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PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION (4)

DRAFT THESIS ON LABOR

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This thesis developed by the Labor Commission presents a number of propositions and questions for your consideration. The commission urges all clubs to give them full consideration in order to help the Party arrive at a definitive position on our trade union work at the forthcoming 20th. Convention.

George Meyers, Chairman
Roscoe Proctor, Secretary

Prepared by Labor Commission

U. S. CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

1. U. S. monopoly capitalism is in deep trouble. The troubles are related to the war of aggression in Indochina and the resulting economic drain, leading to inflation, unemployment, balance of payments deficit, shakiness and devaluation of the dollar in the world monetary system,

2. Steps taken by U.S. monopoly to resolve the economic and monetary crisis are unprecedented actions in "peacetime," affecting the world's capitalist countries and U.S. population.

3. Earlier Nixon Administration actions--the so-called economic "Game Plan" (one aspect of which was planned unemployment to curb inflation) failed. Next the ruling class, utilizing the President and government machinery, imposed wage controls, with wage increases tied to productivity.

4. U.S. monopoly tried to force other capitalist countries and U.S. working people to bear the burden of the economic crisis --by imposing a surtax of 10% on foreign imports, pressuring other countries to revalue their currencies upward without the U.S. agreeing to devaluation of the dollar, demanding that other capitalist countries make big contributions for foreign military spending of the U.S., and by freezing U.S. workers' wages.

5. U.S. monopoly won few concessions from other capitalist countries. U.S. was forced to devalue the dollar, drop surtax; sharing cost of policing world militarily is yet to be achieved.

6. With such defeats, U.S. ruling class now seeks to place whole burden of its economic difficulties on U.S. people, especially the working class.

7. New economic policies and machinery established to administer them enable and force monopolies to act as a class. (Requirement that big monopolies report in advance any plans for wage increases, guarantees that no sector can break rank for sake of its own immediate advantage.)

8. To fight back effectively, the working class must also act as a class; must not limit its struggle to one between workers and one employer or group of employers; must become a struggle of the working class against both the employer class and its N.E.P. enforcement machinery, which rests on government sanctions.

9. We can anticipate a counter-reaction on the part of the working class (more wildcat strikes, slowdowns, militant struggles around contracts, etc.) leading to a sharpening of the class contradictions and struggle.

10. The arena of struggle will have to broaden to include electoral and legislative arenas. The merger of economic and political struggles essential to any successful fight-back against the Nixon program is necessary. Labor will have to reach out more and more for its political allies, move away from the two-party system and from the coalition that came together to put over the N.E.P. and move toward political independence.

11. The first 90 days of the freeze was a trial run for long-range policies of controls. Not just a freeze but a roll-back because wages are frozen while prices rise. Also some wages are actually being cut directly. Also, welfare was cut.

12. These controls threaten the very life of trade unions. Controls in effect cancel existing labor contracts, make collective bargaining a farce; destroy the ability of the rank-and-file to have any say on contracts.

13. New Economic Policy seen as a fascist thrust, as a move in the direction of a corporate state. N.E.P. institutionalizes Government controls. We can anticipate an increasing attack on traditional rights of labor (right to strike, negotiate contracts, etc.). We can anticipate increasing effort of the state to intervene and settle contracts.

14. Provisions of Nixon Administration Program: wages controlled (and tied to productivity); but no controls on profits, dividends, interest payments, rents, food, utilities, taxes, etc. No controls on lay-offs, speed-up, working conditions, doubling up on job categories. A new law requires welfare recipients to accept jobs at 40¢ below minimum wage. (See Appendix)

15. Growth of merged assets of major corporations (as much growth of mergers between 1960 and 1969 as in past 40 years). Development of conglomerates renders old trade union structures inadequate and calls for new structures to be developed. Great increase also in multinational corporations, which calls for greater class unity not only domestically but at international level as well. All of this represents a higher concentration of capital and growth in the internationalization of capital and the means of production, and makes for a new phase of class relations in the U.S. (More in the last 12 months than in the last 5 years.) Hypocritical "Buy America" campaign initiated by GE and other corporations and now supported by trade unions is no solution.

16. Monopoly profits rise even during recessions. The new Nixon program guarantees profits.

BLACK AND BROWN WORKERS, WOMEN WORKERS

1. Every attack on the working class is a special attack on Black and other superexploited and oppressed workers. Impact on these workers is double.

2. Economic difficulties of recent period have already wiped out much of past gains made by these workers. There has still been no real recovery of the economy.

3. Nixon's new program freezes Black, Brown and women workers into low-paying, minimum wage standard job categories. Black workers forced to take worst, hottest, heaviest, dirtiest jobs.

4. Impact of N.E.P. on Black community will be especially sharp. Black and Brown people pay more for everything (rent, food, etc.). Yet they receive less in terms of all community services. Working women will be affected especially by lack of funds for child care.

