of the trade union movement."

BLACK LIBERATION

"Our basic orientation," he elaborated, "is building unity of workers at the rank and file level . . . But we reject limiting our work to 'united fronts from below.' It is a misconception that we are only interested in challenging union leaders or have an undifferentiated approach toward them as totally corrupted individuals living off the backs of the workers."

New approaches to black liberation were spelled out in a series of resolutions presented by a panel. The major ones dealt with the following matters:

- **Self-determination** — Communists fully associate themselves with the aspirations of black people for "the decisive voice in decisions affecting their daily lives" and "even though black people do not now constitute a nation . . . we do not place any limitations upon further developments of national struggle of black people to satisfy their aspirations up to and including their rights to develop self-government and to exercise the right of self-determination."

- **Self-defense** — in the face of armed violence against black communities, "black people, as an inalienable right, will act with utmost resolution to defend

their communities, their lives and their liberties with arms . . . (in such an eventuality) the place of the white Communists and progressives is at the side of black people who are defending themselves."

- **Reform and revolution** — "Communists wage the most determined struggles for all democratic demands under capitalism and the special demands necessary to meet the needs of black people . . . On the other hand, the starting point for assessing the demands put forward by black people must be whether or not they meet the needs of the black community for survival and advancement, and not whether they conform to any rigidly defined 'stage' on the path to socialism, or whether they conform to things which can only be won under capitalism or within the framework of bourgeois legality."

- **Black Panthers** — the party was directed to "join forces and initiate cooperation with the Black Panther party in pursuit of . . . goals vital to the liberation of black people and the victory of the working class"; and further to support the Panther organization "in its determined effort to survive" and to defend it "against frameups, murder and harassment." (In a companion action delegates voted to support the campaign to free Huey Newton, imprisoned Black Panther leader, and took up a collection for his defense).

The sharpest political debate was precipitated by a substitute resolution on self-defense that was offered by a minority of the black liberation panel.

The substitute, going beyond a recognition of the right to self-defense, asserted: "We advocate armed self-defense as an increasingly important part

Communist convention snapes policy in key areas

(Continued from Page 1)

of the black community's ability to continue and develop its struggles for complete liberation."

The minority resolution was rejected by a vote of 146 to 80, with four abstentions.

CHICANO LIBERATION

The report by a panel on Chicano liberation generated considerable heat, and the policy statement it offered was finally referred to the new national committee after being approved "in spirit."

Twelve points for immediate action in this area were adopted. These included support for the Chicano general student strike on Sept. 16 (Mexico's Independence Day), support for the grape boycott, an instruction that "a theoretical analysis" be made of "the national status of the Chicano people"; a "positive evaluation of Chicano heroes, of the Cuban revolution and Che Guevara."

Policy statements on Indian liberation and the Puerto Rican minority were drafted in panels and adopted by the convention. So was a report on women's liberation.

ELECTORAL POLICY

In the electoral arena, the convention reaffirmed the party's tactic of activity on three levels — within the established two-party framework; with new, independent political formations, and through presentation of its own candidates and program.

Hall's report, however, placed great emphasis on the strategic objective of the three-levels tactic.

"The two-party system," he said, "remains a closed political class conglomerate. To break out of this entrapment remains the most crucial task for the

working class and the people of our land . . .

"The task of breaking out of the entrapment is not some objective for the future. It is a task to be worked on now. It is the inner theme of our electoral work on all levels."

He went on to argue that although Communists recognize "the two-party game of charades remains the base of political class rule," this fact is "not known or believed by the millions."

ARGUES FOR TACTIC

"It is very important for us to keep exposing the game of charades — to keep repeating the basic truth," he said. "But we know that by itself that it will not do the trick. What is true for us will not become a truth to the masses simply because we keep repeating it. We must learn to say it better, in more convincing ways — but that will not turn the tide.

"The necessary ingredient is experience in struggle. Discovery comes from trying to make something work, and millions are still trying to make the two-party system work.

"Our three-pronged electoral tactic is responsive to and geared to change this reality. It is responsive to the need to work with masses who are still trying to make it work. Our basic understanding of the truth should guide us to work in such a manner that through their own experience they will be convinced that the two-party system is a class entrapment.

"We have to convince them that it is a dead end unless they break out of the entrapment."

AMENDMENT LOSES

On the convention floor an

amendment was offered to a section of a resolution dealing with activity in the old parties. The amendment read: "It becomes our responsibility to raise issues sharply, sharpen the contradiction between leaders and rank-and-file members, constantly expose the entrapment of the bourgeois parties, and lead the breakaway of the most advanced sectors of the Democratic party."

