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CONVENTION ISSUE

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SPECIAL NATIONAL CONVENTION, CPUSA, July 4-7, 1968

In this issue we present a continuation from Party Affairs, Vol. 2, No. 8, panel reports on the Draft Program. Also presented are the resolutions adopted and the report of Comrade Daniel Rubin on Party building. The main report by Comrade Gus Hall, opening the discussion on the Draft Program, is being published separately. The report by Comrade Henry Winston on our 1968 electoral policy appears in the August issue of Political Affairs. The 1968 Election Platform of the Communist Party is also published separately.

The panel reports are presented as approved by the Convention and after editing in accordance with instructions. It should be borne in mind, however, that the panel reports were unwritten reports, transcribed from tapes with only the necessary stylistic editing. Therefore they should not be viewed as precisely formulated, rounded-out reports, and in approving them the Convention was approving only their general orientation. On the other hand, the motions presented were acted on as worded.

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REPORT ON PARTY BUILDING

Presented to the Special Convention of the CPUSA, July 4-7, 1968

By Daniel Rubin

This Special Convention will come to be known in the life of our Party and in the history of the working people of our country as the convention at which two critical instruments were developed for the struggle - a draft program and a daily Marxist newspaper. Both constitute major tools of struggle for working class ideology; both help chart our course in mass movements and are the key instrumentalities for building the Party.

But while we celebrate these big steps forward, we must still face up squarely to some questions.

In recent years millions of people have been moving Leftward and the Party has made many positive steps. But there is a gap between militant movement and building the Party. Our relation with the strength among Leftward moving workers, black and white, and within the black community generally is limited. No breakthrough has been achieved in the all-round status and growth of the Party as an organization. We must address ourselves much more seriously

and deeply to why this is so and what can be done to achieve a breakthrough. Our examination should begin with a look at objective developments and then go on to subjective aspects.

Our aim should be to begin a process of study, examination, and exchange of experiences and ideas on these questions and to indicate some directions in which to move in order to achieve a breakthrough. We should not try to conclude the discussion at this time with a resolution that attempts to answer these questions. No basis has yet been laid for this. An analysis of developments in the country in the last couple of years and the relationship of our Party to them would be needed. So would review of our policies and the work of the Party and its leadership as well as a rounded estimate of the Party situation today. We would also need an estimate of expected developments in the next couple of years and a projection of our mass policies with respect to them. Such an examination should be made at every level of the Party - club, section, district, national committee. On such a foundation it would be feasible to draw full conclusions with respect to how to achieve an all-sided breakthrough. Such an examination is part of the task of preparation for our 19th National Convention, to be summarized in a main political report and main political resolution and further amplified perhaps in a report and resolution on Party organization.

We correctly decided that as much as we all desired it, the Party was not capable of simultaneously accomplishing all the above preparations, dealing substantially with a basic party program, projecting itself into the crucial 1968 elections and launching the Daily World. This created an insoluble problem in the preparation of the draft statement on party building and of this report. It was necessary either to approach party building very narrowly and superficially, which in our present circumstances would satisfy no one, or to attempt the deepest conclusions in the absence of the kind of examination that has to be made for a regular convention. In these circumstances, it was a collective error to submit any draft statement on party building for perfection and adoption at this Special Convention. The draft statement fell on the horns of this dilemma. That is why it was proposed that, while the document would be discussed in the pre-convention discussion, neither it nor a substitute would be offered to this Special Convention for adoption.

Obviously, the same problem exists for this report; which is not a position to undertake a systematic review of the past and estimate of the current situation. Rather its aim is to start the probing process and help give it some direction by singling out a few main reasons, objective and subjective, why there has been no major breakthrough and suggesting a few of the keys to a radical change. It should be viewed as opening a discussion that will be continued during the pre-19th Convention discussion period and not as an attempt to close or conclude such probing.

The current electoral campaign has clearly revealed the Leftward movement of the majority of the people in our country who are demanding an end to the war in Vietnam and a new direction in international and domestic affairs, a direction more responsive to the needs of the people. For this development to be sustained, to advance rapidly, to register substantially in the electoral arena and to have a long-term perspective, has required and still requires the special contributions of the Communist Party. What are the kinds of special contributions which the mass movements require and which we have to offer? Comrade Winston will deal at length with the electoral outlook but I should like

to suggest a few aspects of our contributions in the electoral arena.

We see a complementary and interlocking relationship between electoral activity and mass struggles for peace, for black liberation, against poverty, for democratic rights, for better wages and working conditions and for protection of trade union rights. We see a possible inter-relationship between presidential national and local electoral struggles and the building of local bases.

We see the relationship that is necessary between the struggle to affect government policy on these issues in the course of this electoral campaign and the struggle to build a mass political party in which the working class and the Negro people are the leading forces, rather than the monopoly capitalists.

We understand that there are different levels of consciousness among the people and that we must have an approach to how to move them forward. We also understand that key to raising the level of understanding is to initiate struggles that can set the different levels in motion. In the course of these, the conscious forces help draw more advanced conclusions and propose more advanced types of struggle that can repeat the process on a still higher plane. We see the interconnection between initial argumentation to raise understanding and engagement in mass struggles, and involvement in such struggles as the leading factor in achieving higher levels of consciousness.

We see, therefore, the need for Communist Party candidacies, for independent formations outside the two parties of monopoly capital and for independent formations that have not yet broken completely with the old parties. In the work at all of these levels we are concerned with influencing policy on the major issues affecting the lives of the people today. And at all three levels we are working to build a new mass party while bringing forward in all situations the socialist alternative.

In each major area of struggle -- the war in Vietnam, the Poor People's Campaign and the fight against poverty, black liberation, the needs and rights of workers on the job -- there are millions moving Leftward who need the special contributions of the Communist Party if the movements are to go forward steadily, achieve victories and develop a long-term perspective.

The special contributions that are needed in the electoral area and that the Communist Party is capable of making because of its wide experience in struggle, its class outlook and its science of Marxism-Leninism, have already been indicated. Many of these contributions have an application in all other areas of struggle. In addition, in the struggle to end the aggression in Vietnam, the Communist Party is a source of understanding why such imperialist policies result from the nature of the beast -- capitalism in its state-monopoly-capitalist phase, and, therefore projects a line of struggle to prevent more Vietnam aggressions, and to prevent world nuclear war.

In the fight for black liberation the Party considers the class, national

and racial aspects of the question, its central role in American life and the special responsibility of white progressives to fight racism among whites as a necessary condition for the development of black-white unity.

In approaching the problems of workers on the job and the trade union movement, unlike others we begin with a partisan approach which sees rank-and-file movements among workers, especially in basic industry, as decisive for all progress. We do not underestimate the significance of struggle for wages, hours, conditions, but at the same time seek to relate this to the struggles against the war and against racism, and combat alien class influences among workers -- racism, class collaborationist views, anti-Communism, etc.

These are some of the objective developments that are favorable to a breakthrough for the Party -- masses moving Leftward and searching for answers, and increasingly requiring contributions which the Communist Party alone can offer.

Obstacles to be Overcome

But there are also unfavorable aspects of the situation. Anti-Communism still has an impact in the country in many forms. A worker who has found his or her way through the anti-Communist fog still considers whether membership in the Party is worth the risk of red-baiting and loss of job or trade union membership. Some, emerging from the movement, have to consider whether the slander prevalent in a sizeable section of the movement is true, namely, that the Party is not radical, revolutionary or relevant to basic social change.

One thing that blocks workers and some middle-class groups who are moving Leftward from coming to the Party is the influence of crystallized Right-wing social democratic views. Such views are hostile to our Party and to the socialist countries. They breed a "plague on both your houses" approach to international developments, view the contradictions of capitalism as resolvable and build reliance on the good deeds of leading social democratic personalities rather than on mass struggle.

There is another set of theories that act as a brake on the mass movement, especially among middle strata, keeping them from moving more in our direction. While there are many varieties of these concepts, they hold in common the conclusion that the CPUSA is conservative in its policies, that it is not a real force in the struggles of today and is not capable of being a revolutionary force. Also, though expressed in many variations, they question the central historic role of the industrial proletariat within the working class and the country, maintaining that the contradictions that once made this so are either wholly or partially resolved, while new contradictions propel other sectors of the working class to the center of the stage.

We will have occasion to return to these views. At this point it is

enough to indicate that while new Left currents have generally moved forward and some of their criticism and analyses have elements of truth, their ideological influence also is an objective factor blocking those moving Leftward from being won to the Party.

We have not sought to give a precise estimate of the objective situation, only to indicate some of the main positive and negative elements in it -- the great potential and need for the Party on the one hand and some of the chief obstacles, in addition to our internal weaknesses which we must tackle to achieve a breakthrough. While subjective problems, problems internal to the Party, are the main thing preventing at least a certain level of breakthrough, both sides of the objective situation need to be understood more deeply.

The Party of the Working Class

When examining the work of the Communist Party, the first question is where does it stand in relation to the working class, black and white; what is its working class orientation. It would not take much examination to conclude that to make a breakthrough the Party must radically reconstruct itself and its work as the party of the working class as well as of the Negro people. And the sharpest self-criticism of our work as a leadership is that we have done so little to begin this process.

Most of our time in leading committees should be spent on the struggles and needs of the working class, especially its organized, industrial proletarian core. To do so would require a radical change in our work. While theoretically we do not accept the view held in parts of the movement that struggle by these workers for higher wages and better conditions is unimportant or even reactionary, our practice indicates that we work on this basis. The struggles of the seamen in the National Maritime Union, of the aluminum and steel workers over the new contract, of the hospital workers in New York, etc., should be central points at all times on our agenda. Our press should reflect the same approach to the fight of workers for higher wages, against Vietnam war inflation and rising taxes, for better conditions and against speed-up, against all forms of racist discrimination on the job and in the unions, and for better grievance machinery, internal union democracy.

We should spend our time elaborating policies and programs on inflation and taxes and for a post-Vietnam war economy as an instrument of struggle to end the aggressive policy. We should be trying to solve the ideological and tactical problems in building rank-and-file movements on these questions and of developing the role of Left in the trade union and working class movements. There is now a substantial and rapidly growing Left, consisting of a number of locals and of strong trends in many locals and internationals, with substantial reflections in the UAW and Teamsters as well as among the historically Left unions. But we tend to pay attention only to a Left among the middle strata.

In the fight for peace our central focus should be on how to move workers,

especially in basic industry. In the fight against racism and poverty, our main effort should be in the same direction. At all levels of electoral activity the main challenge is how to reach and involve workers and the black community. A few years ago there may have been some excuse for those who said the forward motion taking place is among other strata and not among workers, though in reality, it was present among workers even then, though in less visible forms. But now, when we have the highest levels of militancy and of strikes in twenty or more years, when millions of workers disregard the Meany's who tell them to vote for Johnson, Humphrey, and their war policy and instead support candidates like Kennedy, McCarthy, Paul O'Dwyer -- now we have absolutely no excuse.

We should be working at bringing shop workers, black and white, forward in all leading committees so that they become the weightiest factor and we must fight for their ability to give leadership. This will require that comrades with non-working class backgrounds take responsibility to help assure such a role for shop workers, rather than competing with them or pushing them aside as often happens now.

