

# FOR A PARTY OF MASS ACTION

new conditions,  
new tasks of the  
Party in the '70s

DANIEL RUBIN

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20th NATIONAL CONVENTION  
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.  
1972

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DANIEL RUBIN is the National Organizational Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., having previously served as the Party's National Youth Secretary. He was born in Philadelphia in 1931, and was a student leader, first in high school and later at Swarthmore College. He worked in metal fabricating shops and in offices and is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He held various posts in the Young Progressives of America, the American Youth Peace Crusade and the Labor Youth League, serving as Pennsylvania State Secretary of the latter. Before becoming National Youth Secretary of the Communist Party in 1960, he served as Educational Director and Organizational Secretary in the Eastern Pennsylvania district of the Party.

## ABOUT THIS PAMPHLET

The 20th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. was held in New York, February 18-21, 1972. Presented here is Daniel Rubin's report to the Convention, delivered on February 20.

ISBN 0-87898-083-0



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Published by

**NEW OUTLOOK PUBLISHERS**

32 Union Square East • Room 801 • New York, N.Y. 10003

 209

April 1972

PRINTED  
IN  
U.S.A.

# **FOR A PARTY OF MASS ACTION**

## **NEW CONDITIONS, NEW TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE '70s**

**By DANIEL RUBIN**

### **A NEW SITUATION FOR THE PARTY**

As Comrade Hall indicated, the quantitative build-up of elements of crisis in U.S. imperialism's world and domestic situation has now led to a qualitative turn. There is now a general instability in its situation and a search for new ways to stabilize world capitalism on a basis as much as possible to U.S. imperialism's liking. This means unprecedented possibilities through great mass struggle to turn its reactionary aggressive drives back, internationally and domestically. But it also means new dangers, of adventures and of sharp turns in policy, in seeking to achieve a new stability. It means a heightened drive to put the costs of the crisis and attempted stabilization on the backs of the working class, especially oppressed peoples and masses generally in our country.

These fundamental developments are present in this election year. They are being reflected in the electoral arena, although often in a distorted, partial way. And the elections will have a big influence on who pays for the crisis situation of U.S. imperialism. As an outcome of very high levels of mass struggle reflected in the electoral arena, the total relationship of forces will be registered.

If there is such a new situation, then it requires a completely new look at every aspect of our work. It requires a new look at how we work in the all-sided building of the Party.

A heightened reactionary drive by monopoly capitalism on the living conditions of the people and on their democratic rights, demands much greater unity of the people's forces and a much stronger left movement in bringing about such unity. The solutions required in each area of struggle are much more profound. Weak, liberal, reform palliatives will accomplish little. A new level of class consciousness and of rejection of racism among the workers is required. For all of these, the special contributions of the Party are more necessary than ever if the people's forces are not to suffer considerable setbacks and if they are to score significant victories.

When we examine each major area of struggle, we see how the crisis in U.S. imperialism's position is leading to increasingly reactionary policies domestically that are ever more at loggerheads with the needs and desires of the mass of people. Still, the people have not yet found sufficient ways to unite and fight to beat back this drive.

## **Our Role in the Struggle for Peace**

U.S. imperialism's aggression in Indochina is so bankrupt that for the first time in our history our people are so overwhelmingly against this war that the armed forces are unreliable. The war can be continued only under cover of the pretense of ending it. This reflects the increasing hardships it imposes on our people as well as the horrible crimes against the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. But the organized anti-war movement falls far short of the sentiments. It experiences big ups and downs and sections of it suffer from moods of defeatism, sectarianism and opportunism.

Increasingly, peace activists seek Communist Party cadre to share a major part of the leadership and often even become de-

pendent on our special contributions. They look to us not because they accept our ideology or program but because they sense that we can contribute a number of qualities they lack, such as:

1. An approach to labor and the working class, based on our past experience and current work, that can help involve large sections of labor in the direct struggle for peace.

2. An approach to Black and other specially oppressed national and racial communities that can unite their liberation struggles with the peace fight, and toward white sections of the peace movement that can change their stance and fully support the struggle for Black liberation.

3. That we have a mass, united front, coalition approach and are neither sectarian nor just out to feather our own nest at everyone else's expense.

4. That we are an organized, stable force that can impart organizational stability and dedication to a peace movement that has suffered much from participatory democracy and anarchistic tendencies in organization.

