

PARTY AFFAIRS

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April, 1968

INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION CONFERENCE

Chicago, Ill. April 6-7.

Decisions on the Fight against Racism

The Industrial Concentration Conference was attended by 60 comrades from 15 districts. Most of those present were shop workers, though a number were full-time district or national leaders of the Party and several were from community clubs in working-class areas. A number of those present were from auto and steel, from electrical, garment, printing, transportation, packinghouse, fur & leather, hospital and various building trades. A few were office workers. One-third were Negro workers.

Since the meeting took place immediately after the horrible assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the first point on the agenda was the Party's response to the assassination. Comrade Gus Hall opened the discussion together with Comrade Claude Lightfoot. After a rich discussion in which the unprecedented response of labor in various areas was detailed and problems and weaknesses were discussed, the Conference sent the following message of sympathy and support:

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To the family of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
To the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and the S.C.L.C.
To All Americans who labor by hand and brain, Negro and White

We reach out our hands and hearts to you and your people in profound sorrow and with a deep sense of loss over the tragic racist assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. We feel more deeply than ever our determination, commitment and dedication to work for complete victory in the cause of Freedom and Peace.

He lived in the great tradition of Crispus Attucks, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Paul Robeson, W.E.B. Du Bois -- and that other great son of Georgia -- Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

His noble life and work, his exalted purposes are imperishable. The fulfillment in great deeds of the great goals for which he gave his life is the only real means of honoring and enshrining his memory. Words without deeds to back them up become meaningless, as do the continued appeals for Negro Unity, while the ruling class of our country, the primary perpetrators of violence, continues the massive slaughters, both in Vietnam and in our streets.

Death took him, virtually, on the picket line as he gave leadership in the struggle for the right of workers to organize. His martyrdom demands that the fight in Memphis be won, and that low paid workers in the South as elsewhere be organized.

Dr. King's great genius was his unmatched ability to give great voice to the aspirations and yearnings of the low paid, the unemployed workers of our country, both black and white.

His life and work were devoted to the full and complete equality of the Negro people, to the unity of black and white in the common struggle for social and economic progress. We Communist Industrial Workers, re-dedicate our lives and resources to this same task: the common cause of all who labor by hands and brains.

He proved in his very life, the oneness of the cause of peace among nations and the cause of national liberation of the oppressed of the world, among whom are 22 million Afro-Americans, in the United States.

We dedicate ourselves to the speediest end to the racist war in Vietnam, to the speediest return of our troops from the war-devastated land, and for the conversion of all funds being spent to destroy life there into funds to preserve and strengthen a good life for the poor here, by transforming the prisons of poverty which our slums and ghettos are today, into beautiful communities with decent homes, schools, hospitals and jobs for all, Negro and white.

His life was consecrated to the elimination of the disease of white racism that poisons our nation--a great life tragically cut short by a racist assassin's bullet.

We re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle, which we are confident can be won, against the ideas of white supremacy among white people in general and in ranks of organized labor, the natural ally of the Negro people, in the first place.

This, we believe, is as he would want it.

Thus, and only thus, in a common struggle, in which the toil-strengthened hands of black and white are joined, can the deep wounds of grief and sorrow, of ancient wrongs and current Big Business inspired crimes against humanity be healed, and the unity of the working people, black and white, advanced in the great march forward to a better social system that can guarantee peace, freedom and brotherhood forever.

His cause lives on -- in the people. Wherever men and women march, picket and demonstrate for peace and freedom, there is Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Together we will win.

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The Conference also passed the following motions:

1. That the Party issue a mass appeal to white America, particularly white workers, to struggle against racism, in which the causes of racism, the self-interest of white workers and the dehumanizing effect of racism on whites would be brought out.

2. That we set as a central goal of our mass activity the launching by the AFL-CIO and other international unions of a massive drive to organize the unorganized in the South, black and white, as well as the unorganized throughout the country in honor of the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King.

3. That, after six months of intensive experience in the struggle among white workers against the influence of racism, the Trade Union and Education Commissions organize an evaluation of this experience in order to project further ideas and efforts on how to tackle racist influences among white workers and bring the results to the whole Party.

4. That every Party organization from top to bottom, every institution and publication, re-examine how to intensify its efforts in the struggle against racism and its influence among white workers.

5. That every individual Communist, in conjunction with his Party club or other Party bodies at the city, state and national levels, study very concretely the conditions on the job, in the neighborhood, etc. that must be changed, and work out specific demands and ways of developing mass struggles for them, including demands on city, state and federal governments.

6. That a mjr effort be made to secure the widest distribution of the forthcoming book by Claude Lightfoot, Ghetto Revolt to Black Liberation.

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Coming:

A Powerful Weapon in the Fight for Freedom and Socialism

GHETTO REVOLT TO BLACK LIBERATION

By Claude Lightfoot

International Publishers, \$1.95

Publication date: May 30

Comrade Lightfoot's book is an outstanding contribution to today's struggles. It is a book to be read and studied not only by ourselves but by scores of thousands throughout the country.

BUY IT! READ IT! Plan now for the participation of your Party organization in the coming national campaign for its mass distribution!

PRECONVENTION DISCUSSION

TOWARD A COMMUNIST UNITED STATES

On Contradictions in "The New Program of
the Communist Party, U.S.A. (A Draft)"

by H.K.

(Note: This contribution, the opening part of a longer article, was written prior to the appearance of the second draft of the Program. Page references are to the first draft.)

On first reading of the Draft Program my reactions were disturbingly conflicted between positive and negative evaluation. Through further reading and studying and hard thinking I have come to the conclusion that my conflicting reactions reflect deep-seated contradictions in the program itself. The contradictions, however, are not so deep-seated that they do not surface from time to time throughout the text. These overt manifestations identify the underlying contradictions and make possible an examination of their nature and meaning. The contradictions appear at all three major levels: strategic objective, strategy and tactics.