We shall have to carry on a campaign in the Party so that young comrades will want to go into key shops as a long-time orientation in the big industrial centers, and will be highly honored for doing so.

The Need for Reorientation

When we check where we stand on these things it is clear we have to turn ourselves and our work upside down. A little bit of change won't do. At this Convention there are some delegations that are very good in composition, made up mainly of shop workers and trade unionists, black and white. But others, where the possibility for such composition existed, had virtually no such comrades. One cannot regard this as deliberate, but the absence shows a lack of basic understanding and conscious planning to assume delegations representative of a working-class Communist Party.

Resources and time spent by leadership should reflect industrial concentration. Leading personnel should be trying to figure out how we can build a shop club in a key auto plant, steel mill or transportation industry. Their time should be spent with a key industrial club trying to build it into a couple of shop clubs. They should be trying to determine how to involve the maximum resources of the Party and effect maximum impact in achieving a great organizing drive, involving thousands of union organizers and millions of dollars in the South and elsewhere.

To build a party among black people -- and where we are especially weak, among black women -- much thought, probing and effort will have to be given. It is clear that to the extent that white Communists take initiative and advance the struggle against ruling-class racist practices and ideas reflected

among white workers, our ability to grow in the black community will be improved. To the extent that the Party in fact treats the struggle for black freedom and against racism as central to all progress we will have the possibility of growth. And, based on a mass-struggle orientation, the ideological struggle against white chauvinist and male supremacist reflections in our own ranks needs to be elevated as part of the process. It is also clear that to the extent that we win white workers into the Party it will be clearer to their black brothers what the Party has to offer in effective struggle for their needs that others do not have.

It will also be necessary for the Party as a whole and the commission in the field of struggle for black liberation to examine the problems of building a class Party within a strong movement, national in character. The relationship between work appealing to the black militants and work among the hundreds of thousands of black workers now in auto, steel, etc., also needs further examination.

Such a radical change in our efforts, time and resources will be needed if we are to reconstruct our Party as a working class Party which is at the same time the Party of the Negro people. But this is the main direction required for a breakthrough even among middle strata in some of the movements.

We will always be defensively dealing with new theories, concepts and activities that offer "radical" alternatives to Marxism-Leninism, to our Party and to a working class outlook. We may even make headway among radical middle strata influence in the working class and helping to bring that class forward as the leader of all the progressive social movements is the only way to give a more lasting and profound answer that can help win them ideologically.

This, however, is not a proposal to ignore such movements and social strata. In fact, we must fight to win intellectuals to the Party and to a working-class outlook, not just in the realm of theory but in relation to political line, etc. And this is an aspect of reconstruction of the Party as a working-class party.

Of course, we can make some headway on all our problems but only with a real turn toward working class orientation, composition, atmosphere, etc., can basic changes be made of long duration, avoiding tendencies to continually reintroduce former problems. It is true that improvements in other areas, especially in the area of ideology, will make it easier to achieve such a turn in our work of reconstruction in a working-class direction. There is a dialectical interaction, but the leading factor in overcoming our major weaknesses in a more lasting way is the fight to reconstruct the Party as a working-class Party. It would help us decisively in overcoming tendencies to the Right, to show insufficient initiative and militancy in struggle, toward ideological wavering in a petty-bourgeois radical direction. It would help in overcoming bureaucratic tendencies as well as anti-leadership tendencies. Until we make major headway with such reconstruction we shall have difficulty in demonstrating our relevancy.

By the very nature of our Party and the contents of its contributions we are relevant mainly to the extent we have membership rooted in the heart of the working class and have influence and strength there.

Subjective Aspects

In looking at the subjective side, we also begin with our theory and ideology and our mass political policies and strategy that flow from that ideology.

For the last number of years through this Convention we have been examining some of our theory, ideology and strategy in connection with the development of a basic party program, and more recently we have been looking at some of our mass policies in respect to the 1968 elections. In preparation for and at the coming April Convention, we will examine all our political policies and so we shall not attempt to do so here. Instead we will simply assert, without argumentation, that fundamentally our ideology, theory, strategy, and main mass political policies have been sound. That does not mean that we have kept up fully with theoretical elaboration of new developments. We also have areas in which a fresh look is being undertaken - such as the main features of the national question as it pertains to the Negro people. And there has all too often been a lag in elaborating the tactical applications of basic policies, as well as some fuzziness in the statement of basic policy. And as we have already indicated, our policies with regard to problems facing workers are lagging in concreteness. Should one differ with this assessment, there has been an opportunity in the work on the program and the 1968 electoral policy to persuade the Party otherwise, and there will again be opportunity in relation to the 19th Convention, on the other mass policies of the Party.

We do need now, however, to single out the way in which the Party applies its policies, fights for its ideology, organizes mass struggles, conducts its work. We need to determine what are the main changes required to increase the possibilities for a breakthrough by turning the Party toward reconstruction of its working-class character. We can perhaps best do that by examining several clubs. Since the club is the basic unit of the Party, the acid test as to how the Party functions lies here. We have chosen examples of better clubs, not to seek some magical pattern to Utopia for all clubs, but to help probe into some of the problems and possible directions for solution.

Experiences of an Industrial Club

Let us examine first a New York industrial club in a field in which there are large numbers of clerical and semi-professional workers. Until about eight months ago, six or seven of the present members were in a club with non-trade unionists in a closely related field. But there was little attention to their trade union work even though a trade union caucus met every four or five weeks.

A separate club was formed and a leading younger comrade who had recently returned to this field of livelihood was put into the new club. The rest of the membership were people who were, in the main, involved in mass activity in and around the union but it was slow, plodding work, without much perspective. Little help or direction was given by the club collective to the mass work. All the members except for the younger person mentioned had been in the Party for twenty-five years or more and the feeling was that while recruiting was desirable, this was for other clubs and was not at all possible for these people in the near future. Nearly nothing was done on circulation of the Worker and of literature.

Since then four people have been recruited, one of them a Negro worker. Much literature is now being taken to their fellow workers. The club does well on fund raising and other activities, and there are prospects for more recruiting. The younger person who came into the club was just the spark plug the club needed as she was a developed comrade with both a mass approach and a high level of Party-building consciousness.

The first change that took place in the club was to make struggles in the union the central part of the club meeting and to develop a sense of long-term direction as well as answers to immediate problems. A peace committee associated with the union was developed, and has been involved with the Labor Assembly for Peace. An organization of the Negro American Labor Council is being built around the union. One of the central tasks for the union is to move toward organizing and handling the needs of the big influx of black workers into the industry. Around this, a progressive coalition is seriously contesting for leadership of the union -- a leadership in which the coalition already has some voice. Activity around the assassination of Dr. King and the Poor People's March has been engendered.

The local has also been involved in political action, including activity at the third party level. In all of these activities the club has played a vital role. The bigger the issues or the sharper the union crises, the more urgently is the need for a Party meeting felt.

It was from developing this mass perspective in the club that there came the more consistent relationships with other advanced, active trade unionists and the burning desire to recruit them so that mass policies could be carried out more fully. At first, as much as the young comrade argued for recruiting, there was little response until she proved it by doing it -- by recruiting the first person. That qualitatively changed the club life, on recruiting, on mass work and all else.

Educationals are held at every meeting, ranging from questions related to trade unions to Political Affairs articles, the Lightfoot pamphlet and now the party program. There is, however, a lack of basic education and two of the club's leaders complained of the lack of action by the district in meeting their request for new members' classes.

The club does feel a part of the rest of the organization through regular

reports from members who are on higher bodies but complains that the next leading body from whom they expect the most concrete help -- the leading committee of the New York industrial section -- discusses questions too generally and therefore is not helpful enough.

When asked what kinds of questions prospective recruits raised about joining the Party, the answers were similar to those indicated in other experiences around the country. The workers were convinced that the system was rotten, that socialism was the answer, that an organization basing itself on workers was needed to gain immediate advances and to win socialism, that the Communist Party was the only organization that did base itself on the workers, was effective and sober in the fight and would stick with it. They knew it was small, weak and had internal weaknesses, but there was no other way forward for the class struggle than to overcome these things. There was no question of its relevance. With some, though not so much in the case of this particular club, there was a question of security on the job and in being able to continue their usual shop political activity if they were actually dues-paying members, which would have to be balanced against the admitted need for the Party and the worth of being a member. In a couple of cases a transitional form in the shape of a caucus for Party members and a few very close non-Party unionists produced the confidence among a group of the latter to become dues-paying members, as a new club.

It should be mentioned that from January through May we had more recruiting and in more districts than during the past couple of years and that it was mostly among shop workers and trade unionists -- though it is still small in absolute terms.

Other Examples

Let us examine two community clubs.

One is a club in a mid-West industrial center, made up of workers -- some in basic industry, some white collar workers and working-class housewives, a total of about seven including one Negro member.

The other is a New York City club that resulted from combining a small club, rather isolated and not doing well, with another that had some limited mass involvement, together with the transfer in of three young people from youth clubs. The result was a club of fifteen members, all of them white -- six over sixty years of age, six in their forties and fifties, and three young people.

In the first situation, the district had been steadily deteriorating and was more or less leaderless and without outside aid until about two and a half years ago. While one of the comrades in this club, an auto worker, always had a better outlook than others in the district, was more involved in mass struggle, and was more confident in the Party and the need for it, no one had recruited in

years and there was no outlook toward recruiting. Some help from outside the district began with rather regular visits that helped give some approach to trade union perspectives and some Party building consciousness. Consistent neighborhood work over a period of time on the questions of quality education and equality in educational facilities began to pay off in sizable mass struggles which led to arrests in the black community and demonstrated in life their commitment to the struggle for black-white unity on the basis of fighting racism. What this white auto comrade had been saying over a period of time seemed borne out and a leading black activist joined the Party. The club had been discussing these mass developments and collectively helping. There are many aspects in which the club remains weak. Not very much is done with literature and press, though there are some signs of life. The district situation is only a bit stronger and still provides little outside help to the club. Almost the only link of the club to the Party and its policies is through the periodic visits of this sane national person, but there is a confidence in the policies of the Party and a new perspective of growth.

In the newly combined New York club, there were problems in the relationships between old and young. The young at first felt the older comrades were a drag, but now they value their experience and thinking. After this, there was another problem. Some of the oldest comrades began pulling away on the basis that the young had finally come along to take over and that the older comrades were never particularly wanted anyway. In the earliest stages the club seldom discussed mass work in the club meetings and tended to spend a lot of time on educational and discussions in which the differences of several members with the national line of the Party on China and a number of other questions repeatedly came up.

Now five or six members are very active in building a large community peace organization, two are in tenants' work, one is in Parent-Teacher activity, several are involved in political action, a couple are active in unions and a couple are working in Jewish progressive organizations. Mass work now finds some place on club agenda, though still not enough, and gets a good deal of attention from the club executive committee. The differences on China have kind of melted away. There are some fairly sharp differences between people involved in reform politics and others who stress third party developments, each feeling the other is one-sided and tailist. No recruiting has taken place though a few community Party forums have been organized and canvassing with the paper takes place periodically.

The club arranges a number of affairs to raise money. With greater involvement in mass activity, there is more discussion on mass work, there are fewer political differences, there is better functioning of the club organizationally, and one can feel that recruiting is coming.

