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Inside

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT REPORT FROM SECRETARIAT

Interlake Steel

WORKER KILLED

On September 20, at Chicago's Interlake Steel Inc., Sartoris Nikolakis was killed. A coal conveyor belt sucked him up and bashed in his head. He was a new, young worker, studying at nights; his wife was eight-months pregnant. With a guard rail around this belt, the accident would never have occurred.

He is but one of many steel workers who have been seriously injured or died in the last few years. At Interlake, recently, one brother had both legs cut off when caught between couple cars; two other workers were seriously burned when a valve exploded after workers had pleaded for a year to get the valve replaced.

Throughout the steel industry casualties in mills are tragically rising. From 1961 to 1969, accidents rose 80%; since 1970, 125%. The rate in 1972 was 6.5 serious accidents per one hundred workers a year, twice the national average.

The cause of this high accident rate is easy to see. In the first place corporation profits come before the worker. (Steel profits rose 145% from 1970-1973, 65% in 1974 and 85% in the first quarter of 1975.) The capitalist tries to get more and more productivity from each worker, wearing him down, making him more prone in his haste and weariness to fatal accidents. At the same time, machines and tools are either not repaired or fixed with band-aids in order to keep the profits high. For example, in March, Wayne Ricketts, in a company productivity drive was struck on the head when improperly stacked steel shifted. U.S. Steel set a record for production that day, while Ricketts' parents got an \$8000 life insurance award.

Assisting these capitalists in the killing and maiming of workers are the union misleaders, I.W. Abel and his crew. All along they have helped the capitalists in their drive for the highest productivity and maximum profits. They have allowed the companies to cut back the number of steelworkers from 565,000 in 1945 to 364,000 a year ago, while tonnage has increased 40%. I.W. Abel continues to serve on President Ford's National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality which is seeking ways to slash the work force while speeding production. Abel and his gang also secretly signed the ENA, taking away one of our main weapons in correcting safety conditions—the strike.

Last, but not least, is the connivance of the federal government with the steel companies. OSHA, whose standards were never high, is now being totally ignored. The mills have applied for greater time to get things fixed because of the "energy crisis" and have used OSHA and EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) orders as excuses for massive lay-offs. The government, bought and sold by the capitalists, readily does what they ask.

Given this situation, many brothers and sisters have asked what is to be done. In order to defend and preserve ourselves now and eventually get rid of capitalism, the root of our problems, we must build a strong united

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The POLITICAL PAPER of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY of the UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE

"The Communist's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression." Lenin



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DONATION 10¢

Chicago

STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

Although our government constantly tries to convince us that the economic crisis is over, the statistics tell us otherwise. Inflation continues to soar, prices are rapidly rising, real wages are plummeting and unemployment increases. Workers across the country continue to strike for better wages and working conditions while others roam the streets in search of a job. Workers of all nationalities have been hit by this crisis, but the Negro worker in particular has been hit the hardest. For him, unemployment is 34% and there is no relief in sight. Even our "distinguished" government officials must admit that this high unemployment amongst Negro workers will remain even if the economy goes back into full swing.

It is within this context that the Council of Metropolitan Employees has begun taking direct action against the Hi-Low market chain in Chicago, Illinois, for the firing of 25 Negro national minority butchers.

These men were hired in 1968 by Hi-Low after much struggle by the Negro national minority workers for their equal rights in the 1950's and

60's and the fact that many of these stores are located in the Negro national minority community of Chicago. This was the first time in the history of this chain of markets that Negro butchers were hired. And now that the economic crisis has resulted in high unemployment for many national minority workers as well as Anglo-American workers, Hi-Low has fired these workers and replaced them with Anglo-American butchers.

This particular case is not unusual or a recent phenomenon for the Negro worker. Since the Civil War when the Negro people were "freed" from slavery, the Negro worker has been unable to participate in the work force as a member with equal opportunity both in relationship to employment and skill.

Many workers remember the Great Depression of the 1930's, but for the Negro worker that depression hit long before 1930. By 1927 widespread unemployment was experienced by them. And in the early months of 1929, when the economy was flourishing as never before, 1/5 of all Ne-

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NEW YORK

BANKS STRANGLE CITY

When Abraham Beame was sworn in as the 104th Mayor of New York City, he wept and described the inauguration as "wedding our people to their city." Today New York City is 3.3 billion dollars in debt and by June 1, 1976, the city will owe over \$7 billion in interest and debts due; more than it receives in one year of taxes.

The stranglehold which the banks have on New York City is immense. New York and other municipalities throughout the USNA find themselves in the same position as industry. In order to expand they must borrow huge amounts. The banks lend money to both with the stipulation that their representatives make the decisions on how the money is to be spent. Having control of industry, banks are now squeezing the local, state and federal governments. This is done through the control of bonds. A bond is a debt agreement. When governments sell bonds, they are in effect borrowing money from the buyer to be paid back with interest. Over the last 15 years, municipal bonds have been a particularly attractive investment, because the money made from them is not taxed. Presently, there are over \$90 billion in bonds issued by municipalities throughout the USNA; banks hold half of these bonds and are rapidly buying more. They have invested in bonds so heavily since 1961 that their taxes have dropped from 38% of their income to 16%.

New York City is not managed any more corruptly or poorly than any other major city, its financial crisis is just the first of many because it is so heavily in debt. New York's serious troubles began over 60 years ago when it had to borrow huge amounts of money to build the subways. It

is still paying off this debt! The city budget is over \$13 billion. New York collects \$6.4 billion in taxes, gets \$4.5 billion from state and federal funds and raises \$.3 billion more from various things such as selling blood, school lunches, renting sewers and Shea Stadium. This leaves them almost \$2 billion short which forces them to turn to Wall St. Presently, New York has sold \$12 billion in bonds, half of them to the banks. The banks have found this a very profitable situation and have invested 23% of their equity capital in NYC bonds.

Last February, the City was faced with paying the interest on its loans or paying its other bills. The banks informed the city fathers that the interest must be paid or no more loans. Although they were paid first, the leading bankers decided they needed more direct control of the City's money and on Memorial Day weekend David Rockefeller (Chase Manhattan), E.C. Patterson (Morgan Guaranty & Trust) and Bill Spencer (City National) met at the home of Dick Shinn (Rockefeller owned Metropolitan Life Insurance.) Here they worked out the plan for the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac). Big Mac is a board of bank executives who decide how New York City money will be spent and where it will come from.

By mid-summer MAC was directing the spending of all city money. In August, the bankers demanded control of state money going to New York City. Governor Carey had to give into their demands because the state bonds are owned by the same banks who own the city bonds and 67% of the jobs in this state are in New York City. In the beginning of September, the state legislature ad-

opted a MAC sponsored plan to help pay New York city's bank bills. Gov. Carey took \$700 million from the city and state worker's pension funds, promised the banks the city taxes due Jan. 1, 1976 and sold \$250 million of NYC bonds. Thus on Sept. 15, the City was able to pay its bills including the \$.5 billion interest debt. The day before this debt was paid, the banks upped the interest rates 1.5% and made an extra \$10 million.

These measures were supposedly taken to prevent the City from default. Default means unable to pay bills, it is the stage before legal bankruptcy. If the situation doesn't change, by Dec. 15, the City will face crisis. This time there will be no tax monies (already spent), and no pension funds left to steal from.