The amendment was rejected, roughly two to one. It was offered as an addition to a passage that said it was necessary "to work toward the extension and deepening of the concept of independence among groups within the old parties, and especially toward the development of closer relationships with independent formations outside the two-party orbit."

This language was retained.

The issue of Czechoslovakia was joined in a brief resolution and a brief debate. Passed by an overwhelming majority, the resolution reaffirmed the position taken by the party's national committee "on the timely action of the Warsaw Pact nations in Czechoslovakia" and repudiated "the actions of those National Committee members who, following the national committee's action, defied its decisions and, in violation of the principles of democratic centralism . . . pursued . . . a stand of opposition to that adopted by the National Committee."

GREETINGS

The convention received a host of greetings from other Communist parties, including those in Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other Warsaw Pact countries, Korea, France, Chile and Uruguay.

The Soviet greeting concluded: "Proceeding from the many years of experience, your party always considered the most important condition of its successful activity the consolidation of its ranks on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, on the basis of a constant application of a class political line and of a principled struggle against 'Right' and 'Left' opportunism, against any deviations from the revolutionary teachings which have been proven in life."

'A NEW LEVEL'

Despite press rumors and speculations, Dorothy Healey of Los Angeles was the only prominent party leader to be omitted from the new national committee.

Mrs. Healey had announced some time back to her Los Angeles colleagues that she would not stand for re-election as the party's Southern California chairman. She linked her retirement from the national committee to that decision.

She declined to discuss her differences with national party leaders, although these — especially with respect to Czechoslovakia — are a matter of public record.

The principal documents before the convention — the Hall and Winston reports, a draft political resolution and the draft program — were adopted with only a few dissenting votes.

"I think," Hall said in his opening report, "our party has reached a qualitative turning point. We are now ready to move on to a new level of work. We are ready, and the new level of our struggle demands it."

UNITY CAN STOP WAR AND RACISM GUS HALL at the Communist Convention

By GUS HALL

Building a successful united front is frequently a complex task. Some trade unionists will lead long, hard-fought strikes, project healthy organizing drives, attack the war in Vietnam, make general statements against racism and call for making Dr. King's birthday a national holiday. The same leaders will red-bait if they think they can get away with it, let the grievances of their membership accumulate, make racist attacks on black members who demand they fight racism "at home." Yet these are among the elements who help make up a united front. We must master the ability of working unitedly with people who we take issue with on specific questions.

The surest way to build a united front at higher levels of trade union leadership is to base it on the militant movements of the rank-and-file.

The united front approach is not at all old hat. It is the key that opens the door to unity of struggle on all levels. Rank-and-file movements are basically united front movements. Our united front concept must be geared to the process of radicalization taking place.

The term "radicalization" is a broad sweeping term. It is related to other processes. It influences and it is influenced by many currents.

All these factors have created a new basis for a Left current in the working-class movement. These objective developments have made a Left current a necessity. But objective developments have never by themselves organized anything. We have to take the initiative. Together with other militants on all levels, we have to probe, to bring it together, to give it form.

What the struggles make necessary is an organized Left current based on a Left program of struggle. There

UNION MAGAZINE

MAY 10, 1969

Last week Communist leaders from 30 states met in New York for their party's 19th National Convention. They gathered, as the main resolution states, "to examine anew the struggles and movements in our country and in the world."

A section of Hall's main report is presented here. Next week's magazine will carry excerpts from Henry Winston's speech not available at press time.

Winston and Hall were reelected Chairman and General Secretary of the party respectively.

is no other reason for an organized Left.

It is needed to develop and to give the class struggle perspective, to give it a more basic class outlook.

It is needed to present a class viewpoint. It is needed to develop militant tactics. It is needed to develop a struggle against the Meany-Lovestone anti-labor conspiracy. It is needed to raise the struggle against racism in the productive process and in the life of the unions.

It is needed as a form of unity of the shop militants and activists, of black and white, of Communists and non-Communists. It is needed as a force for class political consciousness; for class electoral independence. It is needed to give leadership to the rank-and-file movements. It is needed as a force on the path to socialism.

A "Left" is a form of united front of the more advanced sector of the class. Relations with center forces in the Trade Unions on any level is on shifting sands unless there is an organized left current. It is the only way to influence the center. It is the only way the center can be separated from the right elements.