5. Racism and repression being stepped up across the board. N.E.P. racist to the core.

6. Young workers will also be especially disadvantaged by being on the bottom of seniority lists and most hurt by increasing unemployment, lay offs, absence of job training and upgrading opportunities.

7. Black caucus movements which have been developing in recent years very positive development. They will accelerate in face of new situation. Need will increase for these workers to seek allies, especially from their own people in the Black community as well as from others.

8. Low paid workers are the least organized. Many of these are Black and Brown. Drive to organize the unorganized is on the order of the day.

ROLE OF TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP

1. Major sections of top trade union leadership have caved in, in the face of attack. This is result of ideological agreement with capitalism and U.S. imperialism.

2. Pay Board: The Pay Board helps to facilitate monopoly's attack on labor. Board is an instrument of state monopoly capitalism. Labor representatives can't possibly outvote the rest of the Board even if they wanted to. Need to counter arguments of labor leaders that they are on board to "protect" interests of workers and can be more effective there than if not on Board at all. Also need to counter their argument that if the rest of the Board comes down with stuff they don't like, they will not vote, will "boycott" Board on that issue. What good will that do?

Presence of labor leaders on Pay Board gives legitimacy to the Board, accepts the overall rationale of the Board in the first place--namely, that wage increases cause inflation. Labor leaders sitting on Board allow government to play favorites with sections of labor movement, to buy some off with favorable agreements while cracking down hard on rest. This results in splitting working class and preventing fully united fight back.

These policies of labor are the end result of years and years of class collaborationist policies. Opens up possibility of attack on any leaders who do speak out and actually fight against Taft-Hartley. Meany's militant speech doesn't mean anything if top labor leaders don't do anything.

Has to be fight to get labor off the Pay Board. Whole set-up cannot work without labor participation. (Even bourgeoisie says this.) Labor will get off only under great pressure from rank-and-file. Won't get off for principled reasons. There has been lots of anti-Nixon rhetoric by labor, but present labor policies mean labor won't really lead fight to get rid of Nixon. Can't lead to kind of independent political action needed by labor.

LABOR MUST FIGHT BACK

1. Some locals, internationals, central labor bodies have called for labor to get off the Pay Board, for one day general strike action, etc. Give credit to this.

2. But vast majority of top labor leadership is going along with the Pay Board because they accept phony principle that wages

cause inflation and controls are necessary.

3. Make it obvious that the rank-and-file itself will have to mount the fight back, and out of this new struggle, new leadership of the trade union movement will emerge. Need to develop rank-and-file organizations and actions all over. This is fundamental to defeat of this New Economic Policy.

4. Most urgent to build Left in this period.

5. Need to inject full understanding into working class of what this whole attack by monopoly is all about. Also need to show exciting new possibilities the new situation opens up-- advancement of interests of working class, advance ideas of alternatives to capitalist deterioration, repression, etc.

6. Need for labor to get involved in political action against new program. Idea that no Congressman or woman should be allowed to return home if supports wage controls without finding huge numbers of working people waiting, fighting mad, ready to use their vote to make their point.

7. Program put over demagogically with promise to decrease unemployment. Whole wage freeze program is built upon high level of unemployment and desire of Nixon Administration to keep unemployment at 4%. Ruling class has already developed plan to split workers, pit employed against unemployed. Need to build unemployed organizations and build unity between employed and unemployed.

RANK-AND-FILE UPSURGE AND TUAD

The most important development since our last Convention is the increased growth of the rank-and-file upsurge. Within this, one of the most important centers is the NCCTUAD. This is the only center which appears to be trying to coordinate various rank-and-file movements, cutting across shop and industry lines and generalizing on their experiences and common needs, and projecting a national program and goals.

In the light of the cave-in of many trade union leaders in the face of the attack by the monopolies and the Nixon Administration, the growth and development of workers' formations like TUAD become even more significant. It is obvious that the rank-and-file will have to take more and more initiatives in defending and strengthening the interests of the rank-and-file, in spite of much of the present leadership of the trade union movement. It is the job of the rank-and-file to transform trade unions into class struggle trade unions. And out of these struggles, new leadership, with the capacity for class struggle trade unionism, must emerge from the ranks of the rank-and-file.

In our own ranks there is a great deal of confusion about the nature of this organization and what it is intended to accomplish. From what we have been able to ascertain, TUAD is a coordinating center of rank-and-file activity, whose firmest base is among left and progressive trade unionists, and which seeks united front relations with many other sections of the labor movement on issues

on which there is common agreement. TUAD also works for coalitions with movements in and outside the T.U. movement where there is a mutuality of interests. It does not pretend to be the totality of all rank and file movements; but as an independent coordinating center it seeks to establish relations with many other rank and file groups and to aid and stimulate the growth of new rank and file formations. At the same time, it aims to steer clear of being a small group talking among themselves.

At its founding convention, the NCCTUAD took a clear position in favor of class struggle trade unionism and an unequivocal stand against:

....Racism, with a special stress on the responsibility of white workers to fight against all racist policies and practices by the companies and in the unions.

