

SUMMARY OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING,

DECEMBER 8-10, 1972

An Extraordinary Session of the Central Committee held December 8-10 not only assessed the elections but agreed to a major correction in policy in the electoral field that has its application to all areas of work. It also launched a Party, League, press and literature building drive and a major effort to raise Party standards. There were also reports and discussions on the building of the national defense organization, Pan Africanism and the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Hall drew major lessons from the election outcome and activity of our Party. Our own campaign reached tens of millions and played a major role in the effort to defeat the reactionary drive and open a path in the other direction. It did this by most effectively exposing Nixon's reactionary direction and demagogy and by criticizing the McGovern campaign for not taking the kind of positions on most international issues, on racism, on the needs of the workers and of the anti-monopoly masses necessary to defeat reaction. It also struck a big blow for democratic rights and against reaction by bringing the Party, its people, policies and activities before the country and by making a big break in our legality among the masses.

A major factor in Nixon's victory was his maneuvers and retreats in international policy. While imperialism's aggressive nature continues unabated, Nixon has been compelled by mass pressure here, the changing world relationship of forces and inter-imperialist rivalry for socialist markets to make significant adjustments to the realities in a number of areas. In relation to Vietnam, he is now maneuvering, sabotaging, and backtracking on agreements and changes on dates to end the war while continuing and now escalating open warfare. Therefore, the mass campaign for signing the original agreement is so important. These changes in international policy are accompanied by an intensified reactionary drive at home to recoup by attacking the living conditions of the workers and others and increasing profits. In a new way, before and since the elections, Nixon uses racism and attempts to tie it to the economic needs of the masses. Racism and Meany's role of supporting Nixon also affected the results.

But in the absence of a clear alternative, most of the voters did not intend a mandate for reaction as evidenced in widespread results for Congress and for state offices, with Black representation, the pro-peace candidates being increased at all levels. There are also some important examples of white masses being won against racism in voting for Black people for Congress and against the racists, Hicks in Boston and Hanrahan in Chicago. Therefore, while Nixon has the initiative for this reactionary drive and there are new dangers, we should have confidence in the possibility of defeating it by united and independent initiatives. We should indicate we are not on the verge of fascism while conducting a struggle against the danger of fascist-like and other specific acts of reaction.

The trend toward electoral independence continued and was expressed most sharply in the Black community with its 87% vote against reaction and among Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and youth. It lacked clout, however, because of the lack of organized forms of expression.

We took a big step forward with our campaign in placing the role of the Party correctly in the mass struggle, but there was resistance with many Communists doing little and even voting for McGovern as the lesser of two evils when there was the clearcut, obvious alternative of voting Communist. For years we did not run candidates and while speaking of the need for a mass people's party based on the working class, we did very little to move toward it. In reality, our three-legged electoral policy became a prisoner of the lesser of two evils with no way to break out. There were strong tendencies in our work in coalitions and united fronts and in mass organizations to lose our independent class position in the name of tactics and to let the Party be used by others, present only as an invisible "prompter" of others, etc. In part, this was due to the constant influence of the illusion that the Democratic Party could become the people's party and exaggerating the role liberals can play. We must strengthen the struggle against such illusions. Separate from a grass roots working class movement of political independence, the liberals can only collapse to the right.

To defeat the reactionary drive requires all kinds of initiatives by the Party for building rank and file groups, labor expressions, in the Black community, among Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Asians, that express struggle on their vital needs in unity with each other and all anti-monopoly strata, that move toward organized expression of political independence and toward class conscious leadership in all movements. It means meetings, conferences, legislative conferences of workers on prices, taxes, the wage freeze, speedup, racism, political independence and specific issues of racism. It means the projection of the need for a people's party, discussions and conferences and a committee to work for it. It means the fight to bring the Party forward, building on the campaign, as a most viable fighting force for the people's needs, and to do these things, we need a campaign to build the Party and its press on the order of the election campaign. We began such a sharp turn during the election campaign but must now complete it. This requires complete rejection of any notion of independent forces taking over the Democratic Party or reliance on liberals. It requires a new balance in our work by much greater stress on the public role of the Party and in building our Party and press and requires new initiatives especially at grass roots levels for organization and activity of an independent character.

For a Party Building Drive Now!

Taking this assessment by Comrade Hall of the mass tasks and of the special need for and role of the Party, Comrade Rubin outlined approaches and concrete proposals for a real breakthrough in Party and Youth League membership and Daily World or People's World, Political Affairs and literature circulation and financial support. The new potentials growing out of the tens of thousands of votes, signatures and contacts in the election campaign were stressed as the starting point for building. Final goals are to be adopted at regional conferences in January. Methods of mobilizing the whole Party, for Building Drive plans of work at all levels and checkup and control were indicated.

In creating a drive of the scope and determination of the election campaign, a special national Building Drive Committee for daily leadership under the direction of the Political Committee and Organization Bureau is being created. Approaches and

specific tools in relation to each aspect of Party building was indicated, and the implications for industrial concentration, intermediate forms, the fight to build the clubs, viability of the Party organization through use of mass media, press, etc. and through the mass activities of the membership were all discussed.

Among the most important forms for the breakthrough was a proposal to establish a Builders' Brigade of people working for a short or long time in their own or a neighboring district to break through into new areas where campaign contacts were gotten. Also stressed was the need for every club to build close intermediary forms, such as a League branch, a Friends of the Daily World, a Marxist study group or forum. Organization of public campus week-long seminars on Marxism-Leninism was also proposed. Specific goals for new shop clubs in steel and auto were proposed.

A new category of candidates or nominees for membership was agreed to in order to help recruit and to recruit on a sound basis, by assuring classes and on-going relations for new contacts. The time requirement can be waived for those we have been working with. Other details, including length of the period, are being worked out. The stress throughout was that we all need to put much more time, effort and resources into a breakthrough on Party and press building and make these an integral part of all mass activities if we are to demonstrate a correct understanding of the role of the Party as the guarantor of the steady development of an independent class understanding among the workers and of united mass struggles against reaction and racism and for peace, democracy, the living needs of the masses and for socialism.

On Higher Communist Standards

Part of the fight to build the Party is the fight to raise its quality. Comrade Helen Winter, in her report, showed that a Party fighting for higher Communist standards will have more attractive power. In discussing "acceptance of our program" as an admission standard, she indicated the main content of this is acceptance of the Party as the advanced organized detachment of the working class, the centrality of the fight against racism, our responsibility to fight U.S. imperialism and to fight for proletarian internationalism and against anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. It is the responsibility of the Party to provide education and other means so that new and older members master these and other concepts and develop their capacities for initiative, individual responsibility, ability to orientate in the struggle and for collectivity.

She also discussed Dimitrov's standards for selection and promotion of cadre.

In singling out the aspects of standards we especially have to raise at this time and in which leadership must set an example, Comrade Winter emphasized racism. Examples were given of weaknesses in our mass initiative among white workers and internal reflections of chauvinism.

Other areas discussed were individualism and subjectivity, financial accountability and responsibility, gossip and factional tendencies, over-use of alcohol, sexual promiscuity, homosexuality and drug use.

Comrade Winter, while indicating that the Party represents

the best on these questions, called for a determined struggle for a higher level to meet the demands of the times. In this struggle, criticism and self-criticism is the central means.

The 50th Anniversary of the USSR

Comrade Jackson eloquently discussed the meaning of the 50th Anniversary of the USSR for the working class and national liberation movements of the world and especially for the United States. The Soviet state formation has shown in life that great power chauvinism and male supremacy can be replaced by a model of fraternity and equality of peoples and of men and women when class exploitation is ended, working class state power is built and a correct Leninist policy is followed with respect to the national question. This example and the content of the Leninist theory and policy on the national question is a most powerful weapon for us in this central struggle of our country. Popularization of both is an important task for our Party.

For Freedom of Political Prisoners and Victims of Racism and Class Injustice

An assessment was given by Comrade Charlene Mitchell of the need for, potential and basis of a national defense organization. She drew lessons from the successes and some of the weaknesses in the struggle to free Comrade Angela Davis that show what can and has to be done. There are other examples of broadly based defense efforts and the drawing together of a wide spectrum of forces. We are working with non-Party forces to coalesce these forces into a national defense organization. Conferences are being carried out or should be planned in most major centers, involving existing Angela Davis defense groups and many others with a national founding conference projected for March.

As we see it, such an organization must be based on the carrying on both of a legal defense of a mass political character and of mass political defense in many other forms, including international solidarity. It must be based on Black-white unity and opposition to racism and repression. While it will be concerned with all cases of those who struggle for progress and are, as a result, repressed by the judicial and penal system, because of limited resources, it will have to concentrate on some key cases. Some key cases were cited by Comrade Mitchell such as three in North Carolina, the Gainesville Six case, the Attica indictments and draft cases in San Francisco of League and Party people. It will be concerned with political prisoners who are people prosecuted and/or jailed under whatever pretext, for their political activities, or people who, while originally imprisoned for other reasons, are further repressed while in jail because they have become political in their ideas and activities. This will be the main focus but the organization will also be concerned with cases that result from or, in their conduct, exhibit the general racist and class repressive character of the judicial and penal system.

In order for such a defense organization to be built, one of the prime needs is to assign, once again, adequate Party forces to assure its building.

On Pan Africanism

Comrade Winston began his report on Pan-Africanism by surveying international developments which indicate that U.S. imperialist attention is turning more and more to neo-colonialist

penetration of Africa in which its relation with South African apartheid and with Israel plays special roles. The very defeats of U.S. imperialism elsewhere are leading to intensification of this effort by moves in the direction of policies similar to those used in Latin America. In this effort, racism on domestic and international questions plays a key role among whites. U.S. imperialism is also attempting to use legitimate desires of Black people and distort these with a reactionary Pan-Africanist ideology that builds on Black capitalist ideas and projects to assist them in penetration of Africa. Often Black capitalists and spokesmen for such views are used in Africa to open the door for a U.S. imperialist type of "help."

While reactionary Pan-Africanist currents are not uniform, they are an important and growing factor both in aiding U.S. imperialism in Africa and diverting both solidarity movements here and also the direction of the liberation movement within the U.S. Comrade Winston traced the history of Pan-Africanist currents in the U.S., the positive role of Dr. DuBois, the Garvey movement and the current reactionary trends. He indicated steps that are being taken to fill the vacuum and give positive expression to solidarity struggles with African people and to the cultural heritage of Black people, steps that mean entering the ideological struggle more fully. There are steps to build an organization that will include Communists and will be national in form but anti-imperialist and internationalist in content. We need to do all we can to help it develop.

Comrade Winston made a special contribution in the discussion of Comrade Hall's report. He discussed the question of the necessary central role of the class and trade union movement in the fight to defeat the reactionary drive and how in large measure that would be determined by the success in fighting the influence of the ruling class ideology of racism among the white workers. He then singled out the building trades unions as the key source of penetration of racism in the ranks of labor and, therefore, a key battleground against it. He cited figures on the exclusion of Black workers from all the building trades unions except laborers and gave examples and methods of fighting this.

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All reports were adopted unanimously with two exceptions. There was one abstention to Comrade Winter's report. Ten comrades abstained on the definition of political prisoners or the scope of activity we favor for a national defense organization. Based on the line of Comrade Mitchell's report a precise written definition of political prisoners is to be prepared. In acting on Comrade Winter's report it was agreed a statement on drugs would be prepared by the Political Committee.

Comrade Angela Davis was very warmly received at this, her first Central Committee meeting and she played an active role in the discussion, making a special contribution in the discussion of comrade Mitchell's report. Comrade Angela chaired the concluding session.

Comrade Hall's report will appear as a pamphlet and the other reports will appear in issues of Party Affairs. Highlights of the meeting will be available to districts and clubs in an hour-long video tape of the main report and a second hour-long tape of other reports.

1973 -- THE YEAR OF BUILDING THE PARTY

By Daniel Rubin, National Organizational Secretary

The subject of my report follows so naturally and logically from Comrade Hall's that the last few lines of his report are almost word for word the first few lines of mine.

The potential and need for a real breakthrough in Party and press building are clear. What is needed is a Building Drive with the scope, initiative, creativity, determination and even greater involvement of the whole Party than was achieved in the election campaign.

Comrade Hall's report indicated the scope and seriousness of the tasks ahead based on an estimate of the Nixon victory and the direction his lame duck Administration will attempt to pursue. The changes in U.S. foreign policy on a whole number of points came as a result of U.S. imperialism's greatly weakened international position in which it has been compelled to maneuver and retreat, and as a result of the mass pressure at home. While the ruling class would have preferred to avoid such choices, it now tries to make the best of its situation with a more realistic adjustment to world realities in order not to endanger even more of its interests. This process is necessarily uneven. There are places where it has not taken place such as the Mid East, and there can also be rebirths of open aggression.

Making the best use of a situation he would rather not have faced, Nixon came before U.S. public opinion as an advocate of relaxing world tensions and reducing the burden of armaments and war. This was one of the major ingredients of his victory. But one of the conclusions which must follow from U.S. imperialism's much weakened world position, forced maneuvers and retreats is the attempt to make more profit internally.

In other words, we can expect and already see the stepped up reactionary drive at home to accumulate even more profits for the monopolies with the accompanying necessary political and social policies to make up for U.S. imperialism's weakened world position. But its weakened world position means not only that it needs to step up its reactionary drive at home but it is less able to succeed if the people are properly mobilized.

The ruling class' program at home calls for no profit or price controls while the lid on wages becomes even tighter, greater tax concessions are given to the monopolies and the "productivity" drive is stepped up. To succeed with this drive, the Nixon Administration needs to divide the working class and the democratic forces and hamstring their ability to interfere with this program. The chief instruments of diversion remain anti-communism and racism. But racism, which played such a big role in the elections, is being used on a completely new level by a federal government. Under cover of "ending permissiveness," Nixon attempts to convince white workers and other white masses that Black people, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans are the cause of the economic pinch, that they are free-loaders on welfare and are endangering their jobs, homes and schools. As a result, racist acts of terror are being rapidly encouraged and stimulated all over the country.

Anti-communism is also being stimulated as witness the elec-

tion-eve bombing of our Central Committee Office, increasing threats to leading personnel, indictments of left-wingers through a new Weatherman-type scare, the expansion of the Ellsberg case, frameup prosecution of the Vietnam Vets, and now large scale indictments of so-called draft dodgers.

"Permissiveness" is also a concept Nixon applies to unions fighting for their rights. We can expect new attempts to limit the right to strike even while Nixon steps up attempt to divide labor internally by trying to buy off sections with Pay Board approval of higher settlements, by appointing Brennan, etc.