Actually, default means different things to different people. To the bankers, it means very little, as Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, publicly stated, the Federal government will pay back the bank loans if the city fails to. But to the working people, default means an end to union contracts, an end to welfare and sanitation, an end to health care and other city services.

But the city and state politicians have pleaded with the federal government for money to bail NYC out, for the City owes the banks twice what the Penn Central did when it was supported by federal funds. But Washington is not anxious to do this. How long will it take before Tom Bradley, Richard Daley and Coleman Young all demand the same thing? Further, the government can either print the money and give it to NYC (thus upping inflation) or take it from already

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PRISONERS APPEAL

CLP STATEMENT -

THE REAL CRIMINALS

Last week Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee, two Negro workers, left Florida State Prison after 12 years on death row, where they almost died. They were pardoned after another man confessed to the murders for which they had been convicted. This outrageous situation is not an isolated instance, but another example of the continued oppression of the Negro people, and a further example of the vicious white chauvinism and injustice which increasingly characterize the system of "justice" in the USNA.

Day after day, week after week, year after year, we read exposures of the prison system—corruption, riots, inhuman drug experiments, brutality, homosexuality, suicide, and murder. Time and again the lackeys of the imperialists—under the banner of law and order—call for more brutality and repression in the prisons, for stiffer sentences, for indeterminate sentences and more punishment and less rehabilitation. At the same time, for the Negro and other national minority workers the vicious repression is not limited to the prisons. As the economic crisis deepens and capital is more and more threatened by the militancy of the working class, the streets become prisons as violent and dangerous as the penitentiaries.

The true nature of the state in general, and the prisons in particular, under capitalism, stands nakedly apparent in the USNA. 90% of the laws of this country are concerned with property. 7 out of every 8 crimes committed are crimes against property. Almost the entire prison population of the country is drawn from the "lower" classes—the percentages of prisoners by nationality reveal that the hardest blows of the state are falling on the minorities and especially upon the Negro for whom the odds are several times greater that he will be arrested, convicted, charged, and receive a harsher sentence than an Anglo-American suspected of the same crime. Where the Anglo-American is let off with a warning, the Negro is imprisoned.

The proof of this rotten white chauvinism and national oppression lies in the fact that while Negroes account only 13% of the total population of this country, they comprise almost 40% of the prison population. For the main crimes of robbery, murder and possession of weapons the ratio of arrests between Anglo-Americans and Negroes is 15 to 1—this proves not that Negroes commit more crimes but that their likelihood of being arrested for the crime is 15 to 1 as against the Anglo-American. This ratio is 8 to 1 for forcible rape and assault, and 4 to 1 for almost all other major crimes.

Although every citizen is assured the right to trial by a jury of his peers statistics show that Negro, Mexican and Puerto Rican national minorities are systematically excluded from jury duty and are treated more severely by the courts. National data on executions proves that more Negroes are executed than Anglo-Americans. In the West and Southwest the Mexican national minority comprises the other major section of the prison population—in California almost 2/3 of all prisoners are Negro or Mexican although they comprise a much smaller percentage of the state's population.

But we ask: In these times of extreme economic crisis, who are the real criminals? As a result of the current crisis, the fascist drive of finance capital especially in the form of violent white chauvinism, drives the national minority worker deeper into poverty and desperation. The bourgeoisie cautions the "white" worker that the source of his ills is the national minority worker. As the workers fight back, they are thrown out of jobs, onto the streets and into prison,

while the real criminals, the proven criminals such as Nixon, go free; the Erlichmans, Kerners and other lackeys of finance capital are "convicted" and "sentenced" to private resort accommodations for a few months while the sons and daughters of the working class are terrorized in penitentiaries.

Prisons originally were made for workers who could not find work or pay their debts. The situation has changed little. The criminal situation which finds the prisons swollen with national minority workers, many innocent of any crime, is not the fault of the working class or of certain "criminal types." This criminal situation is the creation of the capitalist system. The economic crisis, with its deterioration of the standard of life for the toiling strata of the population, hunger, unemployment, chauvinism and national oppression—all are products of the capitalist system which cares for only one thing: increased profit for a narrower and narrower circle of finance capitalists. In the name of maximum profit these imperialists are willing to inflict any and every misery and degradation on the working people of this country. They are the real criminals! The toiling masses are their unwilling victim and as working people fight against this increasingly vicious oppression, prisons fill to overflowing, unemployment lines grow longer and the violence of fascist thugs against the working class escalates.

We condemn the vicious capitalist system and its benefactors, the Fords, the Rockefellers and the rest of their parasitic class, as the real criminals! We support the struggle of prisoners for their civil rights and for a decent life.

TO WHOM THIS MAY CONCERN:

We are writing in behalf of Frank Price III, Andrew Henderson, and Jerry D. Williams. These three Black men are being held in the Coahoma County Jail facing a murder charge. There are others who are charged with murder but these three Black men are the only ones facing a Death Penalty.

The reason they are facing the Death Penalty is because a white lady was killed, whereas others are charged in killing Blacks. The justice they are getting at present has eyes that see the color of the skin, that act upon the basis of whether or not you are Black or White.

In fact, Frank Price III has already been given the Death Penalty. This is a case where the state says you are just as guilty as the others for doing nothing. Also saying that my actions are your actions. It is a fact that Frank Price III did not have a fair trial. The D.A. removed every Black person from the jury who was able to write his or her own name and understand what was really being said in the courtroom. The rights of these three Black men as Americans have been abused.

Another man is facing the same charge on the 18th of August. His name is Andrew Henderson. It is a fact that a lady was killed, but that is the only fact. They have guns but cannot say which one killed her. They have witnesses but they cannot say who shot whom. This is why we are asking for the help of concerned Black asking for the help of concerned Blacks who are interested in helping the three blacks that are being held in the Coahoma County Jail.

If there is anything at all you may be able to tell us or advise us as to how to reach the people who stand for a fair trial rather than one that takes sides, we will appreciate it. Please, Frank Price III needs an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The following is a letter from 18 prisoners in the Southern Ohio Correction Facility, Lucasville, Ohio.

For many years prisoners have desperately sought, through various means, to enlighten the public as to what is really happening in Ohio prisons. Sporadic investigations by the State Highway Patrol, Justice Department, and Correction officials has been only cursory. Since these agencies work hand in hand with each other; no serious investigation has ever been made. Consequently, anything which was accidentally uncovered during these farcical investigations, was immediately concealed and forgotten.

On behalf of all the prisoners in Ohio prisons, we demand a thorough and extensive investigation be made of the entire Ohio prison system; particularly an investigation of the prison at Lucasville, Ohio. Said investigation to be made by a group or committee of persons not affiliated with any law enforcement or other governmental agency. All findings of such an investigation to be made public.