....The war in Indochina and other similar aggressive acts by the U.S.

....Anti-red-baiting.

And it took a position for:

....Democratizing the unions, for independent political action.

....Rebuilding the shop steward system.

Questions:

1. How can we help build and develop TUAD?
2. How can TUAD relate to rank-and-file movements that are not ready to affiliate with it?
3. How can we guarantee that rank-and-file movements are developed everywhere and that TUAD is aided in relating to these workers and helping to coordinate their efforts?
4. How can TUAD be aided in developing a fight-back among rank-and-file against Nixon's New Economic Policy?
5. Should those of us who are in TUAD chapters encourage this coordinating center to place more emphasis on activities and printed materials which clarify and educate trade unionists on economic and political questions related to their well-being?
6. How can we help TUAD to service small, struggling rank-and-file groups who have no facilities available for expressing views and may need assistance in distributing their literature?
7. How can more effective use be made of the NCCTUAD newsletter and other publications.
8. What is required for TUAD to attract and broaden its base among young, Black, Brown and women workers and other specially oppressed groups of workers? How can TUAD bring them into its leadership?

9. How can we aid TUAD in becoming more action-oriented around various issues and legislation (both mounting campaigns against anti-labor legislation and putting forth and fighting for legislation in the interests of workers)?

10. How can TUAD relate to an individual worker who is not part of a rank-and-file movement in his or her shop, but is attracted to TUAD's program and wants to build a rank-and-file formation in the shop? Should TUAD help train people in organizing rank-and-file movements?

YOUNG WORKERS

The most viable organization among young people today with a Marxist-Leninist outlook is the YWLL. While encompassing youth from many sectors of the population, the YWLL focuses especially upon young workers and nationally oppressed young people.

While the YWLL has accomplished many important goals, and has won substantial recognition as a leading left youth organization, it has not grown as rapidly as objective conditions allow. There are a number of problems requiring attention from those who recognize the need for such a forward-looking, Marxist-Leninist oriented youth organization and see the need to help build and aid it.

1. How can our Party, as the vanguard Marxist-Leninist party improve and strengthen our relations with this new youth organization without encroaching upon its independence?

2. How can we work more closely together in situations where members of the YWLL and members of our Party work in the same shop or industry?

3. Are special youth caucuses within the overall framework of the rank-and-file movement in shops and industries required to express and put forth programs to meet the special problems of young workers, the new hiree, the inexperienced, the most exploited production workers?

4. How can we blend the experience of veteran fighters for the interests of the working class with the new ideas, militant spirit and boldness of the youth? How can we learn from the youth and have an exchange of experiences and ideas with them?

5. How can we help to guarantee that the youth component will be reflected more fully in trade union leadership at all levels--plant committeemen, executive boards, local union offices, international union leadership, as well as shop and department stewards?

6. How can we bring an awareness to both the young workers and the imminent retirees that each group has special problems and demands which are legitimate, related and complement each other and which should be supported through united front struggle?

7. How can we step up our recruitment of these young workers into the YWLL and into the C.P.?

SO-CALLED MANAGEMENT PREROGATIVES

How can we mount a fight against so-called management prerogatives: productivity--i.e., speed-up, health and safety, doubling up on jobs, or using threats to do this to force concessions from workers (e.g., Frigidaire in Dayton); shutting down plants, worker participation in decisions on automated and other job-eliminating equipment, forcing compulsory overtime, push for 10 hour day, 4 day week?

How can a fight to prevent lay-offs and plant shut-downs be mounted--including shut down here and going abroad? Elevating this struggle is a key way of strengthening class consciousness in the working class.

IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN WORKING CLASS

1. What are the key ideological misconceptions and problems that act as obstacles to moving the working class in the fight against the N.E.P., and how do we work to combat them?
 - a. Wage increases cause inflation.
 - b. Everybody has to make "equal sacrifices: to get economy back on its feet.
 - c. Profits help everybody ("trickle down" notion).
 - d. Low level of class consciousness.
 - e. Racism.
 - f. Anti-communism.
 - g. Maoism, split-offs, leftism, anti-Soviet attack from ultra-left. NCLC.
 - h. Need for greater international working class solidarity.

2. How do we work to raise level of class struggle, trade unionism? How build a conscious left in trade union movement? How can we initiate more Marxist-Leninist study groups among workers? How can we get more shop papers going? How increase circulation of DW and PW? (What improvements need to be made in these papers to make them even better instruments for raising level of consciousness of working class?)

3. Racism.
 - a. Around what key issues can we step up the struggle against racism and for Black, Brown and white unity?
 - b. Seeing wage controls as one such issue how concretely can we raise the level of struggle against racism in the process of the struggle against wage controls?
 - c. What examples do we have in our own ranks of concrete struggle against racism in the shops and unions?
 - d. How can we bring the fight for the freedom of Angela Davis to every member, industry and union in the country and move the labor movement into this struggle in a central way?
 - e. What are the problems that hold us back from struggling more boldly and effectively on this question?

