

PARTY ORGANIZER

- *MAJOR LABOR STRUGGLES AHEAD
- *PRESS BUILDING DRIVE
- *KAISER/WEBER: GREATER STRUGGLE NEEDED
- *22ND CONVENTION:
PROGRAM REPORT
PRE-CONVENTION DOCUMENTS, DISCUSSION
ORGANIZATION
- *60TH ANNIVERSARY: GALA CELEBRATION

Volume XIII, No. 1 — Jan. 1979

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TWENTY SECOND CONVENTION—CPUSA

AUGUST 22-26, 1979



DEAR COMRADES:

HOW DOES YOUR CLUB RELATE
TO THESE STRUGGLES?

TRADE UNION STRUGGLES— MAJOR CONTRACTS UP IN 1979

JANUARY	60,000 OIL WORKERS	JUNE	77,400 ELECTRICAL WORKERS
MARCH	400,000 TEAMSTERS	JULY	52,800 ELECTRICAL WORKERS
APRIL	67,500 RUBBER WORKERS	AUGUST	23,850 MEAT CUTTERS
MAY	145,000 GARMENT WORKERS	SEPTEMBER	752,450 AUTO WORKERS

DECEMBER 15,000 ELECTRICAL WORKERS

* * * * *
"Over five million workers face serious trade union contract struggles
this year. These struggles are taking place in a period when the ruling class
is unleashing an intense anti-labor offensive. Carter's wage freeze is a part
of that offensive. Every Party trade unionist and class conscious person
should help to organize the widest possible support and assistance to the
workers who face this vicious and unfair attack."

- George Meyers, Chairman, Labor and Farm Department

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Preparing for an Eventful Year

ACTIONS OF THE DECEMBER '78 CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

THE FOLLOWING REPORTS WERE ADOPTED:

- 1) GUS HALL: MAIN REPORT - - "HOW TO STOP THE MONOPOLIES"
(PUBLISHED AS A PAMPHLET BY NEW OUTLOOK).
- 2) HENRY WINSTON: SPECIAL REPORT - - "CHINA AND VIETNAM"
(PUBLISHED IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JANUARY, 1979).
- 3) CARL WINTER: REPORT OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE.
- 4) LEE DLUGIN: PREPARATIONS FOR THE TWENTY SECOND CONVENTION.
- 5) SYLVIA NEWCOMB: OUR PARTY'S 60TH ANNIVERSARY - A YEAR OF
CELEBRATION.
- 6) GEORGE MEYERS: THE WEBER DECISION!: A GREAT MASS STRUGGLE NEEDED.
- 7) SID TAYLOR: THE NEW BUILDING FUND CAMPAIGN.

OTHER ACTIONS:

- 1) NEXT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING SET FOR MARCH, 1979.
- 2) AGENDA OF MARCH CC MEETING TO INCLUDE:
 - - ADOPTION OF THE DRAFT PARTY PROGRAM.
 - - ADOPTION OF THE DRAFT MAIN POLITICAL RESOLUTION
 - - ADOPTION OF DRAFT NEW RESOLUTION ON BLACK LIBERATION
- 3) THESE DOCUMENTS TO BE SENT TO ALL DISTRICTS IN TIME FOR THE BEGINNING OF PRE-CONVENTION PARTYWIDE DISCUSSION ON MAY 1, 1979.
- 4) ADOPTION OF THE 1979 PRESS BUILDING DRIVE.

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

BY

PAT BARILE:
BUSINESS MANAGER, THE DAILY WORLD

PROJECTIONS: 1979 Press Drive

- 1) EVERY DISTRICT SHALL HAVE A "FRIENDS OF THE DW" COMMITTEE TO ORGANIZE AND LEAD THE 1979 DRIVE.
- 2) THERE SHALL BE A TWO-FOLD PRESS BUILDING CAMPAIGN:
 - A CAMPAIGN TO RAISE \$250,000 BETWEEN MARCH 1 AND JUNE 15; AND
 - A SIMULTANEOUS CAMPAIGN TO SECURE 10,000 NEW READERS.
(5,000 NEW MAIL SUBS; 5,000 INCREASE IN BUNDLES.)
- 3) DISTRICT GOALS SHOULD ALSO BE ESTABLISHED FOR VOZ DEL PUEBLO AND THE YOUNG WORKER.
- 4) WEST COAST DISTRICTS HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SUPPORT AND BUILD THE PEOPLE'S WORLD.
- 5) OUR OVERALL AIM IN ALL OF OUR PRESS BUILDING CAMPAIGNS MUST BE TO FURTHER DIG OUR ROOTS IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORKING CLASS, RECOGNIZING THAT WIDESPREAD READERSHIP OF THE PRESS IS THE KEY AND VITAL LINK IN THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE WORKING CLASS BECOMES CONSCIOUS OF ITS OWN IDEOLOGY -- MARXISM-LENINISM. ■

"FRIENDS OF THE DAILY WORLD"

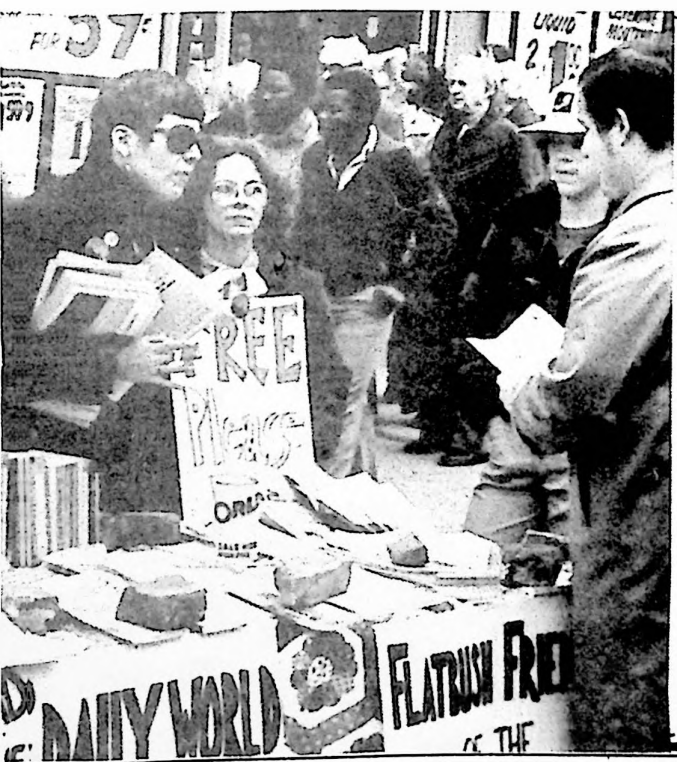
- Supporters of Labor's Struggles
- Organizers of the Fight Against the Monopolies

MORE AND MORE, "FRIENDS OF THE DAILY WORLD" BOOTHS ARE MAKING THEIR APPEARANCE IN COMMUNITY FAIRS, STATE FAIRS AND ALL KINDS OF PEOPLE'S FAIRS ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

THE ACTIVE SUPPORT THEY GIVE TO LABOR'S STRUGGLES, TO THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND THE BUILDING OF THE ANTI-MONOPOLY MOVEMENT IS INCREASING THEIR RANKS. NEW "FRIENDS OF THE DAILY WORLD" ARE BEING ORGANIZED IN MANY PLACES.

AND MORE AND MORE THESE COMMITTEES ARE TAKING THEIR PAPER AND ITS FIGHTING MESSAGE TO SHOP GATES, ESPECIALLY TO THE BASIC WORKERS, THROUGH SPECIAL DISTRIBUTION TEAMS. IN NEIGHBORHOODS WHERE THESE WORKERS LIVE IN LARGE NUMBERS HOME DELIVERY ROUTES ARE INCREASING.

THESE COMMITTEES ARE NOT ONLY DISTRIBUTORS OF THEIR PAPER. THEY ALSO



ORGANIZE LOCAL FORUMS AND SEMINARS AND CLASSES ON THE CRISIS PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME.

THEY REPRESENT A COMING TOGETHER of Communists and non-Communists who are finding new ways of building unity in struggle against the monopolies

This year's Press Building Drive gives special emphasis to the further building of these committees.

The basis is the growing need for all anti-monopoly sections of the people to organize and fight.

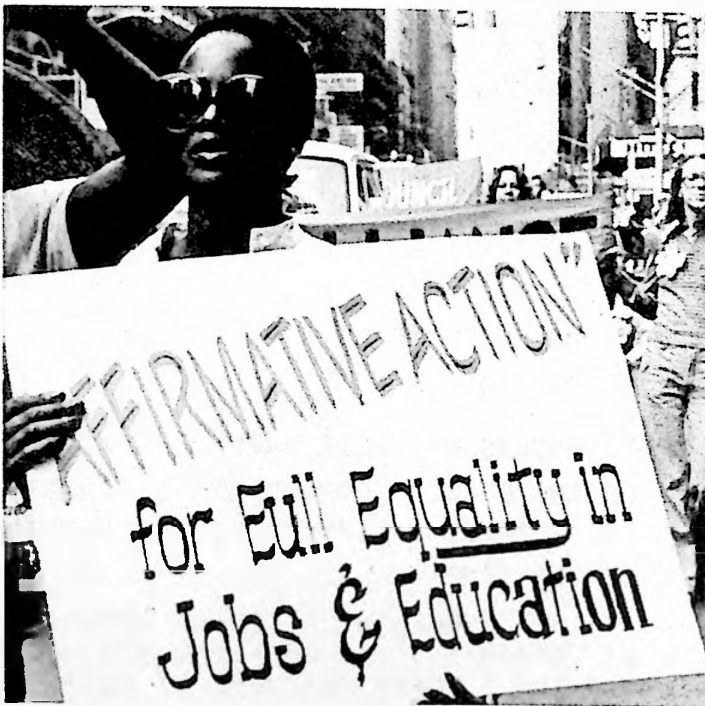
Districts and Party clubs are urged to share their experience in the work of these committees with other districts and clubs through the pages of the Party Organizer.

GUS HALL
BASICS COLUMN, DAILY WORLD, 11/16/73

"WE MUST ALERT THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEOPLE
TO THE DANGERS INHERENT IN THESE NEW
CONSPIRACIES OF RACISM."