Because of the new problems of the class struggle, the Left can become the dominant influence in very short order. But it cannot do so if it is not a reflection of today's level of struggle and today's problems. It can be a factor only if it is related to the rising rank-and-file movements. It cannot become such a force on the basis of past performances or positions. It must fill the vacuum created by today's developments and by the refusal of the class-collaborationist leaders to respond to them.

The Left current can become the dominant influence if it takes an advanced position on some of the following questions:

1. **Automation:** The starting point must be the interest of the whole class. It must break with the concept of being concerned only with the workers who remain in the production process. Such a policy was an economic disaster for 600,000 coal miners. If a 4-hour or even 3-hour work day without any cuts in take-home pay is what is necessary to keep automation from throwing workers into the human scrap pile — then that is what must be fought for.

2. **Imperialism:** Today imperialism is not a matter of a few gunboats. It is an ugly, world-wide monster whose multi-national corporations have sunk their tentacles into every part of the globe.

All the problems of the working class are sharpened by the development of imperialism. It has tied together ever more closely the interests of all workers in the capitalist world. The development of an anti-imperialist consciousness in the working class movement has become an acute necessity. This is a task the Left must accept.

3. **Racism:** A class divided is a class at the mercy of its oppressors. The U.S. working class can effectively defend itself against the rising attacks and it can consider taking the offensive only to the extent that it takes on the struggle against racism and against its influences in its own ranks. This is a most vital matter of self-interest. Indeed, only if it earnestly addresses itself to the struggle against racism can the U.S. working class take its historic place as the leading force in the struggle for social progress.

Furthermore, only a Left that takes on this struggle and places it on a new level can win the leadership of its

class. It must be ready to accept and to give leadership to the establishment of new forms, such as city-wide industrial building trades locals, as a way of breaking through the racist bars in the building trades unions. It must develop special forms to break the lily-white leadership structures.

We are for a Left program that concretely takes up the task of eliminating every form of racism at every level of the production process and at every level of the trade union structure. The Left must be the force that unifies within itself the entire class, black and white — and then uses this as the base to fight racism in the industries and the unions.

4. Political Independence: Breaking out of the two-party entrapment remains the historic task facing the working class. This is the task the Left must take upon itself. It must present and fight for an independent class

position in elections. It must boldly initiate new forms of class independence. It must raise to a level of high principle the election of workers to public office.

The advanced Left position in these areas must be related to a Left position on the more direct self-interest issues such as job security, wages, taxes and the right to strike.

The Left must undertake the task of returning the base of union power to the rank and file. To democratize and revitalize the trade union movement is to assure the power of decision to the workers in the shops and departments. The shop steward system must be revived and built as an instrument of the rank and file. The right to strike must be firmly established as an inherent right of the shops and departments. The Left must lead in the new areas of the class struggle. It must break new ground for the class.

There is one question of the class struggle I have singled out for special comment. It is the idea that the socialist revolution can be brought about simply through higher demands — or, as some put it — qualitative demands. It is related to some wrong concepts put forth by people like Gorz and Marcuse.

There are some who think that all the trade unions have to do is to keep "upping the ante" — to keep raising their demands — without any regard or relationship to existing objective reality, and that this will force things to the point of no return and will thus create the conditions for the revolution.

Others say it is not so much a matter of upping the quantitative demands as of making the demands more basic — that is, of upping the demands qualitatively, and that this is what will do the trick. When some talk about invading management prerogatives, this is what they have in mind.

It should be clear that we are for higher

economic demands. We are for taking away prerogatives the bosses never should have had to start with.

But we must ask: What is the effect of demands in the area of what is called control of the process of production when the question of ownership of industry is not on the order of the day? When demands for workers' control are related to questions of change of ownership of industry from private to public, there are no problems. Now, some will say: "If that is the problem, why not throw in the idea of a take-over?" But that, of course, is nonsense unless the objective conditions are ripe for it. The idea that simply demanding control will create the objective conditions is no less nonsense.

Demands for control which are made when the objective conditions are not on a level for a take-over, tend to turn into their very opposite. They are then demands for control over industries that will continue to be privately owned and will continue to operate for private profit. Under these conditions, they become demands for a class partnership. They are based on the concept of labor and management operating the plant smoothly together. Even the struggle for such demands tends to create the partnership concept.

There is a legitimate question of restricting management prerogatives.

Under this doctrine, the corporations have set aside certain areas of plant operation as under the sole and undisputed control of "management," not subject to union negotiation. These sacrosanct areas usually embrace the speed of the assembly line, the nature and condition of safety measures, the ways and means of determining and dealing with health hazards, and the introduction of automation and other technological innovations, the shutting down of plants and moving operations elsewhere.