There are also new steps to strip Congress of any real power and to eliminate even the most weak-kneed questioning by the mass media. This is to make sure these institutions cannot reflect the people's pressure at all.

This reactionary drive will be defeated only to the extent that its aims and methods are exposed to the broad masses and a coalition is built of all those who can be won to fight to preserve and extend democratic rights. Such a coalition against reaction and racism and for peace, democracy and the living needs of the people must be based on the working class and Black people as a whole as well as other specially oppressed people.

The question may well be asked: Why, in the face of these new dangers for our class and people, when the building of a mass fighting coalition to defeat the reactionary drive and compel a new direction is so crucial, do we pose a massive building drive for a breakthrough in Party and League membership and in circulation and financial support of our press and literature as the Party campaign of the year?

First, during the election campaign we made a tremendous number of contacts among people who are seriously interested in what our Party says and does. A great many of these people can be won to Party and League membership in a short period of time if we carry on a drive to win them similar in scope, spirit and intensity to the election campaign. To fail to carry on such a drive now and allow much of this potential to be lost would be a political crime not only against the Party but also against the mass democratic movement.

The elections have proven again, as has the history of the spontaneous mass movement of the last number of years, that movements led by liberal bourgeois, reform and social democratic ideology and also by petty bourgeois radical ideology are just not going to succeed in blocking the path of reaction and compelling a new direction. Steady progress in the mass democratic struggle cannot be achieved without rapid growth of the influence of the Communist Party and its policies on class struggle and the role of the working class, the centrality of the fight against racism, the overriding importance of the peace struggle, internationalism and struggle against anti-Sovietism, mass struggle tactics, united front coalitions and fight against anti-communism. This influence is necessary in the face of reaction's drive and attempts to divide the people's forces with the battering ram of racism.

And there are just not enough Communists to do the job. Our press and literature just do not reach enough people to make these special contributions widely enough. While the Party and its press can grow only in close connection with mass struggles, it

is now truer than ever that the mass democratic movements in order to make significant progress, need a big growth of the Party and its influence.

The election results show not only the stepped up drive of reaction but the big potential for mobilizing basic sectors of the people for the fight to smash this drive. The success of this mobilization is in large measure dependent on the growth of our Party and its role. We have begun to make a real turn in our Party, in its understanding of our place in the total struggle. We must now put a complete end to the notion that building the Party is second or can and must wait until after the pressing mass tasks. Real life dictates the inseparability of building the Party and developing mass democratic struggle. The present situation reflects an improper interrelationship. To set them in proper interdependent relationship requires a breakthrough drive now for membership and circulation.

Specific Potential for Building Drive

The freedom for Angela Davis campaign and the Party election campaign have produced tremendous new opportunities for building the Party, the League, the press and literature. Virtually the entire adult population knew of the case of Angela Davis and of the Communists running candidates for election. For the first time in many, many years, or perhaps for the first time, nearly the entire population had a chance to judge the Communists for themselves. On election eve alone, 25 million people saw and heard Gus Hall on the two TV broadcasts. There were also another half dozen national TV network interviews, the 30-minute free National Educational TV Network program we produced, 3 national radio network broadcasts and the Southern radio network special broadcast. The number of TV and radio broadcasts made in local areas is beyond anyone's calculations. Tens of millions were reached not just once but many times. Newspaper and periodical coverage was also immense. We also spoke to tens of thousands face to face in rallies and public meetings on campuses and elsewhere.

Five million pieces of our literature including 250,000 of the second special World Magazine were distributed together with tens of thousands of stickers, posters and buttons. All of this helped improve people's attitudes toward our Party. Some became less hostile; many became more open-minded toward us; some became seriously interested and some decided that they wanted to join as soon as they could.

Perhaps even more important was our talking face to face to some 4 million people asking them to sign our petitions. Almost 400,000 signed in 32 states and Washington, D.C. We obtained more than the required number of signatures in 25 states and the District of Columbia. But because of the anti-democratic nature of the laws, we appeared on the ballot in 13 states and the District of Columbia, state containing 43% of the U.S. population.

In the states where we were on the ballot, more than 50,000 people voted for Communist candidates and had their vote counted. From many very definite examples of vote stealing and false reporting we estimate that, at the very least, another 50,000 voted for us in those 13 states and the District of Columbia. When you study our votes county by county, city by city, precinct by precinct, it is clear that a large proportion of the 50,000 recorded

votes in these states are potential members for the Party and League, not just in the long run but in the next number of months.

During the campaign we got innumerable contributions from people in towns, cities and states where we have no Party organization, with letters which indicated that they were more than token. The same can be said of many letters complimenting us on the media appearances of Comrades Hall and Tyner and other letters expressing a warm feeling toward our candidacy and Party.

Other largely untapped but extremely fruitful sources for potential members are the many thousands of non-Party readers of the Daily World, People's World and Political Affairs, who are regularly exposed to our thinking on the events of the day and on ideological questions.

Then there are hundreds of people who have been close friends of the Party for some time, and often work with us in many ways. Most are readers of our press and would join if we asked them. We haven't asked because of an insufficient level of Party building consciousness in the Party, lack of organization and sometimes a feeling that they will contribute just as much without being members. This latter situation often applies to people in older categories and those who are less articulate but people who are solid in their commitment. We need and want these people too and must reject any elitist tendencies.

In addition, there is a growing number of contacts in mass organizations, unions and rank and file groups, organizations of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian liberation, peace, defense, housing, schools, etc. who are immediate or a little longer range potential recruits.

In all these categories, those who cannot be enrolled immediately are potential subscribers to the Daily World, People's World, and Political Affairs, people who should be sold our books and pamphlets regularly. Among the youth in all these categories of contacts, virtually all are potential League members.

The Building Drive

If we were to ask how many people there are who could be enrolled in the Party by January 1, 1974, we would have to give some figure on the order of 25,000; for the League several times that, and as readers of the Daily World and People's World, hundreds of thousands if not millions.

We want to project goals that will require a qualitative turn in our understanding and work to achieve them. The goals must be such that achievement of them would be of sufficient magnitude to cause a qualitative change in the Party's total situation. The goals must be and can be achieved 100% and perhaps overfulfilled with a real fight. We will, therefore, have to take into account our present size and circumstances and the question of consolidating the new members. Thus we would complete fulfillment of the present potential in stages, the first to be from this Central Committee meeting to January 1, 1974.

We are not now proposing an overall national goal for new members. We asked each district several weeks ago to discuss this and propose goals. We want to settle the final district goals and national goal at the projected regional conferences in January. We are proposing that two day conferences be held in New York,

Chicago and San Francisco on Party, press, literature and League building. The districts have been given the dates and proposals on attendance and other details.

While the absolute figures from districts and national are to be settled at the regional conferences in January, we propose that 25% of the goal be achieved by May Day, 50% by July 4, 75% by October 1, and the balance by January 1, 1974. Our stress is enrolling new members should be on industrial workers and especially in the basic industries. Nationally we should aim for one third of the new members being Black and 40% being Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian with the proportions varying according to the nature of the area. We are, of course, interested in recruiting other categories such as college students. While we stress younger forces and especially those in the 30s and 40s (the age brackets in which our Party, due to the McCarthy period, is relatively weak), we do not have enough members in any category including older people who work in the senior citizens movements that are so closely related to the trade union movement.

By the end of the Building Drive we should aim to have a functioning Party organization in virtually every state in the country. We should aim to establish new clubs in some 16 steel plants since steel is now our foremost concentration industry. We also see the possibility of establishing 14 new shop clubs in the automotive aerospace industry. We list these projected goals now for consideration of the comrades and they should be settled at the January conferences.

<u>Steel</u>		<u>Auto</u>	
Ohio	4	Michigan	2
W. Penna.	2	Ohio	2
Indiana	1	Illinois	2
Illinois	1	S. Calif.	2
NY-Buffalo	1	Washington	1
New Jersey	1	Wisconsin	1
S. Calif.	2	New Jersey	1
Alabama	1	E. Penna.	1
New Mex.	1	Missouri	1
Arizona	1	New York	<u>1</u>
Utah	<u>1</u>		
	16		14

We should also aim to establish functioning Party organizations in 25 additional industrial centers in presently organized Party districts.

How to Achieve our Goals

To achieve such a qualitative breakthrough we will have to create a real drive atmosphere on the order of the recent election campaign, applying many of the same methods. Though some hard work was put into prior recruiting efforts and some good things resulted, we never succeeded in creating a real drive. Having had the election campaign experience, we are now in a position to change that.

The Role of the Center

1. Under the leadership of the Political Committee and Organization Bureau, a Building Drive Committee for daily leader-

ship should be established that would meet at least once a week. This Committee should consist of a person who would give full-time direct leadership to the recruiting drive, comrades in the fields of press building, Political Affairs circulation, literature, education and membership and League building under the chairmanship of the Organization Secretary.

2. All members of the national staff would be assigned to work regularly with a specific district during the campaign, and with a club and shop within that district to assist in the Building Drive.

3. Line up right away and train teams of full-time Builders, Communist Builders Brigades to recruit for the Party and YWIL and build the press and literature. Some of these would work in their own districts, some in neighboring unorganized states and some would work more widely. Some would be asked to work for the entire period and some additional people would work during the summer months. We are asking at this meeting for possible proposals of people to do such work, asking comrades to look for additional proposals by the time of the regional conferences.

4. Preparation of video tape and film as well as printed materials useful for recruiting by the mass media committee. Preparation of printed recruiting material by the Pamphlet Committee. Preparation of new members class outlines by the Education Department all to be done at the very beginning of the drive.

5. Every national commission and committee to discuss the Building Drive and work out a plan for its participation.

6. Raising money and planning a budget for the Drive, a special fund.

Mobilization of the Whole Party

During the election campaign we mobilized the steady activity of the whole Party to achieve the breakthrough in building that we now seek in the Building Drive.

1. The first step in mobilization are the membership and activists report back meetings that are scheduled for next week-end in nearly every district. Comrades from the center will be attending these meetings.

2. The two-day regional conferences to be held (referred to earlier) which will include workshops on the different aspects of the drive.

3. By the end of January every district should have a plan for the drive, including who shall be in overall charge of the drive, who is responsible for different aspects, what collective will have the daily responsibility, where new shop concentration and other clubs are to be built and how, who from leadership is to work to build the concentration clubs, how to mobilize the whole membership, funds for the drive, etc.

4. There needs to be a major discussion in every club on the adoption of a club plan for the drive. National and district leadership should cover every such club meeting. At such meetings we need to discuss with every member who has not been recruiting steadily what the problem is and how the collective can help solve it.

Candidates for Membership

The Political Committee is recommending the establishment of a candidate for membership status. It is not our purpose to answer all the detailed questions on this here. We are still discussing them and need your thinking. We are proposing this in the context of the Building Drive as an aid to bringing more people into the Party. We will and should feel a greater obligation to guarantee them new members classes and other forms of education to candidates. We will feel a greater obligation to maintain an on-going working relationship by asking a Party member to work closely with candidates in the YWIL, if they are youth, in a Friends of the Daily World or some other intermediary form. Also, they will feel they have some ability to press for these things.

Such a relationship can aid us in winning candidates more solidly to want to join the Party and can give them a better basis of judging the Party. It will also give us the opportunity to judge those we did not previously know well as to whether they meet the constitutional standard of our Party, namely that they do in fact accept the Program of the Communist Party, even though they have not yet mastered it.

This status is particularly useful for the many new contacts we have been making, people we have not had the chance to come to know through working together. We are not now proposing the time period -- proposals now vary from 3 to 9 months. But in the cases of those we have known and worked with for some time we propose that we consider them as having fulfilled the time period and eligible to be voted directly in.

Viewing it in this manner should help us recruit while, at the same time, increasing the likelihood that constitutional standards are being met. We must be careful it is not used to impose non-constitutional and elitist standards to keep people out. If we were to insist that everyone, including those we have known long, must go through the full time period, we will be postponing any recruiting for a number of months, reducing goals for the year substantially. But we are confident it will be applied and used now in the correct spirit of the fight to build the Party.

This report will not go into any further elaboration on the question of Communist standards for entrance and the all-important fight to raise our standards. Comrade Helen Winter is making a special report on that subject.

The Young Workers Liberation League

The Young Workers Liberation League will be conducting a membership drive at more or less the same time as the Party's drive. The goal for 1973 is approximately 2,500 new members. The specifics of their drive are not yet worked out. The full success of the League membership drive should, of course, be of greatest concern to our Party. We are anxious to help build a much larger League that is even more capable of fighting for the democratic needs of the youth, uniting the widest sections of youth in the fight against Nixon's reactionary course, building strong ties of youth with the progressive tendencies in the labor movement and able to win an increasing number of youth to the cause of socialism. To do this successfully, the League must be organizationally independent. The potentials indicated for Party growth

are obviously even greater among youth for the League. To realize this potential, we should encourage the League to avoid mechanically copying the organizational forms and methods of the Party. It must seek the forms most suited to youth.

In most places the League played a very big role in the petition drive and other aspects of the campaign. If the Party nationally and in districts had played more of a role in encouraging the League to participate using its own independent forms, the results for League membership and organization could have been even better.

When the League has set its national and branch goals, the Party districts and clubs should discuss how they can work with the League to achieve the League goals. Party clubs should be assigned to help given League branches. The Brigade Builders teams will have to work closely with the League and be a big source of recruits into the League.

While the League should be an increasingly important source of potential recruits for the Party over the years the Party would be fulfilling its Party quotas the easy way if it recruited nearly all the present members of the League. It would be short-sighted for both the Party and the League. If we were to rapidly recruit all non-Party League members into the Party, they would continue to be assigned to League work as Party youth, but such rapid recruitment would tend to undermine the League's non-Party character and make it more difficult for the League to enroll many non-Party members and broaden out.

The substantial bulk of our recruits should be above 23 years of age. As a rule of thumb, we should not recruit a youth into the Party until after he or she has spent at least 6 months in the League. When we do recruit a League member we should feel a special responsibility to help the League enroll a number of new League members. Before recruiting a League member we should consult with leading Party youth in the League as to its effect on the League.

The Daily World and People's World

The domestic circulation of the Daily World is two and a half times the circulation of the Worker in its last days but we need a new breakthrough approach for both the Daily World and the People's World as a central part of our Building Drive. We start from the proposition that the press is the most important instrument for the successful completion of the Party and League membership drives and laying the basis for even more successful drives after this one. The press can and does reach many thousands of potential members and every day and each week moves them closer to us by presenting our views on the issues of the day and on ideological questions and by featuring the activities of the Party and League. We also start from many new concrete examples of how the press has influenced the mass democratic movement during the election campaign and how it helps organize it. There is a growing reprinting of materials in democratic publications, whether or not attributed to our press, and among the hundreds of thousands of petition signers and tens of thousands of our voters we should be able to really make a breakthrough in circulation.