The final case history is that of a club in steel fabrication that includes a couple of workers from small packing plants. In the last year or so it has

recruited four or five workers and now has ten shop workers, half black and half white, who are involved in trade union activities and Negro rights struggles. The distinctive element in this club was a Negro comrade who was press conscious and whose press consciousness was re-enforced by a district press committee. Over a long period of time he consistently brought the paper to workers in his shop and to personal acquaintances elsewhere. Increased interest in the paper led to the notion of getting together a number of these contacts for a series of discussions with district leaders on political issues and finally on the Party, and this led to their recruitment. Accompanying, though following somewhat in the wake of the press work, was increased club discussion of trade union problems. At the time of the assassination of Dr. King the club was instrumental in closing one of the shops down for a memorial meeting and developing other forms of union support for the Memphis workers. They worked to organize trade union participation in Washington on June 19th and for a supporting action in their own city.

Some Conclusions

Among the main conclusions these examples suggest are the following:

1. There is no basis for a breakthrough and solution to our problems except in close connection with the major struggles of the people -- of the working class and the Negro people in the first place. Though headway has been made, there remain many comrades not involved in mass struggle and there is a tendency to try and solve problems in a narrow, inner way, out of relation to the mass struggles. Funds cannot be raised in isolation. Organizational structural reshuffles, personnel and cadre development, all need to be based on their relation to mass struggle. Our educational work has to have the same orientation.

Political differences cannot be resolved by political debate alone and by turning inward, but rather require participation in struggle. The Daily World will be the major instrument of orienting our Party toward mass involvement. At the same time, it can only be built in close relation to the struggles on the electoral, peace and anti-poverty fronts and to the fight against racism and the basic struggles of labor.

2. Where there is mass involvement, the need is to raise the level of its content and this means in the first place its working-class content. The content and quality of that involvement should be a collective product, reflecting the club and the whole Party collective if it is to be in advance of, and not tail mass developments either to the Right or the Left. We must work in such a way that this special Communist contribution is increasingly visible as emanating from individual Communists and the Communist Party as an organization if it is to result in a breakthrough. Confidence in the class and the Party and a burning desire to recruit grows out of such mass participation. When the question of

raising the quality and content of our mass relationships is posed, the question of how to raise the quality of the work of the leadership becomes central to raising the level throughout the Party and requires a self-critical analysis.

There are several major aspects of raising the quality of work of the leadership and strengthening its class orientation.

The first is close connection of leadership and membership. Unless the national and district leaderships have close ties to the membership, especially with shop workers and black members generally, it cannot know what ideological questions we are meeting among workers and also in organizations of middle strata in the course of the present-day struggles. Without such ties, leadership cannot know the thinking and experiences of our members in these areas and cannot develop tactically responsive policies or figure out how to help the membership in these struggles. We cannot develop the low-priced timely mass popular literature on such issues that we now so sorely need. Our publications will not reflect and be responsive to the real needs below. It will not be possible for leadership to initiate national campaigns on mass issues and give timely consistent leadership in mass struggle.

Close ties between membership and leadership are necessary also if the Party is to be mobilized politically for our policies and to receive help in overcoming obstacles that arise in the course of their application. Many of our members have never had an opportunity to hear an explanation of our electoral policies. This is one reason why some feel these policies are wrong, contradictory or unclear. Often the only way they hear about our policies is in the form of administrative directives.

Among the steps that would help strengthen the ties are the following:

1. The assignment of national and district personnel to work regularly with decisive clubs -- shop, industrial and working-class community -- where we first aim to make a breakthrough.
2. Trips by national personnel into districts should be at least for a week or so and their work should be with clubs and individual members with the same concentration approach, and not just with district leadership.
3. The entire work of the national office has to be re-examined with a view to making such trips and work with clubs possible, and enabling each comrade to establish regular ties with mass developments among workers and black people generally.
4. Following each of the National Committee or National Executive Board meeting, we must figure out ways of reaching the membership with reports

of the meeting. These will include visits to districts, explanatory articles, Party Affairs, printed reports and greater use of tapes.

5. The Daily World can become a major avenue of strengthening these ties by presenting a much greater wealth of experiences in shop struggle, etc., by stimulating dialogue and by reflecting the policies and decisions of the Party in such a way that they can be better understood and appreciated.

6. While there has been talk about the need of some regional forms of organization, concrete examination of the implementation of such proposals is needed following this Convention, especially in areas including smaller districts, to help bring leadership and membership closer together.

Ideological Work

Second, in seeking to raise the quality of the work of the leadership as the key to raising the level of mass work, a big improvement in our ideological work has to be a central aim. At the Industrial Concentration Conference of the Party, shop workers pointed out that our publications and literature are not doing much to answer the ideological questions they meet in the shops. They want a popular piece directed at white workers on the question of their stake in fighting racism. They want help in answering the worry of workers that an end to the Vietnam war will mean layoffs and hard times. We are lagging in analyzing developments in automation and technological advance and what it means for workers and what to do about it.

We do not have short, cheap popular pamphlets on taxes, prices, etc. Nearly every day a new challenge to Marxism-Leninism and the Party comes from one or another radical intellectual. Greg Calvert and Carol Neiman, in the June 22 issue of the Guardian ostensibly relying on Lin Piao, Herbert Marcuse, Andre Gorz and Antonio Gramsci, put forward an integrated theory with respect to so-called neo-capitalism, new class contradictions and the new revolutionary section of the working class. Seldom in the past have we responded to such challenge.

A sharp turn is required in our ideological work.

We need to take an inventory of our cadre capable of dealing with these questions and organize and plan their work. We need to figure out how to develop new cadre who are closely related to the ideological questions in the shops, in the black community in the first place, and among the middle strata in certain movements, and train them in a working-class outlook and Marxist-Leninist science so they can enter the fray. A combative spirit must be developed in the fight for working-class ideology against pressures from the bourgeoisie and from radical sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

Some steps at strengthening personnel in this work have recently been undertaken but a real turn is decisive for the Party and its growth. Again, the Daily World should be viewed as the single most important instrument in the ideological struggle.

Third, consistent leadership to the organization of mass initiatives and struggle is needed. There have been many outstanding individual examples of this in the course of the election campaign, the struggle to end the war in Vietnam and the Poor People's Campaign, as well as in certain shop struggles, but it lacks consistency and endurance. For each period of time the entire membership and large numbers of non-Party people should know what mass demands the Communist Party is campaigning on and initiating. The Daily World will play a big role in leading and developing such mass campaigns.

In your kits is a plan just drawn up for consideration by the membership for involvement of the entire Party in achieving that next big step for the working class and its role in the country -- organization of the unorganized, especially in the South. We cannot substitute for the massive commitment that will have to come from the organized workers, but our campaign can play a major stimulating role both within and outside of the trade union movement.

Fourth, the role of the leadership in unifying the Party needs to be enhanced. Unity of the Party is not something that comes automatically. It must always be worked at as there are always centrifugal forces at work, the influences of non-working-class ideology from outside. We can always expect individual differences of opinion and even incipient trends or tendencies in different directions. Currently in at least a section of the Party we have more than what might be considered the "normal" range of differences. And this in itself becomes an obstacle to turning the Party outward toward the working class and Party building. Leading comrades on all sides of questions must exert efforts to resolve differences on the basis of a working-class outlook and Marxist-Leninist science and not unnecessarily enlarge them. Resolution of differences is, of course, a process. Exchange of experiences and discussion of differences is part of that process. Among the channels for that discussion has been the pre-convention discussion on the draft program, electoral policy and party building, and the discussion of these questions at this Special Convention. The pre-19th Convention discussion will provide additional channels and enlarge the range of discussion. As we know, fruitful discussions do not happen automatically and the coming pre-convention discussion must be organized and stimulated around reconstruction of the Party on a working-class basis and on the major questions on which differences exist, with full freedom to raise all questions of policy, work and leadership. At the same time review of policy should not be on the basis that we have no policies in any area, for that is not true and such an open-ended approach leads to no resolution of differences and to paralysis in work -- to an absence of mass struggle. We should also keep in mind that a major part of the process of resolving differences is

experience in mass struggle, especially in shops and in the struggle for black liberation. Some questions can be resolved right away and some will require time and experience. Turning inward, away from mass struggle, inevitably enlarges differences and makes them more difficult to resolve on a principled basis. Again the Daily World can play a significant role in the discussion of policy questions and in drawing lessons from mass struggles that can help in achieving greater Party unity.

Fifth, any consideration of raising the quality of the work of the leadership must come head-on into the cadre crisis the Party is experiencing. There are all kinds of opportunities to build the Party from Alaska and Hawaii to Arizona, Georgia, the Rockies and Maine, but in several years of looking we have not found one cadre to go into these areas as well as to head the work in some major industrial states. We especially need cadre for industrial concentration. And there are many other unfilled assignments that could produce big returns for the Party. We want to develop both new and older cadre who are models of devotion to the Party and the class, who will be armed with working-class ideology and science, and who are competent. We want them selected on the basis of performance, on the basis of experience in mass struggle and possessing a mass orientation. We especially want to bring forward working-class cadre, Negro cadre generally, and youth and women in these two categories. The specific weight of the working-class cadre in leadership needs to be enhanced so that our orientation will be toward the working class and we will fight in practice for industrial concentration and working-class type and standards in work. Cadre are needed both for the Party and for key mass work.

A major shake-up and redeployment of cadre should be undertaken from the standpoint of building a base, especially among shop workers and black people generally. We still do not have a national plan for cadre development, the education, practical experience, combinations of inexperienced and experienced on a crash basis. Such a plan must now be developed and put into operation.

The DAILY WORLD

Sixth, both in orienting the Party toward the working class and toward mass struggle and in the fight to raise the quality of our contribution to mass struggles, the Daily World is the major instrument we have. Its relation to the foregoing points has already been discussed. It remains to be said here that though there has been a substantial improvement in the amount and quality of effort to build our press recently, it is still far below the potential, and far below what is needed for a fully secure launching of a daily Marxist paper. We aimed to achieve 10,000 readers week-days and 20,000 readers on week-ends. To date we have achieved 2,500 domestic subs. We do not yet know how many papers will be taken for news-stands and in bundles for daily street sales, weekend canvassing, and use at plant gates, union halls and mass actions on a regular

basis. The sample preview issue, out in 65,000 copies has met with enthusiastic response.

No one can be satisfied that we have converted all former readers of The Worker to daily sales, or that we have reached new readers in shops and in the peace, black liberation and other movements.

With respect to the million dollars needed to launch the paper, meet initial investment costs and leave a reserve to meet expected deficits in the first few years, a total of \$700,000 has been accounted for. Of the \$300,000 sought by activity in the districts, \$120,000 has been achieved, while nearly \$600,000 of \$700,000 total has been raised by a special committee. As a result we are not yet on firm ground, though enough has been accomplished to prove it can be done. But the lag is already causing a weekly financial problem for the paper.

We should resolve here to achieve by Labor Day three-fourths of the quota for the districts, 7,500 regular daily readers of all kinds, and a total of 15,000 readers of the weekend paper by Labor Day, with the balance to be achieved by November 1st.

