

## NATIONAL PLAN FOR 1972 ELECTIONS

### I. Overall objective in all phases of our 1972 electoral work

A. Our aim is to halt the reactionary drive and open the path as wide as possible for a new direction for the country of strengthening democracy. In order to achieve this and in the course of achieving it we seek to develop the maximum political independence at all levels of the parties of monopoly, leading toward a mass people's party based on the working class and Black people as a whole. In order to achieve these objectives and in the course of working for them, we aim to strengthen the Communist Party in a many-sided way but particularly its total electoral activity.

B. Halting the reactionary drive and opening as wide as possible the path of strengthening democracy has a concrete meaning in terms of issues and candidates. At a minimum it means:-

1. An end to the aggression in Southeast Asia, a settlement in the Middle East based on the UN resolutions, no U.S. intervention in India and Chile, a European Security Conference and some genuine steps to disarmament.

2. An end to the Nixon economic policy of direct government determination of wages and conditions, control of Unions and of no significant concessions to the people's welfare needs.

3. An end to the "Southern strategy" of open government encouragement of racism and opposition to full equality in jobs, housing, education, etc., which is combined with a total absence of any concessions to the needs of the specially oppressed peoples: Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian - and the extreme poor in general.

4. An end to open government repression against labor's right to strike and other rights, repression in the ghettos and barrios under cover of "law and order" slogans, of frame-ups and murderous attacks on democratic rights in the cases of Angela Davis, the Berrigan Brothers, Arnold Johnson, Soledad Brothers, George Jackson and Attica and of the stimulation of right-wing terrorist groups like the JDL, in the South, etc.

5. An election platform is to be adopted at the 20th Convention. It will be a guide on issues and objectives for Communists working at all levels of electoral struggle.

6. The overall objective requires defeating the reactionaries, the Nixons, in the Republican Party, the Jacksons, in the Democratic Party and the Wallace's. It means that election of middle of the road candidates under pressure from the right and in the absence of substantial pressure from the left cannot achieve the objective of halting the reactionary drive and opening a new path.

7. Besides halting the drive of reaction, of defeating the Nixons, Jacksons, Wallace's, it is not possible to predict now how far we and the people's forces will succeed in opening the door to a new direction of expansion of democracy, of greater concessions to the needs of the masses. We will seek to create the pressure on issues, the independent movements, the masses in motion in relation to the electoral arena, to such an extent that the candidates who would be elected will be more responsive to the needs of the people.

8. At the Congressional level we seek the election of a radical block of Congressmen, building on the small start already made, the substantial strengthening of labor, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, women and youth representation and the defeat of the maximum number of reactionaries. The same kind of objectives hold for state and local candidates.

a) This includes the objective of adding 20-25 Black members of Congress.

9. While we will identify with Dump Nixon movements, our slogan goes beyond this to help assure the choice is not between a Republican and Democratic Nixon type candidate. This is also true because we aim to go beyond halting the reactionary direction of the country but to go as far as possible in opening the path to strengthening democracy.

**C.** In order to achieve such an impact of the elections on the direction of the country on issues and candidates and while actively seeking to influence the outcome, we seek to develop the maximum political independence at all levels, especially of the working class and Black people as a whole and all anti-monopoly strata. We seek their increasing independence of the political parties, politics and candidates of monopoly, moving toward a mass people's Party.

1. We cannot now predict exactly how far this process will develop and how far we can influence it to go in the course of these elections. There is every likelihood it will increase, including an increase in those who say they look forward to a mass break-away but are not yet ready to break because they estimate it will not yet be massive. There will be increased numbers who will make such a break around local candidates and perhaps some growth in the very limited, mostly white middle class national formations that have already broken and are currently supporting such candidates as Dr. Spock and Professor Hobson of the New Party. We should not rule out so early the possibility that a larger break will take place following the conventions, perhaps involving elements of more basic sections of the population.

2. On whatever level we find basic sections of the people, we seek to increase their independence.

a) If they are regular Democrats we seek to make them at least independent Democrats.

b) If they are independent Democrats we seek to convince them that it is in their interests to have the perspective of breaking with the parties of monopoly at some point.

c) If they are in social struggle and community organizations, not related to political party formations, we seek their entry in the political arena with maximum possible independence on issues, on candidates, projecting their own people's candidates in primaries and as independent candidates establishing their own political structures and orienting toward the emergence of a mass people's party.

**D.** In order to achieve the overall objectives, in the course of working for them we aim to strengthen the Communist Party in a many-sided way but particularly its total electoral activity.