Requests have been made (to no avail) for investigations into the following incidents and practices at the Southern Ohio Correction Facility:

1. Three women visitors were assaulted on Mother's Day 1974 by guards' wives, who were on the picket line during a strike.
2. Approximately \$60,000 had to be paid to prisoners by the Claims Board in Columbus, for the loss of personal property which was stolen or destroyed by rampaging prison guards, during a 1973 shake-down of the prison.
3. The barbaric "silence system" is enforced in J-2 cellblock. Any prisoner caught talking or making any kind of noise is either sprayed with "mace" and beaten or given additional time in solitary; depending upon the mood of the guards.
4. Over 100 prisoners have been stabbed, many of whom died as a result; in the three years that the prison at Lucasville has been open. From all these acts of violence, only one prisoner has been tried and convicted. WHY?
5. Why and how did inmate Campbell die in the prison hospital at S.O.C.F.?
6. Three prisoners have supposedly committed suicide, since May, 1975, by hanging themselves. In each case, other prisoners swear they heard the "suicide victims" cells being unlocked and then a commotion within the cell, a few hours before a guard reportedly discovered the prisoner dead. Two of these alleged suicides occurred in the disciplinary section of the prison (J-Block) and both men had recently sustained beatings by prison guards prior to their deaths. The last of these three suicides occurred on August 21, 1975. This prisoner had been beaten and placed in solitary the day prior to his death, for supposedly spitting upon a guard. Were autopsies performed on these three prisoners to ascertain the

Therefore, we are looking for someone higher upward ready to really help these three Black men that face a death sentence while one of them has been sentenced (Frank Price III). Any kind of advice or help you can give will be appreciated. Thank you.

Beverly Price, Wife
950 Gooden Cove, No. 1
Clarksdale, MS 38614
Phone No. 624-9826

Vivian Henderson, Wife
720 Garfield Street
Clarksdale, MS 38614
Phone No. 627-1429

EDUCATION COLUMN China — National Day

This October 1 marks the 26th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China. The great victory of the Chinese people was a mighty blow to imperialism; the continued development of the Chinese revolution in building a socialist China is an enormous contribution to the struggle of the people of the world. Twenty-six years ago, China was a backward, semi-colonial, oppressed country racked by starvation, exploitation and oppression; today she is a strong and free Socialist country whose space satellites circle the world. The Chinese people today enjoy great social, political, and economic freedoms. Truly, as Mao Tse Tung declared in 1949, "The Chinese People have stood up!"

The Chinese revolution fought against great odds for many years. The struggle against feudalism and imperialism began in 1840 with the war against the British who forced the importation of opium. It went on through wars with France (1862, 1883-5), Russia (1860, 1868), and Japan (1894-5) and the allied armies of all the imperialist powers including the USNA in 1900. In 1911 the Republican revolution did away with the old monarchy and provided a better basis for struggling against imperialism. In 1919, the May 4th Movement was a mighty wave of demonstrations and uprisings against imperialism. Then the great October Revolution in Russia showed the way to the world's peoples. In 1921, the Communist Party of China was formed, with 12 delegates at the first Congress, representing a few hundred members. By 1931, the first Soviet government was declared which governed 9 million people by 1934. In 1932, Japan attacked China again. On the heroic "Long March" of 1935, the revolutionary forces traveled over 6,000 miles on foot, crossing 18 mountain ranges and 24 rivers in 368 days, fighting 15 major battles along the way. When the war with the Japanese was won in 1945, the Civil War against the reactionary forces continued until Chiang Kai-Shek and all of his forces were driven to Taiwan despite massive USNA Aid, in 1949.

Today, the world-shaking, victorious Chinese Revolution stands as a red beacon to the peoples of the world, lighting the way to socialism. Established by great sacrifice over long years of struggle and despite enormous obstacles, the People's Republic of China is a mighty bulwark of the world revolution. We join with the workers and oppressed people of the world in Celebrating China's National Day.

cause of death? Or did the State Highway Patrol and Coroner accept the prison officials' contention that it was suicide, and therefore, neglected their duty to investigate and examine the bodies? How did prison officials explain the bruises and other marks upon the bodies of these prisoners? Did anyone attempt to discover why any of these men would conceivably take his own life? (An investigation could get the answer to these questions.)

Some people will naturally reject any thought of these three men being assisted in committing suicide. However, such happenings still warrant a thorough and extensive investigation. We prisoners are entitled to the same protection as any other citizen. To quote Chief Justice Warren in the case of Trop v. Dulles (1958) "Citizenship is not a license that expires upon misbehavior." If, and we do mean if, these men actually did take their own lives, an investigation should then be made to determine what horrors drove these men to the point where they chose to die, rather than to continue living.

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BUTCHERS

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gro workers employed in industry had already been thrown out of work. The old saying "Last to be hired, first to be fired" is a constant factor for the Negro worker. Not only had the Negro been barred from the skilled trades and many unskilled jobs, they were now being replaced by Anglo-American young girls as porters, waiters, hotel workers and domestics. In the South, where the highest paying job a Negro could get was digging ditches, even this "opportunity" was retracted and these jobs also given to Anglo-Americans without work. Even during WWII when the economy was given a real boost, due to war production, the situation was not that much better. Although many more Negro workers were allowed to enter production as unskilled workers, they were still barred from the skilled trades due to both the employers and the reactionary AFL craft unions.

The examples of the discrimination against Negro workers both in their oppressed homeland, the Negro Nation, or in Anglo-America are numerous. But we must ask ourselves, why is it that the Negro worker has always been discriminated against? The answer lies at the heart of the imperialist system itself. The Negro Nation is a colony of the oppressor Anglo-American nation. And this national oppression follows the Negro wherever he goes. In Anglo-America he is a second-class citizen who during economic boom is used but during economic crisis faces desperation. The imperialists have skillfully divided the workers along national lines. They have fed lies to the Anglo-American worker and backed them up with economic bribes. The Anglo-American worker is usually sure of a job, and with this economic stability he is allowed a superior social position. Nowhere in any capitalist country can a worker hire maids and domestics. And these domestics are men and women of the oppressed nationalities. The imperialists for hundreds of years have worked hard to maintain the oppression of the Negro Nation and have propagated the ideology of white chauvinism, convincing the Anglo-American worker that he is superior to workers of other "colored" nationalities. And after years of these lies and chauvinist propaganda, a significant section of the Anglo-American workers have been deluded into believing that they are superior and have fought against class unity in order to maintain their privileged social position. However, although they have accepted this bribe from the imperialists, they cannot and will not receive it forever. As the economic crisis deepens, and the imperialists are forced to make a larger section of the working class here in the USNA bear the burden of the crisis, the Anglo-American worker will feel this brunt. Up until now, the imperialists have been able to secure their super-profits thus enabling them to force the colonies and oppressed nationalities here in the USNA to bear this burden. And unless the Anglo-American worker starts to struggle against the division created in the working class and militantly reject the poisonous ideology of white chauvinism, the working class will be defenseless in the face of the fascist drive.

The discrimination against the Negro worker has always been used to hurt the Anglo-American worker. Where the Negro was excluded from industry, the Anglo-American suffered. The capitalists used discrimination like a club over the heads of both sections of the working class. As he discriminated against the Negro, he lowered the wages of the Anglo-American. When allowed into the unions and industry however, the Negro worker was the most militant and steadfast in the struggle for a decent life for the working class. Union after union was forced to admit that the entrance of Negroes into their un-

ions brought strength and solidarity. Although discriminated against and segregated for hundreds of years, the Negro worker, when given the chance, fought alongside of the Anglo-American workers in the struggle for better wages and working conditions and union recognition.