If the paper is to be everything we want it to be, and that it can be, every Communist must ask himself or herself three questions about every mass struggle in which they are involved:

1. How can I insure that the paper has the story and gives leadership on that struggle?
2. How can I make sure the paper will be read by the people involved in the struggle?
3. How can money be raised for the paper on the basis of its coverage of the struggle?

The Need for the Party

In the life of the Communist Party there are many challenges to its ideology and its policies which, when taken to their logical conclusion, would mean liquidation of the Party. We have long standing tendencies in the Party to accomodate to difficulties in mass movements, to rely on leading liberals, to weaken Communist initiative below and to tail the movements. This is a Rightist conservatism that slowly eats at the vitality of the Party and must be combated. It also finds expression in leadership's abandonment of its role and in areas of theory and policy.

There is also the previously mentioned trend among middle strata mo-

ving Leftward which challenges openly the Party's ideology and policies, and the Party itself. In life, both tendencies abandon our concentration among workers.

Some on the Left believe they should try fundamentally to change our Party from within and without. For others the Guardian editorial of May 18th expresses the view. "the Guardian is dedicated to the principle that the capitalist system which governs the U.S. and exploits the world must be dismantled and replaced by a socialist world which, for the U.S., is still in the formative stages of ideological development ... The long range goal would be the development of a radical political party devoted to the overthrow of capitalism and to the growth of a socialist U.S." Our Party, Marxism-Leninism and the socialist countries are simply ignored.

These currents have been moving forward over the years toward a rejection of capitalism, a favoring of some kind of socialism as the alternative, and a favorable attitude to at least a section of something they call the working class, as the main vehicle of social revolution. Some of their criticism of us deserve serious consideration. Some of their analyses and theories contain important elements of truth that Marxism-Leninism can embrace and use in working class-oriented struggles.

With many sections of these movements we should seek positive relations and carry on a dialogue. But we must also be clear about our own standpoint and understand how the influence in the movement of some of the basic ideological and theoretical propositions of these trends objectively block the movement toward our Party and must be combatted. We must meet this challenge on the ideological plane, partly in order to win the whole membership for building the Party as a working-class party. But we must avoid engaging in ideological dialogues with such currents in such a way that it diverts us from the class tasks. As indicated, there are a number of varieties of these views. It is said by some that we are conservative and incapable of leading a revolution because our membership is allegedly middle-class and old. Another alleged reason is that we are disconnected from the most radical sectors - students and black militants. And a further alleged reason is that the Party is a bureaucratic organization whose leadership is but a bunch of old, incompetent bureaucrats who are holding on to their position for all they are worth.

There are elements of truth in some of the criticism and it is not possible within the scope of this report to discuss them fully. Our draft program and the discussion on electoral policy contain much of the answer. Judging what is radical and what is conservative can only be done on the basis of sustained practice. In a fundamental sense only those who base themselves on the working class and its world outlook - Marxism-Leninism - can be the most radical in effectively advancing the understanding of the working class, the Negro people and other strata, in winning victories and in achieving working class power for the building of socialism. And this is so no matter how loudly others

may denounce the system in words and call for its overthrow.

Indispensable Features of a Communist Party

There are six interdependent features that are regarded as basic and indispensable for a Communist Party.

First, it is a Party of the working class, It is only at an advanced stage that a party achieves actual leadership of the class and, as indicated earlier, we have a long way to go in building our membership, especially among basic workers, a long way to go in developing the ties of leadership to the class and with working-class ideology and orientation. Those now offering themselves as an alternative vanguard party, however, are virtually 100 percent devoid of shop workers and are all white. While some speak of the working class, they have in mind peripheral sections and see an intellectual elite, "organically connected" with the class, giving it leadership. Others do not even assert they have working-class orientation or any experience in working-class struggles.

Second, it is a vanguard party. Again, only at an advanced stage does a Communist Party achieve the leadership spoken of above, and we have earlier acknowledged considerable weaknesses in initiating struggles, especially among workers and in giving advanced working-class content to struggles. But we also have positive examples and we do strive to be an organizer of struggles.

Third, it is a revolutionary party. Those offering themselves as an alternative pose revolution against reform and either minimize any social struggle other than the direct struggle for socialism or project struggles for the sole purpose of winning people to want a revolution. In this view, striving for and winning victories on immediate needs necessarily creates illusions. Also, those who hold it usually do not have a scientific understanding of the nature of the revolutionary goal, socialism, nor do they comprehend the process of moving masses toward socialism in the course of the struggle for reforms. We reject the posing of reforms against revolution. We see that the path to a social revolution is through the struggle for reforms, in the course of which we fight to develop class and socialist consciousness.

Further, it is a party based on Marxism-Leninism. Of those who do mention this, nearly all are busy revising and "up-dating" it under Leftist covers while denying the validity of concepts of inevitability and predictability in the social sciences. Some argue that the concept of inevitability necessarily leads to reliance on spontaneity. And since this concept has at times been used in a way that promoted such reliance, it is concluded that it is wrong in principle. But for Marxism-Leninism as a science of society, that the working class

will lead the social revolution and that socialism alone will lead the social revolution and that socialism alone will replace capitalism in the U.S. is not merely desirable or possible but can be predicted with complete assurance. Such prediction, far from impeding the struggle, aids it by giving it direction and confidence. Part of the prediction is based on the Marxist theory of knowledge that consciousness tends more and more out of social practice to reflect reality. Therefore, a Communist vanguard is created which consciously attempts to organize and lead struggles and raise the ability of workers to recognize objective processes. Thus part of the inevitability is the creation of consciousness which plays a role in initiating struggles in a certain direction against the class enemy.

Fifth, it is a party based on the ideology of proletarian internationalism. The responsibilities of the CPUSA to build solidarity with all those the U.S. monopoly capitalists oppress, especially in Vietnam, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the rest of Latin America are very heavy and we have not always fully met them. Internationalism also requires a partisan approach to the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

Typical of this group of intellectuals is that they tend to be hostile to or to ignore these responsibilities, while engaging in a cosmopolitanism that approves imposition of forms of struggle and revolution on other peoples from abroad.

Sixth, it is a Party based on democratic centralism. There is no doubt that for a long period, due to objective and subjective factors, the practice of democratic centralism in both of its aspects and their inter-connection was seriously weakened. But these weaknesses, serious as they maybe, are qualitatively different from the weaknesses in organizational forms in the movement. In varying degree these forms either do not provide for democratic establishment of policy or fail to require the full implementation of policy decisions, or both. As a result they inhibit the development of a striking force in the class struggle, and frequently substitute a kind of tyranny of the most articulate intellectuals.

Experience has taught us, and it can be theoretically explained why it continues to be so, that no group of intellectuals, no matter how well intentioned, can develop fully a working-class outlook and a grasp of Marxist-Leninist science in hostility toward or isolation from the CPUSA, the socialist countries and the world Communist movement. To prosecute the class struggle successfully, therefore, one must go through the process of struggling to build this Communist Party and overcome its weaknesses. There is no other way.

Proposals

We wish to propose that every club and district decide on its own

goal for new members to be recruited by the 19th Convention. The goals should be reported to the National Organization Department by September 15. Specific goals for shop workers, black and white, and for black people generally, should be set and reported to us.

As stated in the opening, the purpose of this report was to begin an exploration of why the gap has not been closed and what is central to a breakthrough. In the absence of the type of preparation required for a regular convention only a start could be made. But, with some confidence, it can be asserted that more than half the battle is to begin the process of reconstructing the Party as a Party of the working class.

There are several contending views on why the Party has not grown more rapidly and on what has to be done to make a change. One view is that if we combat successfully the influences of the petty-bourgeois radicalism in our ranks, we will have confidence in the Party and its outlook, we will want to recruit and will be able to offer something unique that will attract others.

Another is that if we remove incompetent, bureaucratic, out-of-touch leaders and promote democracy in the Party all will be well and we shall be able to build rapidly.

A closely related view is that we have not kept up with the movements, the issues they raise and new developments generally but rather represent a dogmatic reassertion of old truths. In this view, everything has to be done, including reconstruction of the leadership, to reflect these new movements.

There is some truth to each of these views. In earlier parts of this report some directions are indicated to meet such problems. But any of them taken alone will lead to one-sidedness and pendulum swings. By itself, any one of them fails to go deep enough and fails to give a positive class direction for a way forward. In some respects these are classless approaches.

Only in the context of the fight to turn the Party toward the working class in all the ways and means indicated and through others that we need to seek, can such problems be tackled in a lasting and constructive way.

If we agree that this is so, then the heart of our discussion should be how to make a turn in our orientation and how to rebuild our working-class and Negro base. While we should discuss other questions, this should be the heart to which all others are related. If we do, we can be confident that we will come to the 50th Anniversary of our Party in September, 1969, already achieving significant results in the breakthrough and the building of our Party. Let us resolve to do everything to turn our Party toward the working class!

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REPORT FROM PANEL IV - Oppressed Peoples (Introduction: Jose, Texas)

This panel on the oppressed people -- and I guess we would call them the working people because the oppressed people just automatically means the working people -- will report somewhat differently in that the different minorities will report individually instead of our trying to deal with them all at the same time. We will have three 10-minute presentations - on the Indian people, the Mexican-American people and the Puerto Rican people.

The Jewish question, which we were also supposed to handle, will not be included because we did not get a comrade involved in Jewish activity to come and participate with us.

The order of presentation will be informative, since we had hardly any material in the draft to discuss. And I for one hoped that we would learn a little bit more about the Indians for example, before there is a complete genocidal course, and then it will be too late. So the first report will be on the Indian question.

The Indian People: L. H. (Washington)

We conceive our role to be working in the Northwest and not to be organizing the Indian people, nor to decide what their demands will be. We do not believe our role to be that of the White Father nor the Great White Mother. We go to learn, and then return to organize supportive actions and to civilize White communities.

The Indian people have waged an underground struggle and led a double life as have their fathers, their grandfathers and their great grandfathers. We only now recognize the kind of tactics that are an expression of the Indian people, tactics we are familiar with. The fighting stance, the determination to fight for every inch, has been expressed by their struggles to protect their treaties and to retain their Indian-ness in the face of the racism, the genocide basic to this country's birth. Some of the Nuremberg trials took note that certain fascists had taken lessons on how to treat "undesirables", on genocide, from this country's genocidal policies against the Indian people.

We strongly reject what is in the program dealing with the Indian people. It is the patronizing attitude of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of Lady Bird Johnson. Contained in these sentences in a distilled form is what is wrong with our attitude towards oppressed people. It is a classic in insensitivity. I will read the paragraph:

"In many ways the most downtrodden of all minorities are the American Indians, who now number some half a million. Robbed of their lands, their numbers decimated by successive waves of genocidal attacks, forced onto reservations situated in the most inhospitable parts of the country, today they live in overwhelming majority in the most abysmal poverty and deprivation. They are truly America's forgotten people. The fight for full citizenship and equality of American Indians, is

an important, though so far neglected aspect of the anti-monopoly struggle".

And when we turn the page, there is no more.

So what is to be done?