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment has been a sharp and growing problem for U.S. workers for several years now. Conservative official government figures estimate that the unemployment rate this year for all workers averaged around 5-6-7%, in reality 10%. For youth the rate was around 13% and for Black youth it reached genocidal proportions of 35-50% in major urban areas.

Because of a number of factors we can expect that unemployment will continue to rise, and that the problem of job security will be one of the biggest problems facing the U.S. working class. Approximately 5,200,000 more people will be looking for jobs next year than were seeking jobs this year. There will be 190,000 returning vets, 132,000 government workers laid off by Federal cutbacks, 600,000 workers laid off in defense related industries, 2,000,000 displaced by technology, speed-up; 300,000 whose jobs will be exported by multi-national corporations to low-wage countries and 2,000,000 new youth entering the labor market. To this should be added 800,000 workers who have given up looking for work entirely.

Thus, a minimum of around 11 million people will be without jobs this year. If the economy picks up, even temporarily, some of them will find some kind of work; but most will remain unemployed and living in severe deprivation.

Questions:

1. What kind of program do we need to organize the unemployed?
2. How can we stimulate T.U. movement to show greater concern for their unemployed members and to organize a movement to fight for jobs?
3. How can we help to develop a fight back against the efforts of the Nixon administration to force welfare recipients to take jobs at wages which undermine union wage standards? How can we coordinate these efforts in a United Front struggle with National Welfare Rights Organizations?
4. How can the efforts of TUAD to start a movement against unemployment be assisted and strengthened?
5. Why has rank-and-file movement not succeeded in organizing unemployed so far?

BLACK WORKERS

Over the past several decades there has been a major shift of Black people from rural areas in the South to urban areas in the North and South and from working on the land to working in basic industry. Black workers now comprise a substantial proportion of workers in key points in the production process in many

of the basic industries. Due to racist policies by the companies, the jobs held by Black workers in industry are the hardest, hottest, heaviest and often the lowest paying jobs with the least opportunity for advancement. Superexploited and oppressed, Black workers have exhibited a militancy and readiness to fight the boss which is greater than is exhibited by workers across the board. The impact of the national liberation movements, the decade of struggle of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s and the further developments within Black liberation movement in recent years have contributed further to this militancy on the part of Black workers, and has helped to bring about a high level of political consciousness and openness to advanced ideas as well. These factors make it likely that Black workers can play a very key role in their shops among Black and white workers and in the Black communities in the fight against the new economic policies.

Questions:

1. What is new in relation to Black workers in this period? Special militancy of?
2. What are the special discriminatory effects of the N.E.P. on Black and other nationally oppressed workers?
3. Is there a need for a form to coordinate nationally the many Black caucus movements that are springing up all over the country? If so, what type of form should this be? What relationship should such a form have to TUAD? What is the relevance of the NALC as a national form?
4. What special forms exist or need to be built to deal with the special problems of Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian-American workers?
5. How do we see linking up the struggles of Black workers in their shops and unions with the struggles of the Black community to defeat the N.E.P. and advance the struggle for democracy and socialism? In what way do militant struggles of Black workers at point of production enhance their ability to give leadership to the Black liberation movement and how can this be enhanced?

INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

Questions:

1. How can community clubs more effectively aid the comrades in the shop or in shop clubs? E.g., how can the community clubs help the workers do what they want to do in the shops, put them in touch with other, experienced comrades and become an apparatus for servicing the workers? How can community clubs pass on contacts made through their community work to workers in the shops? If there are no comrades in a concentration shop or industry, how can community clubs help to get a shop club started? How can community clubs make more effective use of the DW and PW, shop bulletins, newsletters, etc., to aid in the building of shop clubs?

2. How can we overcome the separation that exists in too many districts between trade union work and other political work? How can we overcome the idea that industrial concentration is seen as the responsibility of the shop and industrial clubs and not of the Party as a whole?

3. How do we overcome the notion that industrial clubs are an end in themselves rather than a staging area for the development of shop clubs which are the most concrete form for carrying out industrial concentration?

Some additional questions that need to be dealt with in resolution:

1. What restructuring of trade unions is needed to meet and combat conglomerate developments? How do this in such a way as not to take even more power out of hands of rank-and-file?

2. What is our attitude toward who controls union welfare and pension funds?

3. How do we mount a campaign for shorter work week, no cut in pay (as positive gain that can be made even under wage control program and which will help ease unemployment problem for workers, especially young workers)?

4. How do we help develop a rank-and-file movement to give life to the fight the unions are making for comprehensive health insurance from cradle to grave?

5. How can we stimulate trade union movement to fight against tax increases?

Appendix:

Failure of Nixon Administration to provide an adequate welfare program hits first the poverty families. According to the official definition, the number of people living in poverty increased in 1970 to 25,500,000, an increase of 1,200,000 over 1969.

Of the total, 7,650,000 were Black and 2,300,000 were Spanish-speaking (mainly Chicano and Puerto Rican), 15,300,000 were white, and the remaining few were Indians and other nonwhites.