The Weber Case—Needed:

"EVEN GREATER MASS STRUGGLE THAN ON BAKKE"



THE AMSTERDAM NEWS

PAGE 1 EDITORIAL, 12/31/78

The Supreme Court is not deaf to social pressures. A massive effort to obtain a favorable ruling (in the Kaiser/Weber case) should be at the top of our list of projects for 1979."

THIS IS A PARTY ORGANIZER CHECKUP ON PARTY FOLLOW-THROUGH ON THE LETTER:

- * Are there any Party clubs which did not get the letter?
- * We are particularly looking for special concrete experiences of clubs and districts who have found effective forms and methods of organizing in their areas in the spirit of the really great mass struggle that is needed to force the Supreme Court to approve the affirmative action program involved in the case.

THIS IS ALSO A PARTY ORGANIZER APPEAL FOR STEPPED-UP ACTIVITY UNTIL THE COURT ACTS!

- * Please re-read the national letter and the materials on the case that were sent with it.
 - * Take notes of the brief quotes on the following page, which underscore the urgency of organizing mass struggle and the high priority of that struggle during the next few months. - 6 -
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" In view of (its) pivotal nature, the Central Committee set up a special committee on (the Kaiser/Weber case) The whole Party must not only be immediately alerted to what is involved in the case, but every Party body must work out concrete plans to inform and involve democratic and people's organizations and movements in this struggle, with special emphasis on the key role of organized labor in the struggle to defeat this threat to the working class and people's movements."

--- Letter to all districts, clubs & other Party bodies
From National Organization Secretary Arnold Becchetti

"(The Kaiser/Weber case) is an assault on the right and the ability of a trade union to negotiate an agreement aimed at counteracting the effects of past and current discrimination in a plant. If allowed to stand, the court decision could undermine the very basis upon which consent decrees are negotiated. More important, this decision could so weaken the union's ability to negotiate affirmative action agreements as to make them ineffective in the fight against job discrimination. This would be a most serious blow, because the trade union is the most powerful weapon the Black worker has in the fight against racism. It would also facilitate the undermining of the unity between white and Black workers because such unity depends heavily on the kinds of actions that are proscribed in the (Kaiser/Weber case)."

-----From an article on Kaiser/Weber in
THE BLACK JOURNAL, Vol III, No. 1
By Thomas Dennis

FROM THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, BY GEORGE MEYERS.

"THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE WISHES TO PRESENT
THESE INITIAL PROPOSALS:

- (1) Alert the whole Party...urge a campaign in both DW & PW...restudy Comrade Hall's Basics column on this case...Use November issue of Labor To .
- (2) Alert the democratic movements...hold discussions with trade union leaders, leaders of movements of specially oppressed nationalities and of women; with church, political and community leaders.
- (3) Organized labor is key, especially the United Steel workers, which is directly involved, and unions who were on the right side of the Bakke case. There is need for grass roots actions by rank and file movements, for resolutions in local unions and central labor bodies, for consultaion with CBTU and CLUW, for letters to trade union publications.
- (4) Expose the conspiracy of the attack on affirmative action by corporations and ultra right organizations.
- (5) PRESS FOR MAXIMUM LEGAL INVOLVEMENT, FOR AMICUS BRIEFS FROM TRADE UNIONS AND ALL OTHER DEMOCRATIC AND PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS.
- (6) Keep Kaiser and the right danger up front. Recognize the USWA does not have clean hands."

"NEARLY TEN YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE PRESENT PARTY PROGRAM WAS DRAFTED."

REPORT OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE
ON THE DRAFT OF A NEW

PARTY PROGRAM

By Carl Winter
Chair, Program Committee

Nearly 10 years have passed since the present Party program was first drafted. This intervening period was mainly a period of revolutionary changes throughout the whole world. It is marked by the most significant defeat of the greatest imperialist power, that of the United States, in its aggressive war against the people of Vietnam. It is a period in which fascism was overthrown in Portugal and the Franco regime in Spain was brought to an end. During this period new nations liberated themselves in Africa, many of them taking the socialist path of further development. All of world capitalism has entered upon the third phase of its general crisis, marking the decisive superiority of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces who are now in a position to influence the future course of world events.

During this time we witnessed -- as was indicated in Comrade Hall's profound report on current developments in our country -- mass disillusionment on the part of the people in the spokesmen for capitalism and in capitalism's political

"... MANY EVENTS AND MANY INSTITUTIONS ABOUT WHICH OUR PRESENT PARTY PROGRAM DEALT ... AND GAVE EFFECTIVE ANSWERS ... HAVE NOW BEEN OVERTAKEN BY HISTORY."

"IN THIS PERIOD WE HAVE A QUALITATIVELY NEW SITUATION..."

parties. An upsurge, particularly in recent years, has developed in the ranks of the working class, manifested by militant struggles and strike actions against the worsening of labor's economic conditions. In this period we have a qualitatively new situation in which the Black Liberation forces in our country play a heightened role in all political struggles and have, in many instances, given leadership in the struggle for political independence from the forces of capital and have

"OUR TWENTY FIRST CONVENTION MANDATED THE WRITING OF A NEW PROGRAM."

pointed the way for the reshaping of the political activities of all victims of monopoly capital. Again, as Comrade Hall's report pointed out, we are now witness to the beginning of movements for labor's political independence. In this period we should note that the pretensions of the "New Left" forces in our country have been overcome. Many of them, the best among them, seeking a path of effective struggles against capitalism have come into the ranks of our Party, and others -- having lost their way -- have either merged into old political formations or entered upon a course of futile contemplation and pretensions that continue. Above all, there is in this period a marked increase in the acceptance and appreciation of the leading role of our Party among the forces struggling against state monopoly capitalism.

In short, many events and many institutions about which our present Party Program dealt, and to which our program gave effective answers, as well as many attitudes described in that Program, have now been overtaken by history. What were elements of an anti-monopoly coalition generally described in the present Program have rapidly matured, and the new party about which we have been speaking, an anti-monopoly party of a popular-democratic character, is no longer something for the indefinite future but is upon the immediate agenda. Comrade Hall's report to this meeting of our Central Committee has given us very rich material in analyzing new features of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism and profoundly assessing the course of development of many of the anti-monopoly forces active on the political scene today. This material must certainly furnish an important part of the final drafting of the new Party Program

"... WHAT THIS PROGRAM MUST DO IS TO FURNISH A FUNDAMENTAL GUIDE TO THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM FOR A MORE OR LESS PROLONGED PERIOD."

"THIS DOCUMENT... MUST CONCERN ITSELF WITH SHOWING HOW TO MOBILIZE THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE MAJOR BARRIER TO PROGRESS, AND HOW TO STRUGGLE FOR A POPULAR-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, AN ANTI-MONOPOLY GOVERNMENT THAT CAN SERVE AS A LAUNCHING PAD FOR THE ADVANCE TO SOCIALISM."

which we have to consider in this meeting and in the meeting of the Central Committee to follow.

Our 21st National Convention mandated the writing of a new Program, already aware of many changes taking place in the country and anticipating their further rapid maturation. At that time the Party in convention approved a 20-point prospectus which the Program drafting committee submitted for consideration. That prospectus, outlining the basic principles which we should set forth in an updated, redrafted Party Program, was published in the September 1975 issue of Party Affairs; and since that time, the Party Program drafting committee has been discussing and reworking and developing those 20 points which were set forth by the 21st Convention as the basis of the principles to be incorporated in the new Program.

The committee, in working on that basis, also was guided by the consensus of the Convention that we should produce a concise statement of basic Party principles -- not dealing with specific, limited, periodic tactics but spanning a relatively long period of time ahead -- that we should produce a document that can be carried in a worker's jeans pocket that can be referred to for verifying the relatively long-range course which our Party advocates, and be used as a guide when formulating specific tactics in specific situations as they may develop. It is to be understood, of course, that such a Program does not substitute for pamphlets on specific subjects, nor for programs in specific areas of struggle, but that a whole series of pamphlets and articles -- by the leadership of the Party in the first place -- must follow the adoption of the new Program, in order to popularize it, to explain it, to relate it in concrete terms to the experience of various sections of the mass movement which our Party seeks to guide.

The Program of the Party -- at any time -- is not to be confused with an electoral platform, although it must provide the basis for electoral platforms during the period that it covers. It is not a program for separate sectors of the mass movement seeking to promote social progress in our country. But, at the same time, it must indicate the role of each of these sectors of the mass movement, and, above all, their inter-relationship. It is not yet a program for detailed forms of socialist revolution and basic transformation in our country, although it must set forth as the fundamental and ultimate aim of our Party the

socialist change of the foundations of our society. In other words, what this program must do is to furnish a fundamental guide to the course of struggle on the road to socialism for more or less prolonged period.

As we go along, there will be new developments, unforeseen in their details in the Program, necessitating again certain updating; but we believe that such developments should be dealt with in a brief preface, written from time to time, to indicate the new developments in the country and in the world and new considerations which the Party must take into account, while in no way affecting the fundamental principles with which the Program basically concerns itself. This document must serve our Party until the next historic stage is attained from which the transition to socialism can be undertaken in the United States. That is, it must concern itself with showing how to mobilize the working class and the people against the major barrier to progress and how to struggle for a popular-democratic government, an anti-monopoly government, that can serve as the launching pad for the advance to socialism.

This Program is to be a Program of the Communist Party of the United States, the Party of socialism; and it must therefore show the constant goal of our Party to be that of fundamental change of the class basis of our society. That is our aim in everything we do, from the smallest immediate--issue struggle, through elections, through every other form of confrontation with the ruling class, on every level, jointly with every force in our society willing to tackle the class enemy in any degree. But it is not the Program of the anti-monopoly party-to-be which we have the responsibility of helping to bring into being and to shape. This Program relates to the task of building such a new party while we indicate that the Communist Party of the United States will be a part of it and, at the same time, retain its working class character, its socialist-oriented character and independent existence. The Program must show the struggle to establish an anti-monopoly democratic government as related to the ongoing need for workingclass state rule and the abolition of capitalism.