The contradiction at the level of strategic objective surfaces at many points in the text but perhaps most sharply on page 102. Having affirmed the socialist goal for the United States, the text goes on to state, "The socialist stage is a transition in which society works to transform its commonly owned means of production into the means of abundance. . . ." The very next sentence reads, "In the United States the essential means of abundance are present. . . ." The contradiction is readily apparent. If the goal of socialism is to transform the means of production into the means of abundance, and if the United States has already achieved the essential means of abundance, then the obvious question poses itself: Why is socialism projected as the strategic goal of the United States?

There would appear to be a great difference amounting to a difference in kind, a qualitative difference, between the revolutionary transformation from private to public ownership of the means of production at the level of scarcity and the revolutionary transformation from private to public ownership of the means of production at the level of abundance. The revolutionary change to public ownership of the means of production is not peculiar to socialism but is characteristic likewise of communism. The essential condition for the establishment of a communist society is the public ownership of the means of production that have reached the stage of absolute abundance. With this condition met, the essential principle of communism is, in the classic formulation, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." One half of the condition for the establishment of com-

munism has already been achieved in the United States, the capacity to produce absolute abundance for the entire population. The other half remains to be achieved, the revolutionary transformation from private to public ownership of the means of abundance. Could it be that the strategic goal, the strategic objective, of the United States is not socialism but communism?

The Draft Program seems to be saying just that without drawing the logical conclusion. The remainder of the sentence quoted above reads in context, "In the United States the essential means of abundance are present, and it would require little more than the full release of the nation's productive capacity and creative energy to banish poverty, deprivation and insecurity, to meet the needs of all on a level of affluence free from economic anxieties, worries and pressures that now shadow the lives of even the better-off workers." Is it not possible, or even logically and historically inevitable, that a qualitative difference in the level of productive capacity at the time of revolutionary transformation of the ownership of the means of production would require a like qualitative difference in the strategic objective?

This underlying contradiction, surfacing so sharply on page 102 of the text, is embedded in such an apparently persuasive argument that the reader might be prevented from perceiving it. The sentence following the last quoted above serves this purpose, "A longer transition will be needed for creation of new human relations and ethical values, based on production for use instead of profit, on the cooperation of equals for the common good instead of destructive competition and exploitation that pit man against man in hostile antagonism, on an abundance that renders competitive striving for worldly goods absurd because they are equally accessible to all with human need as the sole regulator of acquisition and consumption." This sounds like a good argument for the necessity of a transition between capitalism and communism, namely socialism, the necessity, that is, "to overcome customs, habits, prejudices carried over from the old society" (p. 102). No society, however, emerges full-blown from the womb of history, but has to go through a period of building, the building of communism in this case. The building of communism itself could serve as the transition in these areas of changes in human nature adapting to a new social condition. The changing of human ideas, emotions, motivations and actions has always been and must always be both a matter of education and a matter of participation in the social system, in this instance the construction of a social system. There is no inherent reason why such changes could not take place, nay could not better take place, under the building of a communist society. The argument in the text concerning the changing of human nature as evidence for the need of a socialist transition is not at all convincing. It would seem that the projection of a socialist goal for the United States is an anachronistic one based on long-established habits of thinking that are in obvious contradiction to the very facts cited intermittently throughout the text of the Draft Program.

Given the contradiction between the explicitly asserted current capacity of the United States to produce abundance and the projected goal of socialism for that same United States, it is not accidental that the essential principle of so-

cialism for that same United States, it is not accidental that the essential principle of socialism is nowhere to be found in the text of the Draft Program. Had it been included, the contradictions at the level of strategic objective would have become fully apparent. Thus do old habits of thought limit theoretical clarity.

The Program describes socialism and ascribes two principles to it. It describes socialism as a transition to communism and ascribes to it the principles of public ownership and economic planning. Neither the description nor the principles are peculiar to socialism. At the level of an already potentially abundant production, the transition to a fully developed communist society can take place through the building of communism itself, and public ownership and economic planning are common features of both socialism and communism.

What distinguishes socialism from communism as economic systems is the basic principle peculiar to each. The text, as has been noted, does present the basic principle of communism, namely, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." It does not, however, present the basic principle of socialism, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his production." This economic principle of socialism removes labor power as itself a commodity, that is, the value of labor power is no longer computed on the basis of the socially necessary labor time required to produce and reproduce it. The socialist principle rewards labor power on the basis of the quantity and quality it produces. The reward to the worker for the expenditure of his labor power is divided into two parts: first, indirectly to him through appropriating some part of his production to maintenance and expansion of the productive capacity of the socialist society of which he is a member and to defense of that society, both of which return to him in the long run; second, a part paid directly to him in the form of "wages" determined by both his performance and the actualities of production within the framework of the overall economic planning. The direct reward to the worker comes in the form of commodities mediated by a universal equivalent, namely money. The indirect reward to the worker comes in the form of increases in national productivity through planned investment of accumulated capital, and of course defence of the socialist system.

The strategic objective of socialism is the achievement as rapidly as possible of the capacity and actuality of the production of abundance for the entire population. The principle of socialism--from each according to his ability, to each according to what he produces--is a most effective means to the socialist end. It is an effective means to achieve abundance not only because it views labor power as invaluable and the worker as a human being, but also because it gives him a vital stake in the increase of productive capacity and of actual production. Ultimately, of course, the socialist principle and the worker's stake in production depend entirely on the existence of the primary condition for socialism, the common ownership of the means of production.