This particular situation in Chicago with the Negro butchers unfortunately conforms to the history of the role delegated to the Negro in the organized labor movement. Today the capitalists have not only tried and true methods of discrimination, but they have a new weapon in their arsenal, affirmative action. Affirmative action is supposed to ensure that national minorities and women are allowed into the work force. When the company is hiring, they hire national minority workers and women workers rather than Anglo-Americans in order to fill their "quota". When lay-off time comes however, these workers due to their lack of seniority, are first to be let go. Affirmative action is used to divide the workers. To the Anglo-American who does not get the job and who may have more experience, the hiring of a Negro or woman in place of himself, makes him angry and whips up his white chauvinism and male supremacy. He doesn't direct his anger and struggle against the company, but rather blames the Negro for his losing the job.

The Negro butchers in Chicago face a similar situation. Our Party and all honest workers support the seniority system. It is a right that workers for decades have struggled hard to get and maintain. But seniority presupposes equal opportunity. Equal opportunity in employment and skill training does not exist. We do not support the firing of Anglo-American workers in order to hire workers of other nationalities, we do support full employment for all workers, regardless of nationality. However, the Negro butchers in Chicago, many of whom have more seniority than the butchers being brought in to take their jobs, have been denied the rights of the seniority system. It appears that seniority applies only to Anglo-Americans and not to Negroes.

The struggle of these butchers is not isolated to only this industry or union. The struggle for full employment is taking place across the country. The struggle against discrimination militantly continues in the factories, the mines, mills, schools, unemployment lines and welfare offices. The call of these Negro butchers is "Labor in the white skin can never be free if in the black it is branded." This slogan correctly characterizes the situation and must be supported if anyone is to make gains.

The CLP supports these workers in their struggle for equal rights and full employment. We urge all workers to support them and fight for full employment and against discrimination. Do not repeat the tragedies of the past. If the workers don't learn from the mistakes of others, they will be forced to relive them, but this time under the brutal arm of a fascist state. As long as workers continue to fight amongst themselves, they will be unable to direct their blows at the real enemy. Daily the capitalist class is eroding the civil rights of all workers. Union after union now have no-strike clauses. The government has passed thousands of laws that allow the President more power than Hitler had. To fight amongst one another only means to allow the capitalists to reap more profits and deny civil rights.

The unity of the working class is the most pressing task before us. All workers, regardless of nationality, must struggle for this unity. Supporting these Negro butchers is a step in that direction.

**FREE THE NEGRO NATION
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED
PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!**

**BILINGUAL EDUCATION - BUSING
ONE FIGHT**

We are in a period of struggle within this country to maintain hard-earned rights that the working class won. The bourgeoisie is moving towards destroying the few gains in educational opportunity that resulted from the struggles of the national minorities particularly in the 1960's. It is no accident that fascist organizations such as the KKK and ROAR are becoming more visible and vocal with the move towards the integration of northern schools. It is no accident that Ford expresses anti-busing sentiments and at the same time, vetoes a Congressional bill for education that includes federal monies supporting bilingual education programs. It is no accident that on the brink of implementing a full scale bilingual program in New York City with the Aspira consent decree, the city is on the verge of a financial disaster because the banks are unwilling to give up their profits thereby weakening any chances for bilingual education. What is even more dangerous is that it is no accident that national minority workers are being pitted against each other in their attempts to maintain and expand the rights for a better education and against oppression. For the bourgeoisie, the antagonism that is developing between bilingual education and integration will help to further the divisions and weaken the objective unity of the working class in recognizing the real enemy.

The question of busing has commenced much discussion from the revolutionary movement on which position is correct: anti-busing or pro-busing? Many revolutionaries in their quest for laboratory purity in the revolutionary movement have taken an incorrect stand on this question. Their anti-busing stand has many "principled" reasons, ranging from community control of neighborhood (segregated) schools to the substitution of sloganeering for thinking as in the saying, "Oppose what the enemy supports and support what the enemy opposes."

The struggle over busing is an extremely explosive one, dividing Anglo-American from national minority, parents from children, husbands from wives. The struggle for busing is a struggle for integration. Alongside of the Negro national minority, this question of busing has hit hard at the Puerto Rican community both in Boston and New York City. And also the question of busing has been used to divide Puerto Ricans from Negroes as the bourgeoisie delivers their ultimatums - busing or bilingual education.

Particularly in Boston and New York, the Puerto Rican community has been a victim of the anti-busing fascist terror. The bourgeoisie skillfully projecting the idea of "racism" has tried to split up the Puerto Rican families based on skin shades and even worse, as an excuse to destroy bilingual education. The bourgeoisie is moving in deliberate ways to annihilate the gains of the Puerto Rican and Negro national minority communities for a better education. The struggle for a decent education for the national minority children is an expression of the struggle of these oppressed peoples for their national liberation. This struggle includes both the fight for busing and bilingual education.

This struggle however, of the national minority workers has pitted one against the other. The struggle for bilingual education and integration have been turned into hostile forces in the battleground of Boston. Nor has it been confined to Boston, for the rumbling is heard in Cleveland, New York and Wilmington, Delaware, to name a few.

The multi-national Anglo-American working class must understand that the fight for integration and bilingual education is the struggle for socialism. It is through the struggle

for these basic rights of the national minority workers that the unity of the class is forged. As long as education remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie, no child will receive an equal quality education. Working class children, and especially national minority children are subjected to the most humiliating chauvinism and degradation in the schools. They are confronted with the tracking system and the pressure to "conform". And due to the severe segregation, national minority children are isolated from the mainstream of society. Segregation and isolation are weapons that the bourgeoisie encourages so that their control cannot be threatened, but in fact, maintained. It is when the working class is united that the bourgeoisie runs scared. All revolutionary struggles, in order to be effective, need to consolidate the strength and organization of the working class. All revolutionary organizations must respond in particular to the just demands of the national minority workers theoretically and in practice. The successful revolutions from the great Soviet has proven this.

An important aspect of the struggle of the unity of the working class is the struggle for bilingual education. The class is multi-lingual and it has been the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie that has prevented workers of different nationalities from speaking, reading, and writing in their native tongue. In order to ensure working class solidarity, bilingual communication should be the demand of every facet of this society from the trade unions to the schools. The bourgeoisie recognizes the importance of bilinguality by encouraging it within its own class. In this way, they can control the communication channels. But for the working class, it enforces monolinguality. The reason is clear, to further the divisions amongst the working class.

The CLP calls on all revolutionary groupings to support the struggle for busing and bilingual education. Only by actively supporting busing with the demand that bilingual education be provided in every school where there is even one Puerto Rican or Hispanic child, can we move to even more long range needs. By isolating the struggle for bilingual education from integration, we weaken both battles and inevitably the whole working class movement against the bourgeoisie and its fascist arms ROAR and the KKK. In unification there is strength. Let us unite in demanding the elimination of private school education and force the bourgeois children to attend school with the working class. Let us reinforce the strength of the working class by uniting around the slogans:

**SUPPORT BUSING!
SUPPORT BILINGUAL
EDUCATION!
NATIONALIZE EDUCATION!
INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO
RICO!
FREE THE NEGRO NATION!**

For more information about the Communist Labor Party USNA or about the People's Tribune, write:

P.O. Box 170
Brooklyn, N.Y., 11217

P.O. Box 24241
Bayview Station,
San Francisco, CA.

P.O. Box 3774
Chicago, Ill., 60654

P.O. Box 783
Linwood Station
Detroit, Mich. 48206

P.O. Box 72306
Watts Station
Los Angeles, CA.