1. The main weakness of the Party has been its relative lack of initiative and work at any level of the electoral struggle.

2. It is necessary for the Party to make a very sharp turn in its involvement at all levels of electoral activity if it is significantly to increase its mass influence and build the Party.

3. Millions of people are reached and influenced during the course of electoral campaigns much beyond most other periods and arenas of struggle.

4. The total direction of the country is greatly influenced by elections, particularly the 1972 Presidential elections. Either the current direction is reinforced and continued or it is reversed to some degree or the relationship of forces as an outcome of struggle on both sides is registered as a stand-off.

5. In U.S. tradition masses of workers do not consider a political party a serious force unless it is seen in the electoral arena as a growing factor.

6. Full use of the electoral arena means projecting the policies of the Party among the masses and thereby influencing the content of the politics on the other two levels and aiding greatly in the fight for the legality of the Party among the masses.

a) To strengthen the Party in the course of the election means to fight to get on the ballot in the maximum number of states, making all legal challenges necessary and fighting for full use of mass media as part of our fight for legality.

b) It also means strengthening the Party's ideological, political and organizational work in the course of the campaign, including building its press, literature and membership. It also means helping to build the YWILL.

## II. The Specific Tasks of Comrades at Each of the Levels of Electoral Activity

A. Comrades working in relation to organizations that view themselves as within the framework of the Parties of monopoly, work with the following objectives:

1. To build up pressure within on issues and bring forward candidates who are more responsive on the issues, particularly peace, labor, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, women and youth candidates, whether candidates with a perspective of victory or who are pressure candidates and candidates building for the future. They should also point toward defeating extreme reactionaries. No matter how advanced the candidates, their job is to develop independent pressure even while participating in efforts to elect such a person.

2. They should strengthen understanding of the need to be independent of the machines, to be independent of the two parties of monopoly, of the need for a people's party and help create organizational forms that give such ideas expression. They should help create a friendly view toward already existing formations outside the monopoly parties.

3. Within the framework of their particular united front relationships they should seek to promote opportunities for the Communist Party to be heard and at least with a small number of co-workers make known their sympathy for the Party position in the elections.

B. Comrades working in political formations that are oriented toward a non-monopoly Party and choice for the voters should

1. have an independent stance there on the issues so they can help strengthen the outlook of such forces on issues where they might tend to be weak, especially with regard to racism, labor, the war in the Middle East, etc.

2. They should also try to orient such formations toward appealing especially to the working class, Black community, other especially oppressed peoples, women, youth as well as to small business family farmers and professionals and intellectuals.

3. They should try to orient such formations not to cut themselves off from close ties with independent formations still within the monopoly parties and from masses who continue to vote there. Such formations should not view themselves as the mass breakaway or the organizational form to which masses will eventually come but only as one form in a much larger process of development toward a mass people's party based on labor and the Black people as a whole. Communists must help them with such an understanding so that they function as aides and do not become obstacles to building a mass people's party.

4. Local candidacies outside the monopoly parties can be especially helpful both in positively effecting the outcome of these elections and creating further conditions for a mass breakaway.

5. They should try and promote a friendly attitude toward the Communist Party candidates and campaign and within the framework of those particular united front relations make known to, at least some, their own sympathy and even relationship to the Party.

C. The Communist Party's campaign and candidates.

1. The Party's campaign should contribute substantially to influencing the outcome of the elections and to the overall objective of halting the drive of reaction and opening the path as wide as possible to the strengthening of democracy.

a) It will do this by a focus on what is at stake for the masses of people, what the issues are and by a clear focus on the Nixons, Jacksons, Wallaces and their policies as the main enemy even while it is critical of other candidates and their programs and projects its own radical program and seeks a maximum vote for Party candidates.

b) The result of seeking a maximum vote for the Party candidates since the campaign will make clear what is at stake and the main danger. will

be both to increase the Party vote and to increase even more the vote for other candidates by those the Party reaches on what is at stake overall in the elections but who are not yet ready for one reason or another to vote Communist.

2. It will attempt to reach the widest audience but especially the wage working class and the Black people with its assessment of what is at stake for our people in the elections, our outlook toward a people's Party, our radical program and socialist alternative.

3. It should seek to develop friendly but even necessary critical relations with those already oriented toward a non-monopoly dominated Party. It should always indicate the necessity to build a mass Party based on the multi-national working class and Black people and the proper relationships between those who already are acting on that perspective and the masses who have not yet reached that conclusion.

