

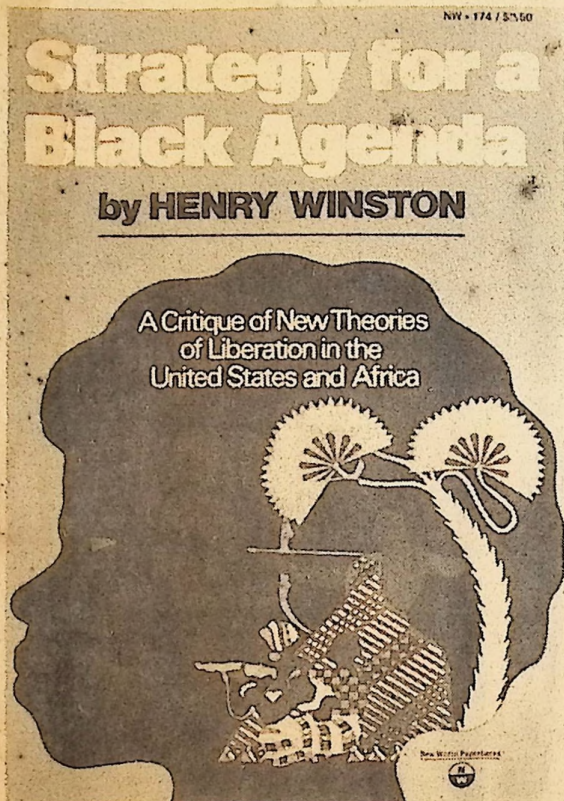
PARTY AFFAIRS

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**STRATEGY FOR A
BLACK AGENDA
OFFERS
GREAT
OPPORTUNITIES**

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SUMMARY OF JUNE 1-2 CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

The June 1-2 meeting of the Central Committee was structured somewhat differently than in the past. Its particular aim was to develop and check on application of policies already in existence, with particular emphasis on the application of the "Lame Duck" policy as outlined in Comrade Gus Hall's main report to the December 1972 meeting of the Central Committee (Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters, New Outlook Publishers).

The Central Committee heard reports from one district (Illinois - presented by Arnold Becchetti, District Organizer) and one national commission (Education - presented by James E. Jackson, Chairman) which outlined in detail their work in the recent period, the basic problems they face at present and some of their plans for future work. The reports and discussion that followed centered on the implementation of the "Lame Duck" policy. The discussion, while addressing itself to the questions raised in the reports, also dealt with particular questions in other districts and commissions.

Comrade Hall gave a major report on Watergate, the full text of which will appear in a forthcoming pamphlet. Substantial excerpts of this report appear in the special issue of World Magazine (in the Daily World and People's World) of June 28-30.

The sections of Comrade Hall's report not dealing directly with Watergate, including his summary remarks at the Central Committee meeting appear on the following pages.

The Central Committee passed the following motions: (1) adoption of a statement prepared by the Chicano Liberation Commission on union-busting activity by the Teamsters Union, (2) protest against terror of immigration authorities against Chicanos and Mexican nationals, (3) letter to the clubs from Comrades Winston and Hall asking for a full written response to their letter to the clubs of March 1973 in which they presented concrete policy questions related to our work in the present period, and (4) letter to Daniel Rubin, National Organizational Secretary, wishing him quick recovery from his prolonged illness.

* * *

REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

By Gus Hall

We have had good reports. The discussion has greatly contributed to our understanding of the problems in the daily work of our Party. The discussion reflects the continuing improvement in our Party's work. The reports and the discussion testify to the correctness of the policies we adopted at the last meeting of the Central Committee. Life has given further proof that the policies we adopted in the Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters were correct Marxist-Leninist reflections of new developments. But it is also necessary for us to put forth even greater effort to place more emphasis on the Party's role as the initiator, organizer and leader of mass struggles. This remains a principal area of weakness.

I want to emphasize a point that Comrade Winston made, and that's about Danny Rubin. First of all, you should know that Comrade Rubin has been unable to function for over two months and this has created a rather serious problem for the functioning of the Party. You don't quite know how big the hole is until you empty the space--which is what happened with regard to the work of Comrade Rubin. Let me also emphasize that it's not a temporary situation and that we don't know how long he will be incapacitated. It's most likely that he will never assume the same post in the Party or the same responsibilities. Obviously, the work has suffered because, after all, Comrade Rubin was the Organizational Secretary, a very key position in the work of the Party. I would say that the fact that our work hasn't suffered more is only because members of the staff, our comrades, pitched in and doubled their work load and that has kept things going quite well under the circumstances. Also, we have been fortunate in that before Comrade Rubin got sick we made the decision to bring Betty Smith into the national leadership as the National Administrative Secretary.

The decision we made about the format for this meeting was correct. Examining the problems of application of our policies on the basis of a report from Chicago has given our meeting not only correctness but also a sense of freshness. There are certain improvements we can make in this method in order to probe a little deeper. But, for a first try, I think it was good.

Progress is always painful. There is no question that, because of the nature of our last Central Committee meeting, many problems were presented. But I think one has to say that it presented progress for the Party, great progress though painful. The discussion

shows that, by and large, we are moving in the right direction. We're moving in the direction of finding solutions to our problems despite all the difficulties.

One of the great merits of the way we placed questions and developed the policies at the last Central Committee meeting was that it forced us to deal with problems more concretely. This discussion proves that point. It has forced us to deal more concretely with policies of industrial concentration. It has forced us to start thinking more concretely about political action, but I want to emphasize the word "thinking" because, in my opinion, this is one of the shortcomings that shows up in such discussion.

It has also forced us to think more concretely about ideological questions--for instance, the struggle against the influences of white chauvinism in our Party. I think the influence of white chauvinism can be seen more clearly as an obstacle to our work in a very concrete sense. It is a concrete obstacle to carrying out the policies and the work of the Party. It's in this sense that we should understand, for instance, the Michigan experience of placing charges which forced us to deal with this question more concretely within our ranks. And it's in that sense that we will raise the struggle to a new level. The same thing applies to the struggle against racism generally; it has forced us to think about it and deal with it in more concrete terms than was done in the past. The same thing is true with regard to Party-building, press building, etc.

There were three shocking statements in the discussion to which I want to refer. One was from Chicago, the statement that the Party was not involved in the meat boycott. That's a shocking statement. It shook me. It should shake our Party.

The second was that we did not concern ourselves sufficiently with the Bradley-Yorty contest in Los Angeles. That's a shocking statement.

The third one, also from Chicago (but only because we had the report from Chicago. I'm sure we could have had such statements from other districts) was Comrade Arnold Becchetti's statement that there is no overall Party concept for the arena of political action. That's a shocking statement. I will add a fourth shocking statement from Los Angeles--that there was talk of "forming some kind of coalition" in support of Bradley and the defeat of Yorty but it never got off the ground. That's also a shocking statement.

In a sense that says what I would like to indicate as a summary about the weaknesses in this discussion. It obviously shows that we have not yet worked out concretely the policy of mass work in a number of fields. That's really the central question that comes out of the discussion.

You just have to ask the question: How can a club of the Communist Party exist and not be involved when the neighbors of every member are involved in a meat boycott? How can it exist? We must spend time with our members, our clubs, to get an answer to that

question. How was it possible to exist when 50 million people were boycotting, when at least 50 to 70 million people were in action? A number of the Left groups have a negative attitude towards these kinds of struggles. They theorize on it. I don't think that is what is involved, but we'd better look to find out if that's what's involved in our Party's thinking about these kinds of struggles. What these left sects are saying is that these struggles are useless, worthless; they're negative; they are a problem; when people are involved in this kind of boycott, it's an obstacle to real struggle.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

What about the question of political action when it involves broader candidates, and our relationship to such campaigns. And I'm speaking about relationships to candidates on a political level-- not the office. Well, it's obvious that the Party should not endorse such candidates. I don't think that's the solution or the approach. Under such circumstances, the Party should discuss the issues and expose the most Right, reactionary elements. Where there are independent movements, the problem does not exist because such independent movements can have a correct relationship to these broader campaigns including endorsement of such candidates. There is nothing wrong with that kind of relationship between independent political movements and broader candidates, or of such campaigns. It seems to me there are no big problems once you have such independent movements. It can influence those candidates. It can influence those types of campaigns, but from an independent stance. That's the whole question. That's the key to such relationships.

I want to come back to the statement that our relationship with broader movements should force us to take initiatives to form independent movements. The problem should force us to form independent movements in order to be able to have relationships with broader movements from an independent base. How else could we have relationships with these broader campaigns and movements? Well, there are only two other forms left. One form is direct open Party endorsement, and I'm sure everyone agrees that's not the solution. The other is to merge with the Democratic Party and the Democrats and support such candidates as Democrats. I'm sure that is also not the solution. Therefore, it should force us into concretely considering the question of independent forms of political action. I don't think we have really yet probed that or taken the initiatives that are necessary in that direction. In that sense I think we ought to raise the question: is there full agreement with the "Lame Duck" policy? I think that's a fair question. Those comrades are right who say that until we fight for our policies in life, it doesn't really mean anything as to whether or not there is agreement.