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collected taxes, probably from HEW. Both are politically harmful to Washington. Both of these solutions solve nothing and only expand the crisis, yet the Feds themselves have floated over \$90 billion in bonds, half to banks. So, if there appears no way out Federal help for the short run can be expected.

The final solution from the bankers point of view is Big Mac!

Big Mac has issued a plan for city spending that takes money out of the public sector and spends it repaying bank loans. The details of this plan are as follows. Freeze the wages of the 330,000 city workers, raise the transit fare 45% and lay-off the older workers before they can collect their pensions, this has been accomplished. Within the next six months, Big Mac plans to freeze welfare payments and welfare rolls, raise the transit fare another 20%, tax the bridges, lay-off thousands of city employees, reduce the school and sanitation budgets and close the 19 public hospitals.

The public reaction to this program is outrage. The working class in NYC already pays 79.6% of the taxes, while Rockefeller Center, the banks and Tiffanys get further tax reductions. Several community groups have staged protests and demonstrations against the Big Mac plan. Of these, Welfare Workers for Justice and the Brooklyn Unemployed Council have been the most militant. The WWJ have begun a program to increase the welfare grants, reduce the subway fare for welfare recipients, end face to face harassment and issue food stamps to all unemployed and minimum wage workers. The Brooklyn Unemployed Council which has been struggling for full employment at the expense of the military budget and for quality education through busing, held a rally against transit fare increases, in Brooklyn, on Sept. 20.

The Communist Labor Party fully supports the struggles of these and many other unions and community organizations against the oppression and misery caused by the Wall St. bankers. The only secure solution to the crisis in New York City, as everywhere, is socialism. The crisis in New York provides an excellent chance for wide-spread communist propaganda and agitation. It further provides an excellent situation to begin preparing, through a series of minor but connected struggles against the stranglehold of the banks, for a revolutionary insurrection.

INTERLAKE

Continued from Page 1

front of the working class, an independent organization of the working class, uniting employed and unemployed and making the call an injury to one is an injury to all, a reality. We also must fight to get rid of the ENA. Without the right to strike it is not possible to better safety conditions and win gains in our interests. We must force the unions to fight in our interests. And lastly, we must force the government to keep OSHA and fund it properly, to force OSHA to enforce strict regulations and make sure safety representatives on the job represent the workers.

Presently, the working class is being attacked on all sides as the bourgeoisie prepares a fascist dictatorship. Working conditions and safety on the job are one front of the struggle. Wherever a worker's safety on the job is endangered, we must protest. Wherever the Klan rears its head, we must smash it down. Wherever quality education is denied, we must fight for it. Wherever workers are unemployed, we must fight for jobs with peace. Such a broad struggle can only be led by a fighting working class political party -- the Communist Labor Party.

We should not just mourn the death of fellow workers, but with renewed strength, fight for the victory of socialism and for the day when the lives of workers will no longer be snuffed out for greed and profit!

International Briefs

SOVIET GRAIN DEAL

In the last month there has been talk about the proposed grain sales to the Soviet Union. In a "radical" move on the part of the AFL leadership, the Longshoremen's Union boycotted the ships that were carrying the grain to the Soviet Union with George Meany crying that the sale would raise the prices of grain here in the U.S. Other cries came from Congressmen who said what we need is grain "blackmail," that is to say, let the Russians pay as much for grain as we pay for oil! President Ford capitulated to "labor" and declared that the grain sales would be resumed but he refused to lift a moratorium on such sales until Moscow accepts a long-term agreement designed to lessen the impact on domestic food prices.

From every corner of the country protests were heard against grain sales to the Soviet Union. The main essence of these protests was that grain sales to the Soviet Union makes prices here at home go up! Let's not repeat the catastrophe of 1972.

But let's examine the facts. Firstly, the grain being sent to the Soviet Union is not to feed their people, but rather it is fodder to feed their animals. After the drought in '72 the Soviet Union was forced to slaughter its cattle because there was no feed. Now they are building up their herds again, and it takes more time to grow grain to feed animals then to raise the animals themselves. Secondly, the farmers themselves have reported that the grain being sold to the Soviet Union is part of a surplus from the bumper crop that the farmers had this past season and that there is no reason why prices should rise due to the sale of grain to the Soviet Union. And thirdly, if prices are to rise as they did in 1972 it will not be because wheat was sold to Russia, but rather because of the monopoly control on agriculture in this country. The part that the farmer receives from the sale of grain to the Soviet Union or anywhere, is yearly shrinking while the profits made by the big monopolies are yearly rising. The monopoly control on processing, transportation and groceries, that is the monopoly of the market, is the cause of high prices. For example, the share of the retail price of bread for the farmer is 17% to the monopolies 83%. A year's supply for the average urban household increased \$105-\$1 going to the farmer and \$104 to the monopolies.

The point is, that all the slander against the Soviet Union, all the propaganda which accuses the Soviet Union of being the source of high prices in this country is nothing more than anti-communism, national chauvinism and a cover-up for the monopolist stranglehold on agriculture in this country. All those people who are blaming the Soviet Union are trying to shield the monopolies from exposure of the facts.

The working class must not be fooled by the chauvinist propaganda of the imperialists and their lackeys. The blame for high food prices is the monopoly capitalists themselves, not the Soviet Union, Japan, Western Europe or Latin America. The monopolies determine the prices of all commodities. They have the monopoly on the world market and prices rise or drop when they see fit. Our slogan must not be to ban wheat sales to the Soviet Union but to force our government to intervene in the interests of the workers, the consumers, and to insure that prices are not raised; that a family receives adequate food, shelter and clothing at the expense of the monopolies. Our government must provide jobs for all workers, and nationalize the energy industry so that the oil monopoly cannot raise prices.

The Communist Labor Party fights and fights hard to rally the workers against the capitalist state and de-

mand that the government do something about the crisis that the capitalist system finds itself in. However, we understand that the reason this capitalist system can do nothing to alleviate the crisis for the working class is that the imperialist state is run by and for the monopoly capitalists. But capitalism is long overdue for a change! It can no longer feed, clothe and provide jobs for all workers. It is ridden with internal contradictions which it cannot solve. Although we struggle against this system, and fight for whatever economic and political reforms we can achieve, we understand and also fight for the only system in which the working class can really be free, free from deprivation, starvation and misery—socialism.

PUERTO RICO

The "Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization" of the United Nations, has voted to adjourn debate on Puerto Rico to next year. The explosive draft resolution proposing among other things that the Committee recognize "the national liberation movement of Puerto Rico as representing the legitimate aspirations of the Puerto Rican people struggling for independence," was not even discussed.

This should not amaze us for since December 1973 when the United Nations General Assembly voted 104 to 5 in favor of a resolution by the Decolonization Committee stating that Puerto Rico was and is a colony of the USNA, the Decolonization Committee has repeatedly ignored the question of Puerto Rico. Their flimsy excuse is they need more time to study it.

Duncan Campbell from Australia who proposed adjourning the debate expressed his "concern at the consequences of continuing to proceed further on the matter." Campbell was quite correct at his concern at the consequences for the USNA cannot afford to let go of its 77 year old leash on Puerto Rico. The USNA state makes millions from the Puerto Rican people. In 1974 it obtained \$1,345 million from Puerto Rico. Militarily, it cannot risk losing 13% of the land now occupied by its bases.

Because of the USNA's domination in the imperialist camp the rest of the capitalists will kneel before it and do everything possible to keep Puerto Rico a colony. Despite objection by the Cuban representative, Campbell's legally shaky motion to postpone discussion--sanctioned by the Legal Council--was approved 11 to 9.