We propose that the rewrite committee take into account the approach and direction of the following resolutions submitted by Washington State:

RESOLUTION FOR A NATIONAL PROGRAM ON THE INDIAN PEOPLE

WHEREAS, other parties such as the CPSU and the Chinese Communist Party have included a program for the nationalities with sovereign rights in their perspectives, and

WHEREAS, this would have deep significance and meaning among the Indian people. Throughout their struggles today is expressed the demand for self-determination. These perspectives go beyond no discrimination in jobs and housing, and

WHEREAS, the Indian people have been victims of oppression and exploitation for 400 years within the land area of the present boundaries of the United States, and

WHEREAS, the Indian people have for over 200 years fought to bring their position and grievances to the U.S. Government, and the White people. (In 1830 the case of Cherokee vs. Georgia tested and found unwillingness to protect an Indian tribe, in its effort for self-determination), and

WHEREAS, among the "New Indians", the youth, and their elders steeped in their tribal customs and culture, there is an uprising for "Red Power", ideological, social, legal, and political, and

WHEREAS, U.S. Congressional action in 1953 opening up Indian reservations to state jurisdiction is resulting in harassment by local bigots, termination of U.S. Government treaties and loss of land, and

WHEREAS, we must correct the history and policy of genocide against the Indian people, which today refers to the destruction of their identity as a people and links with the struggles of people for their identity all over the world,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. There must be the recognition of their sovereignty, their right to determine their own destiny, and their right to secede.

2. There must be immediate implementation of the treaties made with each Nation providing indemnities in exchange for the land. Where the treaties do not provide indemnities, they must have the choice of the choicest land that was stolen from them.

3. There must be representation of the Indian people on all levels of decision making.

4. Each Nation must be guaranteed the means to establish a written language in order to promulgate their culture. Indemnity in the form of direct funds to the schools of each Nation provide the curriculum in the language of that Indian Nation. (For example, only the Cherokees have had a written language. Now the Quinaults and Yakimas of Washington State are putting their language in written form in order to help preserve their culture).

5. There must be medical care schools and transportation available at the place of need, encompassing the farthest reaches of the country from the Athabaskan of Alaska to the Paiutes of Nevada.

6. That the Communist Party give full support to the Indian people's struggles for self-determination and the right to retain their identity.

7. That we initiate in the state legislatures and U.S. Congress programs to remove all oppression of the Indian people.

Today, this is where we are in relation to the Indian people's struggle. For our White comrades, our relationship as a part of the White oppressing nation is very delicate and puts demands on us of discipline and deliberateness. We must demand of our comrades who participate in the struggle respect for the Indian people, respect for their decisions, respect for their beliefs and that special demand of respect for Indian woman. "Respect merits respect".

The Mexican-American People - Guillermo, Southern California

The Mexican-American Commission of Los Angeles has prepared a statement which we'd like to submit as a resolution to be taken as a model for the further formulation of the policy of our Party concerning the Mexican people within the boundaries of the United States. The statement, entitled "The Responsibility of the CPUSA to the Mexican People of the United States", reads as follows:

Recent events throughout the Southwestern United States and particularly in the State of California have once more brought out into the open the more than a century-old struggle the Mexican people have waged to regain their lost freedoms in their own homeland.

A new cry has arisen: "Ya Basta" - We've had enough! And so to the oppressor and to any and all concerned, the warning is once more made that the fight has not ended. And in spite of the attacks and criminal assaults, the struggle must go on, until self-determination is obtained.

The millions of Mexicans living in the barrios in that portion of North America generally known as the Southwest, are not an isolated lot in an Anglo-Saxon political entity called the United States of America. They are akin to and form part of the more than 250 million people in the vast lands covering two continents, from California to Argentina.

Anyone familiar with the history of the conquest of Texas, California and the Southwest from Mexico can do nothing but conclude that these areas constitute a vast colony of the United States incorporated into the territorial limits of the country. This colony differs in several important aspects from the colonies in the traditional sense.

In the first place, the colonized Mexican areas, unlike colonies in the rest of the world, are not far removed from the colonizing country, but on the contrary are immediately proximate and with boundaries contiguous with the rest of the United States. In the second place, the colonized Mexican areas, consisting of 3/5 of the national territory of Mexico, border for several thousand miles on what was left of the Mexican nation and share with the mother country not only a continuing cultural and lingual identity but a common economy and geography as well.

Further, the colonized areas of Mexico, having developed an economy superior to that of the mother country, and being immediately proximate to the mother country, continue to attract wave after wave of immigration from the mother country. For the immigrants, the political borders are of little relevance, and they cross these borders legally or illegally, as they are able, in order to seek employment in the more developed colony. The feeling of the immigrants is not that they are emigrating to a foreign country, but that they are travelling into another region of their own country. The political fact of the United States occupation is seen by them not as a moral or political impediment, but only as a problem to be reckoned with in terms of the best method of crossing the imposed borders. This is why no matter how tight the immigration repression and control, the Southwest, and increasingly the country as a whole, continues to be flooded with vast numbers of immigrants seeking employment. Because of their lingual and economic disadvantage, these immigrants tend to accept employment at lower levels than domestic workers.

In addition, the overall unequal relationship between the United States as an industrial nation and Mexico as a rural country with a somewhat feudal economy has over the years created settlement of Mexicans throughout the United States, far from the colonized areas of the Southwest. Thus, there are vast

settlements of Mexicans in Chicago, Pittsburg, Minnesota, Nebraska, the Dakotas and throughout the country. Their status is directly affected by the status of the colonized Southwest and the exploited status of Mexico. The problem of the Mexican-American is, therefore, not only a regional colonial problem, but a national problem.

Tasks for the Party:

Up to a few years ago, the national problem of the conquered Mexican people was almost totally ignored by the nation as a whole, and our Party shares in this neglect. As the Mexican people began to develop economically and politically, however, they have become a strong force in our national life, and more and more the various sections of American society are becoming conscious of the existence of this national minority and its impact upon the American political and economic institutions.

Our Party has played a constructive role in many of the important struggles of the Mexican people, but its role has been extremely limited, as we have shared in large measure the American ignorance and neglect of the 7-1/2 million conquered and colonized people within our national borders. We must now grapple with the problems of these people in both long range and immediate goals.

First: It is our responsibility to make a thorough Marxist analysis of the character of this national minority, taking into account its peculiar status as a colonial people and its continuing relationship with the mother country, and the relationship of the mother country to the United States.

Second: Flowing from our analysis, we must develop a perspective for the Mexican people in the United States, i.e., is the perspective for the Mexican people reunion with the mother country, national autonomy, or integration into the overall American culture and economy.

Third: We must work diligently to establish deep ties with the immediate struggles of the Mexican people within the United States by adopting the following measures:

A. Establish a national commission to carry out the thorough-going analysis of the character of the national status of the Mexican people within the country as a whole and a Marxist perspective for them;

B. Guarantee that we have at least one organizer in this field of work.

C. Guarantee that our daily paper reflects fully the life of the Mexican people within the U.S. by assignment of a full-time reporter to cover their life and political activity.

D. Guarantee that the People's World on the West Coast also covers

their political and economic struggles. The coverage of this publication has been exemplary, and it is due in part to that coverage that we have strong and developing ties with the community, but this aspect of work must be strengthened.

E. Begin the publication in our press of literature in Spanish, especially geared to the deepening of the political and ideological struggles being conducted by the Mexican people of the United States, and the translation and publication of important historical works already available in Spanish.

The resolution that we are proposing here is to acquaint people, English-speaking people of the Party, who are not familiar with the conditions of the Mexican people as to their identity as a nationality within a political entity called the United States.

The question has already been raised of heritage when we deal with the United States as a nation. It is forgotten many times that, for instance, my heritage is entirely different or means something else to me than it does to the English-speaking person. Because there is a history prior to the coming of the Europeans to this land and also prior to the coming of the Anglo-Saxons to this land, that we were already established in this land. We had our own cultures. We had our economic developments, whatever they were at the particular time that the Europeans came here. In many cases, if we go back to our ancestral heritage, to the indigenous, they were communistic societies, limited communistic societies, which were destroyed by the incoming of the feudal forces and later of the capitalistic imperialist forces.

So when we deal with the question of the Southwest we are dealing with a large land area seized from Mexico on which there is an approximate population of 8 or 9 million people. These people, in many cases, still adhere to their own culture, their own language and their old traditions. So when we express the thinking in this resolution, we are expressing exactly that and for that reason we would like our Party to take this into very serious consideration and not just overlook it, because this is part of the struggle against imperialism.

We have previously submitted several documents that have not been considered or looked into, and have not been published. I have been asked by some members of our Commission in Los Angeles to ask the comrades here to be sure and take serious consideration of this matter at this time.

Before closing, I just want to state that there are various developments taking place throughout the Southwest. You have read about them in the newspapers and many of you have participated in them, in Washington, California and New Mexico. In California, for instance, we have had the strikes in Delano and the agricultural workers' struggles which have formed part of our

struggles of more than 120 years against those who seized our land and who today practically hold us in bondage.

The young people have arisen and they have said "Ya Basta!" And in March the highschool students walked out in large numbers - close to 15,000 of them - in protest against what has been imposed on us by the educational system and by the political system that dominates it. I told the panel, for instance, of the incident of the young man with whom I was discussing history. He said, "Why is it that the Anglo-Saxons always consider our heroes bandits", and we both smiled because we knew the answer to that.

But this is what happens to us. We have been emasculated in many ways but we still maintain what little we have inside to continue the struggle, and we will continue it until we achieve self-determination.

Report from Panel on Oppressed Peoples on Puerto Rico and
the Puerto Ricans - Jesus Colon

Puerto Rico has been labeled "the showcase of U.S. democracy". It is reputed to be a model of U.S. relations with smaller nations, especially those of Latin America. Since 1959, U.S. monopolists point to Puerto Rico as American democracy's answer to revolutionary Cuba.

What are the facts?

Puerto Rico today is a colony of U.S. imperialism as it has been since July 25, 1898, when U.S. military forces invaded it. The form of colonial rule has been changed over the years, but the essence of colonial exploitation remains.

The first American military governors ruled openly by decree. The first civilian government was set up on May 1, 1901. Since 1917, Puerto Ricans have been electing representatives to the U.S. Congress. Since 1948, they have been electing their own governor.

But despite all these exercises in so-called democratic self-government, the Puerto Rican people are governed by the U.S. Congress in Washington in which they have no voice or vote in electing. The decision of the U.S. Congress supersedes all laws passed by the Puerto Rican legislature. Puerto Rico's elected representative to the House of Representatives in Washington has no vote in that body, and can voice his opinions only by the unanimous consent of the House.

Since the arrival of U.S. troops in Puerto Rico in 1898, many Puerto Ricans, under the pressure of imperialist exploitation, have sought to escape the hunger and misery of their island. Over a million Puerto Ricans -- one third of the nation's people -- seeking a better life in the United States, find themselves

living in the worst ghettos under constant harassment by the police. Here they are condemned to create super-profits for U.S. monopolies, facing the cold and living in rat-ridden slums.

The Puerto Rican people in the United States suffer discrimination as a national minority in cities from New York to San Francisco. More than immigrants from other countries, the Puerto Ricans are especially oppressed because their homeland is a direct colony of U.S. monopoly. Their difference of language, and in many instances of color, is a barrier to educational, economic, social and cultural opportunities. Puerto Ricans are forced into the hardest work, many in unorganized industries, and receive the lowest wages; they are under constant threat of brutal police attacks; they are subject to unscrupulous slumlords and loan sharks.