After our first discussion in the Political Committee, goals were proposed to the districts for circulation and funds for the Daily World. In terms of our earlier discussions, the circulation

goals in quantity and quality would require a very substantial effort and be a sizable step forward. But that was before our thinking on the need for potential for a breakthrough Building Drive and how to achieve it was fully developed. Therefore, while summarizing those goals already projected, we want to pose the question for further examination and thinking and to get your response at the time of the Regional Party Conferences in January. What would be required to increase substantially, say triple, these goals and actually realize such an objective? What would the center have to do? What would the districts have to do? Can it be done? Keep in mind that the goals are for a half year. Can the goal for the balance of the year be tripled?

Clearly, we would have to mobilize the entire Party. Our press activists alone could not do it. Such mobilization would have to be on the basis of understanding the role of the press for mass democratic struggles, socialist agitation and propaganda and Party and League building. It would have to be on the basis of the complete integration of press building with every aspect of mass work and the mass tasks Comrade Hall has placed before us. It will require expanding the conscious press builders beyond our own ranks to the thousands of non-Party readers by building Friends of the Daily World groups and similar forms in every district. It will require all of us in leadership setting a good example in press and Party building. It will require leadership personnel and apparatus. Every district must have a press director and every club a person in charge of press work.

It will require a regular series of mobilizations of the whole Party with circulation of special issues of the press in quantities on the order of what was done in the election campaign. The Builder's Brigade teams that work full time on recruiting for the Party and League would also do major work on circulation. The more full-time team members we can put in the field, the more this method can help with a breakthrough. Every club will have to become involved in bundle work. We need to try saturation circulation methods in some concentration communities. By saturation we mean a plan to regularly reach, through a number of circulation methods, a large percentage of the population while, at the same time, guaranteeing that content is geared to that community. This would make our press a mass factor of importance which no one in the community could ignore. Such approaches would show in life the full mass potential of the press. Of course, the district and club Building Drive plans must centrally include the circulation and fund drives because we know from the election campaign it is much easier to raise money in connection with a specific drive and with our increased visibility.

A specific proposal is that as we register members as part of the current Party Membership Registration Drive and issuance of Party Books, we remind them of the Constitutional provision that members be readers and builders of our press. If they do not have a sub to the DW or PW (in the West) and PA, we ask them to subscribe immediately and arrange installment payments if necessary. We ask the Central Committee to approve the drafting of a letter going in its name to the clubs asking that this be included in the registration process. Candidates and new members should also have this Constitutional provision called to their attention and subs to the DW or PW (in the West) and PA should be sought.

The DW goals that we want you to reexamine from the stand-

point of how to increase them substantially and what they should be for the second half of the year are for the period from Jan. 15 to July 4:

2,500	Introductory subs
1,800	Renewals
1,550	Bundles
1,200	Weekend subs
<u>750</u>	Daily subs
7,800	

\$150,000 -- Fund Drive Goal Jan. 15 to July 4, 1973

The details on percentage aims for different time periods prior to July 4 are on a mimeod sheet given the districts.

With respect to the goals for the PW, the financial goal is \$75,000 during the same time period January 15 to July 4. The PW is projecting a sub drive from January 15 to March 31. The goal already accepted by Northern California is 450-500 new subs. The other districts have not yet made their proposals. Goals for all types of circulation and for the rest of the year will be needed. Two methods being used in Northern California are worthy of mention. During the election campaign a list of 3,000 activists in the labor, Black, Chicano, peace, welfare rights movements was assembled. These are now being given to clubs for visitation for subs. In addition, a letter to peace activists signed by 5 prominent peace activists is being sent and the plan is to do likewise with other categories of activists.

Political Affairs

As the theoretical organ of the Party, Political Affairs has a very important role to play in the drive to build the Party. Clearly the problems on the ideological front are becoming increasingly critical with Nixon using racism as a battering ram of reaction, using anti-communism and promoting all kinds of ideological confusion on the left. PA can play a central role in that struggle. It can help raise the level of understanding of our own members, creatively deepen our theory, and help bring clarity to others and bring them toward the Party. But it can only do so if it is read by our membership and much more widely. In the past year PA showed a 15% increase in circulation but its readership remains quite small. This increase was entirely in subscriptions from a couple of mailings by PA's office. There has been no organized attention to building PA at any level of the Party.

We must now change that situation radically as part of our overall breakthrough Building Drive or we will be robbing ourselves of a valuable instrument for all our work. The Organization Bureau is proposing that during the Drive the monthly circulation increase goal by 1,500. More specifics will be coming. With respect to how to make a change, there are a number of points in common with the DW and PW circulation as well as pamphlets and books.

Pamphlet circulation grew slowly, and then in 1970 it grew more rapidly, reaching double what it was two years before. But it has since levelled off. In any case, it is quite small per pamphlet and circulation is nowhere near what the election campaign proves is possible.

As to books, between 1962 and 1971 International Publishers printed 1,279,500 books. So far this year more than 245,000 books

have been printed, 50% of which were classics and 23% Black Liberation. Our outlets since 1969 have increased their purchases from \$24,000 to \$32,000 or a one third increase, but their debts as with pamphlets and PA have gone up. Clearly the rise in sales is not commensurate with the possibilities, and therefore, there is need for a real drive. To make a turn in our work, leadership has to set an example of consciousness. This can be done in a number of ways such as finding ways to always mention some piece of literature, a PA article, the DW in a lively political way that fits the content of the speeches and reports we give. We can participate and publicize our participation in mobilizations of the whole Party for our press and literature. For the last year or so I've tried to make it a point to take some literature when I visit a club or county committee even though we should expect that it is already there. Unfortunately, it is frequently not there but, in any case, bringing it helps increase the press and literature consciousness of others.

A combined reduced sub rate for the DW and PA is being prepared. For those who will not receive a sub at home, their sub should become part of an organized sub bundle coming to the club mailing address. It is faster and, therefore, more certain. We now have an address for virtually every club.

But every club should be getting an extra bundle with every member taking 2 or 3 copies for that growing minimum number of people who should know they are Communists and who they are consciously trying to move closer. Likewise we should be singling out an issue pamphlet a month and perhaps a book for each month, or two nationally with local variations. Each comrade would be expected to take not only their own but at least 2 or 3 more for the same people they bring PA and the DW to regularly.

We have now built up a certain force of DW activists who go out on their delivery routes and at shop gates every week. The beauty of the Daily World shoulder bag is that now it won't be too heavy and bulky to also put some PA's and pamphlets and even some books in there with the papers. We must consciously organize to do this.

Monthly national educational outlines are needed to help develop club education. They should cite PA as reading material, our pamphlets and books and sometimes should be built primarily on one of these. That will stimulate the need for and use of these instruments.

As with the press, there needs to be personnel at the district and club level who take special responsibility for PA and literature. Such people must not only see to it that every Party meeting has literature (and that is too often not done now), but must exercise some political imagination in selection and display and present the connection between our literature and our mass tasks and Party building.

The idea of taking special issues of PA, singling out certain pamphlets and books for a real drive, periodically but regularly, has given us some important experiences even to the small extent we have done it.

The pamphlets by Comrade Winston on ideological questions in the Black Liberation movement, Comrade Hall's pamphlet on steel and earlier on hardhats and Comrade Proctor's pamphlet on Black workers have all been very much to the point in terms of

mass struggles and have done much better than other pamphlets. Plant gate distributions and sales, district and club mailings to selected lists of contacts and speaking engagements by the author on the subject of the pamphlet have all been useful.

Where we have made efforts to promote Comrade Hall's book on the environment and now, Imperialism Today, Comrade Lightfoot's Racism and Human Survival and Comrade Hosea Hudson's Black Worker in the Deep South, the experiences have been very rewarding. We need to read all of these books, but in addition, they each need to reach specific interest groups. The environmentalists were a factor in requiring a second printing of Comrade Hall's book. Author's nights for Comrade Lightfoot and for Comrade Hudson in Birmingham and elsewhere have pushed up sales. In one instance trade union leaders were so impressed with Comrade Lightfoot's book and its contribution on racism that they promised to take 500 for their union. Too often, however, the creative use comes from the initiative of the authors and not the whole organization. That is why at the national level and through the districts and clubs we need a system of regular circulation drives in which we single out a PA issue, a pamphlet or book, develop a plan and follow through on it. We now have some really fine and very timely books that are right in the center of the struggle. Besides the books mentioned, there is Comrade Winston's forthcoming book on the Black liberation movement, Comrade Lumer's book on Zionism and Comrade Perlo's book, The Unstable Economy.

As indicated, the full time Brigade Builders teams should play a big role in DW, PW, PA and literature building, including approaching many new bookstores in new areas to carry our materials.

What is Required to Achieve these Objectives?

To succeed in realizing the potential, to succeed in making a breakthrough, several things are necessary:

1. To change our understanding of the Party and its role in relation to the mass democratic movement so that the fight to build it will be on a new level.

2. To strengthen our ideological work and gear it much more to the needs of building the Party.

3. To give a new thrust to our industrial concentration policy.

4. To raise sharply the level of the fight for the clubs.

5. To greatly strengthen the visibility of the Party before the masses, building on the accomplishments of the election campaign.

6. For the leadership to set a better example with respect to all these needs.

Industrial Concentration

The Building Drive plans at all levels must be based on industrial concentration. We understand that the heart of the special contribution of the Party to all mass struggles and movements is the class question. This means the orientation toward the working class on all social issues on the basis of the real interests of the whole class, to bring the class forward as the

leading force in all struggles. To do that we must build a much stronger base of Communists especially in the basic industries, starting with steel.

The plan has to be specific as to where we intend to build shop clubs, who will have responsibility, how it will be carried out, and how the entire Party will participate. We are too easily diverted from industrial concentration. We must resist pressures that pull us away from it by learning how to approach all issues and phases of work from the standpoint of industrial concentration. Too often concentration plants are changed a couple of months after the first difficulties, such as when a young person who got a job in the first plant is laid off or loses the job. We cannot be so dependent on who is working in a plant at a given moment to determine the consistent concentration of the whole Party. We now have to decide where we are going to build a club and hold to it until it is done. Frequent check-up is necessary to see that we hold the industrial concentration approach in each plan. Both the districts and the National Office need to know the results every few months to learn from these experiences and fight for adherence to concentration.

In the coming months there are certain struggles that the whole Party will have to orient itself to if we are to pursue the policy of industrial concentration. These include the current election struggles in steel, the General Motors contract negotiations and the fight over the expiration of the phony price but real wage controls. In all of these struggles, as everywhere, the attempt of the ruling class to split the working class with racism is a fundamental question and task for us. For all of these struggles, the building of rank and file movements and forms of organization are crucial. Comrades Hall and Winston discussed what is involved and projected ideas on how to work.

The question of district leadership living with the task of fighting to build shop clubs is crucial. In proposing that all comrades in the center be assigned to work regularly with given districts during the entire Building Drive, we propose that their assistance be not only general to the district leadership, but that they also work with the district comrades to help build a shop concentration club.

Very important instruments for making the Party visible, showing where it stands on the issues of vital concern to shop workers, and showing that it is a factor among the workers, are shop papers. We still have not succeeded in restoring this form. We propose that the following districts take as a task of this building drive the launching and maintenance of at least one shop paper: Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, New York, Southern California, Northern California, Eastern Pennsylvania, Washington, New England. We would, of course, welcome additional districts to add their names to this list at this meeting.

It may be that, to make sure it gets started, the shot paper will start as two sides of a mimeod sheet, put out once a month together with the DW or PW at the plant. But we must get started.

The Club

The Building Drive aims cannot be seen only in terms of numbers of new members. Attention must be focused on building specific shop and neighborhood clubs, how they are to be built and

by whom. To make a breakthrough in Party building we will have to fight to make the clubs fully the center of Party activity and organization as they are supposed to be. During the election campaign we had examples of clubs that grew in their mass ties, in becoming centers of our political work and grew organizationally. Some clubs, however, did not meet and became, in effect, dissolved into Hall-Tyner Committees of Party and non-Party members.

The club on the Lower East Side of New York grew stronger from consistent electoral work. It collected 2,300 signatures on petitions and distributed 20,000 pieces of material. Members were out every weekend in strength on electoral activity. Many new contacts were made and people moved closer to the Party. The club's visibility as a fighting force in the community is much increased for the long haul with the opening of a community Party headquarters. The comrades were also active in an independent candidacy connected with the housing movement.

One of our difficulties in giving greater political life to clubs as centers of organizing mass struggle is building clubs with clear purpose and concentration areas of responsibility. It is very difficult to do so in an industrial club with comrades from many shops and even industries. It is also very difficult to do in a club that is a product of several mergers and whose members live all over a whole congressional district. The task is to progress from where we are to the creation of a shop club in a concentration shop and to a real neighborhood club in a concentration neighborhood in the heart of a ghetto, barrio, white working class area or mixed working class area.

Sometimes it requires some real boldness to start a new club with only a few comrades from such a neighborhood and others from elsewhere helping temporarily. So long as there is a Party building spirit and some potential leadership, we should not hesitate to establish even a small new club on such a basis. Such a club was recently established in the primarily white working class neighborhood of Kensington in Philadelphia. During the campaign, with the aid of another club, it was able to do a lot of work, establish some important mass ties, hold a large house gathering with Comrade Hall of primarily white workers and lay the basis for real Party building.

In order for our clubs to grow, they must be centers of initiative and organization of mass struggle based on an independent class and Marxist-Leninist perspective. There are often strong pressures against this both from long-standing approaches to our role and style and from objective conditions today.

In one club in one of the industries that has chronic unemployment, the comrades have not taken the initiative in finding ways to bring Black workers into their union and industry. The union's approach is to protect the jobs of those who have them and acceptance of attrition. This is used as an excuse for not finding special measures to bring Black workers into this branch of the industry, claiming that to do so, in the face of loss of jobs, would be divisive. Such a situation requires initiative from those who have a class understanding who see that an approach of trying to protect a limited section of the class will not succeed but rather Black-white class solidarity, a fight for the interests of the whole class is the only possible winning approach. Then it is possible to put forward a program that provides special measures to open the doors to Black workers while providing more

work for all. But to make such a program the property of all the workers and of the union cannot be done just through the old method of an individual Communist or two raising it on the union floor or in an organization of the union that is at the level of general inter-union politics. It requires developing the support of a rank and file group that is ready to fight with us to make it the position of the whole union. Until the recent '72 elections, despite the presence in the club of very experienced people who have held leading positions, not much was done to develop organized rank and file expressions. When the union threatened to follow Meany's neutrality position, rank and file activity compelled a different position, and there is a new potential of ongoing rank and file activity. The Party club also made some progress through distribution of Hall-Tyner material.