Those voting in favor were Afghanistan, Chile, Denmark, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, and Tunisia. Trinidad, Tobago, and Yugoslavia abstained and Ethiopia was absent. Bulgaria, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Syria, Mali, USSR, and the United Republic of Tanzania voted against the proposal.

China's representative did not participate in the vote because "his country had always supported the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico. But since the third world countries were divided on the draft resolution," it did not participate.

The Committee meets to discuss the question of decolonization but in deed elements there serve to prevent the decolonization of Puerto Rico. By not voting against the proposal, certain leaders in the socialist camp have aided in adjourning the debate.

Workers in the USNA must fulfill their internationalist duty by doing everything in their might to slash that rope that strangles the Puerto Rican people. We fought Spain so Puerto Rico could be free. It is proposterous that 77 years later as the USNA state prepares festivities celebrating 200 years of freedom from English rule, it still denies the Puerto Rican people the rightful freedom. As long as the USNA imperialists latch on to Puerto Rico and the rest of the colonial world, they will be able to tighten their grip on the workers both at

home and abroad.

The Puerto Rican people will be free, the current victories in Vietnam and Cambodia are proof that the exploited and oppressed throughout the world will unceasingly fight for their liberation from capitalism.

PRISONERS

Continued from Page 2

7. A black prisoner was found dead on August 21, 1975, with his eyes cut out, his throat cut, and wounds in his side.

8. Seventy percent of the prisoners are black, but there are no black guards employed at this prison. WHY?

9. Most of the prison guards are KKK oriented. Many even carry their Ku Klux Klan membership cards with them and take special delight showing the cards to prisoners. These guards constantly urge white prisoners to start an uprising so they can come in with their guns and kill blacks.

10. Brutality is an everyday occurrence at Lucasville. Sadistic guards beat a prisoner for little or no reason at all. Every prisoner beaten by guards is immediately charged with assaulting the guard.

11. The May 18th escape attempt from Lucasville was perpetrated by certain prison officials who wanted to stage a mass killing. Fortunately, the set-up backfired. However, it did not prevent the killing of one prisoner and the wounding of four others.

12. Prisoners' visitors are constantly harassed. Women visitors are propositioned by guards. The women are told by guards that they can make things easier or rougher for the prisoner she has come to see--it all depends upon her.

13. How much influence does the

local KKK and Mason organization have in the operation of this prison guards who are members?

14. Ronald Carter, a black man, was brutally beaten by prison guards, Capt. H. Kinker Jr., L. Melvin, H. Klein Jr., B.R. Thayer T. Martin, and others on July 16, 1975. Why was Ronald Carter beaten? During a return trip from Scioto County Court, Carter made a few innocent remarks about the "white women of this area"-- he was overheard by guard Melvin. Shortly after returning to the prison these guards opened Carter's cell and told him to come out. He didn't move fast enough to suit them, so they attacked him. He fought back in self-defense and was charged with assaulting Captain Kinker.

Such is the everyday life at Lucasville. An investigation is sorely needed. No one, most of all us prisoners, want to see a recurrence of the violent riots of 1966 and 1968. But, the brutality, injustices, and dehumanization of this prison is getting to be too much for us to bear. So we ask you, the public, to demand an investigation and a change in accordance with findings from such an investigation.

We have broken society's laws and expect to be punished. But, we are still human beings and we expect to be treated like humans--not animals.

This prison, as it exists right now, is truly not worthy of the American people. It is a disgrace to all civilized people.

If, after reading this expose, you should pick up tomorrow's newspaper and read where any of the undersigned prisoners have conveniently committed suicide, then you will now it is not a coincidence.

Lucasville Brothers
August 23, 1975



"The Communist's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression." Lenin

REPORT FROM THE SECRETARIAT

Comrades,

Welcome to this second plenary session of the first Central Committee of our Communist Labor Party. We are rounding out a full year of struggle. We have undergone a tremendous consolidation over the past year. There is no question that our party has survived the organized attempts first to sabotage the Congress, and failing that, to split, demobilize and destroy the party. Comrades, we have not only survived as a Communist Party, but we are striking out—leading the mass struggle. Our Party is a Party of heroes, heroes who have played a decisive role in reasserting communism as the historic goal of the class, heroes in grappling with the most complicated political and theoretical problems and solving these problems in favor of the working class. Our Party, feared and hated by Nazis and lefts alike, is on the road in the mass struggle. We are on the road in creating something new, something Bolshevik, something revolutionary in our country.

Without spending a lot of time on accomplishments, because we Bolsheviks like problems better, I would like to outline the path of struggle that our party has hacked out in the past year. As all of you know, our Party played the role of spark-plug in the national miners' strike. It was not accidental that we were on the scene at the Brookside and Highsplint mines where the long and bitter struggle started. If it had not been for our comrades' superb tactical leadership on the picket line, Brookside would have been just another lost strike rather than becoming the cause célèbre of all the miners and workers around the world. We were able to sharpen our teeth on the miners' strike, and by the time the strike ended we were already deep into the struggle of the unemployed.

Again, it is not an accident that our party happened to be at the point of the struggle when the struggle broke out. Basically speaking, the unemployed upsurge began at the Dodge Main and Jefferson plants in Detroit. Our Party was strong there because our line is to fight it out where the workers have the least ties to capital, that is amongst the most exploited and oppressed. At any rate, it was our heroic comrades' work in Dodge, Jefferson and Ford that forced the UAW leadership to accept unemployed work in the union. When we issued the call for an unemployed march on Washington, the government, Woodcock, et al. saw specters of the old CP's activity of the 1930's. Woodcock called himself outsmarting us by calling for such a march. That is like the story of the boy who chased the girl until she caught him. At any rate, the UAW march compelled the AFL-CIO to pull an even bigger, more militant demonstration.

We can be proud of this. Who was it that began the fight to transform the struggle around busing from a question of education into a political struggle for the emancipation of the Negro people? We admit that it was the Klan that first raised the issue, but it was our Party that accepted the challenge and took the issue to the masses. Today everyone accepts that busing is a question of equality in society and barely an issue of education.

As big business began the process of reconstructing the KKK and Nazi movement, it was our Party that was

the first to take to the streets and to challenge them at every turn. Our struggle with the fascists has served to focus national attention, especially on Harlan County, where we are locked in a life and death struggle with these fascist elements.

The score sheet is not bad for such a small Party within such a hostile environment.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

Beginning as we did, from several Marxist-Leninist groupings with various levels of development, we faced a host of organizational problems. A year ago, there was no structure to the party at all. Thanks to some of our more experienced comrades, especially Comrade Kilpatrick, we adopted Peters' *Manual on Organization*, and placed it in every comrade's hands so that the entire party membership can assist in the continuing consolidation of the Party. However, the building of factory nuclei, the units in the neighborhoods, the delineation of duties of the various officers, all have taken time, and almost everything was done incorrectly first and had to be redone. Nonetheless, we do have a Party structure and are functioning as a Party. The differences that existed between the forming groups are fully done away with.

As most of you comrades know, before the Congress was adjourned, a conspiracy was hatched to split the Party. This conspiracy was principally formed by some leaders of the old League for Proletarian Revolution. Their front man, Al Thrasher, along with a few open henchmen, approached a number of delegates with the line that the program was not a Marxist program, the Congress was a sham, Nelson Peery is not a Marxist, and in order to form the real Communist Party they would have to split this one.