The Puerto Rican community is not permitted to play a role in the political scene in keeping with its numbers and potential.

The Puerto Ricans in the U.S. today are a potentially recognized political force in cities like New York, Hartford, Conn., New Jersey, Chicago and many other cities. According to the New York Times, five thousand Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, who voted almost as a body in the last mayoralty elections in Gary, Indiana made a substantial contribution to the election of the Black mayor, Richard Hatcher.

There are over one million Puerto Ricans living in the United States today. Because of the numerous daily flights to and from Puerto Rico, without the hindrance of visas, passports and quotas, thousands of Puerto Ricans come into the U.S. daily from Puerto Rico. There are over 750,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City alone. They have been able to elect a borough president, councilmen, State senators and assemblymen in New York State. In the late 1920's our Party had around 350 Puerto Ricans in the Lower Harlem Section alone. Thirty thousand of the 40,000 Spanish-speaking women in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York today are Puerto Ricans. Besides garment, there is a considerable percentage of Puerto Ricans in the food, hospitals, novelties, maritime, District 65 and other unions.

The Republican Party of Mayor Lindsay is trying hard and successfully to entice the Puerto Ricans, especially the young, away from the Democratic Party offering the Puerto Ricans city jobs ranging from policemen, firemen, sanitation workers to deputy commissioners and commissioners of city departments.

With all these facts staring us in the face, it is a glaring error in the second draft program to dismiss the Puerto Ricans both as a nation and as a daily growing national minority in the U.S. with just a few lines.

The fact that some of the more vocal Puerto Ricans join the ultra-left,

the Maoists and the "revolution tomorrow morning" concepts of drastically changing society is in part the result of our Party not having filled the ideological, political and action gap to which the Puerto Ricans think they have found answers among ultra-left groupings.

On the basis of these facts and this brief analysis, the panel on the Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed peoples makes the following recommendations to be included in programmatic form in the revised issue of the second draft program:

1. That basic statements and reports such as the one given by Gus Hall be immediately translated into the Spanish language now and in the future.
2. That more news, features and articles in depth about the Puerto Rican people in the English language be published in the Daily World, the People's World, Political Affairs and other publications of the Party.
3. That we recommend to the publishers of the Daily World to include a four-page weekly supplement in the Spanish language as soon as possible, giving news, feature articles and cultural, economic and political background material on the Puerto Ricans.
4. That this Convention adopt the resolutions concerning the centennial celebration of the Lares Revolution of September 23, 1868 in Puerto Rico, which were approved at the New York State Convention, and are to be presented at this National Convention.
5. An end to discrimination by draft boards which send Puerto Ricans to die in Vietnam in numbers far in excess of their percentage of the population.
6. A vast increase in job training programs; initiation of a wide program of public works, hospitals and schools in areas which need such construction, thus providing jobs for the unemployed.
7. Organization of the unorganized Puerto Rican workers, with special attention to migrant and unemployed workers, all over the U.S.
8. Struggle for promotion of Puerto Rican leadership at all levels in unions and the Party. A Party school in Spanish.
9. More attention to the problems of Puerto Rican communities and industries employing large members of Puerto Ricans with special emphasis on youth.
10. Direction of Puerto Rican and North American comrades, especially young comrades, to the Puerto Rican areas and industries, to help strengthen

the respective community and trade union organizations.

11. Inclusion of courses in Puerto Rican history in all Party schools.
12. Building of ties between the freedom movement of the Black people and the struggle of the Puerto Ricans for the complete independence and sovereignty of the Puerto Rican nation.
13. Inclusion of 3 panels in the April convention; one of each of these important national questions.

Motions of Panel IV:

1. That the Mexican-American, the Indian peoples and the Puerto Rican people be dealt with separately in the Draft Program.
2. That a section dealing with Black and Brown unity as expressed in the El Paso Conference and the Poor People's March also be written.
3. That the section dealing with the working class take in particular consideration the method of organization among Mexican-American people as seen in Cesar Chavez's movement.
4. That the National Groups Commission conduct an in-depth study of the Indian people's struggles in the United States. (Resolution presented by the Resolutions Committee).

REPORT OF PANEL V - The Path Ahead (Reporter: Dyne Hallinan)

This report deals with "The Path Ahead". I am going to deal with the more controversial sections.

Our panel dealt with four different areas. It was supposed to deal with more than that but I will explain this later. The four we dealt with were the concept of the anti-monopoly movement, the new people's party, the socialist transition and the nature of socialist society. Needless to say they were all inadequately dealt with - some more so than others. I will deal with those that we covered most adequately.

Our discussion was centered mainly on the anti-monopoly concept. I will try to give you some picture of the different points of view, the issues that were debated and the thinking behind the proposals that we eventually came up with for inclusion in the program.

To begin with, we felt, or at least it was brought up, that one of the central weaknesses of the program is that it is not clearly a program for socialism today, that in fact it is the program of an anti-monopoly coalition. We felt that it moves through the stages of the anti-monopoly coalition and what can be won by a massive movement, and then at the end tags on that after you have gotten this far, you might as well go ahead to socialism.

But to get into the anti-monopoly concept. There were a lot of differences expressed over the concept itself but I think that, in general, the feeling was that the strategic concept is a valid one. That is, it appears to be one that is upheld by our experiences in life and expresses a reality in America -- that, in fact, the main source of oppression of all sectors of the American people comes from the monopoly domination of our society. Today, the movements that exist and are growing against the war in Vietnam, for Black liberation, against the crisis in the cities, to end poverty, to change the national priorities in spending, to try to break the political stranglehold of the two-party system - all of these find themselves coming into head on collision with the most powerful forces in our society. When these movements are analyzed, it is found that they are in fact anti-monopoly movements. They involve the broadest strata in the society, they transcend class lines, in general, and they are democratic and radical - democratic in character. In other words, we felt that the general strategy outlined in the anti-monopoly section seems to be upheld.

There were two arguments against the concept of the anti-monopoly strategy that were most clearly expressed. One person argued that we should not call it an anti-monopoly strategy to begin, that what we are dealing with is not monopoly but that stage of capitalism - imperialism - which is brought on by the development of monopoly. Hence, rather than an anti-monopoly coalition or an anti-monopoly struggle, it should be called an anti-imperialist struggle. The argument was that American capitalism is today international in scope, that its contradictions are therefore international and that the struggle against it must reflect that. The idea was that, viewed internationally, the two central issues in the struggles against U.S. imperialism are against racism at home and for national liberation abroad. From this point of view, the role of the working class is seen in a very different light. Rather than being a force that reacts automatically against monopoly oppression, it in fact could act in collaboration with monopoly against the Black people at home, against the people's struggle for national liberation, unless it is won to an understanding of these. When you thus focus on the imperialist struggle, you then arrive at the necessity of winning the working class to anti-imperialist consciousness before you can guarantee its positive role in this movement. Otherwise, it was argued, it could become a base for fascism. In short, making the struggle against monopoly internationalist, tends to see the main struggle against monopoly not in class terms, but in national terms.

The other argument against the anti-monopoly struggle was that we could not discern a separate stage of struggle against monopoly, that what we are really

talking about today is not monopoly but state monopoly capitalism, and that the struggle for reforms today, if it is not linked to the struggle for power - could not lead even to the winning of reforms. That is, to win a concession but to have it implemented by a monopoly government leads to no concession at all. The program should therefore begin to go beyond simply the state of anti-monopoly struggle and should propose that the struggle for reforms today leads directly into the struggle for socialism. In general, the main feeling of the body was that these two points of view, while both contain elements of truth, are not adequate to provide us with the strategy which is required, which is the need for an intermediary set of goals around which we can organize the great masses of people.

Now, let me point to what we mean by this. In general, it was felt, that the program tends to draw too rigid a line between the stages of the struggle against monopoly and the struggle for socialism and thus leads to all kinds of misconceptions. It leads to seeing the period of anti-monopoly struggle as one in which you organize and mobilize the great mass of the people around their common interests, against the monopolies. You take them as far as you can in the fight against the monopolies till you have disarmed them, or something like this, and at that point this coalition transforms itself into a coalition fighting for socialism.

We felt that this is the impression that the program gives and that this is very inadequate. It misses, first of all, the fact that the struggle for socialism and for socialist consciousness goes on in the heart of the anti-monopoly struggle. It is never put off to a period when you have obtained certain goals but goes on now, in fact has been going on in the past, and must be built throughout all stages of the movement.

It was pointed out that you cannot ever draw a line and say: From this moment on the struggle is for socialism, whereas previous to this it was for democracy and against monopoly. The feeling was that it is impossible to predict when the struggle can turn into a struggle for socialism. That depends on issues and time. What we emphasized was that rather than seeing the struggle against monopoly as a totally separate stage, we must see it as essentially a search for transitional forms in the strategy, fighting for some intermediary goal, not for a set pattern, or set form of government, or anything like this, but for a number of intermediary demands which can maximize the democratic forces and bring them in line with those forces fighting for more fundamental change.

The heart of our discussion centered around the role of the Left and the Party in the anti-monopoly coalition. We felt it was in this respect that the program was perhaps weakest. First, the opinion was voiced that as presented in the program, the Party appears to be simply a mobilizer and unifier of the various forces which find themselves in objective opposition to monopoly. The Party is not seen as an educator, as a force fighting for class consciousness and for consciousness of the necessity of socialist revolution within the heart of the monopoly struggle.

It was also felt that an implication exists that the various forces which we would call the components of the anti-monopoly coalition will come together more or less spontaneously in reaction to the common enemy - monopoly. But, in fact, it is not that simple; monopoly divides the people against one another and the struggle against various forms of monopoly oppression will not spontaneously lead to a struggle against monopoly as a whole, but can lead to pitting certain sections of the people against one another such as the pitting of the struggle for jobs by the unemployed and the Negro workers against the struggle for job security on the part of those workers who are already employed, etc.

The fight for class consciousness, then, was seen as important not merely to the struggle for socialism but also to the struggle to unify these various forces. When we analyze the forces which find themselves objectively opposed to monopoly, it is seen that they are multi-class in character and at various different levels of political development. The Party must spell this out in the program and must see that if the anti-monopoly coalition is a democratic multi-class coalition, it has the vital role of ensuring that the working class is brought into the leadership, within that coalition, of the struggle against monopoly. In fact, it is only the fight to bring this about which can guarantee the success of that struggle. And secondly, only when it has been won to class consciousness and to a socialist understanding, can the struggle against monopoly become a struggle against the system that produces monopoly.

We felt this to be very important, for if the concept of the anti-monopoly struggle is not clearly understood, then we find tendencies toward both Leftist and Rightist approaches. On the one hand there is the tendency which says that the anti-monopoly struggle is the struggle for socialism, that there are no intermediary stages. This tendency elevates every force now struggling against monopoly to a force struggling for socialism, and in this way plays down the central role of the working class in the struggle for socialism and exaggerates the struggle of the bourgeois-democratic forces. We felt that this was a form of Rightism in that it plays down the central role of the working class and it bows to spontaneity and to the leadership of petty-bourgeois elements of the coalition. Secondly, we felt that it contained an element of Leftism in that if the immediate struggle is the struggle for socialism, then we have no stake in allies who are against monopoly but do not share with us the goal of socialism.