One of our most urgent tasks is to organize classes in all districts for club leadership, including tasks of club leadership to build the clubs. The Education Department with the help of the Organization Department nationally needs to put this together with new members class outlines at the top of the agenda. Seminars for present and potential district leadership is also a priority task.

The role of section, district and national leadership is decisive. We still have too many clubs that have not seen a person in leadership in a long period of time. We still have too many people in leadership who can go a whole year without attending any club other than their own. Of course, consistent work with concentration clubs is key, but we cannot set an example of how to build the Party unless we also fight for the activity and involvement of the entire Party membership. If we write off part of the membership because they are not activists or are in older age categories, we will tend to narrow the base of membership and of activists instead of constantly expanding it.

One of our goals with respect to clubs in the membership drive is to end a situation in which any of our clubs remain all white in communities where there are Black, Chicano or Puerto Rican people. This goes also for shop and industrial and professional clubs. To change the situation by recruiting, several things will be necessary. The all-white club, as with all clubs, will have to show major initiative among white working masses against racism. This requires skill in placing the real self-interest of white masses and sometimes going against the current for a while. But there is every reason to have confidence that white workers can be won. There must be an atmosphere of consistent struggle against internal reflections of ruling class racism. Political and social relationships must be developed with Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican forces in the community. In the final analysis, a Black person or group of Black people will hesitate to enter an all-white club unless personal rapport has been developed through social relationships as well as political relationships. It is also clear that Black people and especially workers will have much more confidence in the Party's seriousness in fighting racism if the Party is recruiting white workers who, as white Communist shop workers, are so decisive to the fight against racism.

While we fight for a definite system of clubs organized on a shop or territorial principle, we may well find it necessary to create temporary club forms during the membership drive. The

club would be composed of new members plus a couple of experienced people who are best able to give it leadership and help educate the new members. As new members joined, others would be transferred into the regular club structure. The purpose of club form is to consolidate new members and prepare them for assignments to their normal clubs.

Reaching Millions with our Propaganda and Agitation

The masses have to be able to see us to judge us. During the campaign we came before tens of millions and learned that it can be done and a great deal about how to do it. We should now build on that experience. Previously we had agreed to the concept of a Department of Propaganda and Agitation. The nucleus, in the form of a mass media committee, now exists. To put our Building Drive into effect we need to solve the personnel and other problems in this area. Significant amounts of free TV and radio interview and news time can be gotten, not only at election time, if we have comrades working at it in the center and districts. We also have learned a lot with respect to making our own video and audio tapes and films for mass and inner Party education purposes. Regular participation in legislation hearings is another form of reaching masses. We have done things with mass leaflets we haven't done in a long time. A specific plan with regard to these forms of coming before the masses should be worked out as part of the drive.

We see our greatly increased visibility as a most serious contribution to the struggle to decisively defeat reaction since it confronts anti-communism head on which, together with racism, serves as reaction's two major ideological weapons. It is a major avenue to influence the thinking of masses on the crucial issues and to stimulate a much wider probing of the socialist alternative. It directly increases the number interested in joining our Party as our mail from TV and radio programs attests. It also makes it easier for comrades in mass movements to win acceptance, both of our line on many questions and of ourselves as Communist participants. Of course, the DW, PW, PA, and literature are among the major means of visibility.

A very important form of visibility which enables the masses to judge what we fight for is the Party member where he or she works, lives and participates in mass movements. If we are working correctly, individually and collectively, as Communists, we are constantly expanding the circle of those who know we are for socialism and those who know we are Communists. The very minimum for all Communists should be that two non-Party people on their job, among their neighbors, in the mass movement they are active in, are friends who know they are members of the Party and to whom they regularly bring our reading matter. For most, the circle should be much bigger and ever-widening.

Often, comrades in mass movements say that if they were widely known as Communists the mass movement in which they play such an important role would suffer and they would have to play a much more limited role.

In one club where we have comrades who play a tremendous role in mass movements in the neighborhood, this argument is raised even though some of the comrades appeared widely in public representing the Party a couple of years ago. Here we raised

the question: If we had two comrades working regularly in the same place, what would happen if one could be more or less open about membership while the other continued to play the same role? They saw the possibility that this could unlock the door to Party visibility and help build without reducing our influence even temporarily. I believe in this case and in many others where we have two comrades working regularly in the same place that if we have a division of labor with one being more open we will find it possible for the original person to also be known more widely as a Communist. Of course, the best way to have two or more comrades working in the same shop or movement is by recruiting. Once having achieved this, all kinds of new possibilities open up.

Intermediary Forms

As we know, intermediary forms are very important both as instruments for mobilizing masses for social struggle and as means of continuously moving more and more people close to and into the Party. While some work has been done in certain fields and some progress has been made, perhaps most notably the Angela Davis Defense Committees and now the beginning of a new general defense organization, in the trade union field, and now there are plans in the field of Pan-Africanism, we still are very slow in a number of areas. Too often what we build is narrower than it has to be and sometimes tends to become a mere legal substitute for the Party that from the outside of mass movements beckons them to come join. Often the sectarianism is tied to an insufficiently advanced position that does not offer workers looking for a fighting alternative an avenue of expression. More often there is no real effort of any kind. We will discuss the ideological questions involved in these weaknesses in a moment.

We want to project a fight for the idea that as a part of the Building Drive, in addition to broader intermediary forms, every single club should work alone or together with other clubs in building a close intermediary form. Such a form may be a YWLL branch, a Friends of the Daily World, a Marxist study group or forum. Whichever the form, a rich ideological life and participation in building our press and literature should be central features. A network of such groups all over the country is the gateway into the Party and the guarantee of a steady flow.

Ideological Questions

If we say that there is a need for our Party, press and literature and that there has been potential to build them, and now, as a result of the election campaign, the need for our Party expressed itself in a very new way, then what in our understanding holds us back from realizing the potential? Comrade Hall has dealt with this in relation to the total activity of the Party and especially in relation to the mass democratic struggle as evidenced in our practice and often even our policy expressions such as the three legged stool in electoral struggle. We have tended to overestimate the positive potential of ideological currents in the spontaneous mass movement, currents of liberal bourgeois ideology, reformism and social democracy and also petty bourgeois radicalism, and underestimate the necessity and potential for the special ideological contributions of Marxism-Leninism, of the CPUSA, to mass struggles. This has led to an insufficient independence of our position within mass movements,

an insufficient fight for the legality of the Party among the masses, in terms of its open role and efforts to build it and the League, its press and literature and to fighting to build intermediary forms that help carry our policies to the masses and move the masses toward the Party. It is also the basis of the relative lack of mass involvement of some. If the mass movement has the capacity to do so well without us and we have little to offer, why should we put ourselves out and get involved?

The level of McGovernism was incapable of defeating reaction. As the social problems of state monopoly capitalism have become deeper, the solutions required to make even a small dent became bigger. There is increasing necessity for ideological clarity and for sound mass leadership for mass movements to develop steadily, win some victories and prevent big defeats and derailment. This means the limitations of spontaneous mass movements are much greater today and that, in order to develop, they are much more in need of the special ideological contributions of our Party. We even had comrades who felt at one time that organizations like SDS, the Panthers, etc. would come to replace us or would be co-equal organizations. They failed to see their limitations and to distinguish their ideological positions from ours. These ideas greatly hampered the ability and desire of these comrades to build our Party. Life has taught much.

We are the ones in the peace movement who fight most consistently because of our ideology and Party position to do what is necessary to involve masses of workers, the whole Black community, and who fight for mass tactics as against narrow ones or ones based on reliance on tactics of liberal bourgeois figures that grow out of a lack of confidence in masses.

In the labor movement we see most clearly that a class conscious labor movement must be based on organized rank and file movements and must fight every expression of racism that the ruling class uses to divide the workers if the class is to be united against monopoly.

Within the Black liberation movement we add the emphasis on the role of the Black workers and their special demands and on the possibility of unity of the class and alliance of the whole people and the whole class against monopoly.

Because of our ideology we are the most consistent and very often the only ones to place these questions in the various mass movements.

But often, without meant to, we, the leadership, set a tone in the Party that suggests these special contributions to the mass struggle will either come spontaneously from others in a sufficient way or the mass movement can get along without them. How does this express itself? When we discuss mass issues and campaigns without integrating the struggle to increase our influence through our press and literature and recruitment, we feed such notions. We say our line, when properly understood, is not a narrow line just for us but is the position most capable of gripping the masses and leading mass movements. It is a product of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and of our Party of a new type, a class organization organized on the principles of democratic centralism. But often we further the notion that our contributions to the mass movement are a result of the good ideas of a single individual, the person in the mass organization and a

leading person who sees that person from time to time. Too often, instead of making the clubs the center of our mass politics, we take the politics out of them by going around them. The club then provides the Jimmy Higgins work of servicing the mass movement. The logic of such practices is that the mass movement is all important in itself and the Party as a system of organization is unimportant.

Mass participation by us does not feel a sense that its content is primarily the product of the club collective and even of the whole district. The national Party will reinforce the notion that the spontaneous mass movement is all-important and the Party largely irrelevant and there will be no sense of need and urgency to participate in building the Party. That is another reason why we need to give more concrete mass leadership. With such approaches by leadership we will reinforce the tendency of some in mass work to feel they have no time to participate in the work of the Party and in Party election campaigns, distributing our literature, selling our press, because the activities in a given mass organization are so important and so demanding while our own material and activity will have little influence.

Often the argument of the lack of time is combined with a feeling that any such activity will endanger their mass role because of the influence of anti-communists. To this line of argument we have to respond that the particular mass movement is going to run into serious trouble unless there is a real growth of the influence of the policies of the Party. This requires steadily increasing the number of comrades present by recruiting them there. The recruits have to come out of such mass struggles in which Communists participate. They cannot be recruited in a vacuum and then assigned into the mass activities. This requires time and attention to Party, press and literature building. Any other approach is short-sighted. Our experience in the election campaign and elsewhere demonstrates that the public expressions of the Party do influence the thinking and activity of masses on the issues of the day. The election campaign was open Party activity but it was also mass activity, influencing millions. Press building is by the same token mass activity.

We used to say and often still apply the view that we can get a mass movement to accept our line completely so long as they don't know it comes from Communists. If they knew, it would get nowhere. There are still significant problems of the impact of anti-communism for workers on the job and for participants in mass movements. But this is an incorrect perspective that is an obstacle not only to building the Party but also to our mass influence. The fight for acceptance of Communists' legality among the masses and of our mass line are not only not contradictory but are interdependent. It is very difficult for our line with regard to the struggle of a particular movement, to be fully expressed let alone to win out, without a growing acceptance that it comes from Communists. If it is to include that element so central to democratic unity of the people's forces -- rejections of anti-communism -- then the steadily growing visibility of Communist participation in the mass movement is necessary. This requires consciousness, collectivity, time and effort, a consciousness that visibility of Communists is very important both to being able to continually build the Party but also to be able to win the mass movement to a line they need for their greatest progress.

As a matter of fact we must participate in mass movements with the perspective that one of the crucial turning points for the labor movement and liberation movements will come with the election into leadership of people they know to be Communists. They will elect such people on the basis of learning their special contributions from experience and sensing that this comes from the Communist Party. Acting now with such perspective demands that we not put off until tomorrow, in the name of more immediate tasks, the constant building of the Party by everyone. It is inconceivable that a powerful anti-monopoly peoples coalition can come into existence and seriously contend in the electoral arena and elsewhere without the hand-in-hand development of a mass Communist Party that is the known leader of big trade unions of Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican liberation organizations and receives a mass vote in the electoral arena.

We have said, and it continues to be true, that the Party can not grow without involvement in mass movements and struggles or by simply calling from the side-lines to people to come join us. Our growth is fundamentally dependent on connection with masses in motion. But it is also true that the mass movements have reached a point where they need a much bigger Communist Party in their midst injecting an independent, class Marxist-Leninist approach for any really significant development.

Let us move much more rapidly in this direction by carrying out a breakthrough Building Drive in 1973.

FOR FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS
AND VICTIMS OF RACISM AND CLASS INJUSTICE

BY CHARLEEN MITCHELL

Member of Political Committee Responsible for Defense Work

For the comrades who came out in the hall while Angela Davis, Inez Williams and I were sitting out there caucusing, you should know that we met because we represent the only three people at this moment who are working in national defense work. There's something a little peculiar about that. I think Angela could probably relate it better than I, but when Carolyn Black and Vickie Stevens were in Arizona at the University of Tucson a couple of young men asked, "Aren't there any men in your committee?" The point I am making is that the work around defense is work for the whole Party, not just women.

If we're going to talk about defense work at this time it's necessary to take a look at the political atmosphere in which we're living today and why it is so necessary for us to begin to think in terms, not only of the freedom of political prisoners who are presently on trial, but of those that are probably going to be on trial. And more importantly, at this point in our discussions, we must discuss the role our Party can play and the problems we're going to face in our own Party in terms of probable frameups increasing of people in our own Party and in our Party leadership.

I don't want to take a great deal of time here to spell out the reasons for the growing repression in the country, because I know that the comrades are all familiar with them. I think that Gus Hall, the whole Political Committee and the Central Committee spelled it out very particularly for all of us when they raised the question early in the Presidential campaign of what it would mean if Nixon were a lame duck President. Angela used her favorite phrase when she said that Nixon is one who sometimes keeps his promises, particularly those promises that are made to further repress and oppress the movements in our own country. The problem, as we are facing it today, is one in which we are looking at the conspiratorial nature of the government--federal, state, local.

For those of you who read the Daily World magazine article on the Louisville conference on political prisoners I had the privilege of attending, you might recall that I said there that it is absolutely necessary for us to realize that reaction in this country is using the charge of conspiracy in another way to cover up for its own conspiracy and that, if we are able to pinpoint the conspiracy of the government then we would be able to understand how and where repression is going in the country. I said the main use of that conspiracy, of and by government, is as a preventive to the growth of mass movements in the country, and the main weapon and tie that is used to be able to carry on this repression is the tool of racism.

I want to deal with a little bit of history. I think that everybody in this room and probably the whole of our Party, unlike at any other time, joined in the fight to free Angela Davis. It was very easy for us to begin to understand and to impart to the rest of the country. It became far easier for us to begin to penetrate the discussion of what relevance the Communist Party has to

the Black liberation movement, and it became far easier for us to explain why repression was taking place in the country to the extent that it had been at that time.

