

Draft Resolutions for the 18th National Convention, CPUSA

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON COMMUNISTS AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The trade union movement is the most effective mass instrument the American working class has for tackling the pressing economic and political problems of today.

The militant struggles of organized labor have made the difference between the union standards of the present, and the brutal labor conditions and closed company-towns of the past. Union organization makes the difference between workers being helpless cogs in a grinding industrial machine or having the dignity symbolized by the shop steward. The trade union movement has raised the standards of the entire working class and is the most powerful shield the workers have with which to defend themselves against the dehumanizing industrial juggernaut of profit-mad United States capitalism.

We Communists have the most fraternal concern for the well-being of this movement. It must receive our warmest support in good weather and bad. When we have differences, and we do, they must be treated as differences within the family of labor. Differences must never become excuses for negative criticism which is destructive to working-class solidarity.

We invite a fraternal, continuing dialogue with our brothers and sisters in the labor movement on how to further strengthen the trade unions to meet the ever present anti-labor challenge of American big business.

LABOR'S PROBLEMS

For the U.S. corporations this has truly been a "Golden Age" decade.

As President Johnson noted in his 1966 State of the Union Message, profits after taxes rose by 65 per cent in the first five years of the current "longest boom" in history. General Motors alone netted, after taxes, \$2.1 billion in 1965.

Yet for the great mass of the working class, this decade of the vaunted "boom" brought little or no progress. During this period, unemployment averaged 5 per cent according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This, as is known, is a gross underestimation. The estimates of many unions are that the unemployment figure is closer to 8 to 10 per cent. The official statistics do not show the increased millions of involuntary part-time workers, or the permanently unemployed who no longer are counted because they have no prospects at all for jobs. Undoubtedly, too, the increase in the number of persons on social security, from 7,961,000 in 1955 to 20,523,000

We present here three draft resolutions for the coming 18th National Convention. In addition, a draft resolution on political action and a draft Constitution are being provided in offset. In view of the existence of the *Draft Program* and the shortness of time, no general political resolution is being presented prior to the Convention. Instead, Gus Hall's article, "The Communist Party—A Review and Perspective," in the *May Political Affairs*, and his report, *Labor—Key Force*, are to be used as pre-Convention discussion documents.

in 1965, reflects the large number who were forced to retire prematurely on standards that for most are hardly better than misery relief. It has been a widely accepted fact that unemployment has been especially devastating among Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans whose unemployed rate is twice that of their white fellow workers. The statistics of minorities on relief in New York City are typical of the nation: though Negro and Puerto Rican people number 22 per cent of the city's population, they constitute 75 per cent of the welfare rolls.

In the midst of the "longest economic boom," nearly 40 million people live at the poverty level. But unemployment is not the only cause of poverty; for among the impoverished in our country 60 per cent have jobs. Thus low wages remains the prime cause of impoverishment. But even this is not the complete picture. As the Conference of Economic Progress has pointedly shown, an almost equal number live in total deprivation, barely eking out an existence.

This sea of poverty and deprivation constitutes a growing threat to the standard of living of all, including the standards set by the labor movement through decades of historic bitter and violent struggles.

During this decade of "boom" (a boom only for the big corporations) more than a million workers each year have been displaced by the "new technology"—primarily the introduction of new automated processes, while almost two million new workers, mainly youth, entered the labor market each year during this same period. The youth of America, especially the Negro, Puerto Rican

Electrical Workers, the United Mine Workers, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—to include the railroad unions—to enlist all workers irrespective of political persuasion in the mighty effort needed to meet the unprecedented problems arising from the new technology and the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

We extend the hand of unity to all members and leaders of organized labor to meet the problems for the common good.

Our estimate of all will be based upon the response to the people's needs; in turn we wish to be judged by the same criterion.

When we express differences with labor leadership it is not with the hatred we harbor for our class enemy but with the hurt and indeed the resentment that one feels toward a member of one's family guilty of an injustice to another member.

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

We Communists vigorously oppose the policies of United States imperialism. We abhor the war against the people of Vietnam, the military intervention in the Dominican Republic, the constant threat of violating Cuban independence, and the neo-colonialism U.S. imperialism is attempting to impose on all of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The escalation of the war in Vietnam is matched by the deterioration of democratic rights and standards at home. President Johnson, in his frantic search for support behind his disastrous policies, makes alliances with the Dixiecrats and ultra-Right Republicans who fought him most bitterly in 1964. In turn, he has rebuffed the labor movement so shamefully that it is compelling labor to review its relations with the Johnson Administration and the Democratic Party.

Johnson's policies are making the war in Vietnam a gold mine for big business at the expense of the living standards of the American people. The cost of living skyrockets, the burden of taxes is heavier, and the pitifully low appropriations for the "war on poverty" are cut even more.

The men in military service forced to kill and be killed are overwhelming from the families of the working

people. Young workers, employed and unemployed, who have no deferment status, make up a high percentage of the new draftees. This is dramatized in the disproportionately high Negro GI casualties in Vietnam.

That the dominant leadership of the AFL-CIO has given its support to this dirty war in Vietnam and continues to expend over 25 per cent of the AFL-CIO budget for what it calls "exporting democracy abroad" (but which is indeed an aid program designed to help the U.S. State Department and the CIA to carry out the predatory policies of U.S. imperialism), has brought shame to the house of labor in the eyes of all peace-loving people. It has led some to conclude that labor is but a part of the "Establishment," thus not to be supported in its struggles on behalf of its membership.

The Communist Party appeals to all labor, membership and leadership alike, to join in the great battle for peace—to save mankind. Organized labor must rid itself of the stigma of supporting the imperialist war. Apart from the immorality of the war, we cannot have "guns and butter" at the same time; labor cannot solve its problems of jobs security as long as the Johnson Administration wields the club of "national unity in war time" over the head of labor.

If labor unfetters itself morally and financially from the war policy of the Johnson Administration, it will be able to turn to the task of strengthening democracy at home and advancing the welfare of the people. Such a new moral posture would be in step with the growing trends in America for peace and freedom. It would find new, strong allies in its efforts to ward off the worst threats to job security resulting from the helter-skelter introduction of the new technology without regard to human welfare. It would strengthen the organized labor movement.

Short of the overall solution of problems through socialism itself, we Communists claim no monopoly on ideas of how to find partial solutions. However, we think the following considerations are important.

THE NEGRO-LABOR ALLIANCE

The statement uttered by Karl Marx

over one hundred years ago that labor in the white skin cannot be freed while labor in the black skin is branded, has now become a popular conception in the United States. Two million Negro workers are now in the organized labor movement in our country. Freedom and the well-being of Negro and white workers are indivisible.

The very cornerstone of a progressive labor policy in the United States must be the building and strengthening of the firmest unity between Negro and white workers as an indispensable condition for welding a mighty alliance between labor and the Negro people as a whole.

The confluence of the civil rights movement and the labor movement would forge a powerful progressive force in the United States that would help to safeguard and advance the interests of the majority of the American people. Such an alliance today is a precondition for progress. It has become an absolute necessity in the self-interest of both Negro and white.

We support the efforts being made by organized labor to build alliances with the Negro freedom movement around common issues and objectives, such as the great "Texas coalition," the alliance developments in Colorado and Michigan and in a number of other states. Especially encouraging is the growing alliance of labor and the civil rights forces with the anti-poverty movement in the attack upon slums and slumism in Chicago; labor's active support of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Welcome, too, is the fact that the official position of the AFL-CIO is full equality of Negro workers within the house of labor, however weakly executed.