4. It should put the socialist alternative forward clearly and fight for its full rights in the electoral arena and for a maximum vote.

D. For those Comrades the present bulk of our membership, active in the many peace, housing, education, health and welfare groups, groups concerned with Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian liberation, women's rights, youth and nationality groups, rank and file worker groups and unions that are not strongly related to any political party and are usually not strongly involved in electoral politics,

1. Their task is to show the masses they have a big stake in this electoral struggle and they can influence it to make these people's democratic organizations a real factor in the elections, creating pressure on all candidates on the issues supporting the more advanced and advancing from their own ranks peace, labor, etc. candidates and creating more independent forms of electoral struggle that increasingly orient toward a people's Party and look with increasing favor on the position of the Communist Party in the campaign.

(\*Blacks)

## II. Mobilization of the Party.

A. We must proceed from the estimate that we are not electorally oriented. We are not used to giving an electoral direction to every struggle and aspect of work. Electoral activity has not been a really major feature of Party activity for a great many years despite some good examples there. The general problems of lack of initiative and accommodation are especially strong in this arena of struggle.

1. There is the defeatist notion of "why, in the elections, we cannot influence very much anyway."

2. Among some anti-electoral moods of "why play their game, you only take people into the system, you can't win anything anyway," have rubbed off.

3. Therefore, mobilization of the whole Party to play a role and especially for a maximum effort to get on the ballot, etc. cannot be taken for granted. It will be a tough job. A single speech and even general agitation alone will not succeed.

## III. Mobilization of the National Committee Center and all its resources.

A. Within the framework of the Political Committee <sup>discussing</sup> major questions of policy, to stay on top of political developments will require a committee having the daily political responsibility for the 1972 election campaign, all levels including the Party's own campaign. This Committee shall be called the Party's Political Action Committee. It shall also serve as the Executive Committee of the Hall-Tyner Campaign. The Political Action Committee shall consist of Comrades A. Buxenbaum, Gerson, Johnson, Lightfoot, Meyers, Mitchell, Patrinos, J. Ristorucci, Rubin, Storey, M. Weinstein, Zagarell. Since all aspects of party work are to be oriented toward the elections the Natl Org Secy, Comrade Rubin, shall have overall responsibility for the total electoral activities.

1. Hall-Tyner campaign coordinators will include Comrades Jose Ristorucci, Matt Weinstein, Sue Vago and a Black comrade to be named,

2. Comrade Arnold Johnson while being the Political Committee member directly responsible for political action will concentrate on developments within the 2-Party orbit.

3. A comrade to be named will have responsibility to guide our work in relation to developments outside the parties of monopoly.

B. Every National Commission is to hold a discussion prior to the Convention on its role in the elections at all three levels. This will include for the Labor Commission, for example, how to create some major forms of labor expression of independence.

C. There should be discussion within this same period by the editorial boards of the Daily World, People's World, Political Affairs, Party Affairs, Jewish Affairs, the Young Worker of how to participate in the elections and especially, treatment of the Party campaign. Every issue of the monthlies from here to November should reflect the 1972 elections.

D. We should try and influence other progressive publications to deal with the elections and our own campaign adequately.

E. International Publishers, the Pamphlet Committee, Literature Commission should discuss in this same period of time their role in the elections.

#### IV. Mobilization of the Districts.

A. All District Conventions should place major stress on this and adopt at least first initial tasks.

1. All district conventions should resolve to make a serious signature campaign for the Communist candidates. In some cases signature collection would be with the aim of challenging legally unconstitutional high signature requirements, as in California. In other cases there is a slim basis for legal challenge and the quantity is probably beyond our means in the drive, but circulation of petitions is part of reaching people in a campaign, we get out of it names and addresses for future contacts and build up the basis for securing enough signatures to qualify in future elections. (more on this later).

2. We are working out a schedule of visitations by national personnel, both before and after the National Convention to districts, not only to convince them thoroughly but to work with them long enough to guarantee they participate in the Party's campaign, including seeking signatures for ballot status.

3. According to local political time schedules, all district leaderships should complete discussions either before or shortly after the National Convention outlining the main tasks at all three levels of participation, including local Party candidates.

(a) A district electoral plan of work should be adopted.

(1) This should include how to politically mobilize all the clubs and involve every area of mass work and Party activity in the electoral struggle.

(2) Every district with more than 30 members should run at least one local Party candidate. A number of districts with less than 30 members should also run such candidates.