A large number of people were taken-in with such trash. However, due to education and confidence in the Party and its leadership that developed as a result of their struggles, one by one these conspirators began to squeal on one another. Some were sharply criticized and others were expelled from the Party. However, today our Party is united and any agent in our midst will have to work for the corruption of our line, because there is no possibility of a political split within the party at this time.

UNITED FRONT

Since the main thrust of our program is building the united front, it is only natural that our most pressing problems should arise in this area. Unfortunately far too many of our lessons in this respect fall in the category of re-discovery of lessons of the 1930's here and in Europe. First and foremost is the basic lesson that the united front cannot be built unless the party maintains an independent position within the united front and plays an independent role. First in this cate-

gory is the question around the assignments to the individual comrades. There still persists the idea that there is "mass" and then there is "communist" work. All of our work is communist work, and all of our work should be a part of a plan of our unit and section. The proper division in our work should be open communist work and secret communist work.

We can project that there will not be a rapid development of a favorable situation in the USNA. We expect the slow development of reaction for quite some time. This means that we are going to have to master the form of secret communist work. Such work is not simply implementing the line. There are and will be friends of the Party who can do that restricted work. A communist, whether secret or open, must recruit, must build the formation of the Party. The vast majority of our people will be engaged in that work. Under extreme conditions it will not be possible for us to have any open party work except by the center. However, each and every comrade must gather a group of friends—political friends and supporters around him. They will know that he is a member of the party, they will be his base for recruiting and they will be his protection. Without this openness in secret work, we cannot build the Party. Because some of the comrades have not been dialectical in their approach, secret meant hidden from all. Our revolutionaries cannot succeed if they rely on logical categories.

Another problem we have faced and are only now beginning to solve is the question of grasping the central link and pulling the entire chain forward. In this instance, this central link is the campaign around unemployment. Unemployment is the social face of the economic and political crisis that is gripping this country.

This front, the struggle around unemployment, has a number of battles fought there. The struggle against the fascist gangs, the strike struggles, the struggle for peace, the fight for the rights of the national minorities, the fight for social equality and justice for women, the aged, the youth, etc., are all battles in the unemployment campaign. It is entirely wrong the way some of the leading comrades approach the shifting of forces in the various battles. They often adopt a fire brigade method of work—rushing from one front to the next without stopping to analyse and integrate the relationship between the various battles. Hence, the anti-Klan work is not tied to the economic crisis and the degeneration of the system. Anti-war work is not connected to the anti-fascist and unemployment struggles. Even yet, we have not been able to clearly explain to the local leaders that these struggles are all faces of the basic campaign. Until this is accomplished, there will continue to be diffusion and aimlessness in our work.

CADRE POLICY

The rapid expansion of our work has not allowed us much maneuvering room as regards a cadre policy. In the main we have been forced to meet requirements for cadre in the best way available. Nevertheless, we have learned some valuable lessons as regards cadre expansion. Our first lesson is that cadre who perform well within a familiar environment do not always stand up well when expanded to new areas. Consequently, we have had to take other factors apart from subjective capabilities into consideration. First of all, proletarian cadre, used to difficult living are able to more than compensate for abilities that come from the intellectual disciplines of college. Secondly, comrades whose background includes moving easily among unfamiliar people, a characteristic that is gained by moving from factory to factory, is always helpful. We have found that those comrades who have these subjective factors on their side, very often are able to make the greater contribution.

In the old CP, there was a cadre policy known as "colonizing" and expanded cadre were quite properly referred to as colonizers. More often than not the colonizer was a New York college radical who had read two books and was convinced that he was God's gift to the revolution. He was sent to a proletarian area where he arrogantly utilized his mastery of the gift of gab to finally assume leadership of a unit or club, until he was removed or transferred, leaving the area in a worse position than when he arrived. Of course, that cannot be cadre policy. Our cadre expansion policy is based upon the process of building the Party, quantitatively and qualitatively. We demand of our cadre that they go to an area to strengthen it, not to take it over. By and large we have been successful in strengthening areas by the temporary assignment of advanced comrades to help in the understanding of the organizational and political line of the Party. However, one of the weaknesses of the Party is our inability to supply the new areas and those areas that are growing very rapidly with the necessary developed cadre to guarantee their continued development. As with every young Party, there is a considerable contradiction between our organizational tasks which are summed up as win the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism, and our organizational capabilities, which are restricted to the capabilities of 600 very loyal and fine communists. But it is clear that this contradiction between our capabilities and our tasks can only be resolved by recruiting. We have to admit that recruiting into the Party has not proceeded as it should have in relation to the growing radicalization of the working class nor to the political activity of the party.

PARTY BUILDING

At the end of the Congress, we issued a call to rapidly double the size of the Party. This call was not made apart from the understanding of the necessity of a qualitative growth, but rather from the point of view that there were several hundred very good people around the party that could be recruited, and given the existing relationship of forces, we could not create

Continued on Reverse

a real political impact with 600 comrades scattered across the country. As all of you know, we have not been able to achieve the level of quantitative growth that we needed. This was not based in the objective situation, but rather in the subjective attitudes of a large number of the comrades. One factor became very clear as the center pushed for recruiting. That factor was a current of anti-communism within the party itself. What I'm referring to is the concept, inherited from the bourgeois press and TV, that the working class hates the communist movement and communism. We very soon found out that it is impossible to recruit into the communist movement when our presence as a party isn't felt. This anti-communism was also expressed in the use of the Paper, or I should say the lack of use of the PT, the TP and the Western Worker. As the ideological roots of this problem became clear, the center took steps to combat it. Those steps were the struggle for democratic centralism, and to inform the comrades of the successes of the Party and to build a fighting pride in the Party.

Some of the comrades did not and do not understand the difference in approach in the building of the Party and the building of the pre-party formations. Prior to the Congress, our recruiting target was the revolutionaries with a high level of theoretical understanding coupled with class consciousness. At that time we summed up our direction as to the most advanced of the advanced. But this projection was entirely a tactic of grouping the people capable of laying the theoretical, ideological and political foundations of our Party. That task that has taken us 17 years of struggle and learning has been accomplished.

It is a scientific law that every living thing must change with the environment or else it must die. Our political environment has basically changed in as much as we have completed the process of forming the Party and now our task is to build it. Instead of seeking out and organizing the "advanced of the advanced," we are struggling to recruit the vanguard of the proletariat. That is to say, the practical leaders of the proletariat. Not necessarily the official leaders of the unions, but the real leaders, the leaders on the shop floor and proletarian neighborhoods. Here we necessarily will be dealing with workers on a lower ideological and political level than the recruits of a year ago. But we built this solid theoretical fortress so that we could take in the fighters who were backward. We have already insured that we can lower the theoretical and ideological level of the party and still have a strong organization. At any rate, we shall either conform to Engels' formulation that all substance lives by taking in nourishment from the environment and excreting all that is used up and useless or we shall surely die as a political organism.