THE RANK AND FILE AND THE FIGHT FOR BOLDNESS

I'm afraid our approach to rank-and-file work may be too narrow. In the discussion a number of things were referred to regarding rank-and-file work that gives that impression. The truth is that very seldom do broad movements coalesce into tight structures. It only happens when a movement moves to an advanced stage, and that's not the level of the rank-and-file movements at the present time.

As the comrade from the Rocky Mountain states said, a rank-and-file group issues a leaflet before each local union meeting, raising the issues they are going to raise in that meeting. The issues are raised and discussed. Some are adopted by the union; some are not. That's a rank-and-file movement. And, frankly, we shouldn't make the structure or the concept any narrower than that, especially when there is a core that gives leadership to it. So I suggest that we study the question of the nature of rank-and-file movements a little more. We should not press for pre-conceived forms for the rank-and-file groups.

I liked Comrade Lima's statement very much because I think it's so correct to say that we must exhibit extreme boldness in our approach to mobilizing the trade union movement against the Watergate Nixon policies. I think it's realistic and necessary to have a very bold approach. Because of the change in objective conditions, we now face a certain tendency of underestimation. What's happening in this period is a tremendous upheaval in thought. The example of eight central labor bodies and the whole movement in Northern California shows that. There are many other examples.

There is a danger of underestimating what we can achieve and on what level we can achieve developments in the trade union movement. This is true on many levels but especially so in the rank-and-file movement. I think that includes the question of the struggle against racism and the possibility of presenting this on a plane and with the boldness we were never able to place it on before. Look at the defeat of Yorty. He used the same two-pronged attack of racism and anti-communism in this campaign as he did four years ago. It didn't take hold this time. The size of the anti-Yorty vote shows a certain new element in thinking. Therefore, boldness is a very important question. I would emphasize the need for boldness in all mass movements, including the rank-and-file movement.

SURPRISE PACKAGES IN THE FORM OF BOOKS

Finally, I want to speak about some ideological matters. As you have already heard, we have been presented with some surprise packages in the form of books, and humorously I say there must be something about San Francisco in this regard. One wonders whether there's

some relationship between San Francisco famous sour dough bread and the sour (and secret) books written by Communists in Northern California.

But, after that joke, I must say there are other areas where we are finding the same kind of books. For example, someone just gave me George Powers' book on Steel. George Powers was a YCLer and a Communist, and the Party sent him into steel for concentration purposes. That's how he got into steel. He had never worked in his life before we got him a job in steel. But now he writes a book as a big authority on steel and doesn't even mention the Communist Party! He mentions Foster - but not as a Communist. The work Powers did in the steel industry was as a Communist. You see, it's not just Northern California, so don't get subjective!

As you know, Al Richmond wrote a secret book, and I want to emphasize the fact that it was a secret book (A Long View From the Left). It was so secret that he lied to the Party by saying he was writing some other book. At least, that's how I understand what happened. As far as I'm concerned, he was writing some other book. We even gave him a leave of absence some time ago to write on another subject. The first time we knew that Al Richmond had written this book about his life in the Party was when the book was in the bookstores. With such behavior, after such secrecy, Al exposes a basic lack of honesty and integrity, especially when he writes to Hy Lumer and Political Affairs as follows after the review:

"The logic of the Lumer review is also revealed in a related episode. Copies of the review were mailed to scores of Party leaders throughout the country several weeks before the May Political Affairs came off the press. No copy was mailed to me. This petty discourtesy is symptomatic. I knew that Stalin tried to make a virtue of his rudeness that so incensed Lenin. But in this matter as in others, Lenin was right."

Well, I can only say that Lenin was right, but Al Richmond was not.

The rest of Comrade Richmond's answer is also a smokescreen. It contains not one word about the content of the review, not one word except this kind of a petty, foggy smokescreen about the issue. And just so that you comrades know the background of the review, it was sent to all members of our National Council and Central Committee; and since Richmond is not a member of either, he didn't get a copy. The comrades in Northern California saw to it that he got a copy immediately, but he still writes this letter for publication.

This book is being reviewed by every renegade, every anti-Communist force, the bourgeois and liberal press, and they all either start or end on the same note. And that is that the Communist Party is dead. That's what they get out of Richmond's book. This is its main theme. The ideologists of U.S. capitalism have been hammering at this theme for the last 25 years: the Party is "old hat," etc. And that's the main theme of Al Richmond's book--no question about that. Richmond doesn't even say in his book that

the capitalist class has demagogically or falsely used our Party's international ties. He accepts their premise and then raises the false charge of those ties as a reason for our troubles, stating that that is the reason we are theoretically "bankrupt." The ruling class charges that we are foreign agents; we don't think for ourselves; the foreign granddaddy does the thinking for us. But that thought is also in Richmond's book. It accepts the idea that the U.S. Communist Party has not made theoretical contributions because we have been dominated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. That is a falsehood from the cesspool of capitalist ideology that we reject in all of its forms. The book is now a weapon in the hands of the enemy. The enemy is using his book and that is what Richmond has to answer for, the fact that he has given them a weapon.

I am not impressed with reviews that say the book is good in many parts. Nonsense! I'm not impressed with reviews that say it is wonderful writing. Trotsky was a good writer too! I'm not impressed with such approaches when the book is fundamentally anti-Party. That's the issue. I cannot see doctoring or covering that up in any form. That's liberalism and we cannot afford it. We can't afford it because Richmond's book is not just one book. Richmond's book is part of a concentrated new campaign against the Party--and it's coming from many quarters. It is not isolated.

CONTRIBUTION TO AN ANTI-PARTY FORUM

Some years ago Comrade Peggy Dennis received aid to go through Eugene Dennis' writings with the thought of publishing a book. This was at Comrade Winston's and my initiative. Peggy Dennis worked on that project for about a year, maybe two years. She finally presented us with a manuscript. We had many leading comrades read that manuscript because we didn't want to just accept the opinion of one or two. It was shown to those comrades especially who had been part of the leadership at that time. In each case it was said that we should not publish it and each comrade gave the same reasons. The comrades said that the material gave an inaccurate and one-sided assessment of Party history which would be misunderstood. The second reason was that large sections of the manuscript were not Gene Dennis' writing but, instead, Peggy Dennis' interpretation. We, therefore, decided not to publish the book. We told Comrade Dennis that and she accepted it at that time.

Now we see Peggy Dennis' article in the Guardian (of May 30, 1973). I must say it is a disservice (especially because the author is related to Gene Dennis, former General Secretary of our Party) for Peggy Dennis now to take part in a Maoist forum set up for the specific purpose of organizing a new communist party. I think just an elementary sense of responsibility would dictate that one would check with one's party as to whether to take part in such a forum. Whatever the intent of the article, it is anti-Party. And the intent is really of no consequence. That's true of Richmond's book as well. It doesn't really matter what his intentions were. The product is what matters.

This article says in the introduction that Peggy is writing her own and Gene Dennis' memoirs. But the truth is that the manuscript of a book has been presented to bourgeois publishers for some time. We know about it because at least one bourgeois publisher has turned it down.

The Guardian article is an encouragement to the anti-Party elements who are trying to organize a new anti-communist communist party. That's the essence of the matter. But Peggy does not complain that the Guardian is looking for a new anti-communist communist party. She says only that they should not rely on Stalin. To make the point, she says that Stalin has been wrong ever since Lenin died. But, this means Stalin was wrong in the struggle against Trotsky and Trotskyism. This is anti-Soviet and it is not only a slander against Stalin but is a slander against the Soviet Union. The article contains many other slanders and inaccuracies. It is a totally negative and one-sided depersonalized assessment of the historic role of the Soviet Union and the unprecedented achievement in the construction of socialism.

This is a serious matter because many of the Communist Parties have had similar experiences, that is, revisionist, right opportunist attacks with a "Left" cover, written as memoirs or histories. They are all liquidationist. That was the case with Garaudy in France, with Fisher of the Austrian Party, with Djilas. In each case, it was a right opportunist attack with a "Left" cover. And in each case, these attacks have been written in the form of histories and memoirs. They are all instruments in mobilizing people against the Party. The method is to write Party history through the use of "memoirs," then to distort it to make it possible to put over a revisionist line. In many ways they are all similar. They are all anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-Soviet. They all belittle the working class. They are all anti-Communist Party. That is the overall nature of all these books. And that is the nature of the "defenders" now coming around Richmond's book. These "defenders" are all opportunist types with left covers. It is a new revisionist attack and we cannot take a liberal approach to this attack in my opinion.