As radicalized as many in the peace movement have become, there is no one else who will respond on all the issues of U.S. aggression. Who else is prepared to do all they can on the right side of the great divide in the world in relation to the Middle East, Bangla Desh, South Africa, Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, Ireland, Cuba, Chile, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Canada, Greece, Spain and Portugal, Korea, the Czechoslovak events of 1968, the German Democratic Republic, European security and disarmament? So many others are hobbled by the disease of anti-Sovietism.

While we fight for the full rights of the Chinese people, against the encroachment of U.S. imperialism in Taiwan, Quemoy and Matsu, and for full normalization of relations, we reject Maoism, and its false doctrine of two super powers and its anti-Sovietism that give U.S. imperialism a big assist.

While the Vietnam War is emerging as a central issue in the

elections, there is great danger of a liberal retreat under Nixon's red-baiting. All the liberal candidates are on the wrong side on the Middle East issue and on many other struggles. Our Party, through its work on all electoral levels, but especially through its own candidates reaching millions of people, will create some real pressures on these issues.

### **Class Struggle Unionism**

U.S. imperialism hopes to restore its world economic position that is now in crisis, by greatly intensifying the exploitation of the workers in the U.S. There is an all-out drive to push down real wages and get a much bigger product out of them at the same time. Its demagogic cover for this is a jingoistic campaign against "foreign competition." To achieve its aims, we have on a completely new level, the attempt of the government to impose contract settlements, outlaw the right to strike, break unions and encourage mass unemployment. Faced with this drive, workers are looking for militant leadership that will not collaborate with the Nixon policies and with the monopolies. This is not forthcoming from the Woodcocks, and certainly not from the Meanys. Only organized rank and file movements on issues can generate it. Workers want militancy, but with a serious approach to winning. They sense a need for close unity of white, Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican workers. They are sensing the need to reject racism in the first place, but also to reject go-it-alone concepts that weaken the special liberation demands. They want to be sharply critical of trade union leadership, especially its upper level, when it does not respond, but they know they need a strong union and a leadership, one that will fight for them. Who else but the Communists understands the need for and knows how to build rank and file movements and thus restore class struggle trade unionism? Who else consistently offers such approaches and shows the links between the fight in the shops and the fight for peace, Black and Brown liberation, the fight to free Angela

Davis, and the 1972 elections? Here too we meet open expressions of desire for the increased presence of Communists. Even the most liberal of the other candidates do not go beyond the Meanys in opposition to the Nixon economic policy. The pressure of our campaign and of comrades working on the other levels on this front is of great importance to the meaning of the '72 elections.

## **Black Liberation and Unity**

The attempt to stabilize U.S. imperialism's situation at the expense of the masses at home hits the Black communities hardest. This is true of the drive at the point of production and is reflected in massive unemployment, deteriorating conditions of life with respect to housing, health, and education. To contain the massive opposition there are increasing efforts to behead the liberation movement by the attempt to legally murder Angela Davis, the actual murder of George Jackson, the buying off of leaders with government-related jobs and funds, and a sharp rise in police brutality under cover of the "law and order" slogan.

There is an upsurge of Black workers in the shops and unions, in caucuses and leadership councils, but it needs national coordination and a solid general rank and file movement to relate to, and the kind of help that will come primarily from the Communists.

There is also a certain upsurge of the liberation movement in connection with the 1972 electoral activity. This will help project the issues of Black liberation into the campaign, as does the campaign of Shirley Chisholm. But even the most liberal of the white candidates are moving to the right on this issue under the pressure from the Nixons, Wallaces and Jacksons. Again, our candidates and workers on all levels will be a very key pressure and educator, among white workers especially, in the campaign.

Alongside the new elements of a forward thrust in the liberation movement, the past few years have seen a number of radical, "revolutionary" groups come and go, and also Pan Africanism and Black capitalism begin to wane. Even such organizations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Welfare Rights Organization experience new difficulties. No wonder there is evidence of a searching for our Party and its line in order to give a new, more lasting direction to the liberation movement.

Our strategic concepts are needed. These include recognition that Black liberation has its strong national, racial and class sides; that all-class people's unity is needed, but with Black workers at the center; that though the Black people are not a nation, there are special national demands, including community control and area autonomy. We see the need for and possibility of winning the great bulk of the working class which is white to support the special demands of the Black workers. We see the centrality of that struggle to everything and the fight against racism as the foremost fight in relation to ideology and social practice.