The poor Blacks were 34% of all Blacks, and the poor Spanish-speaking 24% of all Spanish-speaking.

Of course, most hurt by this lack of an adequate welfare programs are persons on welfare themselves. There are over 41 million of these, of which nearly half are Black, Chicano and and Puerto Rican.

Also, the failure to provide federal aid to cities and states is costly to all people, but especially so to people living in central cities.

As of 1970, there were 58,635,000 people living in central cities, or 29% of the population. Of these, 12,587,000 were Black, or 55.2% of the total Black population.

Most hurt, in terms of school and pre-school aid, are the children. There are 16,589,000 children 15 years old and under living in central cities. Of these, 4,805,000 or about 30%, are Black. Another one to one and one-half million are Spanish-speaking.

* * *

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrades:

This letter is from the mother of nine children who lives in the Rocky Mountain area:

"There should be a government paid wage for women who choose to raise children as their vocation, so that they may do this with freedom to marry without becoming an economic slave. Training and preparation for this vocation is necessary and should be made available to prospective parents. To be a parent should be a free and voluntary choice, and this can't be unless both are economically independent.

Most women who go out to work must take meaningless and irrelevant jobs. Whereas, to me, and I imagine to many other women, the shaping of human beings is a fantastically interesting job. On the other hand, women who have children and find this life impractical or unbearable should be relieved of the duty of raising them. For we all should be able to contribute what is best for us to contribute.

If the parties want to dissolve a marriage, it should be done without terrible economic hardship on both sides that makes many women enslaved."

We hope that you will include this contribution to the pre-Convention discussion in Party Affairs.

Sincerely, P.B.

Dear Comrades:

In the last year or two there's been a great improvement in the issuance and distribution of communist literature, but we're still lacking in one important area. We need to greatly expand the production of pamphlets and brochures that speak to the masses of working people about specific issues, and in language they can understand. I have several proposals in this regard:

1) We need a short readable pamphlet on the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism. This should be based on the Party program (which is much too long to be used as such), and can cover such questions as how capitalism works, mechanics of surplus value, socialism. An excellent model for such a pamphlet is a work called "Socialism- What's in it for you?", by A.B. Magil (issued in 1946). The author has mastered the art of breaking down complex theories into matter-of-fact language that makes sense to average people.

2) We need to again begin issuing material about our Party, once more making sure that it is comprehensible to masses of people. We need a short brochure that briefly outlines the principles and programs of the CP, followed by something on "why you (the reader) should join the Party." We need more than a coupon in the Daily World. These should be supplemented by short pamphlets dealing with the Communist position on specific questions. The Hall-Tyner campaign is a perfect vehicle for the distribution of such material.

3) Whatever happened to the practice of printing statements by notable individuals on "why they joined the Communist Party?" Such statements can be of great value in recruitment. How about beginning with mass distribution of such a statement by Comrade Angela?

(Continued on Page 23)

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED

By a Tennessee Shop Worker

I think that it is especially important in this period to take a fresh look at the slogan, "Organize the Unorganized." Under the guns of Nixon's and monopoly's attack, many of the hardest hit workers don't even have basic trade union organization with which to fight back. A large percentage of these

workers are Black and other minorities, women and youth.

An important feature of this period is the intermeshing of the political and economic struggles of workers. This means that we as Communists have an important role to play in the politicalization of economic struggles. I think this means we must see "organize the unorganized" as a political and a mass slogan, not a slogan just for the trade unions but a slogan for anti-monopoly coalitions.

Large numbers of unorganized workers are Black. Organizing these workers can bring together coalitions of mass organization, i.e., SCLC, NWRO, etc., with trade unions. This in turn can be an important way of bringing Black liberation into the unions and bringing Black workers into mass people's organizations.

For young workers in and out of the unions this slogan is important. Many young workers, because of the class collaborationist or do-nothing approach of some labor leaders, see unions as dead organizations. A militant and political approach to organizing can make young workers turn around and take a second look at the unions and their role in the class struggle.

Let's speak of the slogan in terms of some specifics of the period--the wage freeze and monopoly's all-out attempt to destroy and outlaw the unions. Not only are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, women and young workers frozen in the lowest paying categories, but Phase II with its 5.5% limit on increases acts to discourage workers from ideas of getting together to fight back. Who wants to join a union that can only offer token increases? Plus, in the attack on unions a major tactic is to split the large unions from the small ones with bogus theories about "labor monopolies."

Isn't it true that workers unity and solidarity were important weapons for defeating past attacks? Isn't "organize the unorganized" a slogan that can be used to help build unity and solidarity, not to mention the unions? And wouldn't an approach that said, "organize to beat the freeze," "organize to defend the unions," be an approach that could build the Left and intermediate forms such as TUAD, etc., in the unions?

We don't have to look very far to see the importance of the slogan to the South. Even sizeable sections of concentration industries can be found relocating in the "paradise" of an unorganized, right-to-work South.