FOR AN OBJECTIVE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY

There is at least a year-old (if not a two-year-old) standing decision by the Political Committee on the need for all leading Communists--and it was put in that form, "all leading Communists"--to work with the Party on writing books. That is not an unjust demand by the Party. And books written by Communists are better for it! We didn't say that it only applies to members of the National Committee or to members of the Central Committee. The phrase is "leading Communists." I think that is a correct decision. We must have some control over what goes on in the name of the Communist Party. It is not an individual matter when comrades write about political questions of policy and ideology. Most comrades have followed this rule. Some have not. In the latter case,

I think it is an error. It is a downgrading of the Party by these comrades. We have to discontinue this practice. With some it is a reflection of petty bourgeois individualism. It is placing themselves above the Party. But with others, like Richmond, it is a way to struggle against the Party's policies. It is obvious why Richmond didn't present his book and why Peggy Dennis didn't present her article to the Party. It is because they are in struggle against the Party's policies and we would have taken issue with these presentations as we have done before.

In our country, the enemy's ideological pressures are formidable. They are tremendous. The attack is against the working class and against class concepts. They are against the Communist Party, against the Soviet Union; the attacks are racist. Those are the four areas that form the pillars of capitalist ideology. Vulgarizing Party history has become one of the main weapons in the struggle against the Party. There are at least ten new projects in progress right now distorting and vulgarizing the history of the Communist Party of the United States. And these are written by all kinds of elements. For example, I just ordered four volumes of History of Political Parties, edited by Schlessinger. Who do you think writes the history of the Communist Party in these four big volumes? Joseph Starobin! This renegade is the writer of the so-called "objective" history of the CPUSA. And, these writers receive grants. There are more grants for these projects than ever before-- grants to write distorted, vulgarized histories of the Communist Party. We must put an end to liberalism on this matter.

The enemy ideologists are especially anxious to get such books from people who are "still Communists." They pay \$7,000 advance royalty even when they know beforehand that they are going to lose money on the book. We must insist that all leading Communists abide by the rules that have been collectively set up for the Party. And, in addition, we must take serious steps to write our own history. We have good writers and must convince some of our politically healthy people to write their memoirs.

I was just looking over the book by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, The Rebel Girl. It is a beautiful book. It is a pleasure to open up that book. Reading paragraph after paragraph, you can sense its healthiness. There is such a working class approach to all questions, such a feeling for the Party. We must take steps to guarantee that we have an objective history of our Party from which our young comrades and the millions can benefit.

* * *

CLUB DISCUSSION GUIDE ON WATERGATE

By the National Education Dept.

The primary reading should be Gus Hall's report to the Central Committee, June 2, 1973, which will appear in pamphlet form. (Substantial excerpts in the June 28 issue of World Magazine.) Also refer to Comrade Hall's Watergate speech in the June 9 issue of the Daily World (also as special supplement), his article on Watergate in the June issue of Political Affairs, James E. Jackson's article "The Meaning of Watergate" in the World Magazine of June 18, John Pittman's series on Watergate in the Daily World and other articles on this topic in the People's World and Daily World.

1. Why is monopoly capital moving toward detente, increased trade with the Soviet Union and a general thawing of the cold war at this time?

- Is monopoly generally unified in this venture? If yes, why? If not, why not?
- How are these moves a reflection of the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism?

2. To what extent is the Watergate conspiracy at home a reaction to developments to relax cold war tensions? Or are these two developments in contradiction to each other?

3. What is it about state monopoly capitalism that pushes monopoly to increasingly opt against bourgeois democratic forms in favor of structural forms that allow for "government by edict"?

- To what extent are these structures of fascism unique to the U.S.?
- How has the Nixon Administration qualitatively effected this progression?
- How would you compare the support Nixon has received from monopoly (before the Watergate exposure) with the support given his predecessors?
- Has monopoly generally been unified around his policies?
- Have the monopoly sections in control of the Democratic Party

been unified around these policies?

- Is it possible for the structure to vary greatly with the policies? Why?

4. To what extent do mass movement pressures effect divisions in the ruling class? Are there such divisions today independent of the mass struggle pressures upon monopoly?
5. How can the Watergate revelations be used to intensify our work in the following areas (nationally and in your local area and club):
 - a. Rank and file work and the fight against class collaborationism.
 - b. The struggle against racism and for Black-Brown-white unity.
 - c. The development of forms for political independence; third party movement.
 - d. Peace in Indochina; in the Mid-East and the struggle against imperialism.
 - e. The fight against repression and the expansion of democratic rights.
 - f. The fight for full equality for women.
 - g. The struggle to meet the special needs of youth.
6. How can the Watergate revelations and the exposure of its class roots spearhead a qualitatively new level of ideological struggle in the following areas:
 - a. The need for a new labor-based peoples party.
 - b. The use of racism as a tool of the monopolies.
 - c. The decadence of capitalism and the need for socialism.
7. Combining the discussion of Nos. 6 and 7, how can our work around the issues of Watergate help the Party-press-League building campaign efforts in your area? How can Claude Lightfoot's book, Racism and Human Survival: the Lessons of Nazi Germany be used in a special way? How can Henry Winston's Strategy for a Black Agenda be used and Gus Hall's Imperialism Today?

* * *

SOME FUND-RAISING IDEAS

By the Organization Committee
Ohio State Committee

Fund raising is a political question and a key essential to carrying out our policies. It is vital toward unfolding the new mass initiatives we are undertaking in the 6-month Krchmarek Celebration* campaign and beyond. It is indispensable for the continued publication and expansion of our splendid paper, the Daily World and our mass pamphlets and publications.

The \$15,000 goal we have for Ohio is the largest amount we have undertaken to raise in many years. It includes \$5,000 for the Daily World. The remaining \$10,000 does not really come up to what the full needs are for the whole year for the new mass initiatives. Nor does it include club budgets to meet new mass initiatives by the clubs; and which each club must work out for itself (with state help when requested).

So, new initiatives are needed in fund raising. A creative, imaginative approach is needed. Below we suggest some methods based on proven experience. Some can be fun. Whether combined with fun or not, all of them can be fulfilled, conditions permitting, when there is true Communist conviction and understanding.

FUND-RAISING METHODS:

--It has become traditional in most areas of the Party across the country for working comrades to pledge and give one week's pay during the annual fund drive to help meet club goals. This method usually raises the most substantial part of the goal and sometimes fulfills it.

--We commend the Youngstown Club which by vote of membership decided that each working member will give one day's pay a month. Stressing the voluntary character of such a method, we urge each club to consider and discuss it.

* The Ohio Building Drive is named in honor of Anton Krchmarek, Ohio State Chairman, in honor of his 75th birthday.

Note: In every case where a member is also a member of the YWLL, we propose that the voluntary contribution of a day's pay a month shall go to the YWLL.

--The monthly, year-round sustaining fund of the CP of Ohio: We propose that each club discuss this and decide how much it can raise as a regular monthly pledge to this sustaining fund. During the fund drive, the sustaining fund is counted toward the club's goal. The sustaining fund can be raised from monthly pledges by members, sympathizers and friends. \$2 a month comes to \$24 a year. It also helps. A percentage of income from other club fund-raising activities might also be allocated to the sustaining funds.

--Each club should plan one or two major fund-raising activities a year (a picnic, a barbecue, a dinner in honor of a deserving member, birthday parties, etc.). One such event should be planned to help meet the club's fund drive goal.

--In some areas clubs have a raffle at each meeting for a worthwhile book or other prize offering. The \$5 to \$10 thus cleared at each raffle adds up to from \$100 to \$200 over the year.

--In some areas club members take turns in hosting a house party. A house party once a month can be lots of fun, provide needed social life and, over the year, raise anywhere from \$100 to \$200, even if no more than \$5 or \$10 is cleared from each party.

--Films can be rented, some at little or no cost, for showings. If interested, let us know and we'll get the necessary information.

--In some cities it is possible to organize theater parties. Arrangements are made with the theater management for the sale of a block of tickets. In the cases of some small theaters, the whole house might be bought out for a given performance. Usually, 50% of each ticket sold is retained by the sponsoring group, provided a minimum number (fifty or so, depending on the given case) are sold. Such a fund-raising activity can bring from \$50 to \$100 or more, depending on ticket sales.

--Open forums, public mass meetings, with prominent speakers and local speakers (and sometimes combined with a film or cultural program) can be excellent means of raising funds too. This was seen in the election campaign. Since there is usually a fee to cover travel for the speaker, planning for such events should include this cost along with other expenses. It is necessary to have a realistic estimate of the amount of work required to make such activities successful. When effectively done, they are usually very successful, politically and financially.

--Bazaars, rummage sales, etc. have proven to be good money raisers. But such activities also require a good deal of hard work and realistic planning.

--Clubs should examine the possibility of bringing Communist speakers to college and university campuses and to off-campus organi-

zations. There is an ever-growing interest in hearing Communists speak for themselves. It is customary for such institutions to pay a speaker's fee, which often covers far more than travel. Wherever this can be arranged, the proceeds are to be allocated between the club, state and national offices.

In drawing up club plans for fund raising to meet its own needs and its goals in the state Fund Drive and sustaining funds, the above are some of the methods that should be taken into account.