The obvious example of the effectiveness of this socialist condition and the socialist principle is the Soviet Union. It is a fact of the contemporary world that the most effective road to the achievement of abundance, and therefore to move on to communism, is socialism with its primary condition and principle. But what can be the purpose of the establishment of the socialist principle in a

country which has already achieved the capacity to produce an absolute abundance, not only for its own people but to supply a good part of the rest of the world? It is a fact that the gross national product of the United States exceeds that of all the advanced capitalist and socialist countries of Europe, including the Soviet Union, combined. Is it not conceivable that such a country not only might, but must, skip the stage of socialism--much as so many countries of the world which are at the feudal stage are skipping capitalism and going directly over to socialism? There certainly is no metaphysical law decreeing that all nations must pass through a given series of stages. As the program so truly states:

Like any science Marxism consists of conclusions and laws that have been tested by historical experience, which is the laboratory of social science. These, in concrete application, are the substance of this Program. And like any science Marxism develops and expands with the appearance of new phenomena that require fresh analysis, with the accumulation of experience, with the enlargement of knowledge. Indeed, its very methodology which requires that all things be studied in their concrete form and in the process of change, makes mandatory the constant reexamination of its relationship to changing realities. Dogmatism, which proclaims the revelation of frozen eternal truths, is the direct opposite of Marxism in spirit.

The essential principle of communism--from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs--marks a great step forward over socialism, a step which no nation as yet has taken. The communist principle in practice will remove the product as well as the producer from the realm of value. It eliminates all commodities, labor power and the products of labor power. Under this principle there will be no value of labor power, no value of commodities, no surplus value--no wages, no prices, no profits. Absolute abundance is obviously the condition for the operation of such a principle. For a society which can already produce an abundance there would seem to be no alternative but to build an economic structure consonant with that fact.

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PRECONVENTION DISCUSSION

ARTISTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Boston Area Community Youth Club

Throughout this paper, the words "art" and "artist" refer to all the arts -- painting, writing, music, theatre, etc.

I. Art and Artists under Capitalism

In capitalist society, works of art are commodities. They must be sold -- to capitalists and to people whose taste has been formed by capitalist-controlled mass media. Artists in every field must work for the capitalists, either as salaried employees or as free-lancers commissioned for specific jobs; most individuals in the arts fall into each of these categories at different times, as do other professionals on the fringe of the working class. Often they must sell their labor power with no control over what they produce and how it is used, as in advertising. Artists, like schoolteachers, are expected not to rock the boat.

However, artists -- whether they are "realists" in the obvious sense or deal in fantasy or abstraction -- are influenced by and express current reality. Reality in capitalist America limits the choices open to them. (1) They can prostitute their talent to glorify capitalism. (2) They can use nonobjectivity as an excuse for lack of content, and in this way avoid saying anything that might embarrass anyone. People who say nothing more cleverly than other people get paid better. (This is not meant as a condemnation of all nonrepresentational art, but only of art that deliberately lacks meaning.) (3) Artists can withdraw and say whatever they damn please, heard by nobody or at most only by a small coterie. This kind of elitism is self-feeding. Audiences are conditioned to think of artists as a strange breed with whom they have, and desire to have, nothing in common. Artists, on the other hand, are conditioned to think of themselves as better than the public.

There are several conditions that further this division. First, under capitalism people's creative abilities are channeled into consumerhood. Art education in the public schools, like education on other subjects, rewards "good" students who can produce the expected thing competently, not those who express creative ideas. When adults experience creative urges, they are diverted by standardized decals, paint-by-number kits and the like. As for those who study to become professionals, they receive vocational training for highly competitive but potentially lucrative fields, divorced from any education they may get in other aspects of life. They learn above all to give the teacher what he wants and do creative work on their own time, if at all.

A second barrier between the artists and the public is that public contact with the arts comes mainly through mass media and through concerts, exhibits, etc., backed by monopoly capital. What gets through is censored. For instance, when Pete Seeger, who had been blacklisted for years, was finally invited to sing on television, his song "Big Muddy," critical of the Vietnam war, was cut from

the program by someone in the network hierarchy. Furthermore, subsidization of the arts by the rich fosters the impression that culture is only for the rich. You can't buy single tickets for the opera, for example, only expensive series tickets, so few workers ever see a live opera. Tragically, this cuts both ways: as participation in certain art forms such as opera is identified with the rich, class consciousness in workers becomes connected with rejection of these arts. This does not mean that opera singers are more likely than popular singers to identify themselves with the ruling class; but it increases their isolation.

There is a factor that tends to break down the barriers between artists and others, and this is the inherently social nature of communication. Capitalism's purpose for the arts is contradictory to artists' purpose for themselves, which is most basically to express themselves and communicate with others about reality as they see it. When people recognize in art a new aspect of a common reality, they can be affected politically in a deep sense. So viable popular art forms continue to arise in spite of the attempts of the art and entertainment monopolies to suppress them. When this happens, the response of these monopolies is to co-opt these artists or their work and make them into popular fashions. This increases the capitalists' profits, and has the additional effect of getting the general public so bemused by the so-created stars as phenomena that they don't notice what they have to say. Examples of artists so co-opted during their lifetime or after their death include Mark Twain, Jack London, Woody Guthrie, and most recently Bob Dylan, Donovan, the Beatles, Allen Ginsberg, and the whole rhythm and blues movement which was taken over by Tin Pan Alley.

This resulted in the success of white composers and performers in a musical style that was invented and initially popularized by Negroes, an example of the racism that pervades the arts and sets the white market's standards of taste as a criterion. (White) Paul Butterfield can fill Carnegie Hall; (Black) Muddy Waters can't. All the other prejudices fostered by capitalist society are present in the arts too. Women are discriminated against in all of the non-performing and some of the performing arts. Genuine traditional nationality arts, no matter how excellent, have difficulty getting exposure in competition with commercialized versions.

Still, commercialization and co-optation are chancy methods for the monopolists, for they spread messages that get heard in spite of the distracting circumstances. Historically, great artists have always shown the truth about society as they saw it, and have been understood: Diego Rivera, Paul Robeson, Paganini, Jose Marti . . . Artists in this society can develop into a powerful force for change. Indeed, their own interest demands that they try.

II Art and Artists under Socialism

Socialism makes possible the subsidization of artists and dissemination of art with a creative view toward society. Existing socialist countries, even the poorest, work to make all forms of culture part of the life of the whole people and spread participation both as creators and as audience as widely as

possible. A goal of socialist society should be to look for and encourage would-be artists from earliest youth, through scholarships, youth publications, theatre groups and so forth, and through the general direction of education showing artists as revolutionary advancers of the goals of the working class. Pressures of rapid industrialization tend toward situations in which young people are tacitly discouraged from becoming artists in order to encourage them to be physicists, but in a developed country -- such as a socialist USA would be -- both fields should be equally respected and remunerated.