Hence we felt that to see the intermediary stage of the anti-monopoly struggle, to understand its multi-class and democratic character, is instrumental to a balanced policy. We feel that the program is very inadequate in this regard and tends toward a kind of liquidationism in failing to appreciate the significance of the multi-class character of the coalition, playing down the central role of the working class, and hence playing down the central role of the Party in the anti-monopoly coalition.

We did not spend much time on the people's party. There was some argument as to what we mean by an anti-monopoly party. Some ideas were expressed

that such a party will not be merely a reform party, but will be a party that has broken with all sections of monopoly. It will be not the kind of coalition that developed around the New Deal but a coalition of forces independent of all sections of monopoly.

There were arguments about whether this was to come from work within the two-party system or through an emphasis on work outside the two-party system. There was a motion to strike from the program the wording that as long as the great mass of working people remain the orbit of the two-party system, it will remain a vital arena of struggle. The motion lost. However, the sense of the meeting was that the emphasis of the Party must be at this time on building forms outside of the two-party system and on attempting to pull out as many people as we can. Our work within the two-party system should lead outside the two party system at this point. We felt that it was too early to say exactly what form this massive anti-monopoly break will take. Some argued that it could be a simple mass anti-monopoly party, others that it might be a coalition of parties, working at different levels.

We felt that the Party should begin to develop a program that would be adequate to building a healthy, broad, independent anti-monopoly political movement, to spell out what sorts of demands such a movement should project in order to break with monopoly and in order to become broadened.

There was a proposal at this point to reject the entire section concerning the anti-monopoly struggle as being inadequate. That motion was defeated.

We were supposed to deal with the farm question. There were two representatives of farming areas present, but they were not given adequate attention in the discussion and didn't really have the time or resources to deal with the problem. We think this is a failing. But, more importantly, we were also asked to deal with the question of women and their role within the anti-monopoly coalition. We thought it was demeaning to the importance of the question simply to stick it in and to allow it to be dealt with in an off-handed fashion. Therefore, we didn't deal with it at all. We propose that the Convention instruct the National Committee to prepare a full and detailed resolution on the woman question by September of this year for full discussion by the Party for the April Convention.

The next point to be dealt with is the transition to socialism. We thought that the program was very weak in describing this whole area. In general, there was talk of the possibility of peaceful transition and then an abstract debate about possibilities and probabilities and so on. But the program did not prepare the Party for what, in fact, it must be prepared for. We can't simply say that it is too early to talk about whether it is going to be violent or nonviolent, and that this will sort of solve itself in the process of the struggle. The Party must say that it is going to fight for peaceful transition, but that it is aware of what the dangers are. It spells out those dangers and it says it is prepared for either path.

We were a little unhappy about the area around the Constitutional path. The draft raises the issue of the sanctity of the American Constitution and we felt that this is not really the impression that we would like to project to the American people. There is a tendency to play down its shortcomings, its class content, and so on. It was said also that the program tends to put too much emphasis on electoral and parliamentary paths to socialism and that with the evidence of France and other recent developments, we could perhaps strengthen the document to show what we mean by the relationship between the parliamentary and the non-parliamentary forms of transition.

It was also said that perhaps we should look into the whole question of what happens when workers' parties are running the government in a bourgeois state - the difficulties in taking power through these forms, and so on. It was suggested that perhaps we could begin to project discussions of dual power concepts and work out our own sort of soviet strategy.

There there were some differences expressed on this section. Some felt that we overestimate the possibility of the peaceful path. They pointed to the extremely violent history of our ruling class, its history of assassinations; its unbelievable brutality in Vietnam. Others said that this is looking at the question statically. They maintained that the question of peaceful transition is not a question of the present period but of a time when we have brought the masses of people to our side; when we live in a different kind of world, and that at that point the different relationship of forces would allow things which are not possible today.

We went into the question of socialism. Again we felt that this was an area where the program must be strengthened. We felt that it deals with the meaning of socialism in a very inadequate and schematic way. It lists five or six things that socialism would mean but doesn't really spell out what a socialist America would be like in a way that would be convincing to large numbers of American working people. And we thought that there is some need to put a human content and an American context into our description of what socialism would be. It was also argued that it is not enough to merely spell out what we think of socialism, but that we must show the American people what we think socialism is by our attitude to socialist countries today. In this way we would show them the kind of socialism that we really want. Some pointed to the need to spell out in our program the Constitutional guarantees for the rights of individuals under socialism, to safeguard socialist democracy from the possibility of distortions that we have all seen historically. It was also said that we should note that while socialist political systems are built on a socialist foundation, the political superstructure varies from society to society depending on historical conditions, sharpness of contradictions, and so on, and that we should talk about our form of political superstructure under socialism. And in this regard it was said that we should criticise those distortions of socialist democracy that have taken place in socialist countries.

There were differences in emphasis that emerged around this point. Some argued that there is not only the need to talk about safeguards for the rights of individuals, but that we must also clearly spell out the safeguards for socialism and workers' power. In this sense, many felt that there was a certain civil-libertarian tendency in the program that did not deal adequately with the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and did not explain the difference between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy.

In this context, it was pointed out that we have not adequately exposed the shortcomings of bourgeois democracy and are not able, therefore, to explain what workers' democracy really is -- that it is not abstract liberty for the individual but liberty for the working class. In that regard some argued that we should spell out the freedoms that have been won in socialist countries.

There was one area of discussion on which I think there was very strong agreement, that is, to spell out the safeguards for the guaranties of the rights of national minorities under socialism. We felt that the safeguarding of these rights is not simply a question of individual rights but is fundamental to safeguarding workers' power. The program should spell out in this section clearly and in some detail what socialism would look like to the oppressed minorities, the Black people, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Mexican-Americans. And it should spell this out not merely in terms of legalism, not merely in terms of outlawing racism, and so on, but in terms of what it would do positively to encourage the full flowering of cultural developments of these sections of our people and insure their social and economic rights. The struggle for the rights of the national minorities under socialism must be seen as lying at the heart of the struggle to defend the working-class power in these systems and it is in this area the fight for these rights that would be at the heart of the struggle against the forces of reaction and counter-revolution.

Finally, I should like to present the following motion:

That the section of the program dealing with our strategic perspective be reworked to emphasize the following:

1. The special role of the Party, within its general anti-monopoly strategy, is to build a class-conscious working-class component as the essential core of an alliance of forces objectively in conflict with state monopoly capitalism.
2. The independent role of Communists within the growing movements against monopoly is to organize and unify these movements, to fight for a class-conscious, class-struggle policy within them, and to project a socialist solution. In building and uniting such movements, Communists point out the dangers of the domination of bourgeois ideology over the objectively anti-monopoly struggle.
3. We Communists should outline a program for which we fight to ensure the anti-monopoly character of a new party, as well as its ability

to become a mass party. While projecting such a program, we should not try to spell out the forms of the future political expression of the movement against monopoly, but make clear the necessity now of building anti-monopoly political forms that can win masses away from the monopoly dominated two-party system.

(The motions were adopted).

REPORT OF PANEL VI - The Communist Party; Our Relations with Others
(Reporter: Tommy Dennis)

We are dealing with Chapter V and VI. We are not proposing to re-write and change the whole thing; rather the suggestions that we made or the attitudes expressed by the committee are mainly with regard to emphasis. There are some additions, too.

First, we thought the section was too weak and too apologetic and defensive in the presentation of the Party, particularly on the question of Marxism-Leninism, and too diffuse (part of it in Chapter V and part of it in Chapter VI). We also felt that in these two chapters, and Chapter V in particular, there should not be a polemical approach to the question. Rather, it should be a ringing appeal to the American workers and advanced forces to join our Party. We should give it some zip and enthusiasm and not present it in terms of "we ain't so hot, but maybe you should come and join us". Another thought which came up in our panel was that it would be best to eliminate lists of names. People say, "Why did you name this one and not that one?" The only way to solve this problem is either to present a long list of people or to eliminate the names.

Another proposal of our panel is that in dealing with many of the scientific concepts it would be better not to try to do it in such a definitive manner in the program itself, but that there should be some kind of a reference list to which to refer people for further development and understanding, rather than to try to solve and answer all questions in the program.

We thought that in starting out on the question of Marxism-Leninism at least a couple of things should be done. One is that we should indicate a little more clearly that the program up until this point represents the application of Marxism-Leninism by our Party, not just a presentation of our Party position but an example of its application. We should, also start here with a positive declaration on the validity of Marxism-Leninism by what it has done in liberating one third of the world's population. We should state that it is only this science that has made it possible for the working class to come to power. I think that this is very important because we need to show its validity in life as well as just

from an abstract point of view.

In explaining Marxism-Leninism, our thinking was that the question of its working-class partisanship needs to be more clearly put, that it gives direction and enables the working class to see what is wrong with the past, what is wrong now, and what it takes to change it. Therefore it is a tool that the working class has to have in order to win.

Now, with regard to the part of this chapter dealing with the Party, there was some thought that maybe there should be re-edit, but maybe we should let that be an editorial problem. I don't think it is really a political problem.

We thought something should be added to this section. It should start out with a short explanation of what the role of political parties is, so that people know what they are, how they serve as instruments of class interests and why the working class needs a political party. It is sort of taken for granted that this is all understood. I don't think it appears anywhere else in the program. We thought it should at least be presented that we should indicate that a working-class party comes out of a natural need, and so on. And then we should show wherein our Party serves that need.

We thought, too, that we should give the main principles of organization of this Party and to show that these come out of hard, bitter experiences of the working-class struggle. In other words, these principles, like democratic centralism, collective work, criticism and self-criticism, were not designated by some bureaucratic leadership in order to make sure they could control the outfit, but came from the bitter experiences of the working-class struggle. They required this kind of holding together and working together and complete exchange and struggle over ideas in order that they could most effectively see what the problem is, organize and meet the enemy. Now, I think that this kind of an approach is there. Consider for instance, one thought in relation to democratic centralism -- the idea that it is the greatest democracy for the greatest community in action. Some people want either one or the other and not everybody wants both. But discipline is indispensable if you are going to really take care of business. What we are trying to show the workers is that we are serious, that we mean business, that we are not just playing about these things.

Also, it was felt that there should be a sentence or two on the question of the role of the individual.

Further, there ought to be a paragraph or so, on the question of what it means to be a Communist -- principledness and other features generated by our commitment to the working class, also that we carry the vision of socialism and communism.

There was an exchange about the question of vanguard, and while we

thought the concept should be there, we felt that the use of that particular term is sort of misleading because it means different things to different people, and particularly to people who read it, rather than to us who state it. We thought one possible way to make it clear might be to relate it to previous vanguard or advanced forces like the Committees of Correspondence in the American Revolution, and so forth, to indicate that there is an advance force so that there could be some better appreciation of it. At the same time, it would help to connect us with our roots in the American scene.

Now, with regard to Chapter VI, which deals with our relations with others, most of our exchange was on the question of our attitude toward the New Left.