When Angela was acquitted it left standing something of a hold-over on the part of the State of California. Angela, as you know, was originally indicted with Ruchell Magee. Ruchell Magee is presently on trial on the same charges on which Angela was originally indicted. The one charge that has been dropped from Ruchell Magee's case has been the charge of conspiracy. The fact of the matter is that Ruchell Magee has not been able to win the right to continuously be his own attorney. And unless we are able to explain to this country why Ruchell Magee is in prison in the first place, and why Ruchell Magee would take part in the desperate act, in which he did, then it is going to be very difficult for us to explain why Ruchell Magee wants to be his own lawyer and why Ruchell Magee is still sitting on trial today.

The second holdover from Angela's trial is that of the San Quentin 6. If you recall, at the time when George Jackson was murdered at San Quentin prison of August 21, 1971, a number of the inmates who were the victims were immediately the accused. Among those who were accused is Fleeta Drumgo, who had been acquitted earlier in the Soledad case. Inez, I'm sure, will give you more history on the San Quentin 6, when she speaks. These are cases that are left over from the time when Angela was arrested.

Lessons of the Free Angela Davis Movement

The problems we are now faced with, however, are: How do we now wrap up these cases in California and how do we build a defense movement that will begin to go way beyond what was going on in California into a national defense movement utilizing all of the lessons that we learned in the fight to free Angela? Some of the lessons that we learned are very important here. The major lesson we learned was that the legal and mass defense of political prisoners is an inseparable entity; that you cannot free a political prisoner in the courtroom alone, and you cannot, without a good, political legal defense in the courtroom, make a mass defense that will be penetrable in the mass movement.

The second lesson that we learned was that, in addition to the role of the national movement--first of all taking advantage of the number of Black people who were willing to organize around the issue of racism that were involved in Angela's case and the right for Angela to hold her political views--was the role of the international movement and the international solidarity that was displayed.

As many lessons as we learned in the campaign to free Angela, we also learned that we had a great many weaknesses and that there were some that were mainly organizational weaknesses. And I certainly don't think that they can be separated from some of the organizational weaknesses we face in the other arenas. One of the problems was that in the whole campaign to free Angela--which lasted from October 1970 until June 1972--in all of that time we did not somehow train sufficient cadre to be able to continue the movement now that Angela is free.

Another weakness we found was that, as broad as we were finally

able to make the campaign to free Angela, within that breadth there still remained a certain degree of sectarianism. First of all, within our own Party, but certainly within the mass movement itself, there was a feeling that in order to hold on to the leadership of the campaign to free Angela, to guarantee the breadth of that campaign, we did not, somehow or other, take advantage of the fact that there were many other people that could have been developed in that campaign who would have been the cadre to help build an ongoing defense organization. In the course of struggle, many people on different levels came closer to the movement to free Angela. But irrespective of some of these weaknesses, some of the things that did emerge when Angela was acquitted made it possible for us to begin on a new level in terms of the building of a national defense organization. And certainly that was not limited to the number of people who were working after Angela was acquitted. It certainly included Angela herself and I want to give you some brief rundown of what happened.

Not two days after Angela was acquitted she was on radio in California. She participated in and spoke at a mass meeting in Los Angeles. She spoke at a mass meeting in Chicago, Detroit, at the Madison Square Garden meeting in New York. She spoke at the SCLC banquet at their convention in Dallas and she spoke briefly at a press conference which turned out to be a mass meeting in Atlanta.

After Angela finished that brief tour, she went on a tour of the socialist countries. There were some problems, however, that were inherent in that tour. And while I want to stress that Angela's tour to the socialist countries, in terms of the international movement to free her, was something that we were all very proud of, we also had to face some of the problems that were going to take place as a result of that tour. One such problem was that the press in this country and some of those who call themselves leaders in the Black liberation struggle, quite rapidly developed anti-communism and anti-sovietism. Nationalism on the part of some of the Black organizations in the country was expressed and an ultra-Left chauvinism on the part of many of those who were involved who were white in the Left.

The mass media, including the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times never had to say one thing in their own right in terms of an attack on Angela's tour. They were able to settle for the use of "from those in the Black liberation movement." They were able to settle on material from those who were writing letters to the Guardian and those who were appearing in meetings and challenging Angela's going to the socialist countries. Angela, however, when she returned immediately became involved in the election campaign of the Party. And I just want to show you what some of the sectarianism can be like.

One of the things that Angela stressed was that immediately when she got back she was going to campaign for the Party's Presidential campaign as well as for some of the local candidates. The Daily World received a letter asking what Angela was going to do for Rap Brown. The comrade who had written the letter said she had answered this question by saying that it was true that Rap Brown's case was important, but that at this point Angela was limited all of her time to the campaigning for the Communist Party's Presidential candidate. They did not for one moment think that in saying

that, they should also include the fact that in Angela's speeches she would be talking about political prisoners in this country and would have been able to bring together the fact that the Communist Party's campaign meant a hell of a lot to the freedom of political prisoners in the country. The fact of the matter is that when Angela did speak her speeches were in the main devoted to the repression existing in the country and the dangers of future repression if (as he was) Nixon was re-elected.

The kind of tour that Angela undertook after she returned to the country was one that I think is like a marathon. From three press conferences in New York, including one at the airport, one at the Harlem Marxist Institute, and one for Carlos Feliciano down at 100 Center Street, Angela immediately went to California where she appeared at a press conference and then at the trial of Billy Dean Smith--back to Chicago for a Party campaign rally--to Boston for a rally--to Fisk in Tennessee, Tennessee State, Philadelphia, Madison and Milwaukee, Wis., Cleveland, Spellman University, Stout University in Menominee, Wisconsin, Fullerton, California, the University of Arizona and Tucson, Ohio State, West Virginia, the University of Buffalo, a mass meeting in Buffalo, a mass meeting in Los Angeles, and last night a mass meeting from Atlanta to Charlotte, North Carolina via telephone.

The reason I mention the tour is not so much to say that Angela's stamina is so great, which I think it is, but it is to point out that there are people literally all over this country who are interested in what Angela Davis, the Black woman Communist, has to say, and that what she has to say has generally been a collective approach from this Party about what is going on in this country. It has been accepted in the best way possible.

The Present Status of Defense Work

But what are some of the problems that now exist? We now have after the 200 Angela Davis Defense Committees, some shell or some organization in the following places: (And I want to sort of describe these as we go along, and I want the comrades not to be angry if I say how it is, because if we say how it is, then we can correct it.) I'll start with Northern California. With the exception of a small committee in San Jose and with what is left of the old Angela Davis Committee in San Francisco, we have very little of the breadth that we were able to create around Angela's campaign. As a matter of fact, at the time when Robert Garcia, one of our own comrades, was picked up on a draft case and was being extradicted to Newark for trial, we were not able to have an immediate movement around Robert Garcia in that area. The fact of the matter was that if we had maintained the Angela Davis committee form in Northern California, we would have been able to do that.

In Southern California they have set up a committee. It has developed with people from the Angela Davis Committee, the Committee of the Arts, and the Los Angeles Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. And they look forward to a membership organization that will be in every way reflective of the population of Southern California. The problem, at this moment, as I know it, is that there is no full-timer in the Southern California organization in defense work.

In Chicago, at this point, they are now proposing a conference which will be held toward the end of January. After having dealt with the original problems of pulling the defense organization back together, having had some discussions and finally agreement that it is necessary to keep the Committee together, they are now able to center their attention on pulling the conference together. The problem is that, somehow or other, they don't seem to think Chicago has any political prisoners, and that all they can deal with is the question of prisons and Jails. I cannot see in a city as big as Chicago and with as many things as have been happening there, how there would not be any political prisoners. If there aren't any, I would say that the situation down in Cairo, Illinois should be enough for the Chicago Committee to begin to deal with.

The most exciting area in the country, as far as I'm concerned is in the South, and if I could I would spend the whole of my time talking about it. After the Louisville meeting we were able to set up and begin to pinpoint certain things and begin to understand the role of concentration. As many problems as it presents, that Southern meeting, representing as many as eight states from the South, came together and agreed that North Carolina would be its point of concentration.

As far as New York is concerned, Buffalo--which is like the site of Attica--has not yet been able to pull together a committee around some of the VVAW (Vietnam Veterans Against the War) cases and Martin Sostre, able to be reflective of the total community of Buffalo. But it seems to me that they are now beginning to be somewhat on the way. But I think we should have some overall discussions about it.

Still in New York, there is a Committee in Westchester that is functioning pretty much around the prison at Ossining (Sing-Sing) which is where they want to maintain the prison in terms of a community responsibility. Sing-Sing is accessible to New York City and there is community interest in the prison. The prison has a majority of Black Guards.

In New York there are many cases that have developed, including the Carlos Feliciano case, the Plainfield, N.J. case, the Attica indictments and the Harlem Four. There is the whole question of police brutality. But the question is that in New York now there are increasing attacks coming because of the military repression that is going on. There are now some 98 indictments that have come down from Buffalo and they expect within the next two weeks there will be 100 more indictments on draft resistance.

There are other Committees that are still functioning. There are committees in Philadelphia and a Committee--and I have it with a question mark--functioning in Boston. The reason that I have the question mark here is that I get the feeling that Boston is kind of waiting to see what they should take on as its next responsibility.

One of the problems we have is how in this area to single out cases as priority cases. We have had a lot of discussion about it. The fact is that it is impossible at this moment to think that we can find a single political prisoner that is going to be symbolic in the same way that Angela Davis was, because what happened in

the Angela case is that the whole question of political prisoners began to come to the fore and, in order to deal with questions of repression and racism in this country, it's necessary to deal with the whole court and penal system in the country. But it's also necessary to deal with the military and so, when we started to think of how to single out cases, we thought it was absolutely necessary to single out representative cases throughout the country.

Since we've single^d out some of these cases, we've gotten some victories. Billy Dean Smith is one. We talked about the necessity to link the Billy Dean Smith case with the VVAW case in Gainesville, Fla. The fact is that there are further indictments now in Gainesville and they still have not been able to get a mass movement in defense of the Gainesville Six. And then we thought that one of the areas in which we would have to deal was where repression was being made a test on the part of reaction in the country. And it was in that sense that we thought North Carolina was going to be not just one case, but a statewide test. In that sense, we were talking about the Charlotte Three, the Wilmington Eleven and the Ayden Eleven. These are three separate cases in North Carolina where, in every instance, the frame-ups are so obvious that it would take a child not to understand it.

The other question that we saw was the whole question of Attica and the indictments that will probably be handed down. After sitting more than 14 months, the Grand Jury will probably come down with over 100 indictments against the men who again were the victims of repression and racism that was wreaked at Attica. (There have been 37 indictments as Party Affairs goes to press and more are expected.--Ed.)

Building a National Defense Organization

The actual status now of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis is as follows: We are proposing that the local areas, wherever there are Angela Davis Committees, call conferences, with the idea in mind of affiliating with a conference that will be called to form a national defense organization. The problem, however, that we are faced with is that in many of the districts, the Party leadership has not found a way to give cadre to the formation of this national defense organization. We have been unable to find a way to utilize all of the goodwill that we have been able to engender in the communities throughout the nation, in order now to bring those people together for the freedom of all political prisoners. If we do not find Party cadre to bring this kind of an organizational structure into being, then those organizations which call themselves political prisoner organizations, which tend to be either the ultra-left type or the nationalist type, will begin to talk as if they are the political prisoner organization, and no work will be done. That would sidetrack us into becoming debaters with them rather than our getting down to work.

The fact is that it is very possible for us to be the leadership of a national defense organization and for that leadership to be completely accepted. The problem, however, is that unless we show the greatest degree of initiative and creativity, we will not be able to live up to our leadership potential. People will not accept our leadership just on the basis that we are the Party that spear-headed and led the movement to free Angela Davis. The most that they can say is that we did a good job but that we haven't continued that

job. So, the need for organizers, both locally and nationally, in terms of a national defense organization is most important.

In the projection of a national defense organization, we've come up with a number of real ideological questions. One of those is: What is a political prisoner? Another is: Whom do we defend? Another: What about our own Party and how will the defense of our own Party be part of the defense organization?

Let me briefly give what I consider to be a definition of a political prisoner. I think what we have finally come up with is some form of definition. Political prisoners are those people, who, because of their activities, have been arrested, on whatever framed-up charges there might be; or those people who have been convicted and put in jail because of those frame-up charges. The other people whom we can define as political prisoners are those people already in prison for whatever reasons, and, because they have become political and become involved in political issues in the prisons, are further repressed, are kept in jail, not given their paroles and are not given the treatment of human beings while in prison.

But those victims, for example, who are victims of military repression--those people I just mentioned who are being indicted for refusing to participate in a genocidal war in Vietnam--these, too, are considered to be political prisoners. But is it sufficient now for a national defense organization to stop at what is classically called the "political prisoner"? We have gone a little further and said that there is a need to defend, not only the political prisoner in the classical sense of which we are talking, but all those who are victims of racist and repressive court and penal institutions in this society. I don't think it is necessary for us to spell that out here, because if we stop and think about it--I think it's Patterson (William L. Patterson) who places it this way--while all of the people who are before the courts, who are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, may not be political prisoners in this sense, all of their trials are political trials inasmuch as they represent the racism that is inherent in those cases.

On the question of, whom do we defend--well, it's a very interesting kind of concept. We've been asked to defend people who are separatists, people who say that they are anti-communists, but feel that they need a mass defense. There are people who, because of desperation, because of the racism, have been driven, in one instance, such as Emily Butler, to kill the supervisor where she worked in Atlanta. These are all cases to come before such a defense organization and we are going to have to be prepared to give some kind of advise in terms of a defense.

The question can easily be put: Can they all be put on the same order of the day? I don't think so. But I do think that it is necessary for us to give attention to every last one of these cases that are victims of racism and repression in this country.

Attacks Against Our Own Party

But even more than that, in our own Party we now have four recent cases we can look at to which we have not given due consideration. For example, John Line, who last week finally had the last of his charges dropped, is a member of our own Party. And while the

Detroit Party organization and YWLL took the case up, the case never became a part of the Angela Davis Committee in the area, to my knowledge. The Angela Davis Committee no longer felt itself to be the defense organization. Or take the case of Robert Garcia which will now be taking place in Newark; or the two recent cases of comrades from California, Heshima (Clifford Broadnacks) and Leonard McNeil, who were picked up, one for draft evasion and the other for being AWOL. These are cases through which the Party is being directly attacked in these massive arrests where 11 and 12 FBI agents surround the paper (People's World) and the homes of the comrades and arrest them.