One business of artists is to leave the world a better place than they found it. The sensitivity which enables a person to envision a better society also causes him to see and depict the flaws of his present society sharply. This will remain true under socialism, and those who uphold a socialist state should never blind themselves to the difference between their critics and their enemies. This implies several things not implicit in socialism, which must be achieved in a humane socialist state. (1) The people in government who deal with the arts must themselves be artists -- just as it would be unthinkable to have a minister of labor who had never been a worker. (2) There must be many diverse openings on different levels for artists, and as little centralization as possible, so that many types of activity in the arts can flourish. (3) Workers' control must extend to the arts, with the unions of writers, musicians, etc., being internally democratic, easy to get into, and powerful. (4) Editorial judgment must not become de facto censorship. Unofficial channels should be encouraged for amateur or unpopular works to be performed, handed out in mimeographed form, or whatever -- on street corners if necessary. (5) There must be no censorship based on academic or formalistic criteria which tend to stifle invention in the arts, and no such thing as a blacklist. Even if the power should exist to ban a particular work as libelous or inciting to crime, it should not be possible to suppress the creator's entire output wholesale.

Of course, the role of social critic is only a small part of the artist's function, though one that assumes huge proportions in a society as oppressive as our own. Brecht has said that we live in terrible times when to write about trees is a crime because it is a kind of silence about oppression. When artists are free not to have to fight constantly against oppression, they will be able to write -- or paint or sing or dance -- about trees, love or anything else that is worthy of their attention. The potential for free development and experimentation in many directions when the pressures of capitalist commodity orientation are gone can lead to arts that are revolutionary in form as well as content. A movement of this sort began in the early days of the Russian revolution, but was stopped for many years because, in a country under siege, artists did not have much control over the administration of the arts. But it is happening today in many socialist countries, particularly ones like Czechoslovakia where there is a long tradition of artists' involvement in public affairs.

Under socialism, the arts will be available to everybody, not just the artists. Museums must be open during hours when workers are free. Since works of great artists will be sought out of proportion to supply, as always, artists will be subsidized so that price does not depend on this scarcity.

Paintings, sculptures and other works of visual art should be placed not only in restaurants, town squares, etc. Tickets to performances of all sorts, records, and the like should be priced to make them available to all, and the remainder of the cost subsidized. Workers will be involved in creative ventures of high quality, such as the sculptures currently being made by Chinese peasant artists depicting their struggles during the Revolution, or the choirs, theatre groups, etc., which are as much a part of the activities connected with factories in most socialist countries as bowling leagues or social clubs.

In an economy geared to use instead of profit, the culturally deadening effects of mass production can be counteracted. Mass-produced items can be made from prototype designs by creative craftsmen so that people can be involved in their daily lives with objects of beauty comparable to things available only to the rich under capitalism. When hand making is necessary for high quality, crafts should be subsidized. A maker of fine guitars should be able to spend all his time on his craft, rather than -- like Velasquez today -- running a factory where inferior instruments are turned out. The guitars can be given out as scholarships or awards; in general, possession of fine handmade objects should not be based on ability to pay.

Such subsidies exist in socialist countries today, limited only by available funds. They will be only a small part of the economy in a socialist America. Volumes of poetry, novels and other books need not go out of print because of paper shortages. There will be wealth to encourage new people to go into fields requiring expensive equipment, such as film making.

And artists in a society in which they are truly participants -- and in which people in general are involved in the arts -- will create works that are widely understood and appreciated without simplifying or talking down to those they seek to reach.

III. The Role of the Arts and Artists in Social Change

The actions of artists must fall within these general guidelines:

(1) Artists must create political art. The social forces acting on artists cannot help influencing their work as well as their relation to the world. They must be aware of these forces and make creative use of them, rather than being used by them by default. They must recognize and foster their own partisanship. This does not mean that they should judge their own work in terms of its propagandist value, or limit themselves to topical subjects. However, as artists become committed more deeply to the struggle for social justice, most of them will apply their skills and vision to at least an occasional topical work. We see this in the recent work of poets such as Denise Levertov and painters such as Jack Wolfe, and in the growing radicalism and commitment of "underground" arts, particularly theatre. Groups such as the San Francisco Mime Troupe were practically apolitical a few years ago, and now are in the vanguard of the anti-war movement. Then there is the "guerrilla theatre" movement in which such spectacles occur as the napalming of an effigy in front of a Dow

recruiter's campus headquarters or a mock battle of soldiers against Vietnamese peasants in an induction center. And there is the growth of theatre within the most working-class oriented sections of the movement: JOIN in Chicago, the California grape strike. Within the context of struggle, workers are coming to see themselves as artists, and artists to see themselves as activists. This must continue and grow.

(2) Artists have to act as political beings, seeing themselves and their art as tools of the revolution, just as a class-conscious worker sees himself.

(3) The Communist Party must come to recognize the arts and artists as makers of revolution.

Political work is required to bring this about. CP artists must be encouraged to do their political work in their fields. Their task is to educate all artists to understand their political role. The CP must educate the masses to see art as a tool of social change and revolution. This involves struggle by the entire party and especially by artists active in it to win reforms under capitalism that will make artists' lives easier and more fruitful and will remove the separation between artists and other people. These short-term goals must be chosen, and used if won, to create an opposing force, a potential base of strength to overthrow capitalism.

The CP must divest itself of capitalist-inculcated ideas on the arts. Artists should use their political time as artists; time spent by them making a living in their fields should be considered as important and legitimate as time spent by a worker on his job. The CP should work to end exploitation of Movement artists as mere sources of funds (through benefits) or as possessors of mechanical skills. (When anyone's skills are used, for that matter -- carpenter, mimeographer or artist -- they should be paid whenever possible.)