We could also speak of the concrete ways the crisis is hitting Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indian peoples, the various Asian peoples, youth, women, senior citizens, intellectuals and professionals, urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, and of the problems in the development of the movements among them. An analysis would show that for substantial progress in the face of the new kinds of problems they confront, all these movements require a big injection of the special type of working class contributions of the Communist Party that we have been discussing. On their own, they can make little progress, and run a high risk of being derailed, of marking time, becoming demoralized, or even of defeat.

### **Who is Revolutionary?**

Because of our ideology of Marxism-Leninism and our ex-



perience in 52 years of struggle, we can contribute necessary ideological, political and organizational ingredients to the mass movements to meet the new situation. In this 1972 election period we see the need to unite the widest sections of the people around the working class and Black people as a whole to halt the reactionary drive, to move in the other direction as far as possible, the direction of enlarging the democratic rights and meeting the needs of the popular masses. Far from being in contradiction with working class power and building socialism, it is the only possible road to it. Therefore, a much larger, stronger, more influential Communist Party is not a self-serving aim but has become in this new situation a major condition for further significant advance of the democratic, anti-monopoly struggle.

In the past few years any number of organizations have come along seeking to take advantage of the mass radicalization process. They claim to be "revolutionary," "vanguard," "Marxist-Leninist" and even "Communist." None have shown any stability and most have already passed from the scene. Nearly all have been based in fact on non-working class strata and ideology, regardless of their names. They have included Students for a Democratic Society, the Labor Caucus, the Revolutionary Union, the Progressive Labor Party, the Black Panther Party, the Black Workers Congress, and others.

Most had strong Maoist, anarchist and/or nationalist tendencies. All were or became anti-CPUSA and anti-Soviet. As a result they could not become consistent Marxist-Leninists and, far from replacing our Party, they have moved away and are in decline. Therefore, practice has confirmed what theory has taught us. Those who really do come to Marxism-Leninism must become associated with our Party. There can be no communism, especially in the heartland of world imperialism, that is anti-CPUSA and anti-Soviet. To make a socialist revolution in the U.S., the working class requires the leadership of a Communist Party, with all that that scientifically implies. It requires our

Party and its policies.

While working to win masses to understand this, based on their own experience with us, we must definitely put to rest in our own circles any notions that it will be anyone other than this Communist Party, U.S.A. that will lead the working class and masses in making a socialist revolution.

## **THE NEED FOR OUR PARTY**

Our comrades in many parts of the country and in many mass movements are experiencing the tremendous need for Party cadre and great potentialities for our Party due to the new situation. The very pressure itself to help guarantee the existence of many mass movements creates much frustration. We are not saying there is no further progressive potential for the spontaneous democratic struggle and everything depends on the Party alone. That would lead us into sectarian tendencies and much greater frustration of self-accusation for failing to be everywhere and do everything.

It does mean we have to re-examine every aspect of our work from the standpoint of whether it correctly reflects the new situation and the main focus of that struggle in the 1972 elections. We especially need to examine how we are going about extending our actual membership, for a breakthrough is both possible and necessary to meet the great demands on us. We also have to learn to work differently to build a big, united left movement around us that will help us fulfill the mass tasks required today. And we have to learn how to build a non-Party cadre in addition to ourselves, in each mass movement and organization, that can help guarantee the continuous development of those particular struggles.

### **A Time for Recruitment**

In examining how to change the gears of the Party to meet

the new situation arising from the crisis in U.S. imperialism's world position, we want to place the focus on how to make a breakthrough in the membership of the Party during this 1972 election campaign and after. We chose this focus because the course of the struggle has, as argued, become so dependent on our Party's contribution. A much larger Party is needed to play that role, and it can be done.

The evidence that it can be done is all around us. In getting the nearly 30,000 signatures toward ballot status already collected, in Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, and talking to some 80,000 people in the process, the desire to have our Party play a much bigger part in U.S. political life comes up again and again. Many express deep interest, take subs to the *Daily World* and ask about joining. Through the mass media, millions have already been reached and there is a great response to what we will do, if elected, on the first day and the second day. The only problem is that they do not want us to stop and rest on the seventh day.