While we welcome every step in the right direction it must be said that these are but tokens, mere promissory notes against future performance when compared to the job still to be done. The racist ideology of the ruling class is far too prevalent in labor's ranks. Exclusion of Negro workers from union membership is still widespread, especially within the building trades. The Building Trades Department of the AFL-CIO can make an historic contribution by ridding its ranks of racism—but it is not

study men must battle company time-study speed-up artists. We further propose that the the Health, Education and Welfare Department set up a commission to study the effects of speed-up on the public health and make recommendations for eliminating its hazards.

The very nature of the job security problem in the age of technological change gives relevance to the idea that the trade union movement should assume responsibility for the organization of the unemployed. The growing numbers of those who are permanently unemployed (and no longer appear even as statistics), plus the threat to present jobs due to automation, become an increasing threat to organized labor which the employers would not be averse to using should it suit their needs.

Organized labor in collaboration with the organized unemployed would then become allies in a fight for job expansion. The fight for peace could be coupled with the fight for jobs. The fight for jobs could take on many aspects: to prevent international runaway shops resulting from increased capital investments abroad made by the huge monopolies to evade labor standards fought for by U.S. labor; to pressure the government to create jobs for the building of hospitals, schools, more roads and public parks, etc., etc. In the fight for jobs, the issue of job training for young workers, especially Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American youth, should become an important factor.

Under today's circumstances of the absence of an adequate program to meet the needs of the youth, young people are vulnerable to the propaganda of labor's sworn enemies that it is the union shop that keeps them from getting jobs. A comprehensive program for jobs and job-training can enlist the young on labor's side.

Labor can take pride in its history of struggle for social legislation. Its successful campaigns for universal free education during the last century and its most recent contribution in the fight for medicare are but two examples of labor's struggle for legislation of benefit to all people. It is necessary for labor to initiate a program for social legislation to meet today's needs.

The fight for full equality for women workers is yet to be won. There is still need to plug all the loopholes in recently passed legislation which employers use to their own advantage. Equal pay for equal work, uniform rest periods and other special needs to provide for the health protection of women workers are battles still to be won.

Displacement of workers through mergers (such as that of the three newspapers in New York City and the recent merger of the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroad) together with the displacement of workers by automation is dwindling the memberships in some locals and international unions. In turn, this threatens the existence of welfare and pension funds into which workers have paid, sometimes for a lifetime. There has also been the phenomenon of the complete shutdown of plants, as in the case of the Studebaker auto plant, where the workers were left high and dry without pensions and any form of protection. These factors have led many unions to conclude that industry-wide pension plans are in order and that they be backed up by government insurance like that covering bank deposits. We agree. But most important is the enactment of a comprehensive cradle-to-the-grave government health and insurance program that would protect the interests of the people.

THE NEED FOR LABOR'S INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

The inability of labor to significantly influence Congress on matters of direct importance to its interests is raising serious questions in the minds of many workers concerning labor's role in the political arena. An increasing number of trade unionists are coming to the conclusion that the source of this weakness is the lack of sufficiently independent political forms and labor candidates free from political machine control.

It is a recognized lesson of history that before labor could have an effective voice in economic affairs concerning its welfare, it had to establish independent organizations of labor—the trade unions. And it is equally true that before labor can have a

voice in the political affairs which affect both the political and economic welfare of labor and the people, labor will have to break with past patterns and establish independent labor political action formations. This independence is necessary if labor's interests, labor's everyday struggles, are to find adequate expression in the electoral arena.

We warmly welcome developments in Texas, Colorado, Michigan and a number of Southern states where important departures with past patterns of labor's political activity have taken place. We support the appeals of the national leaders of C.O.P.E. and D.R.I.V.E. for all-year-round political activity. We support the trend toward mass labor delegations to Washington and state and city legislatures, in place of only the "man to man" talks between union leaders and politicians.

Labor's political effectiveness will be determined by its ability to develop mass political actions commensurate with its mass economic actions and its ability to organize electoral and political alliances with the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American communities, the peace movement, the youth movement, organizations of farmers and all victims of monopoly capital. Such alliances can help to defeat anti-labor, anti-peoples representatives, elect pro-labor, pro-peace and pro-civil rights legislators, as well as expand the direct representation of Negro, labor and peace advocates on every level of government.

THE NEED FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS

The Communist Party is firmly convinced that maximum rank and file participation in union affairs is absolutely necessary for the strength and vitality of organized labor.

With the changes in collective bargaining procedures, most international unions have gotten away from the democratic practice of consulting the membership prior to negotiations. Agreements are often signed before union members are appraised of the terms of the settlement. Contracts are drawn in such legalistic mumbo-jumbo that even advanced trade unionists require weeks of briefing in order to understand them. A lawyer

is often required to process a simple grievance.

Frequent consultation with the rank and file on contract demands and other issues, a final say by the membership on negotiated agreements, contracts written in understandable language, and simplified grievance procedures, will help renew the vitally necessary participation of the membership in their organization.

Rejuvenation of rank and file movements within the trade unions are imperative to press for new advances around organizing drives, and to develop both economic and political programs of struggle. Rank and file movements are not only a source of strength to militant trade union leadership, but a spur to the lax. They produce fresh leaders to replenish labor's ranks. They only become sterile and a hindrance if permitted to develop "anti-leadership" attitudes per se, or become factional instruments in inner union disputes between the "ins" and the "outs."

Rank and file movements by their nature seek organizational forms within the framework of the trade union movement. It is only when bureaucratic union leaders try to suppress their expression that they are forced to seek other than normal union forms. The healthy voice of the rank and file is closely related to the overall question of the right to present dissenting opinions within the trade union structure. Many unions face the problem of how to function as mass organizations. These problems are all related to the

question of rank and file participation and membership control of the affairs of the unions. As the working class moves toward the point of economic confrontation, as the working class moves into the arena of political action, the role of the rank and file becomes crucial.

THE NEED FOR COMMUNISTS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Marxism is a legitimate trend within the labor movement, and any effort to curb it weakens the movement and plays into the hands of labor's enemies. In the '30s, when labor stood up to redbaiting, it made unprecedented advances. In the '50s, when labor quailed before McCarthyism, it suffered serious reverses. Today labor can take a leaf from the actions of the civil rights movement, from the youth, from much of the peace movement and civil liberties organizations in their rejection of screening and redbaiting. This has given new strength and stature to these movements. The strength and militancy of the labor movement will be greatly enhanced by the fullest participation of the Communists and other Left forces.

In labor's own interests the fight against anti-labor laws, such as Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin, should be accompanied by a fight against anti-Communist legislation, such as the Smith and McCarran Acts. Anti-Communism is a weapon of reaction to divide the ranks of labor and the people. Labor could more effectively

conduct its battle against anti-labor legislation by eliminating the virus of anti-Communism from its ranks, nullifying the anti-Communist clauses now found in many union constitutions and by-laws. Just as labor resists division on racial and religious grounds, it must not allow labor's ranks to be weakened by division on political grounds.

We Communists have made clear that we do not place as a precondition for the unity of labor's ranks the acceptance of our political objective of socialism. Neither should labor place as a condition for full participation of Communists on every level the acceptance of a capitalist outlook. Only the complete unity of the working class—of Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Negro and white, Communist and non-Communist—can effectively meet the urgently critical problems now confronting the labor movement.