If your experience produces other good methods, be sure to let us know. We are sure you know the importance of regularly checking up and controlling the fulfillment of whatever plans you make for fund raising.

* * *

REPORT ON NATIONAL CULTURAL CONFERENCE

By Lewis Moroze
and Bernice Diskin

In recent years, as our Party has become more deeply involved in mass work, there has developed a deepening consciousness about our heavy responsibilities in the cultural arena. Today, there is a sharp struggle between the dominant decadent culture of imperialism and the burgeoning people's culture which reflect the aspirations and the moral standards of the working class, the Black people, the Chicanos and other oppressed national minorities.

Therefore, on May 5-6, a national conference of cultural cadres was convened. Some 50 writers, poets, playwrights, singers, actors, musicians, dancers, photographers and graphic artists gathered together from across the land.

The conference set itself the task of assessing the status of culture today, both basic trends, dominant culture and people's culture and to propose a plan of work for the Party.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Party, gave the opening report setting the framework for the discussion by stating:

"I think within the Party it is necessary to emphasize the seriousness and importance of cultural work...One of the fac-

tors that determines whether a Party is a serious political force or an isolated sect is its involvement in cultural affairs because to deal with cultural developments is to deal with the broadest mass phenomenon that exists. There is nothing broader; it affects literally every living soul. So, if you are not isolated, you're forced as a Party to deal with these problems.

"We should be very self-critical. This is our first national cultural conference in maybe 30 years. However, we are not starting from scratch. First of all there exists a long history of Party involvement in the field of culture. Marxism has and is an influence on cultural developments in this country...

"Some of the problems confronting us in the field of culture are:

(1) Cynicism. We cannot be cynics. In the field of art that's a definite danger. Just to criticize is to be like doctors who express moral indignation about the ailment but take no steps to correct it. We must have both indignation and solutions, the way out. It is a very necessary ingredient of leadership in all fields, including the field of art.

"(2) We must attack the racist content of the corruption, which for us in the United States is of special significance and a unique and central question. It continues to be a central question despite certain shifts in the content of the arts. And it has become much more sophisticated. However, in the past year, the open racism of the Nixon Administration is beginning to appear in the mass media. There seems to be a movement in that direction instead of the more sophisticated type that was more popular for a while. I think that it reflects the politics of the administration and the period. The anti-Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, Asian corruption remains a basic ingredient in the field of culture. It has not changed. It fundamentally remains as it has been, so there has to be a sharp attack on that.

"(3) We must attack great power chauvinism and the policies of imperialism in the United States. The chauvinist position characterizes the fighters for national liberation as bandits and cutthroats, while the opposite is true.

"(4) The basic anti-democratic character of culture continues as a main trend - the good guys make and break the laws but it is acceptable.

"(5) We have to attack the continuing trend of individual violence, social irresponsibility, pornography, degeneracy of all types. We have to take a stand and attack that.

"(6) We must attack escapism - the question of escape to a fantasy world without classes or struggle is a medium of bourgeois corruption. This includes drug related escapism that appears in mass culture and the Guru type of escapism, not

only in politics, but as it appears in the world of art as well.

"(7) I would say the question of anti-communism and its most effective variation, anti-Sovietism, remains a very basic element of the cultural scene in the United States. U.S. imperialism places such importance on culture that McCarthyism had a special effect in the cultural arena. But while the attack has changed, fundamentally, McCarthyism remains very, very strong in the field of culture - stronger than in some other areas. And that's worth thinking about.

"This question of anti-communism is a fundamental question, and its anti-Soviet variation is so powerful that it affects Communists. You cannot say that anti-communism affects Communists generally, but the anti-Soviet variation does. That's how effective it is, and it misleads Communists and we are not yet dealing with this. And let me say that we will not go far in the field of culture unless we attack this question. It is one of the central questions in this area. Comrades, let me say further that you cannot win by silence in any ideological field, and you can't win by silence in this field either. You're going to either take it on or you're not. Silence is agreement."

REPORTS FROM THE CONFERENCE WORKSHOPS

In his report Gus Hall mentioned that there was much "capital" in our Party in the area of culture. This was underscored by the spirited, creative discussions and the sharp questions raised by the delegates. Their determination that the Party make a turn is amply demonstrated in the proposals adopted for study as well as action.

Though everyone was troubled by the lack of planned and consistent cultural work for too long a period, the rich history of the Party in the USA was recalled in reference to the work of Dr. Herbert Aptheker on racism in U.S. history, the prolific writings of William Z. Foster, the writings of Henry Winston, Gus Hall, Dr. DuBois, Theodore Dreiser, Mike Gold, Philip Bonosky, Sidney Finkelstein, John Howard Lawson, V.J. Jerome, Walter Lowenfels and in the graphic arts the work of Bob Minor and Hugo Gellert.

In the report on "Culture in the Struggle to Win the Working Class," the reporter laid great stress on the corrupting influence of bourgeois culture on the artists and on the working class. In developing a correct working class approach to culture, the reporter referred to comrade Henry Winston's article in American Dialog in which he stated, "We Marxist-Leninists advocate to work for a culture that aids the people, that helps them to defeat the inequities of life forced upon them by the ruling class, that helps them overcome the ruling class and change the world to one of brotherhood,

of a planned program for industry, agriculture, education, health, etc., which is, in short, socialism."

It is essential, the reporter continued, that we take steps to combat the corrupting influence of the T.V., radio, movies, etc. which corrupts and defames the working class with such obscenities as "All in the Family."

To work effectively with the artists themselves in the development of people's art and in developing a program for the security of the artists, politically and economically, we must draw the artists closer to the working class, their unions, their community organizations and their periodicals. With this kind of tie, we can help guarantee the fullest flowering of people's culture with a dominant role assigned to the working class. To raise working class consciousness, there is an important need for a Marxist periodical, such as American Dialog.

The reporter on "Racism and Culture" delivered a report which was written with the assistance of comrades in the Paul Robeson cultural club of the Party in New York. In assessing the importance of culture in the struggle for socialism, the reporter referred to a comment by David Margolies about the British Marxist, Christopher Caudwell: "Christopher Caudwell saw that art through an illusion changes men and the changed men change the world to make that illusion a reality."

Working class revolutionary culture was characterized by the reporter as a "liberating force and an integral part of the struggle for socialism. On the other hand bourgeois culture is based on maintaining the profit system and reduces culture itself to a commodity." Anti-working class ideology and racism are key aspects of bourgeois culture.

Racism has been practiced for private gain by the ruling class in the U.S. from the moment the colonizers stepped upon these shores. During slavery, racism was used as a rationale for the brutal super-exploitation of the Black people stolen from Africa. In the push westward, the use of national chauvinism and racial stereotypes not only justified but glorified the slaughter of thousands of Native Americans. Similarly, it was used against Mexicans in the great western land-grab. And chauvinism and stereotyping were no less used against Asians, especially Chinese - all in the drive for super profits. This racism was spread to every corner of our country through the church, the press, books, movies, etc.

"The relationship between racism and anti-working class ideology must be understood and always kept in mind. Racism is used as a tool to divide the working class and render it impotent. It is used to suppress the culture of the working class and that of the Blacks and other oppressed minorities," the reporter emphasized. She urged recognition of the fact that male supremacy is another of

the tools to divide the working class.

She showed the widespread discrimination against Blacks and other minorities in the arts today as well as in the training schools.

The reporter showed that there has been a long history of struggle against racism in our land throughout our history. Since its inception, our Party has played a most important role in this struggle. Today there is widespread struggle against racism that is in need of guidance and direction.

The reporter concluded, "It is clear today that what needs to be done is to organize and rally all the forces for political action" to guarantee continuing successes in wiping out racist content in our culture and racist hiring practices. She urged special efforts to free the Black playwright-actor-director, Arthur Burghardt Banks, jailed and harassed for resisting the draft.

The last report dealt with the question of nationalism. The reporter spoke first of the background to the struggle against nationalism: the further consolidation of the world socialist system, the growing victories of the national and anti-racist movements of the world as they struggle against imperialist intervention, the victory of the Vietnamese people and the growing class struggle in the capitalist countries.

He stated that in the U.S. today, "we are forced to pay special attention to development on the one hand of a correct and central approach to this question while, on the other, exposing the reactionary side of the question..." As with white and national chauvinism, the reporter said, cultural nationalism has always been part of U.S. capitalist baggage. In struggles against petty bourgeois nationalism among oppressed nationalities, we must keep in mind that the primary struggle is against bourgeois nationalism. That nationalism, he stated, is an organized expression of capitalist state policy. We can see this in the Nixon policy of national oppression as concretely shown at Wounded Knee. It is clear in Nixon's racist anti-bussing policy, in his support of worldwide Zionism and apartheid. Similarly, the reporter stated, one must single out the rabid expression of Jewish bourgeois nationalism or Zionism. It is the JDL, which gives unconditional support to Zionism, that has also seen fit to carry out racist attacks on Afro-Americans in particular. Therefore, he continued, we must pay special attention to struggling against all forms of chauvinism among white workers. It is only by being in the forefront of this struggle that white workers can win the confidence of the Black people and other oppressed nationalities.