This is a fundamental feature that our Program must demonstrate so that it is clear that not all anti-monopoly forces will go the whole road, that we are ready and anxious to mobilize the maximum anti-monopoly forces in our country for the immediate struggle against that mighty force that stands in the way of social progress and that blocks the efforts of the people to achieve an

"THIS PROGRAM RELATES TO THE TASK OF BUILDING SUCH A NEW PARTY WHILE WE INDICATE THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES WILL BE A PART OF IT AND - AT THE SAME TIME - RETAIN ITS WORKING CLASS CHARACTER, ITS SOCIALIST-ORIENTED CHARACTER AND INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE."

" ... IT IS NOT OUR PURPOSE TO FIGHT AGAINST MONOPOLY CAPITAL
SIMPLY TO RETURN TO SOME ILLUSORY FORM OF CAPITALIST
NON-MONOPOLIST OPERATION."

improvement in their immediate conditions. But the Program must make clear that the Communists have no illusions about a non-monopolist capitalism, that it is not our purpose to fight against monopoly capital simply to return to some illusory form of capitalist non-monopolist operation. The Program must point out that monopoly is the outgrowth of capitalism itself in its so-called competitive stage, and that capitalism will always regenerate monopoly. Therefore, the struggle against monopoly capitalism-- as seen by Marxist-Leninists-- is a never-ending struggle against capitalism itself, until socialism replaces it.

The draft Program which our committee is submitting on behalf of the Political Bureau is not yet the finished text. It is presented to the Central Committee as a first draft that can serve as a framework for collectively formulating the new document which our Party needs, a document which in its present form still needs considerable editing. We are not concerned in this meeting with the editorial changes that obviously stand out as being necessary when one reads the first draft. We are sure that many comrades will make suggestions for editorial improvements -- both as to language, style, choice of words, placement of material and so on. What we need above everything else is an agreement, as a result of our discussion, upon the fundamental principles on which the Communist Party is based and for which it continues to fight.

We need a statement that can be presented to working people and all potential allies of the working class as a guide to their daily struggles, and as an invitation to accept the leadership of the Communist Party in those struggles, with the best fighters joining its ranks. The draft before you therefore starts out by showing the need for socialism in the United States and pointing to the objective readiness of our country for this new society, by virtue of the highly-developed stage of capitalism in which we operate. It emphasizes the historical - social reasons why it is the working class that is the leading and decisive force for effecting such revolutionary change. And from the start, the draft emphasizes that in the United States the working class is a multi-racial and multi-national social force. It does not idealize the labor movement as it exists today, but shows the role of the Communist Party in unleashing the great potentialities of the class which has brought this labor movement into being and which will reshape it with our help and influence.

"WHAT WE NEED ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE IS AN AGREEMENT, AS A RESULT
OF OUR DISCUSSION, UPON THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE
COMMUNIST PARTY IS BASED AND FOR WHICH IT CONTINUES TO FIGHT."

" ... STANDING IN THE WAY OF THESE GREAT POSSIBILITIES THAT SOCIALISM WOULD OPEN UP IS THE TREMENDOUS FORCE OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM."

After this first section of the draft, in which we indicate how life could be abundant and beautiful if we had a socialist society, the draft points out that standing in the way of these great possibilities that socialism would open up is the tremendous force of state-monopoly capitalism.

We give a brief description of the intertwining of monopoly with the state power of the capitalist class by way of explaining our terminology of state-monopoly capitalism. We point out that the military - industrial complex, which even many bourgeois spokesmen have taken note of, is the product of state-monopoly capitalism which resorts to the periodic exchange of leading personalities between the Pentagon and the executive offices of giant corporations. We point out that the drive toward nuclear war is the consequence of the desperation of U.S. imperialism; and the Program points to the significance of the anti-monopoly struggle in barring the way to imperialist war and in beating back the offensive of capitalist reaction through the drive for extended democracy.

A particular feature of the Program of the Communist Party of the United States is the emphasis upon the centrality of the struggle for equality for the Afro-American people in all walks of life. This struggle is basic to the struggle for all social progress in our country, since racism is a particularly vicious instrument which the capitalist class of the United States has used from the beginning of its ascendancy to power in this part of the world, in order to divide the working class -- its chief victim -- to pit worker against worker along racial and national lines, and to weaken the struggle against the whole system of exploitation which breeds, and is based upon, racist practices. We pose the centrality of the struggle for Afro-American liberation and equality as providing the basis for the most effective struggle also against the oppression of other sections of our population, such as the Chicano, and Native-American Indian and Puerto Rican people. In all of this, emphasis is placed upon the role of the Black people as part of the working class -- comprising, in their vast majority, workers-- and especially workers in the most vital and basic branches of the national economy.

"A PARTICULAR FEATURE OF THE PROGRAM ... IS THE EMPHASIS UPON THE CENTRALITY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE."

" ... THE VAST MAJORITY ... IS VICTIMIZED BY STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND MUST, IN ITS OWN INTERESTS, FIGHT BACK... AND WE CALL FOR A COALITION AND UNITED STRUGGLE OF ALL OF THESE ALLIED FORCES AT EVERY LEVEL ... EMPHASIZING AT EVERY POINT THE LEADING RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Then the Program goes on to indicate that the vast majority of the population of the United States is victimized by state-monopoly capitalism and must, in its own interests, fight back against monopoly. Here we include the family - type farmers, women as half the population, youth who have a special stake in struggling against militarism and in fighting for full citizenship -- not only on the political front but, in the first instance, for the right to meaningful employment and education. And we call for a coalition and united struggle of all these allied forces at every level -- in the community, on the job, on the campus, in every walk of life -- emphasizing at every point the leading responsibility of the working class as the historically - created, most consistent and most revolutionary force in our society.

The Program emphasizes the need for political independence from the political parties of the monopolists, and it calls for the creation of a new party which would give political expression to the coalition's struggle against monopoly capital. We indicate that the Communist Party will be a part of such a new anti-monopoly party, but that it will continue its own independent existence and work within and along side of, and ahead of, the anti-monopoly party which we seek to help bring into being. The Program projects, as a goal of such an anti-monopoly party, the creation of a people's democratic

"THE PROGRAM EMPHASIZES THE NEED FOR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE MONOPOLISTS, AND IT CALLS FOR THE CREATION OF A NEW PARTY WHICH WOULD GIVE POLITICAL EXPRESSION TO THE COALITION STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLY CAPITAL."

anti-monopoly government in which the Communist Party stands ready to take its place. The Communist Party, through its representatives, would serve in such an anti-monopoly government. It would help bring it to power along with all these allied forces, and it would work within such a government to promote the well-being of all the social victims of state-monopoly capitalism.

But at the same time we hasten to point out in our Program that this, far from being our end goal, only will help prove--by experience-- to the participants in such an anti-monopoly movement and government, the need for radical reforms. We mean radical reforms that will inevitably lead to further confrontation with the remaining elements

"THE PROGRAM SETS FORTH A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS ... WHICH WILL HELP CONVINCING MASSES OF THE NEED TO ESTABLISH A WORKING CLASS STATE, SERVING THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY BY TAKING INTO THE COLLECTIVE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF OUR SOCIETY AND CONSTRUCTING A SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN ITS PLACE."

of the capitalist super-structure and social-economic foundation. These reforms, we point out, are not confined merely to legislative measures. Both the coalition of anti-monopoly forces and any government that they bring into being will have to encourage, support and take part in struggles for radical changes in the legislative bodies; but they will do so also in street demonstrations, mass strikes, boycotts and every other available form of popular struggle against the common enemy.

The Program therefore sets forth a number of proposals which the Communist Party will continue to work for, before the creation of an anti-monopoly government as well as within it. These are proposals which will serve the daily needs of the people and further weaken and set back the power of monopoly capital to dominate the life of the country. Above all, these are proposals which will help convince masses of the need to establish a workingclass state, serving the interests of the country by taking into the collective hands of the people the economic foundations of our society and constructing a socialist society in its place.

We point in our Program to the favorable conditions for such socialist revolutionary transformation in the United States, arising out of unity in the struggle against monopoly under the leadership of the working class; we point to the world shift in the balance of forces that has given a decisive role to the socialist and anti-imperialist forces in influencing further international developments and affecting the conditions of struggle within each country, including our own. We point to the fact that, as a consequence, we are living in the age of socialist revolutions which have already taken place and are further maturing in a whole number of countries; not least of all, in some which were regarded up until recent times as among the least developed, and that consequently the United States--the most highly developed capitalist country in the world--is rotten ripe for such revolutionary change.

We work, our Program indicates, for a peaceful co-existence of opposing social systems and for a relaxing of tensions, in the first place between the United States and the Soviet Union which is the foremost and greatest power of the working class organized in a state of its own. We regard both detente and peaceful co-existence as

"WE POINT ... TO THE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR SUCH SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION ..."

adding to the possibilities for peaceful transition to socialism in the United States. And we indicate the desire of our Party to help bring about this fundamental change by peaceful means, through the coming to power of the vast majority of the people now victimized by monopoly capital. But we also point out that every worker knows from his own experience how bitterly the capitalist class resists every measure to improve the conditions of the masses, and how -- even in the most elementary strike struggles -- the ruling class resorts to the use of police terror, goons, armed forces and every form of violence in support of the employing class and to prevent any invasion upon the privileged status of the exploiters.

" ... AN ANTI-MONOPOLY GOVERNMENT ... WILL EARLY BE CONFRONTED WITH THE NECESSITY OF CURBING THE POWER OF THE RULING CLASS TO RESORT TO VIOLENT OBSTRUCTION OF THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE."

Therefore, we say, the government of the people -- an anti-monopoly government -- will early be confronted with the necessity of curbing the power of the ruling class to resort to violent obstruction of the further development of the rule of the people. And certainly a socialist government -- a government of the working class -- will have to be prepared to disarm the ruling class or its agents and prevent any attempt to which they may resort in any form, to reverse the course of history and return to a capitalist or exploitive relationship. Defense of the democratic mandate which a people's government would have, resulting from the struggle against monopoly, becomes an important pre-condition for making possible the most peaceful transition to socialism. Thus, the struggle for increasing and extending democracy every day must be seen as contributing to the possible realization of such an aim.

The final pages of the draft before you deal with our Party itself. They show the roots of the CPUSA stemming from the struggles of the working class of our country. We acknowledge, here, the inspiration that was given to the outgrowth of these roots in the struggle against imperialist war and in the victory of our class in 1/6 of the world with the first socialist revolution of 1917. We declare our full confidence in the historically developed working class of our country as providing the foundation for the further achievements of this Party.