We repeat: regardless of differences, ideological or tactical, we Communists are firmly committed to the support of the trade union movement. We consider it indispensable to the well-being of the working people of the entire nation. We call on every Communist in the labor movement to give it unstintingly of his time and energy. We remind all Communists who are eligible that union membership is required by our Constitution. Every Communist is expected to work to the best of his ability to help build and strengthen the trade union movement and to support economic and political action in its interests.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

The first half of the sixties marked a historic turning point in the freedom struggles of the Negro people. History had placed the ending of the whole system of jimcrow oppression and segregation on the agenda. This period witnessed successive waves of struggles mounting ever higher, and involving ever-expanding forces. The movement for freedom and equality has become the most potent, the most militant and dynamic protest of our time. The demonstrative mass actions in city after city find a parallel only in the drive to organize the mass production indus-

tries in the thirties which brought into existence the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)

A NEW CHAPTER

Starting with the limited issues in the sit-in actions of Negro students and the Montgomery bus boycott, the movement spread throughout the entire South. The demands have grown from the right to have a cup of coffee to the challenge for a share of political power and an equal share in the economic life of our country. The cry "Freedom Now" reverber-

ated throughout the land. The Negro people unqualifiedly rejected the tokenist and defeatist admonitions: "Go slow; all will be straightened out in time." Their mass actions assuming gigantic proportions enveloping all sections of the country, reached high points of unity and self-expression in the massive March on Washington in August, 1963 and the march to Montgomery, Alabama in the early months of 1965. The unsurpassed heroism of Negro men, women and children in face of the unprecedented Dixiecrat state-supported police brutality, economic intimidation, terror and vio-

lence, and the failure of the federal government to lift a finger to protect their lives, liberty and Constitutional rights, has marked a new chapter in the long history of militant struggles led by Negroes. As a consequence, in response to an awakening conscience and awareness of mutual interests, millions of whites who hitherto had been uncommitted have come into the struggle.

The movement has now spread to every area of the country. It is characterized by a) new methods and techniques combined with a variety of new organizational forms; b) the emergence of new leaders, especially among the young and old who had been drawn into the struggle for the first time; c) a high degree of unity of the Negro people welded in the process of struggle; and d) the growth of alliances of the Negro people's movement with important sectors of the white population.

The determination and militancy of the demonstrative Freedom Now struggles and the support aroused by them throughout the country brought some successes. The movement has wrested a series of concessions from the ruling circles. A number of civil rights bills have been passed by Congress and by state and city legislative bodies. Passage of the Civil Rights and Voter Registration Bills formally restored rights denied ever since the federal government wrecked Reconstruction.

Even during the Roosevelt New Deal days such legislation was not enacted. Ending jimcrow in hotels, restaurants, recreation centers, railroads and buses in both North and South has made significant headway. In sports, Negroes now participate in baseball, football, basketball, track and even tennis. Increasing numbers of Negro men and women are employed in governmental agencies. Some breakthroughs in Negro representation have taken place in the political arena particularly in the election of Negroes to statewide offices in a few Northern states. In the South, too, a new trend is evident, with the election of the first Negroes to public office since Reconstruction.

Despite these important achievements, the concessions remain minimal. They are still in the category of

tokenism. In some areas of national life no gains have been made at all. The monopoly ruling class savagely and craftily holds on to its profitable super-exploitation of Negro citizens. The rate of concessions measured by time leaves Negroes at least 100 years away from erasing the terrible blight of the whole shameful system of jimcrow, not to speak of the attainment of full equality and freedom. The continuance of ghetto life demands an intensification of the struggle all along the line.

This dynamic movement for Freedom Now gained impetus from the time of the 1954 unanimous Supreme Court decision on the desegregation of the public school system. The motivations behind this decision remained the protection of the class interests of monopoly. The Court was not attempting to end the system of jimcrow and segregation. Now 12 years later only about seven per cent of Negro students attend "integrated" Southern schools. As life has confirmed, the decision did not depart from the concept of gradualism and tokenism. The executive branch of government and its law enforcing agencies never applied the full weight of their authority to implement these decisions.

When compelled by the worldwide independence movements to create a more favorable image of itself, the ruling class made some concessions, hoping thereby to quell the struggles at home and also enlist the Negro people in its alleged "freedom crusade" abroad.

ABOLISH THE GHETTO

The outbreak in Watts a year ago, and its recurrence this year, coupled with the movement launched in Chicago by the Southern Christian Leadership Council headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., marks a new phase in the struggle for equality in our country. These dramatized the fact that the Negro people are through with tokenism and are marshalling their forces for a new offensive to break down the walls of jimcrow. They are now placing demands which the ruling class will not be able to evade by tokenism or through greater terror and intimidation.

These demands of the Negro people now go to the very heart of all the economic, political and social problems confronting the nation. Watts reveals the abyssmal depth of economic misery and poverty prevalent in every Negro ghetto in this the most affluent capitalist country in the world. The elimination of the ghetto has been placed on the order of the day. Token concessions to a Negro middle class, or the appointment of a few Negroes to government posts, do not solve the problems of the Negro masses. Watts showed that the Negro people are determined to take matters into their own hands because of the failure of the government to enact measures to ease the poverty, the unemployment and deprivation of the ghetto. Watts was not a resort to terror on the part of the Negro citizens. It was an explosion against the organized terror of the city administration and its cynical disregard of the aggravated problems faced by the people.

The economic status of the Negro workers is progressively deteriorating. Chronic unemployment remains twice that of other workers, reaching mass proportions among the Negro youth. The income gap between the earnings of white and Negro families continues to widen. The introduction of automation has had devastating economic consequences, displacing tens of thousands of Negro workers formerly employed in the mass production industries.

All these evils are further aggravated by the cold war policies of U.S. imperialism and the hot war raging in Vietnam. The multi-billion dollar expansion of the war budget has sharply curtailed the already inadequate appropriations for the "war on poverty" and brought to a practical standstill the construction of low-cost housing, schools and hospitals in the ghetto. The skyrocketing prices of necessities and the heavy burden of taxation has brought additional millions of Negro families to the brink of starvation. Important sections of the civil rights movement now recognize that the fight for equality is inseparably linked with the fight for peace and economic security.

The scope of the problems confronting the Negro people, the in-

creasing resistance of the ruling circles to any and all democratic demands and reforms, discloses the need for greater unity and militancy within the Negro people's movement itself. The present alliance of the Negro people's movement with the broader democratic organizations, church groups, youth, etc., cannot suffice to meet the requirements of the present moment. Most essential is the development of the Negro-labor alliance on an entirely new level. Labor must be made to recognize its responsibility to build and strengthen this alliance. The economic and political issues which have come to the forefront affect decisively the interests and the future of the labor movement, the Negro people and the nation.

An objective base for the realization of the Negro-labor alliance on a new level exists. Labor cannot resolve the mounting problems of automation, job insecurity, the threat of compulsory arbitration and the restrictions of anti-labor measures, to say nothing of legal terror, without the active assistance of the Negro people's movement. The Negro people cannot attain the elimination of the ghetto, one of the root causes of Watts and other explosions, without achieving the closest ties of unity with the labor movement. Demonstrations and picket lines, which largely characterized the struggles of yesterday, must now be implemented with new forms which will carry the battle into the factories and mills, into every community of the country, into all areas of government in a manner not witnessed before.

The new level of the Negro-labor alliance must be anchored in the struggles around the grave economic issues confronting both. It must be consolidated on the legislative and electoral battlefields. The beginning can be in 1966.