The harmful effects of automation under the control

of big business, the intensification of speedup, and the increase in accidents and health hazards have quickened the challenge of the workers to "management prerogatives" in these areas.

Some ideologists on the "New Left" have now raised the question of the fight against management prerogatives as being "revolutionary" in nature, seeking to set it against other important demands of the workers, especially wage demands. Some even go to the extent of describing the struggle for higher wages as corrupting and having anti-revolutionary influences on workers and the trade union movement.

The Communist Party rejects such doctrines. Both the struggle for higher wages and that against management prerogatives are struggles for reforms. Inherent in both struggles is the possibility of increasing the class-consciousness and socialist consciousness of the working class, if Communists and other class-conscious workers are in these struggles and exert such influence.

But so long as capitalism exploits workers, these workers and their unions will and must wage strikes and struggles for higher wages and related demands, as necessary protection against being driven into the most degrading conditions of life and work. And they must keep fighting to restrict management prerogatives.

But there are some yardsticks. The main one is that making capitalism operate better is not our business. Capitalism operates better only for bigger profits, only in squeezing more out of the workers, only for the greater domination of capital over labor.

Our interests are a one-way street. We are totally one-sided and incurably prejudiced against anything in the interests of the capitalist class. We are interested only in how to get more for the worker and how, as quickly as possible, to release the rich of all responsibilities including ownership.

From the 19th Convention, CPUSA:

An Open Letter to the Party

NEW YORK, May 9 — The 19th national convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., addressed an open letter to party members calling for activity to carry out tasks of party-building and support of the struggles of the working class, black liberation, peace and student movements, "and all other movements against monopoly domination."

Designating the tasks, the letter said "the thoughts and energies of all our leadership, at all levels, of the entire membership, must center on and be directed toward winning these objectives."

The letter was included in the report of Henry Winston, party chairman, which was adopted by the convention during its four-day session that ended last Sunday morning. The complete text of the 19th convention's Open Letter to the Party follows:

Dear Comrades:

"Greetings! On this May Day in the 50th year of our Party, the 19th Convention calls upon you to rally in unity and struggle to decisively build the Party among workers, black and white, in the basic trustified industries of our country.

We are in a period of struggles which are escalating into the proportions of a storm. Such can be the only outcome to the response to the working class, black liberation movement, the peace and student movements, to the tremendously intensified exploitation and the attacks of the ruling class. Such can be the only outcome of the Nixon administration's policies.

Increasingly, the struggles for black liberation, for peace, student rights, for the rights of all the oppressed, tend to align themselves with the class struggle. The class struggle itself has become sharper. Strikes, many of them long and bitter, have become so

commonplace that the capitalist mass media deliberately fails to report them, or downplays them.

The strike wave attains record dimensions in the face of the unprecedented concentration of the whole state apparatus, the mass media, and the ideological agents of imperialism, in and out of the labor movement, to mobilize and demobilize the working class.

The fires of these struggles and these conditions serve to temper and radicalize the working class at a vastly accelerated tempo. We live in times in which class and revolutionary consciousness can mature in days and weeks, whereas it would take months and years in so-called normal times. Nowadays, workers are quickly learning the need for organization and are fighting for it.

Communist initiative which stands four-square on class struggle policies, can help to develop left movements, can help shape and direct spontaneous movements to proper channels of struggle against oppression.

We live in times in which the Communist Party can and must be built quickly in the workshops of our country. We live in times in which the rapid growth of the Party in industry is the most important imperative before us.

For, without us, the full potential of mighty movements now developing, cannot and will not become movements of struggle against monopolies. Without this, the full potential of the black liberation movement, the peace and student movements, and all other movements against monopoly domination, would not emerge united into a powerful stream of working-class full struggle for social advancement.

Imagine if there were a strong influential Communist Party in steel, auto, aircraft, electronics transport, and other basic industries, uniting black and white Puerto Rican, Mexican and Indian workers! This would immediately bring about a decisive qualitative change in the prospects for victory in the major task confronting our class and people today.

In the 1930's the organization of the basic, trustified industries could not be done without the unity of black and white. This, in turn, could not be done without the decisive role of the Communist Party, especially at the point of production and in the working class community.

Today, the unrelenting struggle against racism and the fight for unity of black and white must be approached to include other oppressed sections of the working

class, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian, to extend on a new and more advanced level, the level of general advance and offensive for equality and dignity on the whole front.