This question of building the party is so vitally important that we are faced with the prospect of taking a long hard look at units that do not recruit. The pattern is a familiar one. Comrades carry out very well directed struggles; they gather a number of people around them or into the united front organizations through which they operate. At the tapering off of the struggle, no one has been recruited into the Party, in spite of a good campaign. Why? Again, because people do not know that it is the party that is the mobilizing moral force behind the struggle. In plant after plant, comrades at the factory gates sell hundreds of PT's, while the comrades inside the plant declare that they cannot get any contacts because of the anti-communism. Comrades, we would be making a serious and bureaucratic error if we were to conclude that the resistance is subjective. No, in almost all cases, the resistance is objective. Our comrades are, in the main, quite young and quite inexperienced in this aspect of the class struggle. The resolution of this contradiction is a problem for the leadership. Stalin al-

ways pointed out that leaders were those who solved problems. The solution of the problem does not lie in threatening, cajoling or bringing comrades up on charges. The solution lies in convincing the comrades of the correct path. And we have to know that path before we can convince them of it. An examination of the problem will show that it has an organizational basis as well as an ideological one. That organizational basis is the factory nuclei. A nucleus that in fact is a communist fraction of the trade union will never recruit into the Party. A nucleus that is the independent organization of the Party in the factory cannot help but recruit the workers that they educate in national and world affairs and whom they lead in the class struggle in the factory. However, everything indicates that we are on the way to making a breakthrough in this regard. As the independent work of the nuclei is established, some recruiting has been done. In this respect, certain units, especially in Detroit, have begun to recruit off the assembly line. You can be assured that as soon as our Party unit is accepted as their political spokesman on the floor, they will flood into the Party.

We also have to review our attitude toward the comrades we are recruiting. In the main, the motion is to absorb them into the Party without understanding that we must change the recruit, but we must also change the Party. Some very good workers who had been recruited in the course of the struggle have left the Party after their 18th meeting in 25 days. We cannot accomplish our tasks without recruiting family men and women. They are not prepared as we are, to submerge all our personal life into the political struggle. This is a process and if we attempt to start at the end of that process, we are going to make a serious mistake and drive away the people we are able to recruit. If we could paraphrase Lenin, our slogan should be, "Meet, but not to death!"

Another aspect of the consolidation and expansion of the Party is the role of the individuals within the Party. Our Party has recruited the very best of progressive humanity. Within our ranks are peoples of all sorts of talents, skills and arts. Yet there is a legacy of the Lin Piao period that stifles the initiative of the various comrades. The concept of learning from the workers became transformed into a tactical thing that people of talent should learn from any worker. The result has been a hesitation on the part of trained and talented people to contribute or to criticize workers. Hence everything from grammatical to historical errors have appeared in our publications that could have been avoided if those with the necessary skills and training had had the communist sense of responsibility to step forward and contribute.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The struggle to consolidate the Party has in the main been a struggle for democratic centralism. But here again we are dealing with a concept and not with a big set of unchanging rules. The only thing that remains unchanged is the law that lower bodies obey higher bodies and that in the Congress the minority submits to the

majority. In the application of these rules we have to be flexible enough to let the Party grow. We must do away with the spectacle of the so-called leader putting the so-called rank and filer in his place from the position of democratic centralism.

Above all, democratic centralism guarantees the political equality within the Party as well as assures organizational responsibility. What is political equality? It is the guarantee that each and every comrade in the Party is responsible to see to it that the line of the Party is followed. No comrade can be compelled to violate the decisions of the Congress from the position of democratic centralism. Quite to the contrary, no one can hide behind democratic centralism in order to violate these decisions. On the other hand, our organizational structure places responsibility for the carrying out of decisions squarely in the hands of the constituted authority and it is impossible to diffuse or shift that responsibility. Democratic centralism is our main political weapon.

PROPOSAL FOR AN EQUAL RIGHTS CONGRESS

Our Party and every revolutionary movement before us had to take a position that the struggle for the unity of the working class was the struggle for the rights of the oppressed peoples and minorities. It has also been accepted that this struggle could not be fought out solely in the shops and plants. It has also been a social struggle, the struggle for civil and equal rights. It is clear that this struggle for the rights of the national minorities has been seriously hampered by the disorganized and disunited character of the struggle. An examination of the national composition of the vanguard of the proletariat will show that a large section of the unskilled workers are from the national minorities. In other words, we want to start dealing with both aspects of the national minority workers. On the one hand, we want to deal with them as subjectively what they are, the heart of the working class. On the other hand, we want to deal with them as what they are objectively, doubly oppressed and doubly exploited national minorities.

In our factory nuclei we are striving to win over and unite these workers. Our struggles within the proletarian community, for unity with a national minority often excludes the struggle to unite the various national minorities. We must create an apparatus that is capable of serving as the basis of broad united front work, an apparatus that will fight for the rights of the minorities, and by doing so unite them, not only as national minorities, but more importantly, as a part of the vanguard of the proletariat. What is needed is an apparatus to bring under one umbrella the various organizations of the Mexican, Negro, Indian and Puerto Rican that we influence or that care to participate on a national level in the legal struggle for their rights. Both the old Communist Party and the POC formed equal rights and civil rights congresses. They were doomed to failure

by sectarianism and by extreme right-wing policies. But even more fundamentally, they could not succeed because they were actually fronts or branches of the parent organization and with very little membership apart from communists.

We are proposing a congress of organizations that are fighting USNA imperialist social policies in the broadest sense. We believe that we have built or have some influence in enough small but viable groupings across the country, to talk in terms of such a congress of these organizations and to establish a national organization. We would like to indicate that an adequate base for this motion already exists in Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, as well as some other cities. We envision such an organization playing an important role in the legislative arenas as well as building the mass struggle against the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party.

Our increasingly violent struggle against especially the Nazi Party has again demonstrated to us how necessary it is to have reserves if we are going into a sustained struggle. Quite naturally, these fascist gangs are considerably stronger than we are and although their reserves are limited, they do have reserves.

On the other hand, our potential reserves are unlimited while our immediate reserves are negligible. We must immediately either solve this problem of strength or begin to withdraw from the struggle. Since it is impossible to withdraw, we must find ways and means to immediately increase our fighting capacity. In the course of the class struggle, every communist party is faced with this decision and in general the contradiction is resolved by the creation of "Red Guard" units. We envision these units to be pro-communist, non-communist, anti-fascist fighters. Such an organization could take advantage of the mass hatred of the KKK without being held back by the high level of discipline and ideology of the party. Such legal organizations would have to be the multi-national complement of the party. Its task would principally be limited to physical struggle in the streets. With the proper ideological approach, we believe that thousands of young men and women who are not ready for the discipline of the party are prepared to eagerly enter into street fighting with the fascists. An example of this was the incident which took place in the middle of the Negro community at 71st and Damen in Chicago. There the Nazis actually marched into the Negro neighborhood, roughed up men and women and children, but due to confusion, lack of leadership, and lack of understanding of the Nazis, they marched out of the neighborhood scot free from any resistance by the people. The police arrested 25 of them, stating the Nazis were inherently violent. This incident shows the absolute necessity of a hard-hitting organization to militantly defend the minority neighborhoods. If we achieve clarity and unite around these goals, we should launch a national campaign to create the foundations of such organizations prior to the calling of our Congress.

Comrades, it is clear that the problems that we face are all problems of growth. Partly, these problems cannot be solved but with the development of experience. But generally speaking we would move ahead at a much more rapid pace if there were a greater unity of will among our leaders. We hope that the brevity of this report will allow for a very full discussion, exchange of experiences and debate on our organizational thrust.

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