Of prime consideration in connection with the economic aspects of the struggle is the necessity for both labor and the Negro community jointly to demand from industry and government the raising of the income of the ghetto. This campaign should be waged on the Federal, state and city levels. The minimum wage should be \$2.00 per hour. There should be unemployment compensation for the

entire length of unemployment or some form of guaranteed annual income for the unemployed and the underemployed.

The demand should be to eliminate the ghetto as such. This requires the launching of a broad public works program. The proposal of Mr. A. Philip Randolph of the AFL-CIO for the expenditure of 100 billion dollars over a number of years to eliminate the ghetto, would provide jobs for both black and white workers. What is the ghetto must be transformed into the city beautiful with handsome dwellings, schools, recreational facilities and hospitals, within the income range of the people, and freed from all discrimination.

LABOR AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE

This program cannot be realized in life without a determined crusade conducted jointly by labor and the Negro people throwing into the battle the full weight of the organized millions in the trade unions and the Negro people's organizations. The jimcrow barriers existing in a number of unions must be relentlessly fought. A fight by labor in the shops for the training and upgrading of Negro workers, and the advancement of Negro workers to leadership in every local and international union is an urgent necessity.

For the fullest unity of labor and the Negro people, it is essential to carry through the drive for the organization of the unorganized, especially in the South, with the zeal, energy and organizing skill that characterized the CIO drive of the thirties. It is estimated that only about one-fourth of the labor force is now organized in trade unions. This means that the great bulk of the working class remains unorganized. These unorganized workers constitute a potential base for anti-union activities in crucial strike struggles which they do not identify with their own interests. Large sections of the unorganized workers are Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority groups, employed in the main in service industries, receiving wages that are below the admitted poverty level.

The drive to organize the unorganized has to be carried into the

South if it is to have national repercussions. The rapid industrialization of the South has brought into sharp focus the existing wage differential between North and South while the absence of organization threatens to undermine the living standards attained in the shops of the nation. The absence of union organization in the South impedes the realization of equal rights for the Negro people. It permits the Dixiecrat power structure at the behest of monopoly to pit white and Negro workers against each other thereby continuing super-exploitation of both. It is incumbent for progressive and Left-wing forces in the trade union movement, in the first place the Communists, to wage unrelenting struggle to guarantee that every union, every international, undertakes this organization drive in keeping with the needs of the present moment. The successful carrying through of these objectives will catapult the labor movement into a new position in the country, as the foremost fighter against the encroachments of monopoly capital. It will help to forge a new anti-monopoly alliance of all democratic forces in which labor plays the decisive role.

POLITICAL ACTION

Objective conditions are maturing which demand that all civil rights forces and labor leadership take a new look at the problems on the political front. The failure of the last session of Congress to raise and extend the minimum wage law and to eliminate 14b of the Taft-Hartley law indicates that politics-as-usual can bring disastrous results. The growing attacks on labor coupled with the failures of the federal government to enforce civil rights, show conclusively that the political machinery of the government—federal, state, or local—will not automatically deal with these problems in the people's interest. Many civil rights forces have come to understand that alongside of the economic struggles they must enter into political action if they are to make advances beyond tokenism.

In this regard a major extension of labor's and the Negro people's political action program is required. The old policy of reward your friends and

punish your enemies which characterized labor's political activities in the 1920's was replaced by a more active political action program with the birth of the CIO in the building of Labor's Non-Partisan League and its replacement by COPE. With these new political instruments labor's role in the political arena was considerably enhanced, although throughout labor relied in the main on the existing political party structure and leadership.

The requirements of this period call for far less reliance on the old politicians and parties and closer alliance with the Negro people's movement for the purpose of advancing Negro and labor representation in government. Anti-labor and anti-Negro representatives must be replaced by genuine democratic elements responsive to the interests of the people. It is necessary to elect direct representatives from the people's organizations—from the labor, Negro and peace movements. In the South these forces should coalesce. Their primary target should be to give a smashing blow to the whole Dixiecrat structure by electing pro-labor and pro-Negro candidates on all levels of government, and taking steps to guarantee representative democratic government in the areas of the South where Negroes constitute a clear majority and where "governments" of white terrorists now exist.

We must also recognize that the struggles in the UN against racism offers a higher platform to which the fight can be lifted. Too little attention has been given by the leaders of the Negro liberation struggle to UN Conventions, such as the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," the "Prevention and Punishment of Genocide," "Children's Rights," and the "Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination."

To place the Negro movement in a position to meet the new tasks of today will require some important changes within the Negro people's movement itself—a regrouping of the class forces within the all-class struggle for equality, and the resolution of numerous unresolved ideological tendencies which create certain strains and divisions.

The main feature of the Negro people's movement is its all-class character. It is imperative to keep this feature in mind. However, in recent years, the movement has produced various tendencies and trends which at times seem to be at loggerheads with one another. Such conflicts are inevitable in this type of movement. The important point that cannot be forgotten, however, is the need to conduct the internal struggle between the varying tendencies and class groupings while recognizing the urgency of maintaining unity in diversity before the enemy.

In recent years the struggle in the South has produced a new crop of leaders coming primarily from the Negro ministry who have closer ties with the people and are less beholden to the Southern white power structure. In addition, the involvement of the student movement in the struggle has brought to the forefront a crop of brilliant, militant young leaders. What is required today to enhance the strength of this new leadership is a more prominent role for Negro workers generally, but especially Negro trade unionists. They would not only help to contribute greater stability and cohesiveness to the movement but would serve as an indispensable bridge between the civil rights movement and organized labor.

This demands that primary attention be given by all forces concerned with the promotion of civil rights to the organization of Negro workers and to the development of special forms which will accelerate this process. In some areas such special forms are already in existence, for example Negro caucuses, the Trade Union Leadership Council in Detroit and the Negro American Labor Council. It is necessary to help establish them where they do not now exist. It is the duty of Communists and of all genuine progressive forces to give positive support to such special formations on the industrial front.

One of the most significant new developments in the Negro people's movement has been the emergence of a New Left. The 20 years of cold war, McCarthyite persecution, legal and extra-legal terror supplemented by the efforts of many conservative elements within Negro people's organi-

zations to eliminate "Communist influence," deprived the Negro people's struggle of an indispensable component. It is widely recognized that the progress in Negro-white unity and the organization of Negro workers was in the main sparked in the thirties by the Communist and Left forces. The New Left which is emerging expresses serious doubts as to whether jimcrow segregation can be overcome within the capitalist framework. Many of its members are groping for answers concerning radical change. Some are turning to the Communist Party. But this New Left, Communist and non-Communist, must understand that while they play an important part in determining the tempo of the struggle, in displaying greater militancy and in providing more fundamental answers, they cannot displace the mass movement or, in and by themselves, effect a solution to the problems involved. To do this, they must work in conjunction with all center forces and on occasion even conservative forces. At all times, naturally, an ideological struggle must be waged against ideas and actions that impede the unity and progress.

RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE

The Dixiecrats have unleashed murderous terror which the federal government has failed to suppress. This situation exposes the role of the government and places the problem of self-defense high on the agenda. We Communists defend the right of the Negro people to self-defense. To build organizations for self-defense does not necessarily imply that those who do so are advocates of violence in opposition to the non-violent direct tactics adopted by the civil rights movement as a whole. Quite the contrary. Naturally, there are some people, in and outside of the Negro liberation movement, who maintain that only through violence can progress be made in the achievement of equal rights. We Communists disassociate ourselves from such preachments. We recognize that the present moods and organizations advocating self-defense arise because the federal government has failed to protect the Negro people and the broad popular masses have not entered the struggle to put a halt to the

rampant Dixiecrat terror. Thus, it is the obligation of all pro-democratic forces today to support the Constitutional and inalienable right of Negro people to protect life, limb and property.