This cannot be won without the decisive role of the Communist Party among the basic industrial workers, for it is here that the revolutionary leadership can and will come to unite the class struggle with the struggle for black liberation, for women's emancipation, for the rights of the young generation, for the rights of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians and other oppressed minorities into a general assault on the citadel of monopoly capital, common oppressor and enemy of all.

It is here that the resources and energies can and will come to complete the task of organizing the unorganized, first of all in the south, but also generally among the low paid and all the legions of new entering into the ranks of the working class. It is from here that the working class through the struggle to fulfill these tasks will emerge as an independent force, politically and ideologically, thereby rising to a qualitative new stage in its onward march to leadership of the nation with state power to socialism.

The political strike of the West Virginia coal miners is the harbinger of the directions in which our class is aspiring and moving. Thirty-six years ago the Party issued its renowned open letter calling the Party to a policy of concentration in the basic and production industries. The whole

Party unitedly responded to that call.

As a result the basis was laid for the successful organizing drive which unionized trustified industry. The Party grew into the largest and most influential force for socialism in our country. This was because it devoted all its time, thought and energy to the chief historic task before our class and people at that time.

Today our class is reaching out in struggle to win for itself and its allies a qualitative new status, to achieve political independence, in the setting of a new, a people's course for our country on the basis of the successful completion of the tasks discussed in this letter.

Our responsibility and duty is clear, to be with our class in the struggle for the attainment of this historic goal. For this purpose, we call the whole Party to make a decisive turn to build the Party and the press among the workers in basic industry, in auto, steel, aircraft, electronics and transport, first of all, in all industrial centers of our country, with special attention to the south.

This calls for an all-out policy of concentration. We call upon every District, Section and Club,

An open letter to Communists

Continued from page 9

upon every member to unite in the struggle for a policy of concentration upon workers in the basic sectors of industry.

We call for sustained and determined drives to bring the industrial membership of the Party up to 50% of a much larger Party by the 20th Convention.

We call on every District, section and club to immediately establish goals for shop and industrial clubs, for concentration and recruitment and press building, to be fulfilled by January 1, 1970, as the opening stage in the battle for concentration, for the policy of the 19th Convention.

Fifty new shop and industrial clubs by January 1st!

One thousand new readers of the Communist press in concentration plants by January 1st!

Thousands of new readers for the left labor press by January 1st!

The thoughts and energies of all our leadership, at all levels, of the entire membership, must center on and be directed toward winning these objectives.

The eight months following this convention, to January 1st, must be marked by an accelerated tempo of work aimed at decisively turning the Party to the working class, to extend its ties with our class by thousands of unbreakable links, to extend its leadership and influence to tens and hundreds of thousands in all sectors of the people's movements.

Thus will we make a decisive contribution and fulfill our vanguard role in advancing the unity of our people in struggle against the monopolist enemy and for working class power — for socialism in our country.

OREGON C.P. SPLITS

The young members of the Oregon Communist Party have left the Party as a group. This is a brief statement of the reasons for their action.

In this country, the motives which have led people to leave the Communist Party tend to be much less praiseworthy than the motives which led them to join it. People get tired and cynical; they lose hope and they drift away from the Party. The process can be painted in a variety of ideological hues, and it can be put in a more or less valid intellectual-moral framework, but in essence it usually amounts to a gradual transition from a highly organized and concentrated political life into a largely a-political private life - into one's job, one's home, one's family.

Now, things are happening a little differently. The Movement in this country passed from a stage of criticism of the Communist Party because it was seen as a disciplined revolutionary organization to a stage of criticism of the Party for failing to be a disciplined revolutionary organization without ever pausing in between. Now, people are leaving the Party, and, more important, people are not joining it, not because they are unable or unwilling to work in a communist framework, but because they don't see the Communist Party as a communist organization.

We left the Communist Party because, in our opinion, it is no longer possible for its members to work like communists. The obstacles to changing the Party into a revolutionary organization have grown at the same time as the development of the Movement has made a revolutionary party both more necessary and more possible. At this time the Party has become so isolated as an organization from the meaningful centers of activity, and is so riddled with opportunists and reformists, that continued involvement in it has become a diversion from, and evasion of, real revolutionary political work.

We don't intend to wither-away after leaving the Communist Party. Our intention is to stay together in a number

of communist collectives and to put out much more effort to expand the base of radical activity and organization in the Portland area. At the same time, we will be building working relationships with the communist collectives that are developing from the Movement in other areas of the country.

|| Don Hamerquist