To summarize it in a few words, we felt that our approach should be one of a positive attitude to the New Left and to the Left in general. We should recognize the fact that it is changing and expanding, both nationally and internationally, and we should welcome this and help to expand it. The Left takes actions to challenge the status quo, to challenge the system, to seek change. There is not always the most adequate clarity about what they are trying to change to, but at least they are trying and we should welcome this effort and try to help them to do better.

In other words, we want particularly to do away with the namecalling and to place our weight on the side of a positive approach. We should recognize that this is a part of a central development and should not spend as much effort as is expended in the draft on the question of criticism. That can be done somewhere else, on concrete questions, etc., in the course of activity. I don't think the program should be the place for it.

We should strive for Left unity in action and struggle, and this should stand out in the program. We should not try to delineate in the program what forms it should take but should place emphasis on seeking out points of agreement and acting on those points either in parallel or in cooperation, or in whatever form is devised in the course of the struggle. We didn't feel that this should be determined now in the program. But the whole question of encouraging, developing and organizing debates, dialogues, exchanges of views, exchanges of criticisms and so on, would be a central feature of our approach. As an afterthought and not as anything that came up in the panel, I think we should also deal with relationship to those outside the Left. It is not a panel suggestion, but it is a gap I think should be filled.

Now, on the question of religion, first of all, we recommend that there should be added the objective fact that there is a conflict between the morality expressed by those who are religious and the immorality of the society, as a part of a built-in motivating factor for this explosion within religious circles.

Also, in the statement "Marxists disagree philosophically with the

supernatural, mystical element of religion", we propose to change the word "element" to "foundation" and to eliminate "mystical" or find some other word for it.

On the question of world relations, we felt we should not pose monopoly internationalism against working-class internationalism. We can show that they do dominate the world and this constitutes the basis of the necessity for working-class internationalism.

We also rejected by vote the idea that we should include the question of division within the socialist camp in this section. It could be covered somewhere else.

Under the heading of working-class internationalism, the point should be made that the Soviet Union is a prime example of internationalism. And in relation to ourselves, in addition to being partisan in defense of the socialist world in particular of the Soviet Union, we should state that we have a very special responsibility in connection with Latin-America and particularly Puerto Rico and with Vietnam.

In relation to our attitude toward socialist countries and the conflicts going on there, we have to show that they grow out of further developments in socialist democracy and are part of the process of advance. And we have to show the direct context, the contributions, the gains of the socialist world for the workers, what workers' power means, and so on.

Finally, on the invitation, we felt it should be very simple, just something along the lines of: "You read it. You like it. Come and join".

The other part now included should be sort of an epilogue, or put some place else besides there. But the program should end with that invitation.

I move we accept these recommendations from this panel.

(Motion adopted)

A new Program Drafting Committee with a wide national representation was elected to prepare a new draft for the beginning of the pre-19th Convention discussion period.

POLITICAL ACTION RESOLUTION (as amended)

1. All progressives should encourage the struggle around issues within the two party system and support those who place the fight for peace and against racism and poverty above adherence to traditional party machines.

2. All progressives should help build and consolidate existing third party formations to the end that there will be guaranteed in the 1968 elections a viable presidential ticket as an alternative to the two major party candidates. This outlook makes indispensable a cooperative position towards groupings and individuals within the two party system now considering possible third ticket action.

3. All progressives should support the fight of the Communist Party for the right of ballot status so that it may place its full position before the American people.

Recognizing the significance of currents within the McCarthy movement for a break with the Democratic Party if Humphry is nominated, progressives must also note the grave danger of a compromise between sections of the McCarthy movement and the Humphrey forces in the Democratic Party as well as the attempt to hold back a third alternative in the name of maintaining the unity of the Democratic alternative coalition.

While we have three elements in the overall objective of our electoral policy, our clear emphasis is the building of a mass third party.

Toward this end we will work for:

1. Movements of independence within the two party system, looking toward the goal of a mass breakaway from its confines.
2. Initiation of, and support for, the building of new independent tickets and party formations.
3. The Communist Party's active participation in the national election campaign with its own candidates, its own election platform

and its own electoral activities. We do not regard our campaign as competitive to third party and third ticket campaigns.

Such is the character of our electoral policy - a policy which strives for the coalescence of those elements moving toward a mass breakaway from the major parties, particularly the Democratic Party, with the more advanced forces which have already broken with the two party system. Whatever the emphasis which one or another of these three aspects may receive in particular circumstances, all are part of one integral whole -- a policy which looks toward the ultimate formation of a mass people's party.

We see the Communist Party campaign as a necessity to plan an important role in helping keep in the forefront of the election campaign, the fight for peace, against racism, the promotion of working class leadership in the political life of our country and for socialism.

PARTY BUILDING

At the end of the discussion on the report on Party building, the following motions were passed:

1. That we help complete 3/4 of the circulation and Fund Drive goals for the Daily World by Labor Day and chieve the full 20,000 regular Sunday readers and 10,000 regular readers weekdays and the one million dollars by November 1, 1968.

2. That every club discuss recruiting and set themselves a goal and each district take responsibility to obtain these club goals and submit them as a total district goal to the National Organization Department no later than November 15, from which a national goal of those to be recruited by the time of the April 1969 Convention can be set. Specific goals for recruiting shop workers, Black and White and Afro-Americans generally should be set.

3. That a national referendum of the Party membership be held on the following proposition:

"Whether or not every member of the Party participate at least once a month in a planned press building activity for the securing of subs, home deliveries, placing of bundles in stores or racks, the establishing of regular bundles or sales at shop gates, union halls, etc."

That this press building activity be regarded as one of the elements of Party membership such as paying dues, attending of club meetings, and participating in the activities of the Party. The plans for this regular activity to be worked out by each District, county and other sub-divisions and clubs of the Party in order to guarantee the regularity of this activity, its direction to be related to our concentration policy, mass political activity, etc.

Included in this activity is to be the planned effort to utilize our press in the mass work of the Party, to guarantee that story coverage of events of interest to the perspective readers be included in the paper. This is to be done by planned coverage of important events and developments in the campaigns, the use of the paper in distribution and mailings, etc.

Part of this plan is to be the establishment or regular planned discussion by the readers and activists on the content, style and editorials of the paper.

In the conduct of the campaign that those representing a pro and con position be allowed to participate in the club discussions at the time the ballot is held.

Resolution on New Citations Under McCarran Act

U.S. Attorney General Clark's citation of 73 freedom and labor cadres under the membership provisions of the McCarran Act as amended by the 90th Congress is a new chapter in insolence. The Congress' revival of the McCarran Act in face of a number of crushing defeats by the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court is an attempt to retrieve a law born of McCarthyism in the 50's. The Big Lie of the danger of Communist foreign agents mastered by Adolph Hitler, was stripped naked with the demise of Joseph R. McCarthy. The people will not fall prey to it again. The Attorney General, tool of the discredited Johnson Administration, adds his name to his predecessors who also sought to thwart the democratic process. His efforts will suffer the same fate - defeat - at the hands of all peace and freedom fighters.

This cynical act is designed to counter a rising democratic tide in our country and to stifle all dissent. This great tide which has already pushed aside Lyndon B. Johnson and has forced his imperialistic government into the Paris peace negotiations will, likewise, swamp all those who seek to revive the Hitlerite tool of anti-communism which divides our people and weakens the peace and freedom movement.

We call upon organized labor in its own interests; upon all the powerful forces of peace and Black liberation to smash this effort; to build a roadblock against racism and reaction and fight for a victory for democracy.

We call upon all the political Left to unite with us to defeat this effort to silence - not only the Communist Party - but everyone who would exercise his rights.

We Communists shall not be diverted from the path of struggle for peace, freedom and the elimination of poverty. We shall answer this predatory attack upon our liberties by reinforcing our legal right as a political party by the Communist candidates for President and Vice President and in Congressional races for the 1968 election, campaigning on all vital issues confronting our people.

We call upon all trade unions and other democratic organizations to demand that Attorney General Clark drop the citations; abolish the useless Subversive Activities Control Board and cease implementing the discredited McCarran Act.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed by the Special Convention:

1. That the National Committee prepare a resolution on the Woman Question to be presented to the Party for the April Convention.
2. In line with the obvious weaknesses in the composition of this Convention re: Active trade unionists, women and minority groups - that we, as a Convention, go on record as committed to insure a maximum reflection of our districts at the next convention. We move that an examination be made on the district level soon after this Convention and full discussion proceed in the districts to determine how these groupings can be moved into leadership as a first step toward insuring a better representation at the 19th Party Convention. (On motion of a Subcommittee of the Credentials Committee).
3. That we support the Poor People's Campaign's call for a boycott of table grapes and grape juice (wine) in support of striking California grape workers.
4. That we support the Indians in Washington State in their fight for fishing rights and boycott the purchase of salmon.
5. That we suggest to the Marxist press that these two boycotts be given proper publicity.

6. That the Communist Party organize a suitable substantial commemoration of the 100th Anniversary, September 23, 1968, of the revolution by the people of Puerto Rico against Spanish rule.

7. The Special Convention wishes to express its enthusiastic gratitude to the editors and staff of the Daily World for presenting the people of our country with such a fine first issue.

8. The Special Convention wishes to thank all the many people on the staff who worked so hard and well to make this Convention possible

RESOLUTION ON CAMDEN 9 - (Presented by New Jersey Delegation)

WHEREAS, the arrest of nine young Black men on charges of murder is the most vicious of many attacks by the Camden, New Jersey, Police Department on the Black community;

WHEREAS, the authorities have arrested and called special attention to those among the nine who are members and leaders of the organization (Black People's Unity Movement) in the forefront of Black liberation struggle in an attempt to smash this movement;

WHEREAS, two preliminary hearings were postponed and then bypassed so that these young men are being held in jail for two months with no evidence having been presented by the State;

WHEREAS, gross violations of civil liberties have been committed in the failure of the police to issue warrants to several defendants until several hours after their arrest;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that we use all our influence to call for a full investigation of this case along with an investigation of Camden police practices through appeals to Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

ALSO BE IT RESOLVED, that we use all our influence to bring to bear on local, state (N.J.) and national authorities in calling for justice for the Camden 9 and an end to the attacks upon the Black Community of Camden.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that such pressure shall continue for the duration of the case until justice is won for the Camden 9.

Motions on the following subjects were referred to the National Executive Board for consideration:

1. Organization of the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (September 1969).
2. A proposal for assignment of a Black youth comrade to work full-time as co-head of the National Youth Commission.
3. A proposal for assignment of a Black trade union comrade to work full time as a co-leader in our trade union work.
4. A proposal that the National Groups Commission conduct an in-depth study of the history of the Indian people's struggle in the U.S.

* * *

CORRECTION ON THE REPORT OF PANEL II

The Panel Report that was approved by the Convention included the reading of a motion from the Panel. That motion read:

"Opportunism (i.e., the advocacy and practice of class collaboration that subordinates the interests of the working class to those of the capitalist class) is presently the dominant trend in the labor movement."

It was passed as an amendment to the Drafting Committee formulation:

"Opportunism (. . .) is presently the dominant trend in the labor movement."

This part of the Panel Report was inadvertently omitted in the previous issue of Party Affairs:

* * *

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