The ferocity of Dixiecrat terror, the apathy existing in many circles of white America, the continued white chauvinist practices among some people who identify with the civil rights struggle, has helped to feed significant trends of nationalism in the Negro community. This is especially evident in the heart of the ghettos where there is little evidence of interracial living and where the people suffer the most from jimcrow oppression. However, it would be harmful to view nationalism as only a divisive and reactionary tendency.

Many sections of the Negro people are gaining knowledge, for the first time, of their rich history and contributions to civilization. They identify themselves with the African heritage and take great pride in the achievements of the African people in successfully wresting independence from colonialism during the past decade. We Communists identify ourselves with all efforts to reclaim the heritage of the Negro people in Africa, Latin America and the United States as an inseparable part of the general democratic heritage of the people. We do not identify ourselves with the nationalism which breeds separatism, knowing that under the prevailing conditions, this could only end in the defeat of the hopes and aspirations of the Negro people.

The general trend among the Negro people, notwithstanding many varieties of nationalist moods, is for full economic, political and social equality in every phase of American life. However, this goal must not be confused with abstract concepts of integration. For integration does not necessarily imply full equality. Negroes can be integrated into all areas of American life, but still remain in a second class position to the dominant white-led power structure. Real and complete equality for the Negro people is going to require a reorganization of society in every phase of political, economic and social life of the country. Only under socialism, with the elimination of exploitation and national oppres-

sion, can there be true equality. The abstract concept of integration blurs over the necessity of such fundamental changes. While socialism is our goal and aim, we Communists maintain that through relentless struggle substantial progress can be attained under the present system in wiping out jimcrow segregation and inequality. It is this struggle that will convincingly help to reveal the need for fundamental changes in our society.

THE POISON OF RACISM

The vile preachments of white superiority and racist practices, created and nourished by capitalism, have poisoned the whole fabric of our national existence. This racist poison has penetrated all strata of the white population, including white workers who have nothing to gain from this division. In recent years significant gains have been made in overcoming the effects of this poison.

In the period of the thirties white Communists stood practically alone in combatting the racist doctrines but today there is a considerable enlargement of this struggle embracing forces within the trade union movement, within the student movement, and significantly now the white church. Religious forces, comprising practically all denominations, have issued voluminous material against racism and white chauvinism. However, the myth of white superiority continues to be one of the strongest weapons of reaction and influences even those white forces who are committed to the eradication of inequality.

Many Negro forces have become disillusioned with white support not only because they see passivity in many sectors of the white population but also because they often encounter manifestations of white chauvinism even among those who join the struggle. All too often white liberals, consciously or unconsciously, once having joined the struggle for equality, express a lack of confidence in Negro leadership and attempt to dominate the movement or dictate its tactics. It is here that white Communists can make valuable contributions. They must combat all such white chauvinist arrogance and themselves set an example of modesty.

White Communists must promote the concept that the main task of white participants in civil rights affairs is to mobilize white support for the just demands of the Negro people and not to lead or guide the struggle. Negro civil rights leaders have shown a militancy and wisdom in conducting their struggles second to no social force in American life, and are not in need of "white quarterbacks." Whenever and wherever whites are called upon to assist in formulating struggles and tactics, this should be done in the framework of the conditions and ground rules established by the Negro people.

Such a policy does not reduce white participation to the mere mechanics of the struggle—a struggle which affects the interests of all Americans. But, it does provide the basis for whites to contribute toward the development of strategy and tactics, without infringing on the intelligence or the leadership qualities of the Negro people over the course of their struggles. For whites to attempt to dominate civil rights circles—all too often in the form of figureheads—while white America does not yet accept Negro participation beyond tokenism, is ironic and will not lead to mutual respect. Thus, the primary role of white liberals, labor leaders and Communists must be to rally support among whites for the civil rights movement's objectives, to give advice when that advice is sought, and above all to help enlarge Negro leadership participation on the basis of equality in all areas of American life. The times now call for a new crusade by white participants among the Southern white masses. Projects that could lead to the mobilization of these masses against the conditions that impoverish them will reveal to them the necessity for Negro and white unity. And thus they will lay the basis for a common front of the toiling masses against the whole Dixiecrat structure.

The Communist Party has had a long and glorious record in the fight against the influences of chauvinism, dating back to the late twenties. However, in the last decade our Party, attacked on every side by the ultra-Right and other reactionary forces, has largely been isolated from leading

posts in the people's struggles. For a considerable period it was engulfed in factional strife and could not give to this question the constant vigilance and sensitivity required. Today, overt acts of white chauvinism are seldom found in the Communist Party. Nonetheless some chauvinist practices are manifested within the Party against which a determined struggle is not waged. Tendencies found within the labor and liberal forces participating in the civil rights struggles also find their expression in the work of some Communists. There can be no accommodation to such tendencies and ex-

pressions of white chauvinism within the ranks of the Communist Party. White chauvinist practices are incompatible with Party membership. Communists are obligated to conduct a struggle against white chauvinism wherever it exists.

The ruling class of our country charges that we Communists seek to infiltrate the civil rights movement for the purpose of subversion and to exploit it for ulterior aims. It is those who traffic in racism who subvert the Constitution. We Communists reaffirm that we have no partisan interests or objectives in the civil rights move-

ment, nor for that matter in any people's movement or organization. We seek to serve the people's interest and help to realize their hopes and aspirations. While differences may exist between us and others, these are differences on how to achieve the goal of equality and not on the urgency of its realization. Our dedication to the cause of socialism which eliminates the exploitation of man by man, of race by race, of nation by nation, provides us with the conviction, zeal and determination to be among the best fighters in pursuance of the common struggle.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PARTY ORGANIZATION

DEEP PROBING

For years our people have been told all is well with the State of the Union except for a few minor blemishes that would easily be remedied. But masses of our countrymen have come to feel the deep disparity between the U.S. that is possible and conditions as they actually are. As a result, tens of millions are asking new questions on a variety of levels of recognition of this disparity—questions about the causes and cure of the disparity.

This probing for answers is evidenced in the nationwide debate on Vietnam which the Administration is unable to silence. It is evident among millions of Negroes and their white supporters searching to find answers for ending slums and racist oppression. Unions and rank and file workers look for the answers to automation unemployment and how to revive the fighting spirit of the unions. Hundreds of thousands of youth are looking for the causes of the ever-present hypocrisy and the path toward a radical reorganization of society.

This probing is also evidenced in the changing attitudes toward the Communist Party. A Communist speaker on campus can outdraw all other speakers. Appearance of a Communist on radio or television immediately ups the program's ratings. "Are the Communists really so bad? Can we learn to live in the same world with them?"

Have we been told the truth all these years about them?" These are some of the questions of the great mass of people. For others, they want to see if Communists have any answers to the gap between our country as it is and as it can be. This is evidenced in the avid way in which over one million pieces of Communist literature have been gobbled up in the last 18 months. The dialogue in the pages of the Harvard University *Crimson* of the Boston Communist Party Youth Club is a further illustration. Now the tremendous public interest in the New Draft Program of the CPUSA and in the 18th Convention demonstrate the point once again.