What is the role of our Party in this? What do we do with "organize the unorganized?" We can make the fight for this slogan in our unions, primarily among the rank and file. We can make the slogan political and mass by our work in organizing committees and campaigns.

Obviously, I don't have a list of all the ways and means. But I would like to point out an example of a good approach to this question by some of our comrades in the YWLL.

In a Southern city the local branch of the YWLL is presently selecting an unorganized shop as a project to organize into a union. They are selecting the shop on the basis of its composition and situation in the city. They are developing a political approach including goals for involving people from the shop in other areas of struggle--the fight to free Angela, the peace movement, etc.

I think that this kind of creative activity should be carefully considered by Communist Party districts and clubs. I think this can be an aid in turning the whole Party to the working class.

* * *

PROPOSED AMENDMENT ON CULTURAL WORK RESOLUTION

By a group of comrades in
cultural work

A group of comrades believes the Draft Resolution on Cultural Work should be changed as follows: Eliminate the opening section and the section marked "I, The Dominant Culture." Replace those sections with the Draft Resolution which follows. Then continue with "II, The Second People's Culture."

The Dominant Culture

History produces no evidence of a culture that is non-partisan or outside class. Culture never exists in a vacuum --it is rooted in specific social and historic conditions, reflecting and serving the ideology and the needs of social classes.

In the United States, the advent of the mass media--TV, radio, movies, and the sixty million newspapers that roll off the presses every day--constitutes a vast network of power for the spokesmen and apologists of capitalism. Their chief weapons are anti-Communism (banking heavily on anti-Sovietism) and racism.

All of the media are in total agreement on certain key taboos: (1) Communists must be portrayed as criminals; (2) every slander of the Soviet Union must be played to the hilt; (3) references to Marxism-Leninism are practically nonexistent or distorted. Let a cultural worker break one of these taboos and he or she will be driven from the profession.

Since visual and sensual images, as well as appeals to the emotions and the imagination, influence human beings strongly, the ruling class has learned to manipulate its culture skillfully. The fact that everything is filtered through a class sieve is not easily apparent. The question of who owns the means of production never arises--it is "irrelevant" since it is assumed that monopoly ownership is perfectly consistent with the well-being of the people.

This is not to say that every creative worker involved in the production of this culture is conscious of his role as a puppet. Many artists would insist that they are functioning freely and even that they have been successful in introducing democratic concepts into the media. But they recognize all too well that it's an uphill fight to make a living and exercise one's craft outside the capitalist framework.

Racism pervades our land. It takes a multiplicity of forms, and it has culminated in the media's treatment of a distinguished woman, Angela Davis, Communist and instructor of philosophy, as if she were a common criminal. The media seek to obscure the fact that her persecution and that of many other Black militants are class actions intended to cover up the genocidal attacks upon the Black people in their communities and in the jails to which they are sent by racist courts and police.

To add to the confusion, publications like the New York Times, a few TV programs and some news weeklies publish material that is seemingly objective (as in the publication by the Times of the Pentagon Papers). Analysis and study invariably expose the covert class interest and the class divisions (greatly sharpened by the Indochina war) between sectors of the power elite. In its most serious crisis since the Civil War, capitalism is using every means at its disposal to brainwash the people. Led by the Nixon Administration, it threatens and manipulates the media for its own counter-revolutionary purposes.

* * *

MATERIAL FOR THE PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION:

Out of Indochina! Freedom for Angela Davis -- Gus Hall
Party Affairs, Daily World, Political Affairs
The House of Imperialism is Crumbling -- Gus Hall

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE IN THE U.S.

Fourth in series--Draft Theses on the Economy

Prepared by National Economic Commission

The largest oppressed people and, with the exception of the American Indian, the one subjected longest and most cruelly to oppression, discrimination, and superexploitation by the white capitalist class, has been the Afro-American people. This report presents some of the main facts on the economic and social conditions of the Black people.

Migration and Population

At the close of the Civil War there were about 4.5 million Blacks--13% of the total population. They almost all lived in the South. Many former slaves fled the South and ever since the tide of Afro-Americans has continued to flow outward from the area of their historical enslavement. The tide crested when World War I opened jobs for Black workers in the Northern and Western industries. With the mechanization of agriculture and the virtual demise of the sharecropping system, the white landowners pushed the Blacks off the farms. In each decade since 1940, about 1.5 million Blacks left the Southern states. However, owing to the relatively high birth rate, the absolute number of Black people in the South remained about unchanged, while the total in the remainder of the country increased rapidly

The U.S. Census reported 22.7 million Black people in 1970. However, the Census left out many Blacks--our estimate 3.3 million --so that the total Black population in 1970 was 26 million, evenly divided between the South and the rest of the country.

By 1970 only 4% of the Black population lived on farms, almost all of them in the South. About three-quarters of the population now live in metropolitan areas. However, 58% of the Blacks live in the central cities and only 16% in the suburbs; while 28% of the whites live in the central cities and 40% in the suburbs.