The CP should support and encourage -- and artists in it should organize -- unions and guilds of various types. Existing guilds and unions should be democratized, radicalized and made more powerful and relevant. Such unions should be built where they do not now exist. All forms of anti-monopoly art should be encouraged, such as theatre of the streets, underground newspapers, street fairs, artists' cooperatives, public readings of poetry. While these are anti-establishment by their very existence, radical artists working in them should see to it that they have political content as well.

Community arts groups should be made political and community political action groups should be drawn closer to the arts. Radical artists' groups can help unions, tenants' organizations, welfare rights groups, etc., and radical artists can encourage community art associations to do so. The public and the artists should be educated about cultural and political contributions of radical artists of the past and present. Artists should seek to disseminate the work of black artists as widely as possible beyond the limits of the black community, and in areas where other nationality arts exist, they should be popularized across ethnic lines.

Artists living in a particular community should build ties with it by involving themselves in its day-to-day goals as community members and also as artists. A store front or church basement art center set up to involve local people can become a part of a community only if the artists and craftsmen who staff it are themselves members of the community.

Adding the sensitivity and strength of the arts and artists to the struggle for socialism can only strengthen the struggle, and involvement can only increase the sensitivity and strength of the artists.

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ON THE DAILY WORLD

The need and the urgency for a daily Marxist paper does not rise from any narrow inner-party needs.

The sense of compulsion is fed by objective developments. The struggles and movements of the radicalized masses, the millions in ferment, have created the need for a daily Marxist paper. Such a paper is the missing link between spontaneous action and conscious direction, between protest and a struggle against the system. Without such a daily voice the struggle for reforms will sustain and add to reformist ideology. A revolutionary movement without a daily voice is closed within itself.

As the building of a Marxist party is indispensable for revolutionary development of the class struggle, so the creation of a Marxist daily is indispensable for the building of such a party. We cannot seriously speak about increasing the influence of our Party without a total commitment to the creation and the building of a Marxist daily. Make no mistake about it: our commitments to all aspects of the struggle, including our commitment to socialism, will be tested by our constant commitment to this project. For each Communist a Marxist paper is an extension of his influence beyond the reach of his voice. ...

The need for a Marxist daily press is more critical now than at any time in our history -- and it is needed more in the USA than in any other part of the world, for the heart of world imperialism is here. This country is capitalism's nerve center, its control room. But that position makes the U.S. not only the center of world capitalism's strength, it is also the center of that system's deepest contradictions. It is the focal point of crises and fissures. A crisis in the United States is at the same time a crisis of world capitalism. And a Marxist paper viewing developments from the center of world capitalism has both a special responsibility and a world audience.

From "How to Shape History," Speech delivered by Gus Hall to the National Party Conference on a Daily Marxist Paper, January 13, 1968.

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NEW PROGRAM OF THE CPUSA (Second Draft)

Discussion Guide

Issued by National Education Department, CPUSA

Introduction

Since discussion of the revised draft of the Party program is limited to the preconvention discussion period, it is essential that it be well organized at all levels. In addition to discussion at regular meetings, clubs should organize special meetings devoted entirely to this purpose. Special discussions should be organized also on a section or area level, as well as seminars on subjects of special interest or controversy. Seminars might be organized, for example, on such subjects as the following: Special Features of U.S. Imperialism; The Character of the Present Historical Epoch; Peace and National Liberation; Reform and Revolution; The Constitutional Path to Socialism; The Party and the Left. They should be based on additional reading, and should allow ample time for discussion and probing.

The following is intended primarily as a guide for club discussions, based on a series of four special meetings, each covering a major section of the draft. For each section a series of questions is presented, covering the key points dealt with in the draft, and accompanied by the appropriate page numbers in each instance. Particular areas may, of course, be singled out for more concentrated attention. Or the discussion may be broken down into more than four sessions. The guide may also be found useful for discussions in other Party bodies.

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I. The U.S. Today: A Society in Crisis and its World Setting (Chapters I and II)

- a) What are the major areas of crisis in the U.S.? What is the character of the struggles to which these are giving rise? (I-1 - I-4)
- b) What are the distinctive features of the U.S. as a capitalist society? Does it differ basically from other present-day capitalist societies? What are the revolutionary forces within it? (I-4 - I-9)
- c) In what ways does monopoly capital "exact tribute from the entire nation"? How is the government involved in this process? What is the special role of militarization of the economy and the growth of the military-industrial complex? (I-9 - I-16)
- d) What are the special characteristics of U.S. imperialism? (I-16 - I-18)
- e) How would you characterize the present balance of world forces? How does this balance affect the cold-war program of U.S. monopoly capital? (II-1 - II-5)

- f) In the fight against U.S. imperialism, what role is played by the fight against "anti-Communism"? (II-5 - II-9)
- g) How are the socialist and anti-colonial revolutions related? What is the connection between the struggle for peace and the revolutionary process? (II-9 - II-13)

II. The Path Ahead: The Foes of Monopoly (Chapter III, pp. III-1 - III-37)

- a) What is the character of the democratic struggles now unfolding in our country? What are the main forces aligned against monopoly capital in these struggles? (III-1 - III-5)
- b) In what respects have the "class partnership" policies of the Meany leadership in the AFL-CIO proven bankrupt? (III-5 - III-8)
- c) What is the special role of the working class in the fight against monopoly? What is the chief obstacle to unity of the working class? (III-8 - III-12)
- d) How does the ideology of "class partnership" injure the working class? Why is the fight for political independence essential in combatting it? (III-12 - III-16)
- f) Where does responsibility for Negro oppression lie? (III-20 - III-23)
- g) What is the meaning of the quest for independent power by the black people? Does this eliminate the need for allies? (III-23 - III-26)
- h) What are the distinctive national characteristics of the Negro people? (III-26 - III-31)
- i) How is the struggle of other oppressed minorities for freedom related to that of the Negro people? (III-32 - III-37)