Since the last Convention we have more than doubled the circulation of the *Daily World*. Total pamphlet distribution since the 19th Convention has been two to three times what it was prior to that Convention. *Political Affairs* shows significant growth, even though we cannot say much effort was made by our Party organization. There is a complete change in the volume and quality of responses from every corner of the country to our ads for information and to join the Party. Here is one of them:

Since being sent to Vietnam, where I spent more than two years in the American imperialist army, I, impressed by the Vietnamese people's struggle toward socialism, have studied Marxist-Leninist thought and have come to appreciate the historical role of the international Communist movement as the vanguard of the working class. Therefore, I would like to request information on how I would go about becoming

a member of the Communist Party. Thank you.

Our comrades in the South have proven in life our estimate at the beginning of the last recruiting drive that it is possible to spend two weeks in any city without a Party organization and build one in that time. Since the 19th Convention we have re-established Party organizations in six states. We were especially successful in bringing younger Black forces, both basic industrial workers and intellectuals, into the Party.

We must also note that as a result of the highly principled and heroic stance of Comrade Angela Davis and the mass struggle to free her, the Party's relationship to whole sections of the people has been qualitatively changed. We are beginning to realize substantial recruiting as a result. We have whole new clubs that have developed out of this struggle.

More than one of our districts doubled its size in this last drive and a number of clubs in the districts did the same. We did more recruiting in this past drive than for many years. Yet we fell short of our goals and a large number of clubs and some districts experienced virtually no recruiting. During the McCarthyite period and its aftermath we had practically no recruiting. This resulted in an older-aged membership. The current recruiting, while resulting in lowering the average age considerably, did not achieve a breakthrough in increasing our total membership. 50% of those recruited were under 30 and most of the rest in the very important 30-50 age group. Most were workers. About 25% were industrial workers and 30% of the recruits were Black, and we have begun to recruit significantly among Chicanos.

All of us, I think, would acknowledge that the goals were realizable, that continuing, but declining, problems of a lack of class consciousness among workers, anti-Communism and fear are not the explanation.

We have been only partially geared to the new situation. We must now seek a sharp change to move more rapidly in this

1972 electoral period.

## **Mass Initiatives**

In examining the changes necessary, we must start with the nature of our connection with masses and mass struggle, for this is clearly the starting point to create conditions for large-scale recruiting. Masses will not want to join the Party without seeing our role in struggle for their needs, and we will not have the desire to recruit them unless we have the self-confidence that comes from initiating and leading mass struggles.

There are two aspects of the instability of U.S. imperialism's world position that are important here. It creates a much heightened reactionary drive against the people's vital needs, and monopoly has much less of a hold and influence on the thinking of masses of people. This means there is a premium on mass initiatives to meet the people's needs including on such burning questions as housing, education, health, mass transit, taxes, inflation, and unemployment—all areas of crisis conditions for the masses. And there is a need for boldness and a real mass uniting approach because this is what is required for victory, and people are now ready to respond as never before.

Since we in leadership and the membership have not fully grasped what the new position of U.S. imperialism means, we insufficiently reflect this need for bold initiatives and a real mass uniting approach. We tend to think such efforts will fall on deaf ears and serve to isolate us. We tend to think intermediate forms that we initiate will necessarily be narrow groups and this holds us back from initiating them in more fields of struggle. This reflects estimates that may have been proper in a prior period. When we do initiate such intermediate forms we often act in such a way as to guarantee their narrowness. Such sectarianism arises from more than one direction.

There are those who do not want to involve or approach any individuals or organizations that reflect liberal and reformist

ideology, including local unions where there is a process of breaking from such thinking—for fear of being coopted by reformism. Only ourselves and the militant movement people are worthy of being approached. But this fails to see that the reactionary drive is hitting the entire working class and wide strata and that monopoly has less influence on their thinking. They will move, and in a much more independent way.

An even more widespread form of sectarianism comes from the influences of right opportunism. We work in our own narrow little circle of lower levels of trade union leadership with a few closer contacts and using only the forms of trade union activity that reflected a period devoid of rank and file upsurge. There is little attempt to tie up with existing militant rank and file expressions, using their forms or initiating actions, because of a wrong estimate perhaps true of an earlier period. The wrong estimate is that militant initiatives will not reflect a mass sentiment of workers but only of an unrepresentative anti-leadership group off in a corner.

Often, from either direction of thinking, we are too concerned with the purity of line on secondary questions and, therefore, hug it too close. Such intermediate forms become very dependent on staffing by Communists to carry out all their activities and to guarantee their finances. We then get into a competition as to which intermediate form can solve its cadre, work and finance problems by mobilizing more Communists for it.