The concept of a so-called cultural national autonomy, which arose in the '20s and is now being pushed by Baraka and Karanga, the reporter showed as both impractical and reactionary. Objectively, it results in support of the bourgeoisie. In this sense it is no different than a call by whites for continued segregation and oppression of the Black people. Both divide the working class and fortify exclusiveness; both are a retreat in the fight against racism; both are a denial of proletarian internationalism. In other words, he stated, cultural nationalism is class capitulation.

In addition, cultural nationalism like chauvinism, denies to particular nations and the world, accessibility to all the material and spiritual wealth of the world.

In conclusion, the reporter said, the role of the CPUSA is to advocate complete equality of nationalities and languages. It is the role of uniting the working class in order that it may fulfill its historic mission of making socialism a reality.

PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING THE PARTY'S CULTURAL WORK

1. A new and enlarged national cultural commission is to be established with representation from all of the districts, from all of the arts and truly reflective of the Party's composition.

2. The new national cultural commission, in consultation with the districts, is to take all steps necessary to carry out the following plan of work:

(a) Vigorous all-encompassing struggle against racism in the arts:

- (1) Bring about the formation of a National Committee to Combat Racism in the Arts.
- (2) Give priority attention to the case of Arthur Burghardt Banks.
- (3) In consultation with the districts, select a target for a national campaign against racism in the arts.
- (4) Develop a rounded campaign to combat racism in the schools, curriculum, hiring practices, textbooks, etc.
- (5) Publish a pamphlet on racism and culture.
- (6) Explore the production of tapes, films, recordings, posters, skits, songs, etc. as tools in combatting racism.

(b) Establish a committee of five to bring in proposals for the publication of a Marxist cultural periodical.

(c) Develop and unleash a program for the federal and state subsidization of the arts in which the artists and involved community groups will have a say in the funding, allocation of the funds and the selection of projects.

(d) Develop a program to save and strengthen the public schools.

(e) Publish a history of the role of the CPUSA in the field of culture; an anthology of Marxist cultural works and a bibliography on Marxism and culture.

(f) Propose to all Party publications that steps be taken to guarantee the publication of more material in Spanish and offer assistance.

(g) Propose to the Party districts that steps be taken soon to establish the organizational forms best suited to carry out cultural work in the district, e. g. commission, caucus, clubs, etc.

- (1) Districts to offer all assistance possible to guarantee successful participation in the World Youth Festival.
- (2) All districts to explore the establishment of workshops in all the arts wherever feasible with assistance from the national cultural commission.
- (3) All districts to assist the Daily World and People's World in obtaining informational data and creative works in the field of culture.
- (4) Promote the sale of New World Review, a powerful tool in combatting virulent anti-Sovietism.
- (5) Cultural cadres be involved in special fund raising for the Party and especially to raise funds to carry out the plan of work in the field of culture.
- (6) Urge cultural cadres and other members of the Party to relate to and become involved with the many cultural groupings in the Hispanic communities.

(h) Discuss with the Y.W.L.L. the advisability of establishing an organizational form to further the work in the field of culture.

The spirited discussions and the level of discussions indicated clearly the riches in the Party which foreshadow creative and productive efforts in the building of people's culture with a strong socialist current. While taking note of the quality and number of our cultural cadres, it was recognized that measurable successes will be registered when the entire Party becomes involved in this most important area of work.

* * *

FRUITS OF 1972 ELECTIONS IN OHIO *

By James West, Ohio

The 1972 Communist Election campaign began early in Ohio because state law required an early filing of nominating petitions. Nearly 10,000 signatures were secured to place Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner on the ballot. Over 6,000 of these were found to be valid by the Secretary of State who nonetheless tried to keep the Party off the ballot. A determined legal fight with the aid of the ACLU won ballot status for our Presidential ticket.

In the course of the campaign, the candidates appeared a total of six times in Ohio, speaking to tens of thousands on TV, radio, through press conference and in public meetings. In addition, spokesmen for the Ohio Hall Tyner-Committee were on radio, TV and spoke on some 12 college campuses and high schools and a political action committee of a union. All told, the Communists were heard and/or seen on some 40 radio and television stations throughout the state.

About 150,000 pieces of material were distributed, most of it going to plant gates, especially steel mills and working class areas of the most oppressed and exploited.

This was the first time in 36 years that Communists appeared on the state-wide ballot. The last time a Communist ran in Ohio was when Anton Krchmarek ran for the local school board in 1949 and got over 62,000 votes.

The Hall-Tyner ticket received 6,437 votes in Ohio. This puts it on a par with the highest vote ever accorded a Communist candidate state-wide. William Z. Foster, running for President, received 7,231 votes in 1932, and Andrew Onda, running for Governor, got 7,372 votes in 1936, the last time there was a state-wide Communist candidate. It was quite a comeback for a party which had been decimated and all but wiped out by McCarthyite repression! And it was a comeback made by

*. The above article was scheduled for publication in an earlier issue of Party Affairs in which it would have been more timely. The editors regret the delay in publication but feel that the material is nonetheless helpful in developing our ongoing electoral work.

a Party most of whose members had joined long after 1936 and for whom this was their first Communist election campaign experience!

A number of unique features stand out about the Ohio Communist vote:

1. There were votes in all but one of the 88 counties. This is without precedent and being a first, was due primarily to two factors:
 - a. The widespread use of the mass media across the state in a total of some 7 hours of paid and free time pointing up the value of utilizing this powerful means of reaching the people to the maximum possible extent;
 - b. The Daily World goes into some 60 Ohio cities and towns throughout Ohio showing the influence and mobilizing, organizing power of our press and the fact that we do not utilize it sufficiently.
2. The distribution of the vote reveals the strong working class and student appeal of our Party and underscores the validity of concentration. The highest votes were found to be in the following counties:

Cuyahoga (Cleveland).....	1,191
Franklin (Columbus).....	948
Montgomery (Dayton)	636
Lucas (Toledo).....	479
Trumbull (Warren).....	394
Mahoning (Youngstown) ...	355
Lorain (Lorain-Elyria) ..	198
Hamilton (Cincinnati)....	186
Clark (Springfield).....	165
Richland (Mansfield).....	136
Summit (Akron).....	113
Lake (Painesville).....	109

However, if we gauge the vote of each county in proportion to total population, we get the following ranking:

Trumbull County:	16.9	votes per 10,000	population
Pickaway (Circleville):	12.6	votes per 10,000	population
Coshocton:	11.9	votes per 10,000	population
Mahoning (Youngstown):	11.4	votes per 10,000	population
Franklin (Columbus):	11.2	votes per 10,000	population
Clark (Springfield):	10.9	votes per 10,000	population
Montgomery (Dayton):	10.5	votes	" " "
Richland (Mansfield):	10.4	votes	" " "
Knox (Mt. Vernon):	10	votes	" " "
Lucas (Toledo):	9.9	"	" " "
Ross (Chillicothe)	9.7	"	" " "
Erie (Sandusky):	9.5	"	" " "

State-wide, the Communist vote came to 6.3 votes per 10,000 of population. The Cuyahoga County vote came to exactly the same ratio: 6.3. Other counties which exceeded the state average were: Allen (Lima): 7.7; Hancock (Findley): 8.3; Washington (Marietta): 8.4; Athens: 6.8; Belmont: 6.8; and Lorain County: 7.7 per 10,000 population.

What emerges from this is that major centers of working class strength gave a higher measure of support to the Communist candidates. In addition, a few centers of higher education (Athens, Kno-Kenyon College, etc.); and the Findley vote shows some support among farm laborers.

Trumbull County (Warren) is a major steel and electrical center and is "just down the road" from the Lordstown GMAD plant. Circleville has a large G.E. plant now being organized; Coshocton and Chillicothe are centers of coal mining areas, as are Belmont and Washington counties; Lima has a Ford plant and other industry; Toledo, Dayton and Springfield are each big industrial centers; Mansfield has a key GMAD plant and other industry; Lorain County is a large steel and auto center.

Thus, the medium-sized and smaller industrial cities were key factors in the state-wide Communist vote. The Columbus vote came mainly from working class precincts.

The Trumbull County vote is unique. Warren, the county seat, is the site of a large number of big-sized plants (Packard Electric, for example, with 10,000 workers; a major plant of Republic Steel; Copperweld and other large plants; close by is the huge Lordstown complex, and just as close are Niles and other towns with steel and fabricating plants.) It is the area in which Gus Hall led the hard-fought Little Steel organizing strike, the arena in which he came to political maturity. Gus Hall is well-remembered in the Youngstown-Warren area to this day. Some of his best Ohio campaigning took place here in 1972. Undoubtedly these were special factors in the Trumbull County vote result. But it must be underscored that this vote comes after a long period of repression and intimidation in the area in which the Party organization was nearly wiped out. The vote is a powerful message telling the Party, "We want you back and we want you strong." It is indicative of the potential that exists for building the Party.