III. Toward a Socialist America (Chapter II, pp. III-38, III-53; Chapter IV)

- a) Why do we seek the formation of a new people's party? What would be the character and program of such a party? (III-38 - III-45)
- b) Does the struggle for reform stand in opposition to the goal of revolution? How do we see the relationship of the two? (III-45 - III-48)
- c) Why do we believe that a peaceful, Constitutional path is possible in the United States? On what does the possibility of averting violence depend? (III-48 - III-53)
- d) What will be the special features of the development of socialism in the United States? (IV-1 - IV-5)

- e) What have been the achievements of socialism in the USSR? What can we expect of it in our own country? (IV-6 - IV-13)

IV. The Communist Party and its Place in the Struggle for Progress (Chapters V and VI)

- a) What is Marxism-Leninism? What is its role in the fight for socialism? (V-1 - V-4)
- b) What is the basic character of the CPUSA? Why is such a party indispensable in the fight for socialism? (V-5 - V-8)
- c) How do we characterize the American Left and the various trends within it? What should be our attitude toward them? (VI-1 - VI-7)
- d) What are the principles that guide our attitude toward religious ideas and institutions? (VI-7 - VI - 8)
- e) What is working-class internationalism? What is its special urgency for the American working class today? (VI-8 - VI-11)
- f) How is working-class internationalism expressed in the relations between Communist parties of different countries? (VI-11 - VI-13)

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ON THE DAILY WORLD

The task that we have before us of necessity is to serve as a national spokesman, a national spokesman and a national mobilizer. The very effort to produce a national publication will place special emphasis upon the need for creating a coast-to-coast movement behind an ideology of national importance, to create a publication that will serve to unify all sections of the country, all regions, and that will speak in terms of the reality that our ideology though differently applied in different specific circumstances, serves as a central unifying force for people in all regions and in all circumstances. To that end we certainly will adopt a policy of providing purposive coverage. In the discussion and in Comrade Pittman's remarks I think the references to self-determined coverage have that same meaning. By purposive coverage I mean that the material we present in our pages will be reflective of the mass movements of the people and will be selected in a way that can contribute to advancing their day-to-day struggles. Purposive coverage would mean that our paper will strive to establish a working-class entity for itself about which there will be no ambiguity and which will in no way be in contrast or in opposition to the needs and interests and activities of other social strata in our country which are challenging the ruling circles of the capitalist class and its imperialist policies and practices.

From a report by Carl Winter to a Worker Staff Conference, March 16, 1968

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PRECONVENTION DOCUMENTS**DRAFT STATEMENT ON PARTY BUILDING**

These are times of deepening crisis and sharpening struggles--times when ever greater masses are being drawn into action to save our country--indeed, the world--from catastrophe. These are likewise times of growing potential for victory of the popular forces over the monopolist forces of war and reaction.

Opposition to the criminal aggression in Vietnam is swiftly spreading and gaining in intensity. Already it has forced the declared removal of Johnson from the presidential race and has placed on the agenda a change not merely in policy but in national leadership. And the mounting mass pressure for peace is making it increasingly difficult to avoid steps toward de-escalation of the war. In all its aspects, the fight to reverse a policy which leads toward nuclear confrontation and fascist repression has taken on new impetus and is attaining new levels.

The growing masses who enter these struggles act from varied motivations and levels of understanding. There are the youth who are moved by the threatened destruction of their futures. There are those who seek to save their sons and brothers from the slaughter in Vietnam. There are others who act from pacifist motives. There are yet others who are revolted by the racist barbarity and gross immorality of the war. And there are those among the spokesmen of big business who decry the war as an exercise in futility, as a blunder to be corrected in the interests of monopoly itself.

We hail the growing movement to save our country from the warmakers and we associate ourselves with all who are part of it. Whatever their particular motivation, objectively their struggles are directed against the marauding aggression of U.S. imperialism. But we also recognize that if it is to be truly victorious, the fight for peace cannot remain at these levels of understanding. It must move increasingly toward a level of conscious anti-imperialism, of a struggle directed against all imperialist aggression--against imperialism itself. Not only does the necessity exist; there are also ever greater opportunities. Growing numbers are moving toward deeper understanding, and they seek illumination and guidance.

It is our Marxist-Leninist science which offers the basis for such consciousness. To bring it to these widening circles is the responsibility of our Party, but to fulfill this responsibility the Party must grow both in influence and numbers. In short, the present historical moment confronts us with both the necessity and the opportunity to build the Party among the fighters for peace.

The mounting military budgets are sapping our economy. More and more, growing expenditures for guns mean less butter. The warmakers wax fat from the sweat and blood of the workers, who pay the cost in higher prices and taxes and reduced living standards, as well as in cuts in social welfare and public services, and whose sons die in Vietnam in rising numbers. But the workers have displayed growing resentment at having these burdens forced upon them, and have made it

clear that they have no intention of sacrificing for the war. Nor are they prepared to accept the Johnson appeals for further sacrifice to "save the dollar," the chief threat to whose status is the drain of the Vietnam aggression.

Strike struggles are mounting in number, duration and severity. The eight-month strike of the copper workers and the heroic battle of the Memphis sanitation workers are but two of many recent instances. And in growing measure, resistance to demands for economic sacrifice is becoming opposition to the war itself, which is becoming increasingly vocal within the trade union movement in defiance of the Meany subservience to the warmakers. From these struggles, too, there emerge both the need and the quest for deeper understanding, for a rising level of class consciousness.

There is a growing need to fight for class struggle policies as against the prevalent "class partnership" policies, for democratic unions, for working-class unity and against the divisive ruling-class weapons of racism and anti-Communism, for labor's political independence. Of special urgency is the struggle against racism among white workers, which today constitutes a major obstacle to unity and social progress. Here, too, the indispensability of the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and of the growing participation of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working class become daily more evident.

For the masses of Negro Americans the racist war in Vietnam has meant rising racist oppression in this country. It has brought deepening poverty and unemployment, accompanied by policies of brutal repression and military containment of the ghettos on the part of the Johnson Administration. It has brought a death toll of black soldiers in Vietnam which is double the national rate. Such has been the lot also of other oppressed minorities--of the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans, and not least of the American Indians.