I don't think these attacks are going to lessen. I think they will increase. We're going to have to have a movement that is so unified and so organized that we will be able to defend not only our own comrades, but the mass movement. After all, that is exactly what is under attack.

I think that one of the reasons that the South is so organized is the special kind of repression that exists there, not only in North Carolina, but in Florida, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, everywhere that we can mention. Any movement that begins to emerge--it doesn't even have to take shape, it just begins to emerge--is immediately attacked, chopped down by numerous arrests.

The problem is that we have not been able in our own organizational structure to give the kind of leadership to that movement in the South that will make it possible to defend itself. And I think that we are now in a position to begin to do that. I think our Party can play a role in that in a way that no other organization can. And it's in that sense that we have singled out North Carolina as that kind of place, a place where we can readily make understood and seen what Black-white unity means, and the whole question of the special needs of the South. We can point to organizations in the South which are interracial and that are active in winning whites in the fight against racism. The only such organization outside of our Party in the South is SCEF (Southern Conference Educational Fund).

A whole number of things are beginning to emerge. What are some of the healthy signs? The following conferences are going to take place within the next six weeks in the country: New York is going to have a conference on December 16. That conference has already set itself the task of the formation of a New York defense organization. North Carolina has a conference on December 7 in Raleigh. Unfortunately, it was unable to form the organization we hoped for. But there are enough people who emerged from that meeting that will make it possible for them to take part in a national defense organization. Chicago has decided to have a conference some time around January 20. Throughout the South there will be conferences in January and February. Southern California has had one conference and I don't know if they are projecting another. It's our hope that Northern California will immediately begin to undertake such a conference.

If Chicago conference is a success, it will be a regional conference because that is what they are proposing. It is my feeling that it would be good to have a conference in Detroit, Milwaukee, Indiana and Minnesota. But if that is not possible, it seems to me that those people who are working in defense should find a way to

cooperate with the conference in Chicago to make it a regional conference and, therefore, make a national conference possible, which we hope to be able to call toward the beginning of March. This will be a representative conference from all over the country that will represent organization from all over the country.

We are in a position to play a role in bringing about an organization that has meaning all over this country. But we must understand that the organization is one in which we have to play a major role and in which we are not the only people playing a role. We have to understand that there are many other people who are qualified and willing to join in the struggle for the freedom of political prisoners. If we understand all of these things and put them into action, I think it will be possible for us to have a mass defense organization no later than the Spring of 1973, and I think that we will have played a major role in bringing that about.

STANDARDS FOR PARTY MEMBERS AND LEADERSHIP

BY HELEN WINTER

Chairman, International Affairs Commission

I approach this report from the point of view of contributing to the discussion on Party building and not as a special order of business. Maybe it should be a special order of business because it deals with the whole body of problems and questions and some achievements that I think in times to come will require some special discussion.

I also want to associate myself with all the comrades who welcomed comrade Gus Hall's report and the extended remarks of comrade Winston. I think they were tremendous contributions to the understanding of the present moment, to the ideological and organizational activities of our Party and the problem now is to make the next year the year of building on these achievements attained during the course of the election campaign in all of their aspects.

In planning our Party, youth organization, press and literature building drive, there needs to be an emphasis on the quality in this activity. We cannot automatically assume that quantity turns into quality. Work needs to be done to guarantee this. Neither should we have the attitude that a person must be a confirmed and perfect Marxist-Leninist and know the answers to all questions of theory and practice before he or she is allowed into our ranks.

The purpose of my remarks is to open up some discussion on these questions of standards for Party membership and Party leadership. By no means can this be all-inclusive, and I know there is very much more to be desired. Nor do I want to put myself in a position of being holier than thou or self-righteous, because there are many of the problems that are going to be discussed that I can relate to myself as well as to many other comrades in our Party and in our leadership. This question of discussing the matter of standards cannot be developed by a schematic or rigid approach, but rather

by dealing with situations concretely as they exist. We must deal with potential members as they are, Party activists or leaders as they find themselves where they are active. From that point a constant program must be developed in theory and practice, to strengthen the comrade, be critical of weaknesses, but to help mold him or her as one who will make the maximum contribution possible to our movement and lead workers in struggle on current issues to improve conditions of life which also are stepping stones on the road to socialism. Party membership lies in the ability to execute political and organizational functions and to accomplish concrete tasks confronting our Party at a given moment. And here I want to quote from a small booklet, entitled Leninist Standards of Party Life (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969). I want to give a few words of explanation and possible warning. This booklet was written for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but it includes basic Leninist concepts and Leninist standards which, I think, apply to the world Communist movement. I think that we should read it and apply it in that respect. I quote from page 18:

"For the successful solution of assigned tasks one must be able to take a great share of responsibility, be business-like, examine situations calmly and realistically without allowing oneself to be hypnotised by high-sounding phrases and assess the real possibilities as well as the difficulties, the successes as well as the shortcomings. A thoughtful and thorough approach to any problem, the ability to be guided by all-sided analysis, to evaluate critically the results of one's activity, and to have a considerate and attentive attitude to people--these should form the style of work of Party organizations, of all Communists.

"The most important condition for successful fulfilment of the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party is the undeviating implementation of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principles of collective leadership.

"What are the Leninist standards and principles of Party life?

"Lenin wrote that the normal activity of the Party and the successful struggle to translate its policies into life is impossible '...without the collective elaboration of certain forms and rules for the conduct of affairs, without the establishment...of every Party member's responsibility to the entire Party.' Such forms and rules for conducting Party affairs were worked out by Lenin and his associates in the period of the formation of the Party and were entered into the Party Rules adopted at the Second Congress of the RSLDP (Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party--Ed.).

"The Leninist standards of Party life are the main guiding rules which define the forms of Party organization, its inner life and its methods of activity. They deal with all that is connected with the rights and obligations of Party members and the Party organizations, the character of mutual relations between Communists and Party committees, the procedures for the formation of leading Party organs, the organizational structure of the Party and other aspects of Party life. They are based on scientific principles--the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the revolutionary party--and are intimately connected with the aims and tasks of the Party."

One of the key tendencies that should exist in the inner life of the Party is to strive for the heightening of the level of responsibility of the individual Party member and his role in finding solutions to the tasks of his Party organization and of the whole Party. This is especially essential now because of the increase in the number of tasks that the Party has to accomplish. It is essential to guarantee the leading political, ideological and organizational role of the Party in this complicated situation.

Here is another quote from this pamphlet, on page 55:

"The guiding organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism. It indissolubly combines the extensive development of inner-Party democracy with strict Party discipline, the organization and cohesion of Party ranks with the activity and initiative of all Communists. Only a centralized leadership can give expression to the interests of the entire Party and the whole people, and not merely those of individual persons or groups, and can unite their energies and direct them towards the common aim.

"Lenin considered the development of criticism and self-criticism in every way among the indispensable conditions for strengthening the Party and for improving its work. The Party of Communists criticises itself, and by criticising inevitably strengthens itself. Principled, open criticism was considered by Lenin to be the duty of a revolutionary. He pointed out that it had a place in the arsenal of every Party organization. Lenin warned that the Party must critically examine the results of its activity, and should not hide from the Party members and the people the shortcomings in its work.

"The party cannot fulfill its role of the working class and all working people if it fails to notice its own shortcomings; if it is unable to expose the negative aspects in its work, if it is afraid of openly and honestly acknowledging its mistakes and cannot correct them in time.

"Lenin wrote in this connection: 'A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the Party is and how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and working people. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification — that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its class, and then the masses.'

"Open criticism of its own defects is not a sign of the weakness but the great strength of a Marxist Party, and a means of strengthening it further. Lenin insisted that a Party could learn to win and succeed only when it could face the truth, even the worst, squarely."

Now I think we can apply that very well and very accurately.

From this I think we have to discuss the question of selection of leadership of the Party and personnel. We have to consider the political and organizational competence of comrades who are elevated to a responsible post in the Party. And we have to consider if they are not fully prepared that their seriousness in

the process of learning, their dedication, their ability to combine personal life with political responsibilities and to place Party in the foreground of their lives is indispensable to attain such positions.

Together with the Party collective, aid and assistance should be given to develop plans and programs for ideological, political and organizational training of potential leaders.

In our country, the deterioration and degeneration of the economy and life around us creeps into Party life and affects us in various ways.

Historical Background of the Fight for Higher Standards

During the period of McCarthyism and the Smith Act assaults on our Party, there were again strong tendencies towards liquidationism. The content of our political work had been watered down during the Browder period and our Party had been all but destroyed when it was transformed into the Communist Political Association in 1944 with the dissolution of the youth organization about the same time. So that for a whole generation, or more, we neglected work among youth and thus the obligation of rejuvenating our Party on an on-going basis by bringing youth into the Party and into the leadership was not met. When the progressive youth movement began its upswing activity in the later 1950's this was done with the participation of limited Communist forces, and thus basic political and ideological influences were not at a high point. This, among other reasons, resulted in the acceptance of lower standards for Party membership and leadership.

Since these times we have had several years of positive experience during which our Party has consolidated itself politically and organizationally. District bodies function regularly as well as the center.

We have just gone through intensive electoral activity during which our Party's candidates and their representatives carried on a continuous public struggle for clarity on issues -- issues such as ending the war in Indochina, against U.S. imperialism wherever it may present itself, the fight for democratic rights, against racism and manifestations of white superiority, for economic improvement in conditions of the workers and strengthening of the trade union movement, against class collaboration, for the equal rights of women, jobs and education for youth, an improved and equal system of education, better housing and equal housing and better transportation and for equal rights in all spheres of life for Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Asian peoples, and much more. As a result, we now must be in a position, both in quantity and quality, to increase and improve our Party organization, its size and strength in political mass work to gear ourselves to fight the class battles of this moment in history.

The question arises as to who can be a member of the Party. And our Constitution says that a person who agrees with our Program as determined by the Constitution and conventions, belongs to a Party club, participates in club activity and pays dues may be a member of the Party. But this constitutional requirement must be implemented by some standards. Those who recruit must know about what these standards are to be and know the kind of people they recruit. We want to be bold and reach out, and we

should not screen members in such a way that we eliminate honest working class elements.

We should understand that the ruling class in our country will go to all ends to infiltrate our Party and intermediary and mass organizations. Various methods are used to demoralize our ranks, to make us suspicious of our fellow comrades. One recent example was in Chicago where some kind of an anonymous committee set itself up to seek out FBI agents in the ranks of the Communist Party and progressive organizations. They sent out statements giving supposed information on agents. Some of these so-called "agents" were leading people in the Party in Illinois. This is, obviously, a provocation.

There are various methods of rumor mongering, gossip, spreading false tales or taking advantage of a comrade's weakness in a certain respect. But we cannot allow the building of our Party, and increasing of our recruiting activity to come to a halt because of such negative features that confront us. Rather we must determine certain standards, and we must know or begin to learn the positive activities and personal qualifications and aspects of personal life of potential recruits.

Approach to Recruiting

To recruit off the street alone as a primary method is foolhardy. Recruiting should be done in the course of activity, where one can see a potential recruit's worth and possibility for contribution to our Party, under conditions where there is experience with a given potential recruit. Does this mean that he or she must be a perfect person in every respect, as we, as Marxist-Leninists see it? Not necessarily. This theoretical understanding and its practical application can be developed in the course of study and activity. It is brought about, first of all, through new members classes, an introduction to the Party that every new recruit should attend and then in the course of Party life and experience in Party and mass work. But a few basic prerequisites are necessary:

- An understanding that our Party is an organized detachment of the working class.

- An understanding that we are enemies of racism within our country and as expressed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and other parts of the world. That we fight against any expressions or acts of white chauvinism or lack of sensitivity with respect to this question, in the Party, or in organizations where we participate.

- An understanding of the internationalist role of our Party.

- An understanding of our support for the socialist community of nations and the leading role played by the Soviet Union.

- The fight against all manifestations of anti-communism or anti-Sovietism.

Is this too much to expect of a new recruit? Maybe so, and if we have questions on this, let's see what can be done to guarantee that an understanding of these points can be reached through careful organization of discussions and education.

A person being asked to join the Party should be one who is making contributions through activity in an organization -- a

trade union, in the community, in the peace movement, youth, women's organization or movements -- whatever may exist that the recruit relates to in his everyday life.

A person should be or become a reader of our press and literature. We don't need non-thinkers, non-activists, people who start from nothing. We need those in our Party who are involved, and membership in the Party will not only make them more involved, but more consciously involved, with a determination to learn what makes this world tick, to learn the fundamentals of the science of Marxism-Leninism as the necessary guide to activity in travelling forward to socialism.

To guarantee a breakthrough in Party recruiting and to fight for higher standards in our Party, and at the same time tighten security, is a real test for us. Here it is necessary to remind ourselves of the St. Louis experience of allowing into our Party those who would take over the Party by force. And the way to do this was to assassinate our General Secretary and Presidential candidate, Comrade Gus Hall. Not knowing the depth of enemy ideology that seeps into the thinking and life style of individuals or groups, or taking a liberal attitude towards those who act in a non-Communist manner, created a condition that could have done irreparable damage to our Party and working class movement. One thing that contributed to the looseness of Party organization was that national comrades from outside the Missouri district recruited into that district without consultation or processing in the district. Compounding this, there were national comrades who knew the political line and activities of some of the people in the Party in St. Louis and did nothing meaningful to alert the national office as to the dangers. We know of this from our last Central Committee meeting and the special report given by Comrade James Jackson. (Report in this issue of Party Affairs.)

It is possible to succeed in the struggle for higher standards if there is all-Party consciousness and educational activity, which guarantees for every member a minimum course in Marxism-Leninism, strategy and tactics applicable to our present day conditions and an understanding of the purposes and functions of the Party and Party organization. But this must be built on knowledge of people that we are dealing with. To guarantee proper Party building, this knowledge of people we work with is essential. Comrade Jackson, dealing with this question in his report to the September meeting of the Central Committee, said the following. He first quoted Lenin's What is to be Done: "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire."

Comrade Jackson added:

"Lenin didn't say we must hold up. He said we must advance. But he established the conditions of unity and togetherness. To defend the Party against all who weave webs for killer spiders to make attacks on its leadership requires (1) vigorously and boldly building the presence of the Party among the masses through a merging in and initiative in the mass struggles of the working class and oppressed masses -- that is, more mass work is called for, more open work, not less, (2) strict insti-

tution of control and enforcement of the practice of democratic centralism with accountability for acting out and abiding by decisions and enhancing respect for Party channels, (3) the raising of the ideological level and policy comprehension as a form of control of the entire membership from club level to Central Committee and Political Committee level. We have to be able to guarantee that the members of the Party know what they're in and what is expected on at least the minimum programmatic and policy questions of current importance."