This section emphasizes that we need a Communist Party, since no reliance on spontaneous struggle -- least of all, on curbing the struggle when partial gains have been achieved -- can provide for safety or well-being for the masses. We emphasize that our Party is guided by the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism derived from the teachings of the great founders of our world-wide movement,

" ... OUR PARTY IS NOT LIKE ANY OTHER POLITICAL PARTY KNOWN IN OUR COUNTRY - WE ARE NOT SIMPLY AN ELECTORAL MACHINE, ALTHOUGH WE PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN ALL ELECTORAL STRUGGLES."

Marx and Lenin, further developed in the continuing class struggle and confirmed in further detail by the experience of the flourishing socialist community of nations. We point out that our Party is not like any other political party known in our country, that we are not simply an electoral machine, although we participate actively in all electoral struggles.

We do so, however, in recognition of the fact that electoral struggles are an extension and an important part of the daily struggles that can advance the immediate needs of the people, consolidate their ranks, raise their self-confidence and prove to themselves-- as well as to the rest of the population-- their capacity to manage the nation's affairs.

We conclude the draft Program by indicating the necessary special structure of a Party that has such great historic responsibilities; namely, the basing of our Party organization upon democratic centralism. And we invite men and women, young and old -- of every race and nationality -- who accept this Program and are ready to join a basic unit of our Party, to enter its ranks as members.

□ □ □

The above report of the Program Committee, together with the first draft of the Program itself, were accepted by the CC Plenum as the basis for the Committee to prepare a second draft for the March CC Meeting. After discussion and action by the CC, this second draft is to serve as the basis for discussion by the entire membership of the Party in the pre-Convention period, and then to be acted upon by the Twenty Second National Convention.

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"WE CONCLUDE THE DRAFT PROGRAM BY INDICATING THE NECESSARY SPECIAL STRUCTURE OF A PARTY THAT HAS SUCH GREAT HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITIES; ... AND WE INVITE MEN AND WOMEN, YOUNG AND OLD - OF EVERY RACE AND NATIONALITY - WHO ACCEPT THIS PROGRAM AND ARE READY TO JOIN A BASIC UNIT OF OUR PARTY, TO ENTER ITS RANKS AS MEMBERS. "

S U M M A R Y R E M A R K S
A T T H E D E C E M B E R 1 9 7 8 P L E N U M
O F T H E C E N T R A L C O M M I T T E E

(Including a section -- on Party clubs -- from the Main Report.)

Gus Hall:

Some Basic Questions

I WANT TO DISCUSS SOME BASIC QUESTIONS WHICH WERE RAISED IN THE REPORT - AND WHICH FLOW FROM THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

I. OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIATIVES TO BUILD GRASS ROOTS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

"POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE HAS EMERGED AS A HISTORIC NECESSITY."

The general crisis is not exactly the same for all developed capitalist countries. Because U. S. capitalism has difficulty finding solutions for a whole number of problems it is upgrading the role of the state. That is the heart of it. We must have a deeper understanding of these objective problems in order to have a sound basis for understanding the application of the policies and the tactics we develop.

For example: In the electoral field there are times when we can afford flexibility about tactical questions - but now we have reached the point on this question where we can't. We must insist on a more united adherence to a tactical line and policy that has been developed.

More specifically: If we put together everything that has been said at this meeting (much more than what was in my report) about developments in the field of political independence, there is now in fact, political independence on a totally new level. One district af-

ter another reported important developments. Why then do we not have examples of Communist initiatives for the development of political independence?

It is clear that there is a gap in our understanding of how political independence has emerged now as a historic necessity. There is not yet an understanding of the objective processes which have placed this question for solution. There are no examples of our initiatives in this field. That is why I emphasized the Cobo Hall (Detroit) and the Washington meetings, which gave a green light to organizing forms of political independence. The president of the machinists' union and thousands of local unions

also have given the green light. In hundreds of these unions we have comrades. The question persists: Why then are there no initiatives?

If we understand this moment we will understand that the CPUSA must become a factor in building grass roots political independence. That is what we have to do if we see that the growth of this movement will depend on what kind of grass roots development takes place. We are not now that factor.

For our Party clubs this should be one of their purposes. And our whole Party should be convinced of the need for initiatives in this field on our part -- on the basis of a deeper understanding of objective developments, of the role of the state in the crisis of U.S. capitalism, and of the nature of the two-party system and the Carter Administration.

II. THE RIGHT WING.

"A CERTAIN RIGHT DANGER, BUT NOT A SWING TO THE RIGHT."

WE ALWAYS HAVE TO KEEP OUR EYE ON WHETHER THERE IS A RIGHT-WING swing. We have to be sensitive to this at all times because it is a very important question. But because it is important, we also have to be careful not to play around with it. Our assessments have to be exact and real. We can make serious mistakes if they are not.

Therefore in my report I gave what the Political Bureau and I agreed on regarding the right-wing developments. Among these is the fact that there are now a number of right-wing organizations which work on different issues such as "right-to-life", "right-to work", anti-gun control and others. These right-wing organizations did not come together. That is important. But they were able to support specific candidates,

candidates who then won because of that support. This signals a certain danger, especially in the electoral field, that we should take note of. But I do not think that it is the same thing as a mass swing to the right -- at least not at this moment.

Reading Togliatti's book on fascism*, I was impressed with his position a number of years after Mussolini had come to power. In his discussions with Party leaders and with others in Italy, Togliatti repeatedly emphasized that he didn't think the working class was taken over by fascism.

This is a very important question, and what happened afterward proved that Togliatti was right. If he had not been, there wouldn't now be a mass Communist Party in Italy.

In a sense we have the same kind of responsibility when we assess mass movements in our country and the direction they are going -- especially with respect to a right-wing direction.

III. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM.

"WHENEVER THE CLASS ENEMY LAUNCHES AN OFFENSIVE, IT IS A RACIST OFFENSIVE."

AS COMRADE WINSTON HAS SAID, FOR OUR WORK GENERALLY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM - AND ALSO FOR OUR PARTY PROGRAM - IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE TWO THINGS INTO ACCOUNT: (1) THE ROOTS OF RACISM; AND (2) THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE STRUGGLE.

We must deal with the changes that have taken place while rejecting concepts that the Black question has been resolved (Moynihan's

* LECTURES ON FASCISM - Int'l Pub. \$2.95.

"benign neglect" racism, etc.).

For instance, the centrality of this struggle cannot be placed in the same way as it was thirty years ago. It must be placed in the context of where the anti-monopoly struggle is now and where the class struggle is now. Otherwise we will not win support from Black Americans because they place the struggle against racism in the context of overall developments.

We must see this question in the context: the majority of Black Americans are part of the working class, and not only a part of the working class but a very active part of the working class on a new level.

When we speak or write a Program, we have to keep in mind that these millions of Black workers who are a very active part of the working class feel the class struggle in addition to the struggle against racism.

This is a new context. The class enemy understands this relationship. That is why, whenever they launch an anti-working class offensive, it is now a racist offensive. For us to have a meaningful presentation and to place the question effectively, we must place it correctly.

In some ways, this is related to a development on a world scale. There is a tendency for the socialist countries and movements for socialism and national liberation to move closer together. It was Comrade Stalin who originally foresaw that. It was a very important observation. Our presentation of the struggle against racism must take this into account.

IV. INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION.

"AND WHEN WE TAKE A CADRE OUT OF INDUSTRY OR OUT OF A CONCENTRATION DISTRICT -- WE ARE SENDING A SIGNAL -- THAT WE ARE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION, OR THAT OUR PRIORITY IS SOMEWHERE ELSE."

SOME COMRADES HAVE RAISED THE QUESTION OF OUR PRIORITIES WITH ME. It is the comrades in the shops. They keep raising the fact that the Party still does not have industrial concentration priorities. I think these comrades are right.

We have many examples. We talk about industrial concentration, we fight for it, but under the pressure of many problems we forget it in practice. For instance, cadre for industrial concentration is not in practice number one in our priorities.

We still take cadre from industrial concentration areas for other work, and we do it without too much thought. And when we take one cadre out of industry or out of a concentration district, we send a signal which is quickly caught up by the Party. It is a wrong signal that we are not concerned about industrial concentration, a signal that our priorities are elsewhere.

An important example is with respect to women workers in the basic industries. Women workers have emerged as a very significant factor in industrial concentration. Comrades have told me that when a Left caucus meeting in the basic steel cities is called, fifty, sixty or seventy women show up. Do we, as a Party, give priority to that kind of cadre? Do we give it necessary emphasis, adequate attention? We do not, comrades.

(We insert here a section of the Main Report dealing with the Party clubs. It provides important background for the next section of Comrade Hall's summary remarks dealing with style of leadership.)

THE CLUBS (from the Main Report)

It is within the context of the new objective developments, the new spontaneous mass currents and the new movements that we must constantly examine the life of our Party clubs.

Under Comrade Winston's leadership, there are two study teams making in-depth studies of the work of the Party in the Illinois and the New York districts. The studies are not yet completed, and therefore today I wish to make only limited remarks on a few aspects of the question.

After the McCarthy period, it was necessary to gather the members and to reestablish forms of Party organization both on a club and a state level. Clubs were reestablished without too much thought as to what was the purpose of a club. This was permissible in that period. But to continue it today is a weakness.

We have statewide industrial and professional clubs. We have borough-wide neighborhood clubs. And there are clubs that meet, collect dues, sell tickets, even distribute papers and have an educational on some general question now and then. Such clubs do not have a purpose. Clubs cannot live on dues, tickets and ideology alone. The members of such clubs have never sat down and asked the more basic question: Why are we a club of the Communist Party? What is our purpose? What is it that we should do? There must be more to being a Communist than to sit and talk every two weeks and to pay dues.

I think it would be a good thing for every club to ask: What is the purpose of our club? A meeting or two should be devoted to discussing and answering this question. If a club does not have an answer, the question should be raised with the state leadership. On the other hand, after a club has agreed on a clear purpose, then the club should ask the chairperson or the club executive to bring a simple but concrete plan to the following meeting as to how the club is going to realize its concrete purpose.

The purpose, the reason for the existence of a club of the Communist Party, must be concretely defined. To start with, it must have a defined geographical area, a shop or a department as its area of political responsibility.