But mounting oppression has met with mounting revolt. The ghetto uprisings have served unmistakable notice that black Americans will no longer submit to the oppression, the insults and the indignities which have been heaped on them hitherto. They have stepped up their struggles in the political arena, and have recorded gains extending from the election of Negro mayors in Gary and Cleveland to representation in the legislature of Mississippi. They have mounted struggles for jobs, housing and education, exemplified in the Poor People's Crusade in Washington under the leadership of Martin Luther King. And in growing numbers they have come to see the connection between the genocidal war against the Vietnamese people and the genocidal policies against the Negro people and other minorities at home. Most significant is the fact that growing numbers have come to associate racial oppression with the social system itself and to see the solution as lying in a basic change in that system.

Here, again, the urgency of advancing the struggle to new levels is apparent. It is necessary to develop organizational forms which will take it beyond the level of one-shot campaigns and give it greater continuity and durability. It is necessary to combat trends toward separatism growing out of frustration engendered by the failures of white allies. It is necessary to make clear the real class roots of racism--corporate monopoly, the common enemy of all working people--and to direct the fight for freedom against it.

It is Marxist-Leninist science which provides the basis for such advances. The heroic struggles of black Americans have brought many to the stage where they seek and welcome the illumination of their path which Marxism-Leninism offers, and where they can be won to our Party.

In reaction to these crises, growing numbers have moved rapidly toward the Left. Our Party has welcomed this development, particularly the militant opposition to the "Establishment" and the creativity of the new Left currents. For those thus moving Leftward, close contact with the Communist Party is of primary importance in bringing them to their logical destination--Marxism and the socialist alternative.

To reach this destination, greater clarity is required on such questions as the class nature of the "Establishment," the historic role of the working class, and the centrality of the Negro question and its relationship to the class struggle and the fight for peace. If the path to socialism is to be understood, much greater clarity is needed on such concepts as the united front and the link between struggle for immediate needs of the working people and the struggle for socialism.

By virtue of its class orientation, its experience and its roots in the working class and the trade union movement, and by virtue of its Marxist-Leninist science, it is the Party which brings these ideas into the Left. It does so both through the example it sets of consistent participation and initiative in struggles for the needs of the working people, and through its participation in the ongoing dialog on the Left.

To make clear the class basis of the war, of the economic problems of the workers, of racism and national oppression--this is why the Communist Party is needed. On this foundation to build greater unity, organization and staying power in the mass democratic movements of today--this is why the Communist Party is needed. Heroism and spontaneous movements cannot alone meet the challenge. Sustained, organized, united struggle with the organized working class as its core is required. The mere desire for radical change is not enough. Without the light of Marxist science it cannot be achieved.

In the face of these needs the sheer numerical inadequacy of the Communist Party to fulfill them and the necessity to add thousands of new Communists to its ranks become increasingly evident. To build our Party is not a narrow partisan outlook; it is an urgent necessity for the future of our country. What the times demand is a breakthrough in recruiting new members, to build its size and strength demanded of it.

Such a breakthrough is not only necessary; it is fully possible of achievement.

There is a new level of acceptance and even welcome of our Party and its members. The Party is able to participate as a recognized organization in important sectors of the peace, black liberation, new politics and student movements. At labor gatherings, Communist spokesmen are received without hostility and are

often even welcomed on a personal basis. Fewer and fewer doors are today closed to Communists. More and more, these movements seek the kind of help the Communist Party, as the party of Marxism-Leninism, is capable of giving.

The growth of Marxist-oriented currents in the Negro freedom movement and the student movement, the growth of the Marxist-oriented Du Bois Clubs of America, the rise of the readership of The Worker by 1,000 in 1967, the enthusiasm created by the launching of the new Marxist daily, the Daily World--all these and many other developments demonstrate the trend.

On these grounds, a Party building drive with a goal of 2,000 new members by the time of the 19th National Convention in April 1969 is projected. In the light of the present situation, the breakthrough in numbers and influence envisioned in these figures can be undertaken as a serious, realizable objective.

In projecting such an objective we do not start from scratch. Party-building activities are already on the upgrade. Recruiting is taking place in all kinds of Party clubs, among both the younger and older members. True, there are all too many clubs in which no recruiting has taken place for years. But experience indicates that there are no clubs in which the objective situation presents a bar to recruiting.

To move from the present state of activity into a drive for a major breakthrough, however, much more is required. The realization of the potential which exists for such a breakthrough will depend on the extent to which a) the Party and its members are visibly involved in grass-roots struggles of the people, b) they make the kind of contribution to these struggles that is demanded of the Communist Party, c) press- and Party-building consciousness is developed among the leadership and membership of the Party, and d) concrete organization of recruiting efforts takes place.

Of prime importance is the visibility of the Party to the democratic forces whom we seek to move in our direction. These must be able to judge for themselves the ideas and activities of the Party, to determine whether it effectively works in their interests. For this purpose there is no more effective instrument than a newspaper such as the Daily World. As a newspaper which reports and reflects editorially the Party's activities and views, it brings into thousands of homes daily the ideological and political contributions of the Party. The conditions which make possible a breakthrough in building the Party are the same conditions which make possible the bringing to life of the Daily World. To lay the basis for the former means to build the circulation of the latter.

It is necessary also to reach those whom we seek to attract with other literature--with Political Affairs, with books, and pamphlets, and with national, district and club leaflets. The organization and expansion of the distribution of our literature will make our Party visible to much larger numbers of people and will make it possible to recruit on a much larger scale. Judgment of the Party by others is based mainly on what live human beings who are Party members do and on their ability to see these actions as a product of that membership.

Though considerable strides have been made toward bringing the Party into public view, the process still lags behind the possibilities. True, objective difficulties exist, but essentially the lag is a product of an incorrect assessment of the present period and an underestimation of the degree of radicalization among the democratic forces in our country. It reflects a continuation of reflexes characteristic of the era of McCarthyism, and in some cases a lack of confidence in the Party's future--an accommodation to previous difficulties which has led to replacing dedication to class and Party with nominal membership.