Social Ills Must Not Seep Into Our Party

In our present-day society, we have a magnitude of ills -- reflecting and resulting from the deterioration of the system in which we live. There is the drug scene with its resultant criminal activities; there is over-drinking and alcoholism, there is sexual promiscuity, there is homosexual behavior. There is white chauvinism, male supremacy, bourgeois nationalism and feminism -- and much more. There is over-concern for one's own comforts.

There is an attitude towards gun-toting advocacy and violence. I refer you here to our 19th Convention resolution dealing with the question of armed self-defense. It would be well for us to refer to this resolution from time to time to refresh our memories.

Let us also add the problem of hustling -- petty or otherwise -- and financial irresponsibility. None of these problems can be allowed to seep into our ranks, and if found there, must be eradicated.

The question of factionalism in our ranks must be high on our list of those practices that cannot be tolerated and must be eliminated. In a few districts we have factional tendencies or factions that exist, sometimes expressed against leadership and many times with a platform against Party policies. This turns the Party's face and activity inward rather than outward for mass activity. All such tendencies must be eliminated and the principles of democratic centralism enforced. We cannot be liberals in this if we are to have a Party of working class content and action.

Fight Against Racism, Central to Class Unity

To discuss further some questions of racism and white chauvinism, to properly consider these questions, a starting point must be the centrality of class unity. This is a big discussion in itself and has been dealt with considerably in the reports and some discussion at this meeting. It's necessary, to the point of possible repetition, to indicate how some matters of racism and chauvinism are expressed. Let us consider the fact that in some districts collection of signatures for the Party petitions, distribution of literature and election campaigning was done almost exclusively in Black communities. There was limited or no consideration as to how to win over sections of the white working class to an understanding of our electoral program, to an understanding of the racism that exists in our society, and the need for unity of white and Black to struggle against it and for their common needs.

What about the limited activity, if any, with respect to the Forest Hills and Canarsie situations in New York. In the

latter we are informed that white comrades approached Black comrades to ask them what they were doing. A Party approach on the part of white Communists was found wanting.

What about the Newark Kawaida Towers situation? The Newark club had a fine statement in the Daily World. I have not yet heard of any public announcement of concrete activity initiated by the district. What about the white peace workers? What about the white community leaders? What about the YWCA? There are dozens and dozens of means by which they could be approached to develop unity on this particular situation and white comrades must take the lead to involve white people in this struggle.

What about the chauvinistic and male supremacist attitudes towards our Black women cadres that are not dealt with by either white or Black male comrades?

What about super-criticism of some of our Black comrades who are district leaders, or national Black leaders who are subject to criticism beyond what white comrades receive?

Standards need to be set and examination is needed in cases of white comrades who flee from the struggles in the cities around schools and housing. We should characterize as acts of chauvinism when white comrades pull their children out of public schools and place them in private schools; when they move out of changing neighborhoods into all-white, generally suburban, neighborhoods. In so doing, they essentially remove themselves from the mounting racism as inculcated through housing patterns and the resulting school population patterns, and the need for white Communists to struggle against it.

What about rooting out all practices of bureaucracy, individualism and lack of collectivity that exist throughout our Party from the club to the national leadership? Then there's the entire question of the relationship of money to political work. And here we have some curious situations. We have some district leaders who feel it beneath their dignity to handle the matter of dues payments in their district or to even concern themselves with carrying these dues payments to the national office. There seems to be an attitude that the woman in the Party can do it. That's her speed. Or a young comrade who doesn't know very much can do it. That's his or her speed -- or that an old, ancient comrade that can't get out on the street and do other work can do it -- that's his speed. But the district leader is not concerned. This goes to the very heart of Party membership. This goes to the basic minimum requirement in our Party organization.

Or we have some comrades who lean upon the national office for funds. They indicate that there are some kind "angels" around, so why should they be bothered with it when their organizations aren't strong enough. They don't want to ask anybody for money because they're afraid they'll be turned off. In relation to this we've had a rule for many years about each district making a specific contribution, towards the expenses of the meetings of the Central Committee and the National Council, which, incidentally, are very expensive to run. Comrades come in without their share towards these expenses. They don't say, "We can't afford this much; can we make it less?" They don't say, "We aren't able to raise it now; we will see what we can do when we get back and turn it in a little bit later." But they do say,

"Don't both me, that's not my problem." Well, whose problem is it? I think we have to ask ourselves that.

These, in general, are problems that affect both members in our ranks and leadership at all levels. Each point could be examined and evaluated in detail and we will conclude that our Party is found wanting in some of these and many other areas.

It is necessary for us to be clear when recruiting into the Party and setting standards for Party membership that users or pushers of drugs are not accepted. And here I want to just make mention of the fact that in today's Daily World, there is a story by Donna Ristorucci on the Young Workers Liberation League statement with respect to drugs and the action taken at their Central Committee meeting. The statement concludes: "There was agreement that the only real alternative to drugs for masses of youth is mass struggle for jobs, education, health care, recreational facilities, housing, and the elimination of slums." And among the decisions they made were that they oppose the legalization of marijuana, and that they favor laws which put the burden of punishment on the importers, pushers, syndicates and their accomplices in government, not on the users. Their goal is the total elimination of all drug use, including marijuana, from the League. The bringing of marijuana or any other illegal drug to a political function is sufficient grounds for expulsion from the League. Non-use of drugs and a degree of struggle against drug use are mandatory requirements for leadership in the League from branch executives to the Central Committee. I think that we could approve of those decisions and underscore them ourselves. And it's time that we did so.

Further, with respect to recruiting into the Party, persons having a criminal record of any kind must be carefully investigated. People who drink to the point of being irresponsible in their behavior are not acceptable. Known homosexuals are not acceptable. Emotional instability, the quick loss of temper or hotheadedness that could lead to violence of any kind cannot be condoned. We have, unfortunately, a few instances where there are physical attacks between husband and wife who are both in the Party, through loss of temper, through misunderstanding, or through emotional instability. One doesn't always know. We have to examine these situations and we have to ask ourselves whether people who are not able to handle their personal lives better than this should be members of the Party.

With respect to ideological weaknesses, only those who show concern for self-criticism and correction should be considered for membership. And there should be constant watchfulness within the Party organization for expressions of these various ills and weaknesses so that correction can take place, and if correction is impossible, then elimination from membership in our ranks. We must eliminate liberalism, but at the same time guard against inflexibility and rigidity which would tend to make correction impossible.

What is a Correct Cadre Policy?

Allow me to draw from George Dimitrov who in his report to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International devoted an important section to cadres. He said, to paraphrase him:

In our practical work, to carry out our Party's political

line and program, people, cadres, decide everything. What is a correct policy with regard to cadres?

1. Knowing one's people.
2. Proper promotion of cadres.
3. The ability to use people to the best advantage -- and here I would like to quote a couple of sentences:

"We must be able to ascertain and utilize the valuable qualities of every single active member. There are no ideal people; we must take them as they are and correct their weaknesses and shortcomings. We know of glaring examples in our Party of the wrong utilization of good, honest Communists who might have been very useful had they been given work that they were better fit to do."

4. Proper distribution of cadres.
5. Systematic assistance to cadres. Assistance should consist of detailed instruction, friendly checkup, correction of shortcomings and errors, and concrete day-to-day guidance.
6. Care and preservation of cadres (dealing with illegal conditions of Party work.)

Then he goes on to indicate our main criterion in selection of cadres:

"First, absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, loyalty to the Party, tested in face of the class enemy -- in battle, in prison, in court.

"Second, the closest possible contact with the masses. The comrades concerned must be wholly absorbed in the interests of the masses, feel the life pulse of the masses, know their sentiments and requirements. The prestige of the leaders of our Party organizations should be based, first of all, on the fact that the masses regard them as their leaders and are convinced through their own experience of their ability as leaders and of their determination and self-sacrifice in struggle.

"Third, ability independently to find one's bearings in given circumstances and not to be afraid of assuming responsibility in making decisions. He who fears to take responsibility is not a leader. He who is unable to display initiative, who says: 'I will do only what I am told,' is not a (Communist). Only he is a real (Communist) leader who does not lose his head at moments of defeat, who does not get a swelled head at moments of success, who displays indomitable firmness in carrying out decisions. Cadres develop and grow best when they are placed in the position of having to solve concrete problems of the struggle independently, and are aware that they are fully responsible for their decisions.

"Fourth, discipline and (Communist) hardening in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from the (Communist) line.

"We must place all the more emphasis on these conditions which determine the correct selection of cadres, because in practice preference is very often given to a comrade who, for example, is able to write well and is a good speaker, but is not a man or woman of action, and is not as suited for the struggle

as some other comrade who perhaps may not be able to write or speak so well, but is a staunch comrade, possessing initiative and contact with the masses, and is capable of going into battle and leading others into battle. Have there not been many cases of sectarians, doctrinaires or moralizers crowding out loyal mass workers, genuine working-class leaders?

"Our leading cadres should combine the knowledge of what they must do with the (Communist) stamina, revolutionary strength of character and the power to carry it through." (emphasis in original) (G. Dimitrov, Selected Works, pp. 110-111)

Standards for Party Leadership

What of these standards for Party leadership. We found during the election campaign, and this has already been discussed, that there was an unevenness in many districts in placing the election campaign as a priority activity. This speaks to a limited comprehension of standards of leadership and commitment to decisions that were made at the last Central Committee meeting. An example also was the limited concern expressed in the Party when our national headquarters was bombed the weekend before elections. It is necessary to shore up standards in conformity with Leninist standards throughout the entire Party. Earlier we discussed some aspects of these particular problems.

Now we need to consider some guarantees that those in leadership are deserving of this responsibility and high honor. Any system which permits elevating a comrade to leadership by default must be stopped. We are short of cadre and take a person who volunteers for a particular responsibility whether or not he or she is competent. This method must be eliminated from our Party life. Rather there must be a system developed where the best of the working class or allies of the working class in our ranks are selected and consciously developed for leadership positions. Modesty, dedication, self-sacrifice and fight for principle and ideology within a collective should be required characteristics. A high level of personal life and conduct is an essential prerequisite.

Rather than collective, "we, the Party" attitudes, we have situations of individualistic behavior and methods, egotistical conduct and mannerisms, carelessness of personal habits and little regard for fellow comrades or fellow workers, coming late to meetings or activities and thus wasting other people's time, sleeping in and not keeping regular hours or accountability for one's work, individual determination of priorities in activity and not being responsible to a collective, indications of irresponsibility in money matters and lack of accountability of funds received for Party activities.

Then there is the most important question of collective responsibility for political line and carrying out activities and the constant and continuous ideological struggle that makes our Party the vanguard Party of the working class.

Some simple controls need to be established, and I offer the following:

1. We should have knowledge of the political understanding and personal characteristics of Party membership. In the club there should be club leadership responsibility for this. A suggestion is that the club membership should be divided between

members of the executive committee so that all members of the club are known fully by the leadership of the club. They should be known well. They should be visited in their homes. Social relationships should be developed. Their families should be known.

2. For control of the election of club leaders, simple questions should be developed to determine their political capability, mass activities, and personal life.

3. People to be recruited should be interviewed by comrades other than those doing the recruiting. In other words, we should get other opinions, other attitudes, in relation to the potential recruits. Then the new members should go through the new members class procedure previously referred to, which I feel should be a must before a comrade is assigned to a club on an on-going basis. Sometimes classes before recruiting and working with a potential recruit around the activities of the club, is in order.

4. We need a system of cadre development including schools and refresher courses, a system which includes older comrades. Do not slough off older comrades. Do not slough off anyone who is able and willing to contribute to activity in our movement. We need seminars and regular club educational work with the Education and Organization Departments responsible for a full program on these matters.

5. We need a system for elevating comrades to leadership positions by knowing the comrades, their abilities, what they can do, their limitations and attributes.

6. There needs to be a review of the work of leadership on a regular basis and always at times when comrades change their responsibilities.

7. Membership directors are needed and, where possible, membership committees in districts and on the club level to direct and control aspects of these tasks.

8. Review or disciplines committees need to be established or, where it is not possible to have committees, at least one comrade in leadership should be selected who will be responsible for processing and keeping track of matters that need to come up for disciplinary action or review of a person's conduct.

It is essential to formalize standards of Party membership and leadership, to establish rules and possibly by-laws to our Constitution, so that obligations of members are more clearly defined and vigilance and discipline are guaranteed.

These are only a few very limited and simple guidelines. I think we have to address ourselves to them, formulate and guarantee them as a rule of the thumb throughout the entire Party in order to adequately build our Party, build the youth organization and develop our press and literature activity in an on-going, ever-lasting fashion. This will be a firm contribution to making our Party the vanguard Party of the U.S. working class.

FOR SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THE PARTY'S ENEMIES

By James E. Jackson

From the Report to the Central Committee meeting of September 8-9, 1972 on Problems of Security and the Struggle for Higher Standards.

U.S. capitalism, standing at the center of world imperialism, is wracked with the mounting fever of world capitalism's general crisis which continues to deepen. It has plundered its credits, squandered its resources, despoiled its honor and drained the blood of its young in its prolonged war of aggression against the peoples of Indochina. This horrendous war which it has imposed on the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, this genocidal adventure in military aggression is already exacting its toll against the United States itself. The war waged against Vietnam is boomeranging; it is denotating social issue and political class struggle explosions at home. It is estranging Washington's allies of yesterday, and some are moving to cut their ties of subservience.

Steadily falling behind the socialist community in one vital category after another, U.S. and world imperialism is compelled to maneuver in its strivings to hold its positions in the competition between the two world social systems. It must negotiate terms of peaceful coexistence in Moscow, even as it piles war crime upon war crime on the bloody log of its historic inhumanity in Indochina. While it prepares to confer in Helsinki to replace detente for armed confrontation in Europe, it spurs forward the wild horses of war in the Middle East, and plots new intrigues against the advancing forces of the Latin American revolution from Cuba to Chile.

At home and abroad, the policies and conduct of the U.S. monopolist ruling class exhibit the confusion and contradictions of a loser. The historical initiative has passed from its hands and everywhere it is reacting to events not of its own choosing. It is incapable of a long-term plan for dealing with the collapse of its policy of imperialism and neo-imperialism (Vietnamization) abroad, or of formulating a viable program to cope with its multiple crisis situation on the home front.

Nevertheless, the weakness of the position and condition of the monopolist ruling class in our country and on a world scale is historic and relative. That is to say, this dirty old fighter, U.S. imperialism, is not about to retire from the ring and surrender his crown on the referee's determination of historical inevitability. He ring-wise and full of tricks from many battles and still packs a potential lethal wallop in each hand. He is historically destined to lose the main event, but it would be dangerous folly to assume he is already on "queer street."