(3) It will include the local application of national objectives: What are the key issues and the Party's public position on them? What will be the forms and activities through which pressure on the issues will be developed? What additional candidacies are needed inside and outside the parties of monopoly, Communist candidacies as vehicles to develop pressure on issues? Through what candidacies can the issues and political independence be furthered? What extreme reactionaries do we single out to defeat? What independent political formations within and without can be developed and how? Who are our forces currently involved on various levels of electoral activity? How can we involve more comrades directly and where and how can every Comrade wherever they are contribute? How do we guarantee getting the Party on the ballot and why local Party candidates shall run? How and by whom will the Party campaign be conducted? What local material is to be issued, etc? How can mass media be used locally and public speaking engagements, street meetings, etc.? What is the time schedule for work? What individual and collective will be in charge of our elector work?

4. We should avoid abstract internal discussions of which of the three levels is most important. We need to assume concrete work and leadership on each. Emphasis will change as circumstances do both nationally and locally. Both the election calendar and specific strengths and weaknesses will help determine the disposition of our forces and energies as we go along.

#### V. Organization of Our Work and Forms of Struggle Other Than in the Communist Party's Own Campaign.

A. We need to make national assessments in cooperation with the districts as quickly as possible as to where to concentrate nationally in respect to Senators, Congressmen, Governors and elect more peace, labor, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, women, youth candidates. Where are such people now candidates and where candidates are needed. The Political Action Commission is to make such an assessment as quickly as possible. (to defeat the most reactionary, to elect a radical Black in Congress.)

B. We will be concerned with the primaries, who are the candidates and who can become the candidates and with Party caucuses and who become delegates to Conventions (labor, Black, youth, women, etc. blocks) but always with an independent stance, pressing to the left on issues and for greater general independence.

1. A few of the Presidential candidates are more responsive to the pressure of the people for their needs. Such candidacies become vehicles for pressure on issues and for greater independence. They, therefore, become very important places for our critical participation. There will be stages of the struggle - state primaries and conventions of the Parties - requiring changes in tactics as to what will be the vehicles for such pressure and independence. Though the crazies have their own plans, undoubtedly the National Conventions will be points of mass mobilization and lobbying of people's forces.

C. We will be concerned with the development of the Black Caucus, Women's Caucus, new youth caucus and if it can manage to be born, the Chicano-Puerto Rican Caucus. These are forms loosely tied to the Democratic Party. Our aim will be to give them even more of a mass base, deepen their position on issues, stimulate independence, create greater activity among them, help orient them to reaching workers, project their own candidates, pressure all candidates, etc. Most important, we will seek a similar formation in the ranks of labor. As important as these formations are, we should not consider them the only avenues to creating a mass base among these sections of the people. There are also many local formations of great importance. This combination of forces needs forms of united expression above all in the 50 or so Congressional districts.

D. It will be necessary to take an inventory which we only very partly have now, of what Party members are now involved at these levels and see where the holes are in our work and see who can become involved. We shall have to work out how consistent national leadership can be given to this work. To coordinate this work Comrade Johnson will have to be freed of other work.

E. We shall also have to make an inventory of our forces in relation to forms that are already outside the monopoly parties, see how our participation can be strengthened and given national coordination on the basis of objectives earlier stated. For this a comrade has to be assigned nationally.

F. A crucial vehicle is labor. A major effort will be needed to develop independent electoral activity by labor. The Political Action Commission and the Labor Commission should organize this discussion as soon as possible.

#### VI. The Party Campaign.

A. The policy making body for it will be the Political Action Commission named before with Comrades Winston, Hall and Tyner participating as much as possible.

B. The active leadership core which will function as an administrative committee will include campaign committee coordinators Jose Ristorucci, Matt Weinstein, Sue Vago and a Black comrade yet to be named.

C. Among the personnel on the Political Action Commission which would also be the Hall-Tyner Campaign Committee Executive and the Campaign Committee coordinators we are striving for a certain composition of labor, Black, Puerto Rican, women and youth.

D. Comrade Winston will be Chairman of the Campaign Committee.

E. A Communist Party Hall-Tyner Campaign Committee of a hundred will be listed publicly including most National Committee members and district organizers and some other leading personalities. This will be the largest listing in recent years of public personalities of the Communist Party and will give its members credentials to speak in various areas of the country.

F. A Citizens Committee for Hall & Tyner, including some Communists and as many non-Communist personalities as possible is to be announced within the next couple of months. There will also be a youth committee and as many other special committees for Hall and Tyner as possible.