Such tendencies, whether right or left, are narrow sectarianism toward the masses and mass movements, substituting such narrow forms for the mass struggle, and also liquidationary toward the Party, tending to dissolve the Party into the intermediate form. They both come from a wrong estimate of the period, from styles of work that do not reflect current needs and possibilities.

We must consciously help develop and make room for a

non-Party cadre in each of these intermediate forms.

There is still much discussion on what are intermediate organizations and what are not. While other terms have been used for them in the past, intermediate organizations are intermediary between the Party and the masses. There are a variety of such organizations. Some, like the Angela Davis Committee and in the rank and file field, are very broad, while others are of a more advanced character by plan—such as a Friends of the Daily World group.

But the masses are not just completely unorganized. There are spontaneous mass democratic organizations. Intermediate forms become transmission forms through which our policies reach and influence wider masses including such spontaneous mass democratic organizations. That does not mean we dictate or determine alone the policies of any intermediate forms, let alone the broadest ones. But there is an initiating and very substantial role of Communist Party ideas in all the great variety of intermediate forms.

It is doubtful that a very precise definition can be given without greater experience in initiating and helping build them in a variety of forms and in view of changing relationships of the Party to mass movements.

Experiences in our election campaign, the boldness of it, and experiences on issues, can help us come to grips with a proper estimate of the period.

There is also a tendency by some to ignore community issues because they are not the overriding issues of our times. But we also have the opposite tendency—to ignore the 1972 elections, to ignore the fight for peace and the struggle to free Angela Davis, in the name of building grass roots ties on issues closest to people, and at a later stage taking up national issues. Both approaches are fundamentally wrong. We need to link so-called national and local issues in as many ways as possible for the struggles on either level to make continuous progress.

## Club Life

In developing our mass work to fit this period, the fight to make a big shift in the life of our clubs is crucial. The heart of mass initiatives and contact with the masses can be nowhere else except through the clubs.

We have examples of some clubs that properly assess the times. There is a steel club in one city that is made up mainly of Black workers. It is very bold in its mass initiatives both in the mills and union and on community issues. They do not allow things to get pigeonholed by union committees and yet they have both a mass rank and file base and good relations with local leaders who have moved with the times. Through a Marxist study group of shop workers they have done a great deal of recruiting.

In a teachers club in another city there is the same proper estimate and spirit. They have built a Black caucus and a progressive caucus, they use the *Daily World* boldly and have developed a study group and recruited substantially. One of our auto clubs could also be cited for having a basically sound assessment of the times and bold mass initiatives, although for other reasons it has not really grown.

But these are still exceptional. Many of our clubs do not have a clearly defined area of responsibility, and within that a concentration shop, or department in a shop, concentration housing project or few-block area. Often the make-up of club membership contributes to a lack of clear club purpose, with a number of members included who rightfully belong in other clubs but because of prior history are misplaced. Clubs need a plan of work, a sense of direction, purpose and real ideological and political discussion on the central questions of struggle. Every club needs to be involved in some way in the 1972 elections and especially in the Party's campaign.

Making a turn in club life will only come as a result of the district leadership's working out a plan and pursuing it. The



leading comrades must be assigned to work with the shop concentration clubs and the community concentration clubs that have been selected because of the decisive social composition of the neighborhood. We need to provide district club leadership training classes as an urgent task for a radical expansion of our membership. Club educational aids such as outlines and tapes need to be provided on a more substantial basis.

There will be a qualitative change in the work of clubs when we succeed in establishing more single shop clubs and clubs that are based on a single neighborhood rather than a whole Congressional district. A group of Communists working together in this situation can have a big impact.

### **Industrial Concentration**

The content, style and method of mass initiatives and contact for us is industrial concentration. The very development of the crisis of U.S. imperialism's position, the sharpened attack on the people, requires above all else bringing forward the working class as a class conscious force, uniting the other popular strata around itself. It becomes an even more urgent question to implement fully our industrial concentration policy. We, therefore, have to try and make an additional big turn here. As a result, the composition of our recruiting can improve a great deal.

There are still some wrong interpretations of our policy. Industrial concentration poses the question of how we can mobilize the whole Party, every aspect of Party activity, to contribute to building the influence of the Party and the Party itself among the working class—Black, Brown and white. This means among industrial workers especially, and in basic industry. We have singled out steel, auto, aerospace, electrical and transportation. We also put stress on mining.