The U.S. imperialist ruling class will never yield of its own accord in conformation with the logical sequence of socio-political historical development; it must be beaten by the working class who challenges it in the name of the popular masses, in the true interests of the real nation.

The working class in command of the state power, the community of Socialist states in the forefront of which stands the mighty Soviet Union, is the most powerful component of the world revolutionary forces. The working class and national liberation

movements of the non-socialist countries constitute the other components of the world-wide revolutionary process, the common front against U.S. and world imperialism.

Maneuvering in the light of its constantly diminishing capability to stem the advance or to hold its positions against the historic assertion of the world revolutionary processes, imperialism is stepping up its subversive activities to undermine, divert, divide and disarm the historic opponent.

Using its time-tested tactic of "divide and rule," but applying it with a new sophistication, U.S. imperialism strives to foster division and conflict between the components of the world revolutionary process and to partially coopt elements from each part of the common front.

The theory of its strategic policy on a global scale, given a situation of an "equilibrium" in "positions of strength" between the two world social systems, was set forth already during the administration of John F. Kennedy in the book by his Chief-of-Staff, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, entitled An Uncertain Trumpet. Taylor set forth the concepts of para-military warfare, brush-fire wars, neo-colonialism, political subversion and "selective assassination" as a program for slowing down to a containable level the processes of social revolutionary advance on a world-wide theatre of operations.

The penetration and utilization of tendencies and cooption of personalities from positions of the political left in situations where masses manifest militancy and a rejection of conservative advocacies of solutions to their demands became operational government policy in foreign affairs. All the agencies designated or formulated for carrying out this line of policy were enlarged and enriched: the FBI, CIA, Army, Navy and Air Force service intelligence departments, the State Department, and its numerous respectable cover intelligence service agencies, were all mustered into service.

On the ideological front of operations, U.S. imperialism has concentrated vast resources which are used with considerable sophistication. U.S. imperialism's use of blatant propaganda abuse of socialist countries and movements has given way to a seeking of "partial gains" from the use of half-truths, and often showing "patience" in their approaches at subverting to their services and corrupting personnel in filling their cadre needs.

In its protracted war against the challenge of the historically determined class forces of social revolution within the country, the U.S. imperialist ruling class is no less resourceful, flexible, sophisticated and ruthlessly determined not to yield its golden crown.

Its experience in world political contention with the rising tides of the world revolutionary process has made the U.S. monopoly's government sensitively concerned with that organizing vanguard -- path-blazer and inspirer of the working class bearers of that revolutionary potential which, with its allies, would be capable of taking the power -- the Communist Party.

As it invests heavily in a wide-ranging array of operations designed to check and defeat the advance of social revolution globally, so does it conduct an extravagant and variegated combined operation to behead the working class and the popular

movements of its vanguard within the U.S. itself. Its eye is always on the Party, because it knows from its world experience that the Party, no matter its size at any given moment, is the mind and soul, and ultimate organizer and leader of the working class and all those oppressed by the reign of the monopolists, in their struggles currently and strategically. They fully appreciate the potential of the Communist Party as their most irreconcilable foe and will never cease their efforts to destroy or cripple it.

Therefore, the Communist Party can never for a single day allow itself to take a holiday from vigilance against the particular attacks which the enemy incessantly mounts against it. This truism has its instant dramatic confirmation in what could well have been the tragic sacrifice of the life of the General Secretary of our Party, Comrade Gus Hall, or of Comrade Arnold Johnson.

The Attempt to Assassinate Gus Hall

It is about the Case of the Assassination Plot Against the Life of Gus Hall and its implications and lessons which must be drawn, that I now address myself to.

When a young stranger and his associate entered the W.E.B. DuBois Bookstore at 4426 Olive Street in St. Louis on the night of August 15, where an election meeting featuring a scheduled appearance of Gus Hall was in progress, the consummate act in a formulated plot to assassinate the General Secretary was at the stage of execution. That this mission was aborted is due solely to the circumstance that Gus Hall was absent from the meeting because of previous warnings.

But the gunman had come prepared to execute his "strike" and was apprehended only when he had departed the hall in disappointment, when it was clear that his expected victim would not arrive.

What is the meaning of this assassination plot on the life of Gus Hall? How could it be that a "new member" of considerable prominence in the area could be linked with (if not indeed be the real author of) the preparations and plan for the "selective assassination" of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.? How explain the low state of security matters and absence of vigilance against the well-signalled dangers to the very lives of Party leaders?

Like a sucker attaches itself to a fish, this erstwhile "Comrade" attached his gang en masse to the Party. His key people joined with him, six in all at the same time. He insisted and gained a nationality-exclusive club, the Angela-Lumumba Club of the C.P. of Missouri, of which he naturally was the leader. This Party club was tailored to the specifications of a brazen hustler, a leach on several Black communities.

After his entry into the Party, he retained his concept of the Party as a diplo, a two-phased thing, a regular public form and an illegal underground "action part" which is privileged to rip off resources from the bourgeoisie to supply the militant cadre with means of operation and to feed some funds to the legal Party.

From this theoretical position, it was a speedy process of

of the degeneration of this hustler and his group into a common band of criminal adventurers whose focus and whose recruiting were directed at expanding its turf, securing its privilege in the Party District, to use it as a cover for organizing bigger and more complicated "rip-offs."

We don't want to frighten anybody. We don't want any witch-hunting or mood of paranoia taking hold in this Party. The enemy would like that. We want to face our Party and direct our comrades to move out ever bolder toward and into the masses on the struggle issues of their urgent concern. We want to fulfill the possibilities and new election and Angela-given entrees to recruit large numbers, to multiply the size of our Party and circulation of our press in this time of unique opportunity.

BUT, what we do want and must achieve is a new vigilance against the machinations of the enemy, a new quality of understanding of the obligations and standards of a Communist of the Leninist mold. We want an end to wishful thinking and for real objectivity in assessment of cadre and recruits and working class enforcement of norms of Party rules.

If the gunman who entered the Gus Hall meeting is compared to a deadly poisonous spider, then we can clearly see that for this spider to appear successfully on the very scene of the projected crime, there had to be a complex web of anti-Party and criminal threads already in position to give rise to and support such a killer-spider.

Negligence in our Party housekeeping on a number of matters has permitted such cobwebs to gather as can harbor and conceal even deadly spiders. In the first place, there is underestimation and a certain air of disbelief in the fact that the ruling class is not reconciled to coexist with the C.P. of the U.S. or to oppose it only in accord with democratic practice and ethical principles.

Our Party takes into account the nature of the beast and, in accord with our own and world-wide experience in matters of organization, structures itself around the Leninist principles of democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism -- in opposition to formlessness and liberalism and "do-your-own-thing." Our principles of organization forbid a federal structure of nationality clubs based on race or religion (Bundism). Irreconcilability to anti-Sovietism, racism and national arrogance in all forms of its expression is an obligation of membership binding on all in our Party.

The enemy is tireless in its efforts to penetrate our Party, to render it ineffective, to discredit it in the eyes of the working class and Black masses, Chicanos and Puerto Rican fighters. To minimize or ignore this danger is to invite disaster.

Writing from New York City to a friend, Jose Marti described himself as working in the "very bowels of the beast of imperialism."

Establishing the case for a party of a new type -- not merely based on the scientific principles of revolutionary Marxism, but with a structure and inner discipline in accord with regularities and rules democratically arrived at and centrally controlled -- Lenin characterized the situation in which the revolutionary vanguard works to realize its strategic objectives in the following passage in What Is to Be Done:

"We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire."

To defend the Party against all who weave webs for killer spiders to make attacks on it requires:

1) Vigorously and boldly building the credits of the Party among the masses through emersion in and initiative in the mass struggles of the working class and oppressed masses; that is, more mass and open work, not less!

2) Strict institution of control in enforcement of the practice of democratic centralism with accountability for acting out and abiding by decisions, and enhancing the respect for Party channels.

3) The raising of the ideological level and policy comprehension control of the entire membership from the club level to the Central Committee and Political Committee.

No special committees or measures to deal with aspects of security can produce any useful results save on the basis of concomitantly vigorously carrying forward such political control of the adherence to the key organizational Party principles of democratic centralism.

The web that afforded a home for the suspected dispatcher of the gun-toting stranger who sought his target at a St. Louis election meeting is woven of many different threads but is knit together in a common cause. Each thread has been spun out by some individual or grouping, some organization or alien political tendency, that is sommitted to the proposition that the Communist Party should disappear from the U.S. political scene.

From the left direction and the right revisionist direction, there are those -- from adherents of Maoism to Marcuseism -- who seek to bury the Party to make way for their respective model for a "true radical" party. When someone, influenced by this contention, believes that means are governed only by what's necessary, and begins to act out the focused abuse against the Party and its leaders, he can seek a way to fit the deed to the desire for the "Communists to drop dead."

Comrades, the extraordinary work of Comrade Hall along with Comrade Tyner in putting the personality of our Party as a conversation piece in the living rooms of the nation, and the arduous work of signature collection by hero brigades of our comrades; added to this, the objective convergence of the world's all-American heroine of anti-imperialist struggle, Angela Davis, U.S. Communist, with the election campaign, has placed the CPUSA into the national arena and world politics as a political presence of national importance. More Americans know the C.P. and something of what it stands for than at any previous moment in the post-Civil War history of the socialist or radical movement in the U.S.

Out of this awareness among masses, many opportunities to recruit and build our press and advance our mass leadership surround us. Our very success also gains new attention and attacks against us.

When people come into our Party they come with various deg-

rees of prejudice and areas of ignorance about our policies and tactics. New recruits will reflect some aspect of the influence of ideas alien to the Party and Marxism-Leninism, peculiar to their respective experience, class and community circumstances.

Defining the Party's Position on Key Questions

Therefore, precision of definition of our Party's position on key questions are vitally essential.

*Such a key question concerns the matter of guns in the possession of Communists. There is liberalism here on this question which the enemy could use for frame-ups.

*There is lowering of standards on ideological questions of supporting the Party's program, policies, and in respect to lifestyle in the name of "getting with the new."

A bold recruiting practice requires accompanying it with new members classes and a buddy or team system of responsibility for the development of the new recruits. Above all, it requires a full background knowledge of the candidate member.

*It is necessary to remind ourselves that there are those whom we do not recruit --

1. Dope addicts, drug users
2. Alcoholics
3. Racists, white supremacists, national fanatics
4. Common criminals, thieves, hustlers
5. Homosexuals, perverts

From the universities come young people bearing the burdens of Marcuse's perverted "radical" ideas. Take note, for example, of this passage from the book (p. 89) An Essay on Liberation by Herbert Marcuse:

"The new radicalism militates against the centralized bureaucratic communist as well as against the semi-democratic liberal organization. There is a strong element of spontaneity, even anarchism, in this rebellion, expression of the new sensibility, sensitivity against domination....Therefore the aversion against pre-established leaders, apparatchiks of all sorts, politicians no matter how leftist. The initiative shifts to small groups, widely diffused, with a high degree of autonomy, mobility, flexibility.... The anarchic element is an essential factor in the struggle against domination...."

And, from the New Left-terrorist anarchist notions influenced by the "thought" of DeBray and Tom Hayden.

Also, from the Panthers variations on terrorism and nationalism.

*Who wants the Party dead? --

-- Internationally:

1. U.S. imperialism
2. Maoists
3. Trotskyites
4. J.D.L. - Zionists, Fanatics
5. Black nationalist fanatics

*Who wants to gain entry into the Party for anti-Communist purposes?

1. The "entryism" tactic of Trots and terrorists.
2. The FBI/CIA and local BOSS police.
3. Hustlers and racketeers.
4. Gangsters; merchandisers of crime in drugs, guns, assassination.

The strategic thinkers in the kennels of the ruling monopolists do not dismiss or discount the potential of this Party nor the capacity of its leadership.

The Republican incumbent administration now weaving and bending to the baton of the ultra-rightists - Agnew, Reagan, Ford, the "New Rightist" Rockefeller, et al., have no fear of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner gaining the lead over Nixon in the November elections. But, knowing full well that the November elections will solve no problem of the masses, or arrest the descent of the country lower into the abyss of crises, they fear the new popularity and visibility of the Party, for they foresee the period which the post-election will usher in -- the period of disillusionment, bitter frustration and angry alternative seeking by the working masses for a way out.

That's why they want to see the Party dead, as insurance against a working class revolutionary backlash to Nixon-betrayal and monopoly manufactures mass misery.

We still have a toleration of dual and even multiple interpretations and interpretive readings of Party policy on vital contemporary questions in the Party that must be dealt with. For example:

-- Is it optional, one's attitude toward the Soviet Union?

Any degree of anti-Sovietism is anti-communism and subversive of our Communist Party's integrity and credibility as the vanguard.

-- Can internationalism be stretched to accommodate aid to counter-revolutionary captives in Czechoslovakia in the name of art, culture and kinship with learned men? At least one comrade assumes so and circulates letters in the service of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia.

-- Is it permissible to scramble for free trips to China or do we hold with the characterization of China's role under the domination of Maoism as being contra-Communist, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist Party, martial nationalism?

-- Can we continue an ambivalent "experimental" attitude in respect to the question of clubs of the Party deliberately composed to provide an exclusive national character to them? We have not a few exclusively white clubs and Black clubs which violate the spirit of molding internationalism and "inter-racial" unity.

-- What are we to say about continued maintenance of social ties with inveterate haters of the Party, not to speak of intimate living with such creatures?

It is time to refurbish the process for dealing with violations of Party norms and carry through disciplinary measures where they are called for.

The responsibility rests on leadership at every level, especially the national must set the model to:

-- Verify every comrade before appointment or promotion;

-- Enhance respect for Party history and celebrate standards and examples of comrades of the Lenin and Dimitrov qualities of loyalty and endurance and sacrifice for the good of the Party , as inspiration and example to young cadres;

-- Elevate critical evaluation to a standard operational practice of the Party. Thusly to draw all useful lessons from the work of the Party after each campaign or major experience;

-- Make timely and constructive criticism and evaluation of work of all comrades with key responsibilities, from club to Central Committee;

-- Oppose and guard against subjective extravagance and exaggeration in praise and criticism of comrades. Put an end to rumor-spreading and gossip circulation. Process all serious rumors and verify their truthful elements.

-- Penalize slanderers and gossips as providers of smoke-screens of subjectivism to cover real leads to enemy elements.

Ours must be a Party practice of one discipline and one binding body of regularities and norms for all.