The club plan of work must be concrete and specific. In very concrete terms it must answer such questions as: What mass organizations are there and how are we going to influence their work? How is our club going to carry on propaganda work? How are we going to organize some forms of actions and activities to build forms of political independence and rank and file groups? How are we going to organize to build forms of struggle against racism and advance the struggle for world peace? How are we going to organize on these questions, not in general, but within the well-defined area of the club. The plan must include the issuing of club leaflets, the compiling of a club mailing list and of a sympathizer's contact list.

In some cases we should consider going back to industry-wide committees or caucuses, releasing the comrades involved for assignment in Party clubs in which they can be an active force. When carefully and correctly done, such changes would not weaken industrial concentration, but would in fact strengthen it. It could speed the recruitment of basic industrial workers and the building of shop clubs.

V. STYLE OF LEADERSHIP.

"FIRST, YOU HAVE TO CONVINCING THE COMRADES THAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE CLUB TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS."

We must become a factor in finding concrete solutions, concrete actions, concrete initiatives for the club of the Party.

THE CHALLENGE IS REALLY HOW TO CHANGE THE LIFE OF OUR CLUBS, HOW TO MAKE THEM INTO LIVING BODIES WITH REAL ROOTS IN THE COMMUNITY OR SHOP.

Speaking from my own experience, political discussions in the club, while they are very important, will not change the inner life of the club. A big grandiose project will not do it either. I am not against club projects, but they will not achieve this goal. When you start working at giving the club "life", a number of problems immediately appear and, although they may not seem to be difficult, they are.

First, the comrades need to become convinced that it is possible for the club to influence developments. They are not convinced. If they were the clubs would function differently in most cases.

As soon as you talk about a club that is really alive, security becomes a problem, and security is not just a problem for industrial comrades. A lot of comrades in neighborhood clubs face real security problems.

To change the outlook of a club it is necessary to move into small and elementary actions, so small and elementary that comrades may not

think that they would have much effect. But, in fact, that is the beginning of convincing members that it is possible to do things and that the club can have a purpose. Winning that first step makes it possible to discuss how the club can become a real factor in the community or the shop.

What are some of these small and elementary actions? Here are some practical and specific examples which more of our clubs should consider doing:

***USE THE "LETTER-TO-THE-EDITOR" COLUMN IN THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER.**

This is wide open in every smaller town, community and neighborhood paper. The club might write a letter on a problem that agitates the community, signed by a member who does not have a security problem, and in this way reach most of the community.

***USE THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES.**

Get a new Party pamphlet or report into every public library, every college and high school library in the community.

***PUT OUT A CLUB LEAFLET.**

Have the whole club working together to write, produce and distribute it.

Finally, we should make it a control task that every member of the Central Committee must have a club that he or she gives "life" to, making it a living organ, transforming it into a club with a clear, specific and concrete purpose. This assignment should include giving leadership to putting an end to club meetings that are informal little gatherings, dead and dull. It means giving leadership to preparing the club meetings as if a dozen non-Communists had been invited to attend.

VI. THE DRAFT MAIN

POLITICAL RESOLUTION.

"A UNIQUE COMMUNIST FEATURE ... IT MUST BE A COLLECTIVE PRODUCT ... EVERYONE MUST BECOME A PART OF THE PROCESS."

OUR NEXT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING WILL HAVE TO ADOPT THE DRAFT MAIN CONVENTION RESOLUTION, IN ADDITION TO THE DRAFT PARTY PROGRAM.

THE BASIC POLITICAL RESOLUTION IS A UNIQUE COMMUNIST FEATURE, A VERY IMPORTANT FEATURE. IT MUST BE A COLLECTIVE PRODUCT, JUST AS THE PROGRAM MUST BE COLLECTIVE. EVERY ONE THEREFORE MUST BEGIN THINKING

ABOUT IT, AND SENDING IN CONTRIBUTIONS TO IT.

A RESOLUTION SHOULD NOT JUST REGISTER WHAT IS TAKING PLACE. IT MUST DO MUCH MORE. IT MUST PROBE WHAT HAS HAPPENED, THE LESSONS FROM EVENTS, THE LESSONS OF WHAT WE ARE DOING TO INFLUENCE EVENTS. IN DOING THAT, IT WILL ALSO PROJECT WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE PERIOD AHEAD. IT WILL ALSO MAKE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE PARTY.

A RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE WILL BE SET UP TO WORK ON THE DRAFT, BUT EVERYONE MUST BECOME A PART OF THE PROCESS. IF THAT HAPPENS THE RESOLUTION WILL REFLECT REALITY AND IT WILL HAVE LIFE. IT WILL BE A GOOD RESOLUTION. ■

Constitution of the Communist Party

ARTICLE II

Principles of Organization

SECTION 4. Each Party body is subordinate to the next higher body, with central authority vested in the National

Convention, the highest body of the Party, which not only has the authority to act on all aspects of Party policy and activity, but elects the national leadership to carry through its will and decisions between conventions.



21st National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., June 26-29, 1975.

TWENTY SECOND CONVENTION

By Lee Dlugin
Secretary, Organization Department

Comrade Lee Dlugin has been elected secretary of the Organization Department in a move to further strengthen organizational work. Comrade Dlugin brings to the job shop, trade union and Party district experience, including having been an AFSCME shop chairman in an organizing drive, a full time union organizer, a TUAD coordinator, organizational secretary of the Party's New York district industrial division and more recently New Jersey district organizer. She is a member of the Central Committee (since the 18th Convention) and of its Organization Bureau.

The Organization Department executive is now as follows:

Arnold Becchetti - National Organization Secretary, Chair.
Lee Dlugin - Secretary of the Organization Department.
Sid Taylor - Treasurer.
Carmen Ristorucci - Chair, Cadre Section.

A MAJOR LANDMARK IN OUR STRUGGLES TO BUILD A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT TO ABOLISH CAPITALISM AND ESTABLISH SOCIALISM WILL BE OUR TWENTY SECOND NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN, FROM AUGUST 22 TO 26. SIGNIFICANTLY THE CONVENTION WILL TAKE PLACE ON THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PARTY'S FOUNDING IN THAT INDUSTRIAL HEARTLAND OF OUR COUNTRY IN 1919. THUS IN PREPARING FOR THE CONVENTION WE WILL AT THE SAME TIME FIND OURSELVES IN THE MIDST OF THE YEAR-LONG ACTIVITIES AIMED AT CELEBRATING 60 YEARS OF STRUGGLE IN THE SERVICE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND DEDICATED TO THE LIBERATION OF ALL PEOPLES FROM THE YOKE OF CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM.

THE INSPIRING PROPOSALS MADE YESTERDAY ON THE YEAR OF CELEBRATION WILL HELP SET THE STAGE FOR OUR SUCCESSFUL PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION, FOR THE CONVENTION ITSELF AND FOR THE MASS RALLY AT COBO HALL.

IN A POLITICAL SENSE THIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING HAS ALREADY

BEGUN THE CONVENTION PROCESS WITH THE REPORT OF COMRADE HALL AND THE PRESENTATION OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW PARTY PROGRAM. WHAT I WANT TO DO IS TO PRESENT TO YOU - ON BEHALF OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU - TWO SETS OF PRACTICAL PROPOSALS TO GUARANTEE THE HOLDING OF A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION: ONE SET OF PROPOSALS ON A TIMETABLE FOR THE CONVENTION PROCESS: A SECOND SET ON THE NECESSARY COMMITTEES TO ORGANIZE THE WORK OF THE CONVENTION.

ON THE TIME TABLE - WE PROPOSE

THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE:

- January 20 - Last day for submitting comments to the Program Committee for its consideration in preparing the Draft New Party Program.
- January 30 - Political Bureau discussion of the Draft New Black Liberation Resolution.
- February 6 - Political Bureau discussion of the Draft New Party Program.
- February 13. Political Bureau discussion of the Draft Main Resolution of the Twenty Second Convention.
- March - Central Committee/National Council Meeting to finalize all three drafts for Party Preconvention Discussion.
- MAY FIRST - EVERY DISTRICT WILL HAVE EVERY DOCUMENT:
PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION OFFICIALLY BEGINS.
- June 16 to July 15: District Conventions.
- August 22 - Central Committee Meeting.
- August 22-26: TWENTY SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION...DETROIT.
- AUGUST 26 COBO HALL -- SUNDAY AFTERNOON -- MASS RALLY!!!
NATIONAL IN SCOPE . . . 7500 PEOPLE
FOR THE CONVENTION - - - FOR THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY.

* * *

TO CARRY OUT THE TASKS OF THE CONVENTION - WE PROPOSE

THE FOLLOWING COMMITTEES:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) A MAIN POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE. | (5) THE CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE - TO REVIEW FOR POSSIBLE CHANGES. |
| (2) THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE- WHICH ALREADY HAS DONE MUCH, AND WILL HAVE MUCH MORE TO DO. | (6) A RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE- BEGINS WORK WHEN PRECONVENTION DISCUSSION BEGINS. |
| (3) A BLACK LIBERATION RESOLUTION COMMITTEE - WHICH ALSO HAS BEEN WORKING FOR MANY MONTHS. | (7) AN APPEALS COMMITTEE - BEGINS WORK JUST PRIOR TO CONVENTION |
| (4) A COMMITTEE ON WORKSHOPS - TO DEVELOP LEADERSHIPS FOR THE WORKSHOPS AND GUARANTEE THEIR WORK WILL FIT IN WITH THE MAIN POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE CONVENTION. | (8) A PLATFORM & ELECTIONS COMMITTEE. AT THE CONVENTION. |
| | (9) A RALLY COMMITTEE - TO ORGANIZE A REALLY TREMENDOUS RALLY!!! |
| | (10) POLITICAL BUREAU TO DRAFT THE CALL TO THE CONVENTION. |

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* --- Continued Next Page.

May Day 1979

GROWING UNITED FRONT

By I. Herman, Labor Secretary
New York District

BORN OUT OF THE STRUGGLE OF UNITED STATES WORKERS FOR THE 8-HOUR WORK DAY IN 1886, THIS YEAR'S MAY DAY WILL BE TAKING PLACE AT A TIME WHEN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS PUSHING FOR INCREASED ARMS SPENDING AND DRASTIC BUDGETARY CUTS IN ALL PROGRAMS RELATING TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS -- JOBS, HEALTH, HOUSING, EDUCATION AND OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES.