Another notion which contributes to the lag in Party building and which reveals a lack of confidence in our Party is the view that no significant recruiting is possible until all weaknesses of the Party are overcome. In the more extreme versions of this view, it is considered more likely that some new Left grouping, particularly among younger white intellectuals, will emerge as the most advanced, most relevant "vanguard" organization, rendering the Party superfluous.

What is ignored in such views is the fact that the Party is generally moving ahead, correcting weaknesses as it goes and becoming firmer and more responsive in its policies and actions. What is ignored is that recruiting and overcoming weaknesses are interdependent processes, in which recruiting among workers and among the Negro people will prove especially helpful in speeding the correction of shortcomings.

Even the most advanced and best organized groups in the Left outside of the CPUSA lack the necessary features of a vanguard working-class political party. Typically they lack a consistent working-class orientation and, consistent adherence to Marxism-Leninism, democratic centralism and other essential features. There is no path to Marxist-Leninist positions, and to the best possible party other than the persistent effort to build and improve the party we now have--the Communist Party, USA.

If the Party is to attract others to itself, it is of prime importance that it be seen in the grass-roots struggles for the needs of the people. Initiatives by the Party itself, such as those in the Aptheker for Congress campaign, the Harlem jobs project, or the student strike against war and racism represent the most advanced form. But there are many other levels which are both necessary and possible. Indeed, every Communist should be known as such by at least some others and should strive constantly to enlarge that circle.

Forms of activity should be developed to maintain steady contact with those who are closest to the Party. Among these are "Friends of the Daily World" groups which work to build the paper's circulation and conduct such activities as neighborhood forums. Or other types of forums or groups devoted to study or action may be established. Such forms provide ties with the broader movements and enlarge the immediate circle from which recruits can be drawn.

In short, to achieve a real breakthrough in Party building requires a new approach to showing the face of the Party, to making the Party and its contributions visible to the growing masses of Americans who are today engaged in struggle.

Where must the emphasis in the campaign be placed? First of all on the recruitment of workers and on building the Party in working-class areas. Above all, in keeping with our policy of industrial concentration, a drive of major proportions must be launched among workers in the national concentration industries--auto, steel, transport--as well as in other basic industries, with special attention to such key industrial states as Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Such a drive involves the selection of key areas and key shops for concentrated attention. It involves the elaboration of plans for rebuilding the Party organization in smaller industrial cities and towns. It involves the assignment of all available Party forces to assist in such an effort.

Secondly, emphasis must be placed on recruiting among the Negro people, as well as among Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans. The need for concentration in this area stems not only from the central importance of the Negro freedom struggle in our country, but also from the special contribution of our Party and its Marxist-Leninist approach to the struggles of oppressed national minorities, particularly the Negro people. Here, too, special assignment of Party forces is required.

Third, emphasis must be placed on building the Party among the youth in the above categories and particularly among Negro youth.

It is clear that such a campaign will require careful, concrete planning and organization nationally, in the districts and in the clubs. Areas of concentration must be clearly defined. Literature geared to particular groups must be prepared. Special activities must be planned. National and district Party leaders must be fully involved. (A national draft plan is submitted with this statement.)

The potential for a major breakthrough in Party building exists. Let us take the necessary steps--ideological, political and organizational--to realize it.

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Draft Plan of Work for Party Building Drive

Objectives

To recruit 2000 new members by April 1969

Every club to recruit a minimum of two people by the 19th Convention in April 1969.

Main emphasis on workers, Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans generally and youth in these groups.

Draft Plan (Cont'd)

Role of National Center

1. To aid in reaching the entire membership with the reasons for the possibility of a breakthrough in recruiting.
2. To aid in developing district and club recruiting plans and help and check-up on their execution.
3. To help recruit individual new members,

all through the use of written materials, tours and meeting and working with districts, clubs and potential recruits.

Materials to be provided or to be used.

1. Pamphlet on the Communist Party
2. A recruiting handbook
3. Special brochures aimed at shop workers, Negroes, youth.
4. The Daily World
5. The Party Program and other pamphlets and leaflets
6. Wide distribution of the Constitution and application blanks.
7. Ads for new members in Party and non-Party publications.
8. Recruiting posters and buttons.

The above are in various stages of assignment and preparation.

Personnel

1. All national personnel who are traveling to be used for press and Party building.
2. All national personnel to be available to districts, especially concentration districts, for public meetings to which potential recruits are brought, house gatherings, etc.
3. Special tours for the purpose of recruiting shop workers, for the purpose of recruiting black people and young workers, black and white.

All Districts to Develop a District Plan

Nature of plan:

1. How to reach all the clubs and mobilize the membership.
2. District and club goals and special approaches to shop workers, Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans generally, youth in these categories.
3. Use of Daily World and other national and district leaflets, materials and advertising.
4. District events and affairs.

Draft Plan (Cont'd)

All Districts to Develop a District Plan

5. Strengthening of clubs and club life and any transitional club forms necessary for new recruits.
6. Education of potential recruits and provision of new members classes within three months of entering the Party.
7. Check-up procedures on progress.

All Clubs to Develop a Club Plan

Nature of plan:

1. Discussion of the need to recruit and why a breakthrough is possible in general terms and in terms of the club situation.
2. Use of the Daily World, national and district materials and club leaflets.
3. Use of help from district and national personnel.
4. Plan of club events for recruiting purposes such as:
an open club meeting - non-Party people invited to a regular meeting or one with a special agenda, such as a speaker on the Party or some mass development.

Community forum - build around the Daily World or in some other way of a Marxist character originating from the club or group of clubs.

Club socials to which potential recruits are invited.

5. Consideration of how club life can be made more attractive and meaningful for new members and how to assure new members classes within 3 months of entering the Party.
6. A list of immediate and longer range potential recruits and assignment of primary responsibility for recruitment of each of those on the list.
7. Provision for check-up.

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