Class Structure

There is no substantial Black bourgeoisie. The 163,000 Black-owned firms reported in the recent Census are almost all tiny operations with total receipts amounting to only three-tenths of one percent of the receipts of all business firms in the country. There are only 41 Black-owned firms with 100 employees or more, and none with as many as 1,000 employees.

There is a Black petty bourgeoisie. In 1970, 3.5% of employed non-whites were classified as managers, officials and proprietors, and 1.0% as farmers and farm managers. That makes a petty bourgeoisie of 4.5% of the total. There are a substantial number of Chinese, Japanese, etc., included, so that the percentage for Blacks would be lower. In addition, 9.1% of employed Blacks are classified as professional and technical. Some of these are in the intermediate strata; a larger number are not very well paid workers--teachers, nurses aides, etc.

The remaining Black population, 86.4% of the total, are definitely workers. Of the non-white employed, 15.3% are non-professional white collar workers, and the remainder--the great majority--are manual workers.

The Black workers provide a disproportionate amount of the highly productive labor in the country's basic industries. In 1968, according to incomplete figures of the University of Pennsylvania, they were 18.6% of the production workers in auto, 10.0% in aerospace, 16.7% in the steel industry, 12.2% in the tire industry, and 9.2% in the chemical industry, and even 6.2% in the traditionally Jim-Crow petroleum industry. All of these percentages were increasing.

The Black workers are, on the average, more militant, more class conscious, more ready to organize and struggle. Despite the complete or virtual exclusion of Black workers from many unions, in 1966, while 31% of white male workers were members of unions, 35% of Black male workers were members of unions. Among female operatives, 35% of the whites and 38% of the Blacks were union members.

Job Discrimination

The Black workers are placed in the worst jobs in all industries. They have the most dangerous, dirty, lowest paying jobs. They are the last to be hired and first to be fired.

According to Labor Department statistics, Black workers in 1969 had 10% of the jobs in industry, but only 3% of the higher paid jobs, 5% of the upper medium paid jobs, 9% of the lower medium paid jobs, and 24% of the low paid jobs.

In nine industries with high average earnings the discrimination was just as bad. Black workers had 8% of the jobs but only 1% of the high paid jobs, 5% of the upper medium paid jobs, 11% of the lower medium paid jobs, and 17% of the low paid jobs. Thus very few Black workers benefited from the relatively high pay in these industries. In nine industries with a high proportion of Black workers, the Black workers had 18% of the total jobs, 7% of the higher paid jobs, 11% of the upper medium jobs, 14% of the lower medium jobs, and 28% of the low paid jobs.

In the Federal Government Blacks were 15% of the total employees, but only 3% of the higher paid jobs under the Federal Classification Act, 4% of the higher grade Postal Field Service jobs, and 9% of the higher paid blue collar jobs under the Federal Wage Systems classifications.

Black Women

Financial necessity forces Black mothers to work to a much greater extent than white mothers. This is especially difficult for mothers of young children. In 1969, while 45% of white women who were married or formerly married were in the labor force, 56% of non-white married or formerly married women were in the labor force. Among mothers with children under 5 years old, 27% of the white women, and 44% of the Black women were in the labor force.

Superexploitation of Black Working People

In 1970 the average income of white families was \$11,495, or \$4,053 more than the average income of Black families, \$7,442. There were 4,928,000 Black families. This number, multiplied by the average difference of \$4,053, makes a total difference of \$19,973,000,000, or nearly \$20 billion.

The average income of white single individuals was \$4,749. The average income of Black single individuals was \$3,171, or \$1,578 less. There were 1,746,000 Black single individuals. This number, multiplied by the average difference of \$1,578, makes a total difference of \$2,755,000,000. Added to the total difference for families, this makes a grand total difference of \$22,728,000,000 or nearly \$23 billion.

This is a minimum measure of the extra profits made by employers out of the special oppression and exploitation of the Black people, over and above the "normal" exploitation of Black and white workers alike by the capitalist class.

Unemployment

Nixon's economic policies failed to curb inflation and have been particularly cruel to Black workers, the worst hit by unemployment. (The New Economic Policy is even more cruel.) Over the past 20 years the rate of unemployment of non-whites has been about double that of whites. In 1970 the official rate was 4.5% for whites and 8.2% for non-whites. For the first half of 1971 they were 5.5% for whites and 9.7% for non-whites. The Black teenagers have been particularly hard hit. Among those in the 16-19 year age group the unemployment rate in the second quarter of 1971 was 15% for whites and 32% for non-whites. These official figures systematically understate the actual level of unemployment.

Income and Poverty

In 1970 34% of the Black people had incomes below the official poverty level, compared with 10% of the white people. This official level is well below what is commonly regarded as necessary to sustain life in reasonable health. For example, the food budget is designed to provide adequate nourishment for only a limited emergency period.