EVERY EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO ASSURE THAT THIS YEAR'S MAY DAY WILL HAVE A STRONG LABOR BASE REFLECTING A GROWING LEFT-CENTER UNITY. THIS REQUIRES CONVINCING MORE UNIONS OF THE UNITED STATES ORIGIN OF THIS WORKERS' HOLIDAY, SHOWING THEM HOW IT CAN ADVANCE LABOR'S STRUGGLES TODAY FOR THE SHORTER WORK WEEK, AGAINST CARTER'S WAGE FREEZE AND IN SUPPORT OF LABOR'S INTERESTS GENERALLY. RANK AND FILE SUPPORT FOR PARTICIPATING IN MAY DAY CAN STRENGTHEN THE POSSIBILITIES OF SECURING OFFICIAL UNION ENDORSEMENT.

--- Continued Next Page.

MORE: CONVENTION PREPARATIONS . . .

FOR THE ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT - WE PROPOSE
THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES DURING THIS PERIOD:

1. The development of a plan on delegates, and on the basis for the election of delegates.
2. The organization of the distribution of the CALL TO THE CONVENTION.
3. The setting up of an auditing committee.
4. Helping to plan and prepare the district conventions.
5. The setting up of an arrangements committee - to make sure the Twenty-Second National Convention takes place in a way that reflects its special and enormous importance.
6. Setting up a rules committee and a credentials committee for the Convention.

* * *

We ask that the Central Committee authorize the Political Bureau to fill the committees, and to set up any other committees that may be necessary to carry out immediate work before the next CC/NC Meeting.

CARTER'S CUTBACKS ON PROGRAMS OF BENEFIT TO THE PEOPLE - AND SIMILAR CUTS IN THE STATE AND CITY BUDGETS - SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS PART OF AN OFFENSIVE OF THE BIG MONOPOLIES AGAINST LABOR AND THE PEOPLE.

THE 1979 MAY DAY CAN UNITE LABOR AND THE PEOPLE AROUND THE MOST PRESSING ISSUES OF OUR DAY:

- * A SHORTER WORK DAY AND A PROGRAM FOR JOBS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED;
- * OPPOSITION TO CARTER'S WAGE FREEZE AND CARTER'S REDUCED LIVING STANDARDS FOR WORKERS;
- * PLACING GUNS VERSUS BUTTER AS A CENTRAL ISSUE;
- * STRENGTHEN DETENTE, APPROVE A SALT II AGREEMENT, AND PASS THE TRANSFER AMENDMENT;
- * DEFEAT THE KAISER-WEBER-RIGHTIST ASSAULT ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION;
- * FREE REVEREND BEN (CHAVIS) -- AND CLEAR THE TEN!
- * SOLIDARITY WITH TRADE UNION AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES ALL OVER THE WORLD.
- * COUNTER ALL THREATS TO DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES -- OPPOSE S.1437.

THE SUCCESS OF LAST YEAR'S NEW YORK MAY DAY PARADE AND RALLY, IN WHICH OVER 4,000 TOOK PART, WAS THE RESULT OF A CORRECT POLICY OF WORKING FOR A BROAD UNITED FRONT MAY DAY WITH A STRONG LABOR BASE.

IN EVALUATING LAST YEAR'S MAY DAY, WE DREW THE CONCLUSION THAT "GETTING AN EARLY START WAS CRUCIAL TO ENTERING INTO NECESSARY DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERS, AND IN SECURING SPEAKERS AND A CULTURAL PROGRAM CONSISTENT WITH THE UNITED FRONT CHARACTER OF MAY DAY."

WITH THIS IN MIND, PREPARATIONS IN NEW YORK HAVE ALREADY BEGUN FOR THE 1979 MAY DAY CELEBRATION. THE FIRST CONFERENCE IS BEING CONVENED ON FEBRUARY 24 TO LAY THE BASIS FOR A BROAD MAY DAY COALITION AND FOR THE LARGEST CELEBRATION OF THIS WORKING CLASS HOLIDAY SEEN IN MANY YEARS.

IN NEW YORK LARGER NUMBERS OF PUERTO RICAN AND LATINO WORKERS TOOK PART IN 1978. THE 1979 COMMITTEE WILL BUILD UPON THIS GROWTH AND SEEK A COMPARABLE PARTICIPATION BY AFRO-AMERICAN WORKERS.

THE YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN MAY DAY 1978 MARKED A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF PREVIOUS YEARS. WITH INCREASED ATTENTION TO YOUTH'S CONCERNS FOR JOBS AND EDUCATION, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ENLARGE THIS YEAR'S YOUTH CONTINGENT GREATLY.

THIS YEAR'S PARADE SHOULD SEEK TO INVOLVE WHOLE FAMILIES -- MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. IN THIS RESPECT, MAY DAY CAN BE AN OCCASION FOR EXPRESSING SUPPORT TO THE UNITED NATION'S DECLARATION THAT 1979 IS "THE YEAR OF THE CHILD."

ESTABLISHING ACTIVE MAY DAY COMMITTEES IN COMMUNITIES CAN BROADEN AND INVOLVE MANY COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS: TENANT, SENIOR CITIZENS, PARENT-TEACHER, YOUTH, WOMEN, NATIONALITY, DAY CARE, CHURCHES AND MANY OTHERS.

THE PARTY IS CALLED UPON TO BE FULLY A PART OF THE GROWING UNITED FRONT MAY DAY MOVEMENT. IT IS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT, HELPING TO BUILD THE BROADEST UNITY OF LABOR AND THE PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE ON THE MOST PRESSING ISSUES OF THE DAY. ALL PARTY CLUBS -- SHOP, INDUSTRIAL, COMMUNITY -- AND ALL LEADERSHIP NEED TO ENTER INTO THE PREPARATIONS NOW FOR THIS LARGEST WORKING CLASS MAY DAY CELEBRATION IN MANY YEARS.

60th ANNIVERSARY

*By Sylvia Newcomb, Secretary
National Education Department*

Report Adopted by the Central Committee
December 3, 1978

When the clock strikes 12 this New Year's eve, a year of great significance to the working class will begin. It will mark the opening gong of a year observing, honoring, celebrating 60 years of continuous contributions of the Communist Party, U.S.A. to the cause of peace, to the struggle against class exploitation, to the fight for equality, toward anti-monopoly victory and the ultimate triumph of socialism in the U.S.

Under the leadership of Comrade James Jackson, the National Education Department brought forward a plan to celebrate the 60th anniversary which was further developed by the National Organization Bureau and the Political Bureau. It is hoped that the Central Committee will further strengthen this plan and launch a plan for the entire Party to actively participate in the celebration of our Party's 60th anniversary.

The plan projects first a political statement to be written on the significance of the 60th anniversary, a document which presents an overall summation and estimate of the Party's history. It will present those highlights of our history which best serve to illuminate the present path of

struggle against monopoly and for socialism. This document will be presented in pamphlet form in the early part of the year and will serve as a political guide to the many-faceted, cultural, theoretical, multi-media, creative activity celebrating our anniversary.

The major theme, borrowed from a recent article by Comrade Hall, should be: "The CPUSA is the finest achievement of the U.S. working class," a theme which can be proven through an exposition of our contributions. Through all of our activity, we must show that the CPUSA is the only force with a scientific path to victory.

* The 60th anniversary should be marked by a major recruiting drive, especially in basic industry, as indicated in Comrade Hall's Main Report. A major press drive as well as a fund-raising campaign should be launched on the theme of the 60th anniversary. New shop clubs should be born in our 60th year!

Each of our publications needs a plan of work of its own to assure special issues and feature articles in the course of the 60th anniversary. Regular features such as "Why I joined the CPUSA" or "What the 60th Anniversary means to me" would add great impetus to our

Party and press-building campaigns. (The Daily World invites comrades across the country to send in statements on the theme: Why I joined the Communist Party.--Ed.) In addition, there needs to be an approach to dozens of Left and and progressive publications to produce articles on the meaning of the Communist Party's 60th anniversary.

The main areas of concentration for articles, outlines, programs should be:

- The role of the Communists in the birth of the modern trade union movement, bringing forward our role in the organization of industrial unions, the leading role of Foster in the big steel strike, etc.
- Communists and the struggle for Black liberation including the resolutions prepared on this question.
- Communists and the main battles in defense of democracy.
- Communists and the struggle for peace.

The role of Communists in the cause of proletarian internationalism and against imperialism should be brought out noting that the Party was borne in the struggle against imperialism.

The Party and the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation, Chicano liberation, Native American liberation, should be brought forward and the true role of the Party in the fight against anti-Semitism.

We must find ways to bring forward the role of Communists in the unemployed struggles of the 30's and link it to the struggles of today against joblessness.

- We need to highlight club life and clubs as the primary unit of the Party. We need to project the idea that we are a Party of families, and for families and tie this to the question of recruitment in our 60th year.

- The role of the Party in the fight for equality of women must also be stressed.

- The YWLL should consider its special role in honoring the Party's 60th anniversary--putting forward the history of the youth movement including the Young Communist League, the American Youth Congress and the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

- The role of the Communist Party in the building of democratic and progressive culture should be featured explaining the impact and influence of the Party upon leading cultural figures in the course of 60 years.

A CALL TO THE WHOLE PARTY

We need to call upon the whole Party for creative input through the various experiences and talents of our comrades!

All cultural fields must be drawn out through contests and compilations of materials. We need artists to do logos, posters, post cards, buttons, photo exhibits, pictorial history, slide shows and other visual expressions. We need poetry and essay contests. 60th anniversary songs should be written.

Our district conventions and 22nd national convention should be permeated with the themes of the 60th anniversary, from the exhibits, to the banners, to the mass public rally. These activities should be a high point as we approach the

September date of our founding convention.

We need to struggle to get as much mass media attention as possible by creatively linking the anniversary to events in the news and to place questions so that they are news.

We need to carefully prepare the collection of the widest range of congratulatory letters from trade union leaders, Black leaders, elected officials and mass leaders in all fields of struggle.

In the Spring, International Publishers will issue a book, long in preparation, which will present a rich documentation of our history. We need to prepare advance sales, solicit reviews and celebrate the publication of this book at forums and have special activities around the book.