If the Cuyahoga vote were in ratio to the Trumbull County vote, it would have been in the 5,000 to 6,000 range; and the state vote would have been in the 12,000 to 16,000 range, more in keeping with the requirements of the times and the possibilities that do exist. And if the Warren vote were extrapolated to the 50 states, it would give well in excess of a quarter-million Communist votes.

Ohio Communists are pleased with the results as proof of the viability and relevancy of our Party to the people today, as confirmation of the overall soundness of the Party's leadership and policies and its policy of concentration.

Inspired by the possibilities and immediate potential, the Ohio State Committee has launched a Six-Month Drive in honor of the 75th Birthday of our State Chairman, Anton Krchmarek. The purpose of the drive is to: a) launch new mass initiatives on the burning issues facing the people through the wider use of mass media, broad conferences, legislative action and preparation for participating in the 1973 local elections and the 1974 state and Congressional elections; b) through these initiatives to double the membership, help build the YWLL and vastly expand the readership of the Daily World and Political Affairs. Definite goals have been adopted.

The first phase of the 6-month drive ended on January 21st with the gala banquet in honor of Krchmarek. State Committee members, at a meeting whose attendance was cut down by a blizzard, pledged to recruit 11 members for the Party, 35 for the YWLL, secure 32 daily subs, 11 week-end subs, 15 three-month subs, immediately increase the bundle by 60, and raise \$885 towards a \$15,000 Fund Drive goal - all by the time of the Krchmarek banquet to set an example for all the members. The actual results were: 14 recruits for the Party, \$3500 for the Fund Drive and good results on the other goals.

Pursuing the policy of concentration, the State Committee, meeting one week after the Central Committee meeting (and unanimously endorsing the decisions of the CC) voted to work to establish 4 steel shop clubs, 2 auto shop clubs and a teamsters club - and special attention to recruiting working women, Black and white.

The word among Ohio Communists is: we're moving, we're on the verge of major break-throughs.

* * *

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* * *

STRATEGY FOR A BLACK AGENDA **OFFERS GREAT OPPORTUNITES**

From the National Literature Commission

STRATEGY FOR A BLACK AGENDA
A CRITIQUE OF NEW THEORIES OF LIBERATION
IN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA

This book has many of the best features and characteristics of a Communist leader in action. It is sharply polemical, yet friendly and constructive. Its ideological content contains a strong working class basis and it is theoretically creative. In his book, Strategy For a Black Agenda, Comrade Winston refutes all the present day variants of neo-Pan-Africanism as propagated by Stokely Carmichael, James Foreman, Imamu Amiri Baraka and others. Winston adds a new dimension to Marxist theory in his discussion of Maoism, peaceful coexistence and self determination as related to Africa and to the Black Liberation struggles in the United States. The book also projects our Party's answers to these complex questions. Although some items have appeared before in pamphlets (which were outstanding sale successes), two thirds of the book is entirely new (see Table of Contents - next page).

Strategy For a Black Agenda is not a statistical abstract to be placed on the shelf as a handy reference. It is a "now" book! It must be used daily and in a mass manner in conformity with, and as an assist to the new thrust which our Party is making in the present period. This means that every district and club should develop a plan, now - just as we have begun to do with Gus Hall's Imperialism Today and Claude Lightfoot's Racism and Human Survival.

This plan should include: discussions on the content of the book, special promotion methods, meetings and parties (with Comrade Winston present, if possible) etc. No possibility for promoting and selling this book should be overlooked. Every club and district should try to adopt a specific quota. Above all, the plan should dovetail, be an integral part of, all the mass work; especially Party and Press Building, that we are involved in at the

present time.

Strategy For a Black Agenda is not only an outstanding triumph for Comrade Winston personally, it is also a great achievement of our Party and its leadership, our working class and the Black Liberation movement. Strategy For a Black Agenda offers us opportunities we dare not miss!

*

STRATEGY FOR A BLACK AGENDA
A Critique
of New Theories of Liberation
in the United States and Africa

by
Henry Winston

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* * *

DAILY WORLD BRIGADE WEEKENDS

by Ken Newcomb

The Daily World Brigade Weekends (Red Sundays) in February and March have added an exciting new mass aspect to the circulation drive. There are many positive experiences and lessons, but also a number of problems that have arisen.

The majority of the districts have participated in one form or another. In February there were actually two special weekend mobilizations. The total extra distribution for the two was over 25,000. March also had two mobilizations, one on International Women's Day and the other a special electrical issue. The combined extra distribution was well over 60,000 copies plus 20,000 copies of the electrical supplement reprint.

For the areas that participated one of the most positive aspects is that a much larger number of people and clubs have participated. Some League branches have become involved with the paper in a mass way for the first time. Regularized mobilizations were also initiated on these weekends.

There have been several different forms of activity, from mass free distributions to expanding routes, to canvassing for new subs, to following up renewals.

Literature tables were set up in a number of communities in New York. They had signs and banners identifying the local Party Club. They also used the red Daily World shoulder bags and combined the gathering of signatures on anti-budget cut petitions issued by the club with selling papers. The Village club in N. Y. C. sold 75 papers and \$10 worth of literature in addition to receiving an application for membership on their first mobilization.

Not all districts and certainly not all clubs have yet participated in the Daily World Brigade Weekends. This, along with the fact that the Brigades are not part of our mass work, is our biggest obstacle to making these mobilizations a success, organizationally and politically.

We see the Brigade Weekends as having four main purposes:

First, they should be used to mobilize the entire membership of the Party and League as well as many of our friends as possible for some kind of press building. We should strive to emulate the tradition that has been developed in France where everyone goes out on Sunday to sell L'Humanité. That kind of complete mobilization creates a new appreciation and consciousness of the role of the press in the Party and what mass circulation does to the class consciousness of the workers.

Second, these mobilizations should be a focal point for mass distribution of special issue editions. The Brigade Weekend should not just be a larger weekend paper, but a major issue oriented edition, the mass distribution of which is a contribution to the struggle in itself. For instance the April Brigade Weekend edition will be on inflation and taxes. Mass distribution should be linked to our plans for the fightback against Nixon's economic policies. Our saturation distributions should be followed up with the view of establishing new organizations and forms for struggles.

Third, we should see these monthly mobilizations as special - weekends that we fight for a special kind of participation. We should struggle for the participation of a higher and higher percentage of all of our members and friends along with the struggle for at least two hours of press work on that weekend.

In addition to the mass distributions, street sales, routes, etc., we should be visiting renewals, phoning, canvassing for introductory subs and raising funds. We need to utilize all forms of press building in order to involve all of our supporters in activity.

The special monthly mobilization doesn't, of course, have to be limited to weekend activities. In Western Massachusetts, the Brigade began regular Friday distribution at a plant gate with the March special electrical issue.

The Brigades are a vital part of our drive for 19,500 new readers by December 31st. Let's build them and use them in our drive to build the Party.

*

COMBINING PRESS AND LITERATURE

We recently received a letter at the Daily World that we thought all readers of Party Affairs would be interested in. It comes from an older Jewish Comrade, Jacob Ivens, who has been a very regular and persistent builder of the circulation of the Daily World for many years. Jake has some health problems, but nothing keeps him from his regular, persistent, revolutionary activity. Here is what he writes:

continued on p. 32

HALL-TYNER PETITION SIGNERS REVISITED

By Clara, Southern California

The election campaign of last fall was the most intense activity that the Party was involved in. In a very short time the Party was able to speak, through our candidates, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, and through our literature, to millions of people. One might say that it never happened before in the history of our Party in such a grandiose way. We have obtained thousands of signatures and I want to point out the potential that exists for the Party and for the People's World in those signatures.

We have visited about 20 or 25 of those who signed our petition for Comrades Hall and Tyner. It might not only be interesting but useful to relate what these peoples' reactions were. Among those 20 or 25 people we have not found one who was either hostile or even not interested in our program. Just the opposite; most were very friendly, concerned and very unhappy about the election of Nixon.

We were able to obtain four subs to the People's World. One was from auto concentration, the other was from a laborers local, one was from a steel worker, a young Latin worker, and the fourth was from a young Black woman student. We also obtained \$10 for tickets for the People's World banquet. We brought two young people to the People's World banquet, one a young Chicana and the other a young Puerto-Rican. Most of these names were and are being turned over to comrades who can involve them in classes or in the YWLL.

The above activity is just a small example of what can be done and gives us some inkling as to what is in store for us. We have not even scratched the surface considering the hundred and thousands of names that our district has as a result of the election campaign.