We see the worker in basic industry as decisive because that is where power in the economy really is. Black workers are gener-

ally more militant than white workers and more willing to act but in some industries in which they work the effect on the total economy is not that great. But they are employed in mass numbers especially in decisive departments of plants and mills in basic industry such as foundries and assembly lines, and here the decisive position and the current level of more advanced understanding come together.

How well the leadership collective helps and guides our direction in shop and union work is an important test of where we are. We have already discussed some of the questions of sectarianism and improper estimate of the mood of the workers. Concrete national leadership to these decisive industries and to others through functioning national industrial commissions providing real mass perspectives and initiatives needs to be strengthened still further.

But it also means that every club, individual member, commission and committee should be helping to build the Party in industry. Too many of our discussions and activities in the electoral field do not reflect the concentration approach. While many forms of independent electoral caucuses are developing, we are not yet dealing with independent expressions of labor as a real concentration task. Often our peace work fails to reflect such concentration.

Many community clubs say they want to help in industrial concentration but do not know how. If we are creative and the leadership helps these clubs concretely, answers can be found. In one city we were trying to find avenues to reach white steel workers. When the Party there became conscious of this task they discovered comrades immersed in a community civic association and its housing struggles. The civic association was made up primarily of white steel workers and their wives, but they had not been viewed as steel workers. In many community mass organizations we will discover workers in particular industries and we will be able to develop ties with them and connect them up with rank and file groups or similar activities.

We will find ways of bringing rank and file leaders and local union leaders to a peace group or community group to explain the connection of their strike or contract demands with the program of such a group. Work in our election campaign, with our press and literature at a nearby concentration shop or working class housing project, will also give community club members contact with workers so they can help industrial concentration.

There is a need to re-examine and re-establish the district concentration plans in the light of the experience of the last couple of years. We need to clearly single out where we are trying to build shop clubs and the many forms of contact in doing it. The responsibility of leading personnel to build in a specific shop is a key question. The fight for shop papers is no small matter, nor is it a narrow, unrealistic task if approached properly. Workers have to be able to see what the Party stands for and feel it is a factor fighting for them before they will consider joining it. An electro-stencil reproduction of *Daily World* articles on that particular shop and industry and union, put out once a month in between the pages of the *Daily World* in regular sales and distribution, can be a first step toward such a shop paper with a minimum of effort.

We still have some comrades who give lip service to industrial concentration in basic industry. They argue that we are not ready for that yet, but by building our forces in light industry where wages are so low and the percentage of Black and Brown workers is so great, we can gradually get into a position to tackle basic industry. In some districts, major attention to hospitals and other service institutions or industries, alongside of a serious concentration on a basic industry of two, may be fully warranted in terms of where we have forces and their role in the labor movement, but over the long haul the decisive importance of basic industry continually emerges. We must do everything we can today to get a foothold there and not wait till some always receding future. If we see the varied methods

of accomplishing this, even where we have no one working and comrades cannot obtain work, then we will still see the feasibility of building. But for some, these arguments may just cover a retreat from former positions that wrote off basic industrial workers as aristocrats of labor and based themselves instead on the poor and "third world" peoples alone to make the revolution, now using "practicality" as an excuse for avoiding serious present efforts at building in basic industry. Every district has at least some basic industry and at least some possibilities of building there. Concentration also means concentration in the key ghettos and barrios of the country, and in the South. We have to step up our efforts in these directions also. The recent conference and establishment of a Southern Regional Committee should help in that area.

### **The Party in Action**

To make a breakthrough in membership, masses of people must be able to see and judge for themselves what the Communists stand for and what kind of people we are. It requires a proper assessment of the period to want to exhaust every possibility to bring the Party and its policies before the workers and mass of people. The 1972 election campaign offers us the greatest possibilities to do this in our entire history. And our pressure on issues is needed as never before in view of the new position of U.S. imperialism. In seeking ballot status we will most likely get 400,000-500,000 signatures and talk directly to 2 to 3 million people. We will distribute 3 million pieces of literature and reach, via the mass media and speaking engagements, tens of millions, and more than once. The capitalist political commentators will most likely say, if we achieve ballot status in 20-30 states, that the Communists have re-emerged as a real factor in U.S. political life. Even more important, masses will conclude the same thing.

If conducted properly, this election campaign should not only

guarantee the goal of 6,000 new *Daily World* readers in organized states but also 1,000 in unorganized states where ballot status is being sought, and a large overfulfillment everywhere. It can do the same for *People's World* circulation. It should assure the coming forward of a much larger number of public spokesmen and the opening of Party offices in many more districts.