Many reject redbaiting and McCarranism as both immoral and terribly harmful to all democratic struggles. Bettina Aptheker announced she was a Communist and proceeded to record the highest vote in a University of California (Berkeley) student election. Communist spokesmen participate in the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Activists in the civil rights, peace and youth movements openly defend the right of Communists to participate. Some trade union officials speak of the need for more communists in unions to help restore a more militant and dedicated trade union spirit. Increasingly rank and file Communists find it possible to speak openly in mass organizations and in communities and retain or even

increase their stature. Distribution of 5,000 copies of a youth brochure brought well over 100 requests for Party membership.

Not so long ago, most in the "New Left" considered the Communist Party irrelevant, but more recently large numbers of youth from this background have joined the Party. Since the 17th Convention, there has been a very substantial and significant increase in Party youth membership. Many clubs and whole districts have been restored to the Party in the last few years. Wherever one looks there are people who want to and should be in the Party, many of them former comrades who were detached in periods of relative disorganization. Many are newly emerging forces from the mass struggles for peace, civil rights, jobs and democratic rights, mainly but not exclusively youth. There are a score of states where the sending of a developed cadre or two, a full-timer, etc., for a short period could produce a couple of hundred Communists in a new Party organization.

A MASS PARTY—LAYING THE FOUNDATION

On every hand there are tremendous possibilities for entering the dialogue with our fellow Americans about the way forward for our country. Not only are there such possibilities for the Communist Party, but the more the mass movement develops

the clearer it is that the contributions of the Communist Party are indispensable. Communists are able to make special contributions because of applying Marxist-Leninist science to what they learn from close ties with masses in action. Their contributions vary greatly in different circumstances according to what is necessary to take the struggle for social progress forward. But one need only consider the value of the projection of the socialist alternative as a way out to the most advanced sectors of the movement. So too the projection of the historic role of the working class is a key question for most sections of activists. Among workers, Communists fight for class unity and class independence against all that divides and weakens the fighting capacity of the class.

Our contribution to the struggle for Negro rights includes centrally the mobilization of white workers for this struggle, the fight for Negro-labor alliance as key to victory and the mass fight against white chauvinism. Our concepts of united front, that include many-levelled unity of action together with fraternal struggle for more advanced understanding, all aimed at moving the millions forward, have much to contribute to the Left in peace and electoral struggles and elsewhere. The presence of Communists is also necessary to fight one of the chief tools of reaction—virulent anti-Communism.

We project such concepts through our literature and press and with the spoken word and by initiating and being involved in struggles that demonstrate these ideas in practice.

Since masses are moving leftward and the contributions of the Party are so needed, excellent possibilities exist for the growth in the Party's influence, mass acceptance and in its numbers. In fact it is possible in this coming period to do everything required so that in the succeeding period the Party can become a mass Party. A mass Communist Party means a Party that plays a major role in all the people's struggles in every area of the country. It also means that Communists are accepted in virtually all movements as a legitimate, progressive force and that Party membership is many times its present size.

The Communist Party is now in a period of beginning to lay a foundation for such a mass Party. We have already made great headway in developing sound mass political policies and this is carried much further in the New Draft Program. This, of course, is the heart of laying such a foundation but the youth recruiting, the reconstitution of clubs and districts also are a part of laying that foundation. The increased public appearances and greater role in the mass movements, the greater acceptance in sections of the mass movement and the renewed efforts to turn all our work toward the working class are parts of this process. Also part of it is the significant but partial victory in defeating the McCarran Act, the Archie Brown case that declared part of the Landrum-Griffith Act unconstitutional and the holding of a mass, public 18th Convention. So also is the gradual restoration of internal functions of the Party and the bringing into leadership of a number of younger cadre.

Another aspect of laying the foundation for a mass Party has been the defeat first of the remnants of liquidators from the Right and then of a petty bourgeois radicalism of a grouping that used a "Left" cloak for its opportunism. This latter group first attempted to liquidate the Party in reaction to the McCarran Act and then covered their retreat with Leftist phraseology.

We also had to overcome some initial wrong responses to the 1961 McCarran Act decision in which we partially liquidated aspects of Party organizational functioning. There was the need to fight against viewing the Party as "a holding operation" and downgrading its contributions. As a result of these ideological-political victories for the Party, its unity was greatly strengthened.

There are now substantial sections of the Party in which there is a new spirit of confidence in the Party, initiative in mass struggles, bold public activities, press growth and recruiting. In these places the whole organization has imbibed the spirit of militant mass struggles and has a confidence in its own special contributions. This is especially true in areas where there has been a real merger

of young recruits and their experiences and thinking with the experience and class direction of the older sections of the Party.

LIVING IN PAST PERIODS

Looking at the picture generally, it can be said that the Party has a respect and authority unmatched in the past two decades. The Communist Party is now an important political factor on the Left. However, our situation is uneven. While there are segments of the Party that are fully abreast of the struggles of the 1960's, and the Party overall is substantially moving ahead, there are segments of the Party that are but partially abreast of this period of mass upsurge. In addition, there are sections that are in the main still geared to the period of preparation for mass upsurge that characterized most of the 1950's. They are still marking time or even stagnating.

These lagging sectors express an accommodation to prior difficulties and exhibit a conservatism which prevents grasping current possibilities. There is present a lack of confidence that the American people, especially its working class, are ready for a growth in the role of Communists, a lack of confidence that the Party membership and leadership is capable of going forward at this time. An ostrich stance is presented which at best says, "Show me that anything can be done, 'I'm from Missouri.' I'm waiting until changes in objective conditions improve the situation of the Party and prove it can grow."

This lack of confidence, accommodation and inability to change gears with changing periods in the mass struggle is exhibited in many ways. No one Party organization exhibits all of those listed below but each presents a significant problem for the Party, at least in a section of the organization. There is a lack of initiative in mass struggles, a tendency to view the job of a Communist in mass organizations as being exclusively support to existing programs. It is seen in a mass line that pits the broadest coalition politics against initiatives by the Left within the coalition or alongside of it, pointed to influence it. It sees an inevitable conflict between

work in major mass organizations and Left forms and independent Party expressions. It tends to withdraw in the face of redbaiting and fails to fight for the rights of the Left and Communists in the mass arena.

Another reflection of stand-patism is a rather negative approach to Left youth as being flighty and lacking in a working class approach, not worthy of full trust, "here today, gone tomorrow," etc. The same basic conservatism and lack-of-confidence approach lead to an abandonment of a working class emphasis in work and of a concentration policy. Concentration presumes a thrust, initiative and direction to work and not an acceptance of problems. It requires an effort to shift energies and resources to carry through concentration.

ALL AGES CAN CONTRIBUTE

Yet another expression is the idea that comrades in older age brackets can only contribute money and press circulation activity and are ready for retirement from the class struggle as well as from full time employment. Some older comrades accept this imposition and express the view that they only await the day when younger comrades will replace them and they can so retire from the class struggle.

It also leads to an absence of a vital ideological life within the Party and meaningful participation in a mix-it-up way with all those who are searching and probing. A live-and-let-live attitude is adopted toward expressions of non-working class ideological influence within the Party such as expressions of white chauvinism, male supremacy and anti-working class attitudes.

Circulation and work with periodicals like *The Worker* and *Political Affairs* is on the basis of a few individual specialists and routine approaches. The main means of circulation becomes small bundles for internal distribution rather than large bundles with significant numbers of circulators for mass struggle events, door-to-door canvassing in working class communities, canvassing newsstands, taking copies to work and into mass organizations and the systematic conversion into subs.