G. Why we must make an all-out effort for ballot status.

1. Sooner or later we must achieve ballot status in every state as part of becoming a mass Party with great mass influence. Failure to do so greatly hampers our ability to break out and develop mass ties in the U.S. political tradition. No other single act would do more to achieve our full legality among the masses than regularly being on the ballot in every state.

2. There are significant numbers of people who would vote for us in every one of the 50 states and even more, who want to have the opportunity for themselves and others to vote for us if they so desire.

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a) What prevents from achieving this potential are undemocratic state laws barring Communists or signature collection requirements aimed at barring independent tickets and parties.

b) Absence of any Party organization whatsoever in some states.

c) Our own incorrect assessment that it is not worth making the investment of time, money and forces to get on the ballot. This view lacks a strategic perspective on how to change the situation of the Party, its mass influence and connections, its legality among the masses and how to build it. It also fails to see how our election activity is not separate from the struggle for peace, against the Nixon economic policy, against racism and repression, for democracy and the living needs of the people. In fact, this is exactly its content and, therefore, in the main they are reinforcing, not competing activities.

3. Our signature aim for ballot status will require us getting some 350 thousand to 400 thousand signatures in the country as a whole. That in itself will be of great significance for our Party and its democratic rights.

4. The achieving of ballot status despite all the bars and difficulties will strengthen not only the Party's democratic rights but those of all the people.

H. We shall make an all-out effort to get on the ballot in Alabama, Alaska (X), Arizona (X), Colorado (X), Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana (X), Iowa (X), Kansas (X), Kentucky (X), Maine (X), Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri (X), New Hampshire (X), New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania (X), Rhode Island (X), Tennessee, Utah (X), Vermont (X), Washington. We are seeking a team of 3 to 5 people to start immediately on helping get on the ballot in the states that are marked with (X). We hope to avoid having to send people in to Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin but will do so if necessary.

I. In the following states we should seriously seek a sizable number of signatures and then challenge the unusually high signature requirement of California, Hawaii, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Mexico and Oregon.

J. In Florida and Texas there is a 1% requirement but a high absolute figure for small Party organizations. A sizable number of signatures should be sought here also. If we fail to make the ballot, we will have gotten valuable names and addresses, done some important campaigning and made it that much easier to achieve enough signatures next time. In Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Dakota, West Virginia and Wyoming the signature requirement is 4 to 7 thousand but we do not plan to try and get on unless the rest of the effort goes even better than expected. -- Suits on anti-Communist provisions will be needed in many

K. All districts with 30 or more members should run at least one local Party candidate and some districts with less than 30 should also run a candidate.

L. Personnel is being lined up for the campaign to make a major effort at mass media, to organize speaking tours, do research, get out material, etc. A number of people have already agreed full time or volunteer for such work. Comrade Matt Weinstein is already working full time in the campaign.

M. We should seek to present our views on issues and candidates to all people's organizations.

N. A large picture button, stickers, the first of several posters and the first piece of literature, a mass distribution folder of the statement announcing the candidacy are in the works. 100,000 copies of Beat the Freeze folder which advertises the candidacy on the back cover are out. We plan distribution of 3 million pieces of literature by November. Election folders or pamphlets will be prepared on where the Communist Party and its candidates stand on

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| 1. Peace                   | 10. Housing  |
| 2. Labor                   | 11. Public Schools   |
| 3. Black Liberation        | 12. Universities   |
| 4. Chicano liberation      | 13. Mass transit   |
| 5. Puerto Rican liberation | 14. Taxes and the budget   |
| 6. Indian liberation       | 15. The significance of elections  |
| 7. Youth                   | 16. Pollution booklet by Comrade Hall<br>now being published by International<br>Publishers. |
| 8. Women                   |  |
| 9. Repression and Angela   |  |

O. Recruiting-- A goal of 1,000 new members in 8 months from the 20th Convention to Election Day--75% workers, 40% industrial workers, 1/3 Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican according to local circumstances with the aim of establishing a new Party organization during the campaign in Alaska, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia.

P. Goals for helping the YWLL to recruit during the campaign are to be worked out with them.

Q. In addition to the goal in the current drive of the Daily World for 6,500 new readers an additional 1,000 be sought in those states where new Party organization is to be built during the campaign.

R. A budget for the campaign is to be prepared as soon as possible by the campaign staff and organization department. We expect it to be considerably larger than the 1968 budget.

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