If conducted properly it should assure the goal of tripling the average circulation of each pamphlet issued, and the *Political Affairs* circulation goal of 650 new subs by November 7. To achieve these results all campaign workers in every aspect of the campaign must have sub blanks, membership applications, flyers of the *Daily World*, *People's World*, *Political Affairs* and *New Outlook Publishers*, and literature on hand. All campaign literature will offer this material as well as solicit new members. Xeroxing of the names and addresses of the 400,000 or so petition signers is necessary for follow-up work.

This period, properly understood, requires that we view press building and literature sales as the most important kind of mass work that every Communist who works properly must be engaged in. Therefore, we want to stress the effort to increase the number of people getting a sub-rate bundle of 5 or more papers, the organization of efforts to mobilize a maximum of the membership to go out together to get readers at regular intervals and the concentration neighborhood saturation approach. This latter effort means singling out a very limited concentration neighborhood to keep saturated with every form of press circulation, to the point where the paper becomes an acknowledged mass political force in that neighborhood, and then extending the effort to another concentration neighborhood. A much closer coordination of content and form with shop gate sales is needed for a proper industrial concentration approach.

To triple average pamphlet sales will require the leadership to demonstrate its consciousness by always carrying along literature to every meeting and finding a way to promote it. Our

press builders must also become literature and *Political Affairs* carriers.

There is every reason to believe that our Party campaign will mean a totally new situation for the Party itself in relation to the class and whole country, and internally. That is already the lesson of the impact on the Party of the campaign in Ohio and now in Pennsylvania.

## **Ways of Recruiting**

All these approaches will guarantee a much bigger pool of potential recruits but by themselves will not assure many recruits. There must be the building of close intermediate forms through which we work more steadily with potential recruits, can educate them, judge them and convince them to join. Every single club should be working either alone or together with other clubs to build one or more such close intermediate forms. Such forms include a Marxist discussion group, a Friends of the Daily World group or a branch of the YWLL. All these forms should contain a rich ideological life, should be concerned with press circulation and support and should at least have a minimum action orientation.

In the case of the YWLL branch, it must have a strong action orientation. Every club should be helping, alone or together with other clubs, to build a parallel YWLL branch. To do so requires that young comrades not have other assignments of Party club leadership if they are to build a YWLL branch. We also need to involve the whole Party in the struggle for the special needs of youth such as for a National Youth Act, to meet their increasing economic, social and cultural needs, especially regarding unemployment. This cannot be left to the youth alone. The Party clubs should take goals in conjunction with Party and non-Party youth for recruiting into the YWLL. For every League member recruited to the Party, we must help guarantee that five new members are recruited into the League, and remain

there for at least 6 months before they are recruited into the Party. The Party assignment of youth should help to build the League and through it the democratic mass youth movement.

Recruiting requires a district plan of events, forms, club goals, a membership secretary and a collective body that is responsible for check-up and control. Group recruiting sessions have proven most effective.

At the club level, it also requires a plan of open club meetings and socials, and a listing of recruits and who is to approach them, and regular check-up. Again, the election campaign activities are made to order for this.

### **Recruiting and Party Standards**

One of the things curtailing substantial recruiting is the placing of artificial standards for entrance, not required by our Constitution, that exclude potential members. Requiring mastery of particular aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory or of our policy rather than honest acceptance and willingness to learn is one wrong approach. Another is to exclude everyone as "emotionally unstable." Still another, with people who have been close to us for a long time, is to say they are just as valuable outside as in. At base, all of these approaches usually reveal a lack of confidence that our Party is good enough to hold new members or an underestimation of the radicalization process or both.

The constant struggle to raise the level of the Party and its membership—its internal standards—is to be sharply distinguished from the question of too high standards, or rather, wrong standards, for entrance. The struggle for higher internal standards will help us recruit by making us a better example in the fight for progress—one that people will gravitate toward. We want to develop a much more consistent working class approach by all members to all questions. We want to apply our industrial concentration policy much more fully and make our organization a much bolder initiator of mass struggle which works in the

broadest possible way.