ROUTINISM

It means routinism in every aspect of Party life from a lack of creativity and effort in raising finances to infrequent club meetings and sporadic club attendance. It results in great resistance to solving our cadre crisis by showing a lack of confidence in anyone new being able to conduct leading work and an inability to persuade able comrades who may still be affected by such conservatism to undertake leading work, including full time work.

Such a general view is also seen in the absence of full-fledged Communist spokesmen in a number of districts and resistance to having anyone who feels in a position to be a spokesman play that role.

Some Party organizations have an attitude toward recruiting that says it is not possible or advisable to recruit in this period. Standards are set that are much higher for those outside than in. Transfers with records of many years of fine Party work cannot get into a club in their own community. Security becomes an obstacle to Party growth rather than an aid.

These then are some of the reflections that appear in varying degrees in a section of the Party and show a failure to become fully a part of the new period in which we live.

They are in contrast to the tremendous potential in this period for all-sided Party building. In fact, it is possible to come to the 19th Convention with thousands more members that would permit the building of a mass Party in the succeeding period.

OBJECTIVE DIFFICULTIES

There are, of course, objective difficulties mixed with the subjective problems just enumerated. In the period between conventions the Party was subjected to severe McCarran Act attacks that caused problems in our relations with others and internal organizational difficulties for a time. While the McCarran Act has been given substantial blows, it is not dead. Use of the McCarran Act to harass the DuBois Clubs of America, the reopening of the Robles case and the continuation of the Party case bring this point home. And ruling

class attacks on the most advanced fighters for progress will be with us for some time to come in one form or another. Nor is job discrimination for political reasons a thing of the past. But the attacks come now in a completely different context and call for a different kind of response. Masses are in motion and are increasingly repulsing red-baiting and accepting the presence of Communists. Tactics of advance, an offensive stance, is generally required.

THE KEY STEP FORWARD

In order to bring the entire Party abreast of the new period, we must accomplish two things. We must establish a full appreciation for the scope and depth of the mass dissatisfaction and their search for progressive solutions. To understand this is to estimate correctly what is possible and what the times call for as distinguished from the past period. And secondly, we must establish why the mass developments require an ever-stronger Communist Party and what are the specifics of the Party's indispensable contributions.

Gaining the fullest understanding of these two questions among both the membership and leadership is central to bringing everyone abreast of the 1960's and realizing the potential for the Party. Our ideological and educational work and our political discussions are now aimed and need even more to be aimed at developing such understanding of the mass developments and of the necessary role of the Party. But for many, discussion alone will not bring such understanding. The problem is to show them in life by involving them in mass struggles and to demonstrate in the course of such involvement the special and indispensable contributions of the Communist Party. We need to envelop those leading comrades and sections of the Party that are lagging with the spirit of mass struggle taking place. This means using those sections of the Party that do reflect the new reality as a lever to move all the rest, by assuring their substantial participation on all leading committees and on publications, by bringing them all around those who are not yet abreast of the times

and showing by as concrete example as possible what the situation really is and what it calls for.

WORKING-CLASS BREAKTHROUGH

A correct estimate of the current level of the working class is necessary if this period's potential is to be fully appreciated and if action and initiative are to follow from that estimate. An estimate that sees only the tremendous upsurge among the Negro people, youth and peace forces, all multi-class categories, but does not see a parallel development among the working class, especially among its Negro and youth sectors, will underestimate the period and lack confidence in its long term future.

Such a parallel movement of questioning, militant action and shifting to the Left is in progress among the workers even if not as far advanced in some respects as among some other sectors of the population. It is more hidden from view by the nature of the situation, our own insufficient contact and because of the class bias of the mass media. Whoever grasps these developments fully and accordingly acts first will be in position to gain substantial influence among workers and to make significant contributions to the struggles of the workers. It is, therefore, especially timely that the Party make an all-out effort to turn the attention of the whole organization to the working class and to make the policy of industrial concentration a living reality for the entire Party.

At the heart of our special contribution to the mass struggle is a working class partisanship and approach and an ability to mobilize workers for struggle, elements that are critically missing from the rest of the activists and left. Here too, the importance of making this the key work for all sections of the Party is revealed. It is, indeed, hard to overestimate the effect a breakthrough among workers will have on solving all the other obstacles to realizing the potential for the Party.

To accomplish this means ending a departmental approach to trade union work. It means that all our periodicals and the content of the po-

litical meetings of all leading committees must become permeated with the problems of the working class and trade union movement, their struggles and how we can initiate and contribute to them. Our entire membership must know more about these developments than anyone else. A well-informed Communist must read *The Worker, Political Affairs, The People's World* because no other general periodicals can compete for dealing with working class developments. A well-informed Communist, no matter with what group of people he or she works should read a periodical that specializes in trade union questions.

In every field of work, there must be attention to how to contribute to our working class emphasis and industrial concentration policy. Among youth we emphasize young workers. Among students we emphasize schools and students from working class backgrounds and their problems. In the Negro community, we emphasize workers and their leading role in the all-class struggles for full equality. Our peace workers emphasize winning workers and approaching unions, etc. Among all sections of the people we seek to build solidarity actions in support of all strike actions, to demand repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, an end to wage guidelines, etc.

There must be a much greater effort to build shop clubs of the Party and to build industrial clubs as a transition form to shop clubs. Recruiting among shop workers those newly moving leftward can play the same role that recruiting such youth has done in giving renewed life to youth clubs. Community clubs in working class neighborhoods can play a big role in helping to build shop clubs by pointing their activity at workers from a given shop or at a shop located in the neighborhood. Varying forms of close connection between shop and industrial clubs and working class community clubs need to be built for the additional reason of combatting any tendencies toward narrow economism or making internal trade union politics the sum total of our work among the working class.

In order not to scatter our efforts, much energy must be put into in-

dustrial concentration. It is in industrial concentration and in building shop and industry clubs that we approach workers in relation to the heart of the contradiction between workers and capitalists, the point of production and the struggle over appropriation of the values that workers create.

Nationally, we select the industrial heart of the U.S., Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania as the points to concentrate cadre, literature, finances, etc. Key industries are the steel, auto and transportation industries. It is here that we find the decisive sections of the working class. Every club should examine how it can aid in the concentration work with respect to these key industries.

With regard to Negro concentration, Harlem and the South Side of Chicago are key. The South also remains a national concentration. Every district should have a concentration within the district reflecting as much as possible the national concentration. Each club, whether a shop or industry club, a community club, a youth or student or professional club should have a concentration approach in its own work, though mechanical approaches need to be avoided.

Our efforts to emphasize youth in everything we do is not in conflict with industrial concentration. Wherever we are in shop work, in community clubs, peace work, etc., we need to pay special attention to the problems of the youth there and to developing ties with them and winning them. It remains a central challenge only partially met, for the Party, especially its older sectors to welcome youth to the Party and make them feel fully equal members. Each of the generations has much to contribute by way of experience and thinking to the other in the interests of strengthening the whole Party. We need boldly to place a substantial number of youth on all leading committees. We also need to fight for their full participation as leading comrades, while they maintain their youth ties and responsibilities.

It is a task for the entire organization to aid in every way the building of socialist-oriented youth groups without, of course, impairing their independence.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Our ideological work must be strengthened in order to equip our comrades to meet the new possibilities and engage in dialogue with the millions and we must strengthen our publications and literature to enter fully into the debate. This will require treatment of *The Worker* and other press as the central instrument in building the influence of Party views and Party building. It is both impossible to strengthen the Party internally ideologically and extend its mass influence many fold without such an approach. The 18th Convention calls for 250 volunteers across the country to sell 20 papers apiece each week in *Worker* brigades. We also call upon every District to aid in the building of non-Party Press Clubs.