We are now planning to go out in teams of two. Each couple will have six such contacts that I have enumerated above to be approached for subs for the People's World, for joining some of the classes that are going on and eventually for joining the Party. We will carry the latest People's World with us as well as the following three pamphlets, documents from the 20th Convention:

1. For a Party of Mass Action, by Daniel Rubin
2. Our Nation's Crisis and How to Solve it, by Gus Hall
3. Black and White--One Class, One Fight, by Henry Winston.

continued on p. 32

FROM A STATEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

WRITINGS THAT DON'T REPRESENT THE PARTY OR MARXISM-LENINISM

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party started on February 5 this year a party investigation to clarify the ideological and political problems evident in the stance of Andras Hegedues, the sociologist, and Janos Kis and Mihaly Vajda, philosophers, all of them Party members.

Recent writings and the views expressed in them by those named in the investigation were discussed by the culture-political work team operating attached to the Central Committee, and afterwards by a wider circle of social scientists at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The philosophical discussions gave rise to the unified viewpoint that the writings examined evidence a mixture of the traditional rightist revisionist views with the so-called "neo-Leftist" outlook fashionable in present-day anti-Marxist literature. The authors of the articles have formed a string of ideological and political views which are opposed to Marxism-Leninism and with the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party: they deny the existence of the working class as a class, the revolutionary role of the international workers' movement and its historic significance, question the socialist character of the socialist countries and their achievement, preach the "pluralism" of Marxism, the possibility and justification of "several kinds of Marxism," and they have broken with the theoretical heritage of Marxism-Leninism.

The investigation conducted found unambiguous evidence that Andras Hegedues, Janos Kis, and Mihaly Vajda had taken up opposition positions in basic issues with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and with the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. In addition to the theoretical and political mistakes demonstrated in the course of the Party investigation and the scientific discussion, and the attitude unbecoming Party members, consideration had to be given also to the fact that in the last few years Andras Hegedues was given several warnings for political mistakes, and Mihaly Vajda was penalized by the Party. All three of those named have, moreover, gravely offended against the Party rules. All this provides grounds for disciplinary punishment by the Party.

With due attention to the gravity of the mistakes committed and

the complete absence of any willingness to correct them, the secretariat of the Central Committee excluded Andras Hegudues, Janos Kis and Mihaly Vajda from membership in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

* * *

continued from p. 29

"For me and two of my comrades in the West Philadelphia Club, every Sunday is Red Sunday. Bill, Jim and I go out every Sunday and sell about 80 papers on our route. While doing that we speak to many of our readers, trying to secure subs and sell literature.

"As of a few weeks ago, we had sold four copies of Racism and Human Survival, three copies of Freedomways, five copies of Black Worker and the Class Struggle and much more. Altogether we sold close to \$15 worth of literature and we didn't even cover half the route!

"Very soon you'll hear from us about recruiting."

I think this is a very good example of how press and literature can be combined. Jake also wrote how the Friends of the Daily World Committee in his area organized a support meeting for the striking Philadelphia teachers. It is this kind of linking of our activities that will advance our work in a qualitative way and really lead to recruiting.

* * *

continued from p. 30

We think the rest of the Party can be involved in such work by organizing the forces on a club basis to revive the old Red Sundays and Red Saturdays. Most of the workers can be found at home. Between utilizing the election campaign contacts, expired subs and the contacts that the club might have, we have a source from which to build the Party and also to increase the circulation of our press.

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C O R R E C T I O N

A very unfortunate error appeared in the last issue of Party Affairs (April, 1973) on page 33. This typographical error completely reversed the meaning in this important section of the article, "White Chauvinism and Male Supremacy in the C.P." The editors regret this error and print the corrected passage below.

Above all, it is absolutely essential for us to develop that special sensitivity to the feelings of oppressed peoples of which Lenin spoke.

LETTERS TO PARTY AFFAIRS AND THE NATIONAL OFFICE

Dear Comrades:

Immediately after the December 1972 Central Committee meeting, which I was honored to be able to attend, I wrote some comments out regarding some of my ideas and experiences in Illinois. I never had the time to re-write these notes, unfortunately.

Recent events have led me to conclude that however rough, some of these ideas and experiences should be related anyway. Therefore, this letter.

I welcomed the report by Gus Hall, A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters. It represented a line of struggle that I feel we in Illinois have been striving toward for the past several years. As early as November 1971, in a memorandum to the State Committee, the Illinois Board (now Executive Committee) characterized the Party's approach to independent electoral struggle as the "key and decisive link" in the struggle to defeat reaction and racism. We said that among the "three prongs" of what was then our conception of the political line, this prong was the one that moved all others, without which there would actually be no others in any lasting sense.

Today the Central Committee has removed the fuzziness from this basic truth and stated that without the Communist Party, strong and clearly in the forefront of the struggle, the anti-monopoly coalition cannot succeed, whether in the electoral arena or in any other arena of mass struggle. Without the Party openly playing its role among masses, the anti-monopoly fight can never be successful, let alone move forward to socialism.

There are certain ideas that I think are confusing, however. There is a tendency to place the question in a way that confuses the problem, leading to both right and left deviations. They have emerged more strongly since the C. C. meeting.

The main problem, I believe, is a tendency to place the struggle for the Party in contradiction to the struggle for the united front. This problem exists even in Gus Hall's report. In the report summary the danger of fascism is discussed abstractly, the point being that it should not be overstated. This is true. But some comrades are taking this to mean that there is no need for a concrete estimate of what the danger is today. At a time when Canarsie, Kawaida

Towers, Gage Park, Nixon's death penalty speech, Rockefeller's life sentence for pushers proposal, etc. are defining bourgeois politics, to lessen an awareness of this danger is fatal. The liberals are collopsing. Unless the Party takes the initiative in this struggle against racism and reaction, there may be no lasting initiative.

In short, the struggle for the Party is, in the first place, the struggle for the Party's line: the anti-monopoly coalition in general and the struggle against racism and austerity and repression in particular. The Party's independent program must reflect this at every level.

Party candidates do not run on an abstract program. They run on a program of struggle against the racists and big business. Party candidates must initiate such actions even independently of its own candidates, for candidates themselves are frequently not in a position to do so for purely "partisan" reasons. Coalitions must be formed that include the Communist Party as an openly legitimate and even leading force; all candidates for office, Communist and non-Communist, must be asked, if not demanded, to participate.

In Illinois, this is what we tried to do in the 1972 election campaign. Our local platform was not an abstraction (as I believe the national platform tended to be.) It singled out the defeat of Nixon and Hanrahan as the main goal, urging a vote for our ticket as the strongest way of registering agreement with this goal, especially in the face of a vacillating liberal opposition. We won many people, including McGovern people, to understand this. Some of them gave up on McGovern and came into our campaign, later joining the YWLL. In the peace movement we constantly worked with all forces, including McGovern forces, in the struggle to force Nixon to sign the treaty.

After the election it was this struggle that helped many who had not agreed with us to see that we had been correct.

With elections coming up in New York and elsewhere, there is a danger that we could neglect the struggle against racism and reaction when it is most needed. To make this mistake in the name of fighting for the Party would be a travesty. It will not be in keeping with our line. Party candidates must make the fight against racism and for the peoples' immediate needs their main contribution to the peoples' struggle, and in this context socialist propoganda for revolutionary change is most concrete. If this is our program, then building the Communist Party becomes a mass question that masses of workers, Black, white and Latino can understand and relate to. Building the Communist Party is thus one of the main, if not the main problem faced by all working people. If this is not our program, then building the Party will appear to masses as a sectarian problem of little concern to non-Communists.

Comradely,

Ted Pearson

Dear Brothers Hall and Winston:

Do you know about the "Af yennim tochas is gut tsu schmissen" syndrome? It is an old Yiddish expression that too often applies to opportunistic elements. It means roughly "It's fun to hit on the other guy's behind," in contrast to being hit on our own.

It is similar to the old joke about "I'm going to self-criticize you." I am referring to a particular situation now, but it applies to many situations.

Specifically, I doubt that many of the leading Communists on the West Side of New York are going to the Peace and Justice march in Washington this week-end (June 16). Many will, perhaps, go out of town on recreation. I now know of only one who is going definitely, typically, a hard-working rank-and-filer, and typically again, an older woman. Others say they aren't going, some say they may go, one says she won't go if it's very hot, etc. But as of now I know of only one who is definitely going.

Now the West Side Communists, like other people and organizations, distributed leaflets advertising this march, urging others to go. As it turns out, at this time it doesn't look like too many people will go from any groups. But it seems to me that there is an obligation not to urge others to do what you yourself are not going to do - this seems to me to be a kind of elitism, a kind of an attitude that says: "I'm better than you are, so I'm going to urge you to go, or trick you into thinking I'm going, but really I'm not going to go because my body is too important to risk or sacrifice." If I sound bitter it's because this is the kind of thing that makes people bitter. If even the Communists aren't going, it won't be much of a march.

I don't know if the West Side Communists are typical or not, if they should or should not be singled out, but it seems to me that if this is supposed to be a massive march that the Communists are backing, then it should be one that most Communists are going to attend. I know people have other responsibilities and maybe I am wrong about this, but it does bother me.