We must also make our Party into a model fighter against every expression of racist and chauvinist ideology and practice, both among the masses and internally. This means singling out the concrete mass tasks of our white comrades in each area of struggle in support of the special needs of Black people, to win over white workers and other masses. We have some good examples among white comrades in circulation of the Angela Davis bail petition among whites, such as the 76 year old retired hospital worker, David Kaufman, who collected 27,000 signatures. This must be extended into other areas of struggle. The particular types of chauvinist internal reflections in different sections of our Party need to be singled out for education and correction. The responsibility of white comrades in this struggle is primary and their responsibility extends beyond condemning expressions. Their aim must be to convince and win over to self-correction. Too often new Black Party members experience such acts of unintentional chauvinism and insensitivity that it understandably shakes their confidence in the character of the Party. To be able to fight the main danger, white chauvinism, more effectively, it is also necessary to educate against narrow nationalist approaches that may express themselves.

We also need a similar mass and internal approach with respect to male supremacy, and as the secondary danger, feminism. Thus, we need to single out the special mass tasks of men in each area of struggle, and the concrete forms of male supremacy that occur.

### **Leadership, Party Work, Cadre Training**

In the fight to close the gap between policy and execution, the effort to raise leadership standards is of key importance. There must be an adequate mass contact and flow of mass struggle experiences to the leadership so that policies are more meaningful and help solve much more concrete problems. There



is also the need to relate leadership much more closely to the base of the Party so they play a more concrete role in helping to solve problems of policy implementation. To do this, we must combat bureaucratic tendencies such as not listening to rank and file members and working only on top. There is a need for much greater planning and checkup to overcome anarchistic, individualistic tendencies and to fight subjectivism more effectively. Commissions must be concerned with how they are reaching the whole country and not get lost in their own close-at-hand problems. A systematic renewal of leadership through training new cadre and boldly promoting them is also needed. An examination of the total leadership structure and especially in the center to guarantee a lead in the fight for execution of policies is called for by this new period.

Such cadre training requires further development of specialized training schools such as for trade unionists, women, etc. It also requires the establishment and expansion in the biggest cities of Marxist-Leninist schools like the Center for Marxist Education and the new Harlem Institute for Marxist Studies in New York. It requires on-the-job training, working alongside more experienced cadre. All this must be with the orientation of developing organization of mass struggle and the work of the Party organization.

There is a need for a general tightening up organizationally on such things as dues collection. Membership secretaries are much in need, among other reasons to assure that we know our members and how best to involve everyone so that we lose no one due to neglect.

Above all we have to assure that the whole leadership is fully imbued with a proper assessment of this period so they can give leadership on that basis to the whole Party. This will require further deepening of our understanding of where we are in the development of the general crisis of world imperialism and what it means here; and on that basis seeing its application—what has to be changed—in every field of work, and educating

the whole Party on this basis. As a means of raising standards, tightening organization and increasing our Party consciousness and pride, we hereby propose that the Organization Bureau be directed to reinstate membership books and dues collection through the use of these books.

The rate of turnover of new members has been higher than it should be. We have not yet guaranteed an adequate system of new members classes for all new members. We also have to guarantee immediate placing in clubs, and some flexibility in this may be required for a transition period in cases where the normal club is not adequate to consolidate the new members. Forms for this were discussed in the November 1970 report to the National Committee on recruiting.

There is need for a big improvement in ideological work. While great masses are searching for a way out of the reactionary drive that results from the crisis of imperialism, in large measure wrong ideological influences are blocking the development of united, militant, really mass struggles.

One more important development we can look forward to in the next short period is solution to personnel and other practical problems which will make possible Spanish pages in the *Daily World* and *People's World*.

## **Goals for Party Building**

As we have said, the new period requires and makes possible a much bigger Party to carry out the necessary tasks in defense of the vital needs of our class and people. The election campaign requires it, and greatly increases the possibility for such a membership breakthrough. So does the campaign to free Comrade Angela Davis.

We, therefore, submit the following proposals:

- That we aim to recruit a thousand new members in the next 8 months of the election campaign as the first stage in a recruiting drive for 5,000 new members by the time of the 21st

Convention. Within this, 75% should be workers, 40% industrial workers, and one third Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican according to local circumstances.

- That we aim to re-establish functioning Party organizations in Alaska, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia by Election Day.

- We should also seek to establish by the time of our 54th Anniversary the following new concentration shop clubs:

Steel	20
Auto and Aerospace	24
Electrical	20
Transport	18

If we examine fully and deeply the meaning for our work of the new level of general crisis, and if we grasp hold of the meaning of Comrade Winston's report to the November 1971 National Committee meeting on the role of the electoral struggle, we can achieve these results and even more by the time of our next Convention.