Every district must establish at least a minimal educational apparatus which must start with a person in charge of this work. Nationally, we must solve the problem of a full-time Education Director and functioning Educational Committee that stimulates a rich ideological life in periodicals, in schools, classes, regular club educationals and creates the necessary outlines and other aids for this.

The potential for *Political Affairs* circulation and its use as a stimulating source of theoretical material in the dialogue can only be realized by ending the current less than routine approach to it.

In content, our ideological work must stress the historic role of the working class and a balanced view of its present level, but from a partisan class stance in answer to its professional detractors. Such work must also contribute in the struggle against white chauvinism in such a way as to increase our involvement in the mass struggle for Negro rights. It should also bring home to all our special contributions to every mass struggle. Communists use Marxist-Leninist tools to conclude what has to be done next to further the struggle. In one situation this may be the giving of perspective, showing the connection of the immediate struggle to the longer road ahead. In another it may be to get some Jimmy Higgins work done

that is holding back progress. Usually it will involve projecting a greater working-class emphasis of the need for and ways to greater working-class solidarity. And in general, it includes the projection of our Party's Program which links the tasks in the struggle of today with the path to socialism. The Draft Program is the major piece of literature in such ideological work.

INDEPENDENT VOICE

We need to bring our activities and policies much more boldly to masses of people. For many reasons, the mass movement requires the increased public presence of the Communists. This means many more Communist spokesmen, an aggressive seeking of public speaking engagements on radio, TV, on campuses and beyond, the running of Communist candidates, the issuance of much larger quantities and even better quality leaflets and pamphlets. It means strengthening publications, a *Daily Worker*, etc. It means increasing projection of the Communist Party itself on the issues facing the people. Such work is of major importance in creating the possibility for a mass party.

LEFT UNITY

We view the fight for Left unity as one of the prime tasks in creating the conditions for a mass party. Much headway has been made during recent months, especially in the fight to end the war in Vietnam. A united Left can have a much greater impact on the mass of people in initiating struggles, developing mass thinking and in strengthening the wider unity of the people. Activity among the masses and their main organizations, Left initiative in struggle, Left forms and independent Party work must go on simultaneously and if handled in proper balance produce together the greatest progress. Our initiative for Left unity must be extended to united action on other issues and into the electoral arena and it must include dialogue forms such as symposiums. Generally the problem remains insufficient initiative at all levels of Party organization. Also, our concept of the Left must be expanded beyond the organized and socialist Left to include militant activists searching deeply for answers.

CADRE

Rapid development of a substantial number of cadre is a crucial task if the opportunities before us are to be grasped and not pass us by. There are many important responsibilities on a national and district level that are now unfilled and result in missed opportunities or lagging aspects of work. It is people in jobs that fit their abilities who give life to correct policies. Every district needs to draw up a list of potential cadre, lay out a plan for their development through education and a variety of work experience and checkup on implementation. A similar approach is needed at the national level with a crash program using a bold approach in selection, including use of non-full time personnel for major work.

If we are to solve our cadre crisis, we must overcome two wrong concepts. Not every leading position must be filled by a full-time person, though we fight to increase the number of full-time personnel. We must not reject cadre for leading work just because they are not widely experienced or theoretically developed in all areas. While such qualities are desirable, we need to be bolder in our approach in judging the basic qualities and potential of comrades.

Cadre training plans must also focus on club leadership development as well as on people for leading committees. In cadre development we must pay special attention to bringing forward youth, workers, women, Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American cadre. Our situation with respect to Negro and women cadre is especially weak above the club level.

Women find it difficult to function because of subtle and not so subtle reflections of male supremacy in our ranks. These include ignoring their political contributions and limiting their work in practice exclusively to office and detail work, etc. And we still have not solved the problem of loss of major political contributions by young women whose political development is interrupted during the early years of their children.

THE CLUB

In our system of organization the club has always been viewed as the

primary unit. To strengthen clubs, besides attention to club leadership training, the bonds between leading committees and clubs need to be strengthened so that the club work receives adequate leadership, with clubs serving as the heart of our mass work. In turn, leading committees will benefit from closer relationship to mass experiences. We need to fight for club meetings every two weeks, for clubs to have a political perspective in their areas of responsibility and for the meetings to help every individual comrade in his mass work.

The separation between "mass workers" and "inner Party" or "Left workers" needs to be overcome. "Mass workers" are now more in a position to, and need to, make their contribution to Party functioning and building while so-called "inner work" can now be combined much more with "mass work."

Every club needs a functioning educational program. A central objective of club education, club leadership and aid from leading committees should be stimulating club political initiatives.

Many aspects of club organizational functioning such as the necessity for a club executive committee also need to be renewed and in some cases clubs need to be reorganized with a view to bringing the energizing effects of the mass struggle into the clubs. We must remember that individual work, or great mass involvement is no substitute for club work. Without regular club functioning there is no real Party. Without substantial improvement in making clubs strong and the center of mass struggle, gains for the Party will not be on a solid footing.

FINANCES

Obviously such activities will not be financed by the present system of let-

ting money take care of itself or at best allowing a district specialist to worry about it or relying on a few in the National Office. Fund-raising must be politicalized—related to activities and affairs concerned with particular political struggles of the Party. There must be a financial system and plan in every District which involves the entire membership and still places fixed over-all responsibility on an individual and a committee.

COLLECTIVITY

Another aspect of fulfilling possibilities involves the fight for collective work and efficiency of work. Individualism often reflects frustration at the gap between the possibilities of the Party and its growing mass stature on the one hand and the status of Party organization. It reflects also, the shortage of cadre and subjectivity that arises from insufficient connection with the mass movement and resulting moodiness, lack of confidence in the Party and its co-workers. To overcome it we must boldly draw in new cadre, including non-full time cadre where necessary, strengthen ties of the leadership with mass struggle and with the membership and establish a clear division of labor and individual responsibility as a foundation for collective policy making, accountability and work. Planning of work at all levels will also help. These efforts are also key to renewing our mastery of the art of organization. The fight for criticism and self-criticism as an on-going practice is also important here.

The strengthening of ties between membership and leadership would make an important contribution in the application of democratic centralism. This means a more regular consulting of wider sections of the Party

membership and the more systematic reflection of the widest experience of the membership in policy making. It also means a clearer definition of policies decided, explanation and reporting of them to every member in a shorter period of time and fuller mobilization of membership for their execution. The regular issuance of a Party discussion bulletin can facilitate reporting decisions and reflecting membership experience and thinking. We also need to overcome remaining federationist type approaches to organization such as tendencies toward bound delegations to conventions, a pitting of local interests against the interests of the whole Party, etc.

In many districts commissions need to be restored as a form of drawing more comrades into leadership and of establishing closer ties between policy-making and practical experiences.

In recruiting efforts, special attention must be paid to winning basic workers. We especially need to strengthen the Party among the Negro people. That will require much greater involvement by the whole Party in the struggle for Negro rights and especially on the part of white comrades among white workers. It will also require much greater efforts in the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology in the form of white chauvinism and it will require the building of the warmest comradely relations between Negro and white.

Proceeding along these lines to bring the entire Party abreast of the current possibilities for the Party, the 18th Convention sets as a goal the doubling of the membership by the time of the 19th Convention. The 18th Convention resolves to overcome the lag in the organizational status of the Party and to proceed to build the Party in an all-sided manner. Forward toward a mass Communist Party in the U.S.!