Maybe it is because too often over the years I have heard people say, "I can't, I'll be out of town," when "out of town" meant at a resort or lake in the country. This is the picture of some being more equal than others. As I say, maybe I'm oversensitive, and worse yet, maybe I do it too (I do like to keep my Sundays for hiking, but when necessary I put in 6 or more hours of political work on a Saturday and time during the week of course.).

Anyway, this kind of thing is devastatingly rough on the morale and can only have the effect of causing much bitterness and a feeling of "Why shouldn't I stay home and go to the Pete Seeger folk thing, too?" It is awful for the morale and I can't help being harmed politically by this kind of thing if I don't do something about it.

More important, if I feel this way, obviously others do too.

I enjoyed the affair for Felix Ojeda very much. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

An Old Friend

P.S. Incidentally, there were few West Siders at that affair too, and we have a large Puerto Rican community.

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The following letter, recently received by Political Affairs from a club in the Southern California district, offers an example which we think is well worth emulating.

Hy Lumer

Political Affairs
Dear Comrades:

Enclosed is a check for \$80.50 of which \$12.00 is to be used for two one-year subscriptions to Political Affairs. Please accept the balance as a contribution.

Some three or four years ago when our area was beset by manifold difficult problems, we developed a serious appreciation of the role of PA as the theoretical organ of the Communist Party and have since organized yearly affairs for its benefit.

We have become more PA-conscious and our People's World route comrade also delivers PA. Of course, every member of our club is a reader.

At our recent PA affair the highlights were as follows:

- a) Twenty-five people were present, many new to PA.
- b) The speaker using the book Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism as the source, spoke on "The Role of Theory in the Development of History." The presentation was well received and there ensued an animated, healthy discussion not unrelated to life. (Clearly, not only elite groups are interested in theory in these complex times.)
- c) Twelve copies of PA were sold, two subscriptions were obtained, and \$68.50 was raised in contributions.

Comradely,

S.H.

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Letter addressed to Gus Hall:

In your "Lame Duck" (Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters--Ed.), you correctly point out how the lesser evil approach has worked to harm the working class. The Democratic and Republican parties are both representative of the same ruling class, two sides of the same coin. It is a matter of "heads I win, tails you lose" against the working class, completely stacked against the working class. Breaking the working class from the chain that holds it to the Democratic and Republican parties is inseparable from the struggle for an independent class--labor party.

For the class to fight as a class will not isolate it from "the people" for this labor party--as the only progressive class will prove in action through its program--will represent the interests of minorities, women, youth, students--"the people." The fear of "isolation" is created by the twin parties of oppression with their claim that they represent "all the people, not just Labor or any special group." They claim to be able to serve the bosses as well as labor. But the truth is that any gains that are attained are thanks to labor anyway. Their lies and fears should be exposed so as not to influence the working class to the point of having to play the bourgeois game. There cannot be any representation of the interests of the working class separate from the labor party--the working class winning it for "the people."

The objective needs of the working class require that it begin now to mobilize the class as a class. The "New Left" claims the working class cannot move because it is politically "backwards." In accordance with their analysis they then do nothing to change reality, beyond just interpreting it. The organization and mobilization of the working class as a class is of utmost importance and the labor party is the necessary basic instrument.

A Congress of Labor must be fought for to map out the concrete action of this fight for the labor party now.

Pointing out the reality of the "lesser evil" concept and turning to the "people's party movement," the twin parties are trying to create an image to back their claims of representing the people. It is like throwing something out the door and returning it through the back window. The labor party will represent "the people."

A Proletarian

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Dear Comrades:

I was particularly impressed with the January issue of Party Affairs. It was "meaty" and should be must reading for every member, especially the reports of Comrade James Jackson on safeguarding the Party and Comrade Helen Winter on standards for Party members and leadership. Much has been said on looseness that has been allowed to develop in our Party on all levels, and leadership on all levels must share the responsibility.

Dozens of instances could be cited where Party members have spoken and acted as though they were part of the anti-Soviet and anti-Party enemies of our movement. Their words and actions have been eagerly taken up by reactionary elements who spread them far and wide, and such actions by our comrades, place them (without such intent) amongst those who are always seeking ways and means of damaging our Party and/or the Soviet Union.

I think the main reason for these conditions has been the lack of education and lapsing of discipline in the work of our Party. Otherwise there would not be the need for constantly reminding members of their obligations in paying dues, and in the proper amount according to income. We would not find comrades in the same sympathetic organizations taking opposite positions on questions of importance that in many cases result in their becoming antagonistic toward one another. If there was an understanding of the Party's need and role and its program, gossip and slander could never take place against our Party leadership. Many other reasons could be cited that stem from the lack of attention paid to education and the work of the clubs.

I would like to make a few suggestions that perhaps could help in rebuilding our Party so that our members will not only be proud of their membership, but will be knowledgeable in presenting our program to those they are in contact with and able to refute slanders against the Party and the Soviet Union.

1. We should utilize the presentation of membership books by showing the member what an honor it is, and what responsibility is involved in being accepted as a member of the Communist Party.
2. Re-registration every year should be accompanied with a check-up on members' Party meeting attendance, dues and assessment payments (in the proper amounts), their club and union activity, literature purchases, recruitment, press fund and subscription work, plus actual club Party work.
3. Every club should devote a minimum of 30 minutes to discussing a current pamphlet, a plan of work in their neighborhood or an article in our press that could be related to their activities.

4. The value of the membership book, should be emphasized by making it the only means of gaining entrance to a Party (only) meeting; dues secretaries should be at the door to check on dues payments, (3 months in arrears should be enough to refuse entrance.) At present some non-members come to "Party only" meetings, share in the Party business, but don't want to share in its responsibilities, preferring to "go it alone" so as not to be hampered by "Party bureaucrats."

5. Subscribing to our press (either the P.W. or D.W.) and receiving Party Affairs must go along with membership. (I am sure if comrades do not wish to receive these at their homes, it could be arranged for them to pick them up, or have them received by a press route.)

6. A main pre-requisite for membership should be, as Comrade Winter suggests, a class for all applicants. (And most present members should be attending.) Here they could learn what membership means, the structure of our Party, why it is needed, and how we work as Party members. Trotskyism, Maoism and all the other "Leftisms" should be explained as related to their programs, origins, and hostility to the Party. This is a must, as many members find time for and are influenced by their literature and revolutionary sounding mouthings.

7. It is necessary not only to run candidates in elections, but as necessary to explain to the membership why we do so. (And not only by quoting a paragraph from Lenin.) Many comrades did not vote the Hall-Tyner ticket. Because of lack of Party understanding, these honest comrades devoted time and money to the McGovern campaign in the belief that only his election could save the country from becoming fascist. These same comrades wouldn't give a dime to the Party, its press, and some even questioned the propriety of even putting candidates in the field.

8. Education always comes to mind when you speak to members and they express a lack of confidence in the working-class, applaud anarchist actions, and accept the ideas of narrow bourgeois nationalism.

9. District (or section) committees should be composed of at least one member from each club. Classes should also be held in these bodies to build future club leaders. Members of these committees should be assigned to visit clubs other than their own to help present quotas for press drives and Party recruitment. Personal contact with the clubs is needed to give a political explanation of the need for such drives and will bring better results.

10. Slanderous talk and whispering gossip against any leader or member should be stopped in its tracks by having the comrades write out reports so action can be taken immediately to seek out the truth. All such found guilty should be disciplined by suspended membership, expulsion or exposure.

11. Branches should be encouraged to purchase mimeograph equipment and supplies with the help of higher bodies, engage in neighborhood activities and learn to use their initiative. A regular column in our press could guide them in such work.

12. While subscribing to Jewish Affairs and Political Affairs are not compulsory, special efforts should be made in school classes to utilize material in these publications and thus show the need for subscribing in order to do proper Party work.

Sincerely,

M. M., Southern Calif.

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Comrades:

The Mike Gold Club in San Francisco has been in the process of discussing Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters by sections, and the following statement was ~~adopted~~--by an affirmative vote of eight with two abstentions--after discussion of the first section was completed. This statement is not our view on the entire pamphlet, nor the only reflection of our attitude to the new directions in electoral activity.

We welcome an end to the illusion that basic social transformation in this country can be accomplished through the two parties of monopoly. But we would like to caution against replacing that with another illusion--an exaggeration of the strength of left and radical forces in general and of the influence of our Party and its 1972 campaign in particular. A realistic assessment of that campaign certainly indicates what a historic breakthrough it was. To understand that the campaign made personal contact with thousands of people and reached millions more over the airwaves, it is not necessary to claim it "changed the thought patterns of tens of thousands of people" and that millions of people will now be radicalized enough to understand our point of view.

To equate contact with consciousness raising ignores other ideological forces that are battling for the minds of working people in the U.S.

Effective implementation of the bold new directions in electoral policy requires creative and imaginative new methods in the development of a mass approach. A realistic assessment of forces must be the first step towards such development.

Judy Baston, for the Mike Gold Club.

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