An outline will be prepared for club education, and special steps need to be taken to focus on the anniversary in all our educational activities. All of us need to study our history and prepare ourselves to speak to workers who have a real thirst for our history in order to better comprehend and move in today's struggles.

Each Party district and each department needs to draw up a plan of work for the observance of the Party's 60th anniversary. Districts such as Illinois and Michigan with especially rich histories as well as Cleveland, Seattle, San Francisco, Minnesota, St. Louis, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C. need to give special input into the year of our 60th anniversary.

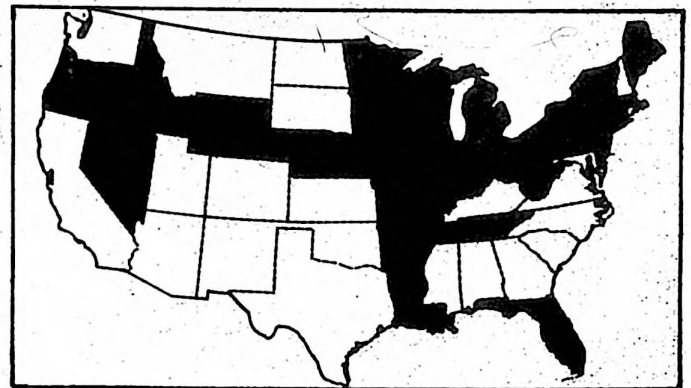
All of our activities of celebration--and we should celebrate all year long--must be geared to

argue for the necessity of our Party which has a unique and crucial role to play in leading our class and our country, as Comrade Hall has stated, to the road of peace, to the fight against the deep social and economic crisis put on the backs of the working class, the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Native American people, the fight for affirmative action, the road toward political independence at a new level and the road to accelerated and deeper coalition of anti-monopoly forces.

*

Comrades are urged to send any and all ideas and suggestions, and above all, personal and collective contributions to:

60th Anniversary Committee
235 West 23rd Street, 7th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10011



How Military Spending Costs Jobs

"The Empty Pork Barrel: Unemployment and the Military Budget," a study by Marion Anderson, published by the Public Interest Group in Michigan, 490 Hollister Bldg., Lansing, Mich. 48933. \$1.50.

Whenver the military budget goes up, employment goes down in the 26 shaded states in the map above, where 60 percent of the U.S. population lives.

To many Americans, that fact will come as a surprise. For years, economic interests have spread the myth that defense spending creates lots of jobs.

Create jobs, it does. But not nearly as many as would be created if the tax dollars that go for military spending were instead spent in the civilian sector.

--From "SOLIDARITY" (United Auto Workers)

"FROM THIS CENTER MANY PLANS WILL BE MADE AND CARRIED OUT IN DEFENSE OF WORKERS' RIGHTS, IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM, IN THE GROWING MOVEMENT FOR DETENTE, IN THE ANTI-MONOPOLY MOVEMENT AND IN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM."

THE NEW BUILDING CAMPAIGN: **FINISH THE JOB!**

ABOUT THE NEW NATIONAL CENTER
FOR THE GROWING WORKER'S MOVEMENT;
ABOUT SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE MADE
THIS BEAUTIFUL BUILDING POSSIBLE . . .

By Sid Taylor

Building Fund Committee



WE LOOK AHEAD
TO EXPAND
ELSEWHERE -
LIKE TO
CHICAGO ---
AS WE FINISH
THE JOB ON
THIS BUILDING.

- 31 -

WE TAKE NOTE OF THE FACT THAT THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT - AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY - NOW HAS A BEAUTIFUL CENTER, A CENTER THAT REFLECTS THE BEAUTY OF THE PARTY, OF ALL THE FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE PARTY -- OF ALL WHO SACRIFICED TO MAKE THIS CENTER POSSIBLE.

THERE ARE MANY WHO HAVE HELPED A GREAT DEAL. THE TIME WILL COME WHEN we will have an affair in honor of all those who put their work into the

building and made it what it is. At this time three comrades should be mentioned who in special ways helped to make this project a success. Felix Kuzman, our construction foreman, put an enormous amount of effort into the building in order to guarantee that the work would be done. Jarvis Tyner, who although very busy with his political assignment of responsibility for the New York district, gave a great deal of help. Sey and Danny z did a tremendous job in installing a really outstanding sound system.

We speak of the center and what it means. The day will come when we will have histories of working class centers. These centers are not only places to meet. They are places where we plan activities, organize how we are going to be involved in the struggles of the people and where we do become involved in those struggles.

These centers are places where we help educate workers on the tactics and the strategy of the class struggle, and on the need for developing mass movements.

These centers are places where we not only talk about struggle, but places where we give real help in the building of movements among workers. In the history of centers throughout the country our centers were places where the hunger marchers slept on the way to Washington. Our centers were places where the people rallied in the Scottsboro cases. Our centers were places where marches in support of many struggles started. They are places where people made clothes and helped collect food during the anti-Hitler war. They are places where CIO organizers found help to organize the unorganized. Today they are places where we help develop movements for detente, and where we are organizing fightback on the economic issues of

out the country.

Besides being places of strug

Besides being places of struggle, education and organization, the centers are places where we learn to sing and dance, and to take part in the many cultural activities of the working class movement.

In these centers many of us grew up and made friendships, because of involvement in struggle, that have endured for many years.

Romances were sparked and grew and developed in these centers.

This center will become a continuation of the history of working class centers. From this building plans will be made and carried out in defense of workers rights, in the struggle against racism, in the growing movement for detente, in the anti-monopoly movement and in the fight for socialism.

What made this center, this building possible? It was the sacrifices of many, many comrades. It was the sacrifices of many, many friends of our Party through-

There was an enormous amount of labor donated by friends and comrades. But there was also the financial contributions of those who were ready and able to help in this way.

We are going to place an honor roll of all those who helped to make this center possible on the wall in a prominent place in the new building. It will contain the names of people throughout the country who will be honored as founders. It will include those who already have made contributions. It will contain many new names which will be gathered throughout the country. It will also contain the names of all those whose memory has been honored through a sponsor's contribution.

We have made history in that we have been able to help buy this building and develop this wonderful center. We have received help from many who have given paintings and sculptures and greenery. Our building will look increasingly beautiful and be still more efficient as we make

progress and finish the downstairs--the lunchroom, the senior citizens room, the child care room, the library and other things that are under way.

While we helped to buy this building, the job is not finished yet. First of all there is still a mortgage that must be paid off.

History was made in the buying of the center. Now history will be made in the paying off of the mortgage. There is a campaign that has begun to raise one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to liquidate the mortgage. The campaign also has the goal of raising another fifty thousand dollars to pay for further alterations for the center.

We are confident that together with all of the committees that are working to finish the job we can say with certainty that the two hundred thousand dollars will be raised. We say that because we know of the beautiful response that came from comrades and friends throughout the country for the initial money for the center.

In that earlier campaign, for a number of reasons the approach was limited to those who were able to make contributions of a thousand dollars. Now everyone is being asked to help.

A new campaign is beginning, a campaign to reach thousands of friends of the new center who want to become supporters, who want to join with the founders to finish the job. There are a really large number of people who want to help to pay off the mortgage, and put the building for

this wonderful center in first class shape.

The slogans of the new campaign are these:

"FINISH THE JOB!"

"LIQUIDATE THE MORTGAGE!"

"BECOME A SUPPORTER FOR THE CENTER!"

There will be stories in our press about what the center will mean for all of our supporters throughout the country, stories about the kind of confidence that the center will give them, what spirit, what feeling of growth. The stories will describe how the center gives a feeling of building for the future, and being fully a part of the growing movements of struggle in our country. That is what this center is all about.

It is very important to stress: the concern is not only for a center in New York. As the job is completed in the New York center, the way is opened to expand elsewhere. Workers in many cities need such centers. Chicago surely needs such a center urgently.

To finish the job, we want to form committees of Party and non-Party friends in the districts, who will organize to reach large numbers. In doing this we are following a suggestion from some of our non-Party friends.

Our Party club meetings have a role to play in this campaign: to discuss the campaign, to discuss how the committees are being organized, to discuss how we can give support to these committees, and finally to see that the committees get our support. ■

CLUB EDUCATIONAL AND SUMMARY:

Gus Hall's Report to the Central Committee

December 2, 1978

Prepared by the National Education Department, Section on Club Education. It is based on the pamphlet being produced from Comrade Hall's report (to be published by New Outlook under the title "HOW TO FIGHT THE MONOPOLIES"). It is also based on that section of his report and summary remarks which appear in this issue of the Party Organizer.

I. THE ECONOMIC SCENE

Comrade Hall describes the economic policies of the Carter Administration as leading increasingly to an intensification of the economic crunch for the working class and an increase in profit for monopoly. He says: "Governments at all levels have become machines for redistributing income from labor to capital on a gigantic scale, raising the rate of profit and the exploitation of labor." He lists certain specifics of the Carter Administration's economic policies as a demonstration of this, among them:

1. The reorganization of the Council for Higher Productivity which puts the weight of the state behind the big business drive to produce more and faster, with fewer and more exploited workers.
2. The wage-price controls, which are a fraudulent "equality of sacrifice."
3. The energy bill, which is leading to an increase in fuel bills, of gas prices, and monopoly profits.
4. The tax bill that cuts corporate taxes but gives no relief from the tax burden on the working class (37% of a worker's wages is eaten up through various taxes.)

Comrade Hall also points out that Carter is trying to dupe people into believing that their only choice is economic crisis or higher inflation. There is total silence about the military budget's impact on inflation or the effects of profits. We must project and organize to take the "money from profits and the military budget in a trade-off for

measures that would provide jobs." The only way to meet the people's needs is through a cut in the military budget and in monopoly profits.

QUESTIONS:-

1. Comrade Hall asks: "Is it possible to help develop an anti-inflation movement that will also be anti-monopoly in character?" He answers: "It is not only possible, but absolutely necessary." Why does he come to this conclusion? What is the relationship between inflation and the role of the monopolies?

2. How would you explain to a non-Communist working class friend that Carter's posing a choice between economic recession or higher inflation as our only alternative is a fraud? How can we organize to put the debate on the real question, i.e. fighting inflation and unemployment by cutting military spending and corporate profits?

II. STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

In his report, Comrade Hall makes a strong point that we must examine the increasingly partisan role of the state in the class struggle. He points out that the state has become a more aggressive enforcer of policies of monopoly capital. Monopoly has become so dependent on the state that, if the role of the state were withdrawn, "the economy would go into an anarchistic tailspin."

Comrade Hall points out that the "new level of the role of the state apparatus is the monopolies' response to the growing problems and inadequacies of capitalism. But this response also brings with it some new problems and contradictions for monopoly capital." He adds that these contradictions create new opportunities for struggle if taken advantage of by labor and the people. We are in a period, he says, of less concession (for example, the call for "give backs" in labor bargaining) and therefore sharpening class struggle. "A new direction," he adds, "can come about only when an anti-monopoly coalition has the power to reverse the present direction -- the power to shift the balance of class forces. This does not mean that victories are not possible, but it is "more difficult to gain such victories without relating them to an anti-monopoly struggle." Victories must come at the expense of corporate profits and the military budget.

"The need and the urgency of stimulating an anti-monopoly movement is more than as an answer to immediate problems," states Comrade Hall. "It is now an historic necessity for progress, for successful advance of the people's needs." He therefore calls for moving the anti-monopoly coalition from the back burner to the front burner, "from the future to the task of today."

QUESTIONS:-

Discuss the following quotations from Comrade Hall's report. How do they apply to these areas of mass work in which your club is involved? How would you move in the direction of expanding and deepening the anti-monopoly content of your work?

"The rising anti-monopoly sentiment of labor and the people is the inevitable spontaneous response to the tightening stranglehold of monopoly capital... Our task is to help find and develop the varied organizational forms, the slogans and demands that will move this response forward." What are these organizational forms?

"The anti-monopoly concept...must be the underlying theme of all mass work."

"Because no area of life is immune to monopoly oppression, so it follows that no area or movement should be exempt from the anti-monopoly approach."

II-A CLASS UNITY

Comrade Hall says that we must see class unity in the context of the unfolding struggles against state monopoly capitalism. He speaks of the "urgency" of class unity which must be "in the first place directed against the main enemy." He adds that the lack of concessions from the ruling class and stepped up racism (the Supreme Court actions in defense of racism, attempts to establish an "acceptable" level of racism; promotion of concepts such as "reverse racism," "reverse discrimination," and "deracialization,"; the national campaign of harassment against Black office-holders, etc.) is putting new strains on class unity. He points out that the majority of Black Americans are ".an active part of the working class"... and that "these millions of Black workers also feel the class struggle in addition to the struggle against racism. The class enemy understands this new relationship. That's why whenever they launch an anti-working class offensive, it is now a racist offensive."

QUESTIONS:-

What is meant by the following quotation: "These developments (see above) add importance to finding the unity between general class demands and concrete demands of affirmative action."

Can you cite examples of the unity of these demands? (Clubs are urged to link this discussion to the Central Committee memo on the Brian Weber case.)

II-B ELECTORAL STRUGGLE INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

Comrade Hall points out that the new role of the state and Carter's economic policies serve to deepen the crisis of the two-Party system and propel political independence, especially that which is based in labor.

The overwhelming majority of people in this country eligible to

vote did not vote in the November elections. Those who were elected, in many cases, received less than 20 percent of the vote. This indicated deep cynicism and disillusionment and reflects deep alienation. In its own way, Comrade Hall points out, it is a mass break-away from the two-party system.

The right-wing candidates were, by and large, elected by default. There was no real Left-independent alternative presented, and the people are no longer falling for liberals who take the votes of working people for granted while they appeal to the right for more votes.

Comrade Hall points out that the potential political power of anti-monopoly, pro-working class, anti-racist sections of the political spectrum lies in the ranks of the alienated voters and potential voters. Wherever the opportunity presented itself (in the vote against Rizzo in Philadelphia, in the San Francisco peace referendum, in some state legislative elections), the anti-monopoly, progressive sentiment broke through. It showed up in 300,000 votes for the California Peace and Freedom candidate and in the increased votes of Communist candidates.

The move toward political independence "has reached a new stature," states Comrade Hall. "It now has the blessing of important trade union leaders, Black leaders, leaders of the consumer movements." The UAW - initiated conference in Detroit was a significant gathering to discuss political independence. "The important thing," Hall states, "is that the conference gave a green light to developments on a "grass roots" level in every ward, precinct and city and state," and to "the calling of such conferences on all levels including all locals of the UAW."

Other examples include the Washington D.C. COIN conference in which figures like Ralph Nader and trade union leaders raised the question of a need for a new political party. As well, some Black and Chicano political figures do have an independent mass base as evidenced in the Evers' campaign in Mississippi. The campaign of Joelle Fishman, Communist candidate in Connecticut, was another form of rallying independent forces.

Comrade Hall stressed that the examples of emerging political independence were plentiful, but that there is a gap in our understanding of how political independence has emerged now as a historic necessity. We must have examples of Party initiatives. "The CPUSA," he stressed, "must become a factor in building grass roots political independence." We must build formations in the electoral arena based on understanding the necessity of building programs aimed at the monopolies. "For our Party clubs," Comrade Hall emphasizes, "this should be one of their purposes."

QUESTIONS:-

1. From Comrade Hall's report; "Will it be possible ever to mobilize the great majority...who are alienated to take part in electoral struggles without some meaningful form of political independence?" "Can honest, progressive, anti-racist, anti-monopoly and working class candidates win, continue in office for periods and win re-election without some form of an independent political base?"

2. What is meant by the following quotation from Comrade Hall's

report? "The critical question is not whether candidates use the two-party electoral structure as an electoral vehicle. The critical question is whether this process takes place from a base and program of political independence."

3. How does one work in the two-party system with the aim of building a base of political independence?

4. How can Communist candidates work to build larger bases of political independence?

III. WAR OR PEACE

The Pentagon is continuing nuclear first-strike preparations against the Soviet Union. There are many examples of this including: Carter has refused to respond to Brezhnev's statement that the Soviet Union wouldn't be the first to use nuclear weapons; the weapons being developed are all of a first-strike nature; "civil defense" preparations to win acceptance of the idea of a nuclear war; spy flights over Cuba; the arming of China; military support to the Shah of Iran; and the neutron bomb.

QUESTIONS:-

1. How does this new level of militarization relate to the new role of the state?

2. The new levels of taxation and inflation are also related to this increase in militarization. What is the alternative? How would you explain this to a worker friend?

3. Comrade Hall singles out a movement for ratification of SALT II as a possible handle to turn the country to disarmament and peaceful coexistence. How can SALT II be related to the crisis of everyday living facing the working class? How can the struggle of butter vs. guns be waged?

IV. THE PARTY

Comrade Hall outlines the growing mass struggles and anti-monopoly sentiment, but warns that it is up to us to take the initiatives where necessary and possible to organize and help guide this rising tide. Some Comrades when faced with difficulties in struggle, mistakenly deny the process of radicalization instead of probing for better solutions, according to Comrade Hall.

"Neither we nor the working class," he stresses, "will be very successful without a bigger, more unified Communist Party within the industrial set-up." He calls for planned, organized recruiting, the struggle for shop clubs and Party shop papers. He emphasized our development of the Left-Center unity concept as a "loose, broader coalition

concept based on working relationships and uniting around specific issues." However, he points out certain pitfalls that characterize our work in terms of building working class unity: sectarianism reflected in a lack of a real dialogue with broader forces and real give and take, the lack of distinction between our friends who do not agree with us on everything and even strongly disagree on some things and our enemies.

Comrade Hall summarizes: "Under any and all circumstances we must always work in such a manner that honest rank and filers, and honest trade union leaders on all levels will be forced to conclude that whatever else one may think about Communists or Marxism-Leninism, that we are the most consistent, most honest and principled advocates of working class unity; that Communists place the unity and interest of workers above everything else."

QUESTIONS:-

1. In terms of the mass work in which members of the club are involved, do you feel a growing tendency on the part of those you work with to be willing to work with and accept the open participation of Communists?
2. Do you feel that any of these tendencies of sectarianism or lack of dialogue influence or characterize any of the work of your club?
3. Gus Hall deals in depth with the problems of the clubs. He states that each club must have a purpose and develop a plan that will help that club fulfill its purpose within a well-defined geographic area, shop or department.

QUESTIONS:- COMRADE HALL POSES-FOR EACH CLUB TO ANSWER -THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN HIS REPORT: Why are we a club of the Communist Party?
What is our purpose?

When the club has answered these basic questions, then it should develop a plan of work linked to its purpose. The plan should include concrete answers to the following questions: (1) What mass organizations are there and how are we going to influence their work?
(2) How is our club going to carry on propaganda work? (on what issues?)
(3) How are we going to organize some form of actions and/or activities to build forms of political independence, rank and file groups, the struggle against racism, the struggle for world peace -- not in general, but very specifically within a well defined area of the club? ■

THE FEBRUARY ISSUE OF THE PARTY ORGANIZER WILL FEATURE A NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON THE 'HOW-TO' OF A COMMUNIST CANDIDATE'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN (We had promised it for January).

FOR FULL TEXT OF LETTER QUOTED BELOW SEE ..

JANUARY 1979

\$1.00

**political
affairs**
JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT

FROM A LETTER ---

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Dear Comrades:

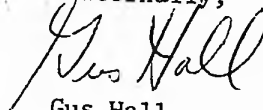
(Excerpt)

"The history of the Communist Party of China is a history of struggle between two lines, two different approaches. One is the working class Marxist approach. Many great Marxist-Leninist leaders, such as Lita-Chao, Chu Chiu-Po, Peng Pai, Chang Tai-Lei, Su Chao-Cheng, Chu Teh and many others, made important contributions in this struggle.

"The opposing trend has always been a wavering, classless, petty-bourgeois, narrow nationalist trend. For them, the concept of class struggle, the class division - and therefore a partisan working class approach - has never been its main point of reference. Mao Tse Tung has always been associated with this trend. As a rule, this trend attracts elements that have no class roots -- nationalistic and alien elements. It is this trend that became 'the thought of Mao-Tse Tung'.

"The victories of the Chinese revolutionary movement can be traced to the working class Marxist contributions; the weaknesses and mistakes, to the influence of the classless petty-bourgeois trend."

Fraternally,



Gus Hall
General Secretary
Communist Party, USA

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