The percentage of poverty was twice as high among Black people in the South as among Blacks in the rest of the country. In the North 79% of the poor Black families lived in central cities,

14% in the suburbs, and 7% in the countryside. But in the South, the situation was different. There 25% of the poor Black families lived in central cities, 9% in suburbs, and 65% in the rural areas. Half of all southern rural Black families were below the official poverty level.

The extra-special oppression of Black people in the South is indicated by the median income in 1969 of families with heads under age 35. Black families in this group had median incomes of \$5,146 or 38% below the \$8,376 figure for similar white families. In the rest of the country such Black families had median incomes of \$6,938, or 26% below the comparable white median income of \$9,330.

At every educational level, Afro-American men, aged 25 to 54, have lower incomes than whites in the same age range. Blacks who have completed high school actually have a lower median income than whites who have only completed elementary school and the Black college graduate's median income is lower than that of white men with no education beyond high school.

Median Income of Men 25 to 54 Years Old
by Highest Grade completed, 1969

<u>Years of School Completed</u>	<u>Median Income, 1969</u>		<u>Black Incomes percent of white</u>
	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	
Elementary: Less than 8 years	\$3,922	\$5,509	71%
8 years	4,472	7,018	64
High School: 1-3 years	5,327	7,812	68
4 years	6,192	8,829	70
College: 1-3 years	7,427	9,831	76
4 years or more	8,669	12,354	70

Housing

The quality of housing occupied by Blacks varies widely between the South and the rest of the country: Three out of every ten housing units in the South occupied by Black families lacked some or all plumbing facilities, i.e., a flush toilet and a bathtub or shower for the exclusive use of the occupants of the unit and hot piped water. In the rest of the country one in twenty housing units lacked these facilities, whether occupied by Blacks or whites. Of course, these figures ignore the crowded, rat-infested housing existing in the Black ghettos.

Health

The physical well being of a people can be indicated by several indices: maternal and infant mortality, life expectancy, i.e., the average years of future lifetime for persons of a given age, and the incidence of disabling illness. Non-whites are at a disadvantage relative to whites by each of these yardsticks.

1968	Non-white	White
Maternal deaths per 1,000 live births	0.6	0.2
Infant deaths below age 1 per 1,000 live births	34.6	19.2
Life expectancy in years		
At age 25	42.6	48.6
At age 45	26.2	30.0
At age 55	19.2	21.8
	Non-white	White
Days of disability per person per year (1969)		
Restricted-activity days	15.7	14.6
Bed-disability days	7.2	5.9
Work-loss days (persons age 17 and over currently employed)	7.1	4.9
School-loss days (ages 6 to 16 only)	4.7	5.5

The lower number of school-loss days for non-whites may reflect, in part, the smaller percentage of teenage non-whites enrolled in school and also a tendency on the part of white parents to keep their children home from school for minor conditions more frequently.

Conclusion

For the sake of conciseness much of the data has been confined to the latest material available, with no analysis of trends. Through strenuous struggle, the Black people have made gains in recent years in many of the areas cited, in job status, in income, in health, and in education. Gains have been made in political organization and position, which is not covered in this article. However, the gains have not been great, especially when the relative position of white and Black people are considered. Racist monopoly capital, requiring a reserve army of workers compelled to sell their labor at the lowest wage when needed, and to be discarded when needed no longer, spares no effort to slow and reverse the gains of the Black people. These racist policies, designed to weaken the potential power of the working class by pitting worker against worker and diverting attention from the owners of the factories, land and financial institutions that exploit both Black and white must be exposed to all, regardless of the color of their skins or their ethnic background, to all who suffer from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

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THE FIGHT FOR HIGHER STANDARDS

By M.R., New York

Much has been written on the qualities of a Communist and on the need to fight continually for higher standards. To fight for higher standards, it is necessary to study the lives of outstanding Communist leaders and rank-and-file members. Such examination can help us understand how the Communist Party has produced such people, where high standards come from and what are and are not high standards. Sometimes older comrades are critical of younger comrades for inadequate communist standards and sometimes younger comrades are critical of older comrades on the same grounds.

Marxism-Leninism, of course, rejects any concept that high standards is a function of any particular age of a communist but rather sees it as a reflection of understanding, of ideology. Forms of activity and of expression of high standards will vary with age and life situation.

Some youth coming toward our movement have expressed admiration that the Communist Party alone seems to produce people who can go through an entire lifetime and as seniors continue to show a spirit of fervent dedication to socialist revolution. It is often said that if you see a mass demonstration of youth somewhere and in the crowd there are a number of senior citizens, you can almost bet they are Communist Party products.

Recently a memorial meeting was held in Los Angeles for such a rank-and-file Communist. Portions of the tribute paid Comrade Nathan are reprinted here in the hope they will help us produce many more Nathans in the future.

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Excerpts from a speech by Clara, Southern California

What is that ingredient that Nathan possessed that aroused so much respect of everyone of us present here and all those who knew him? First, he was a very principled man and he never compromised with his principles. Foremost, what characterizes Nathan is the fact that he was a Marxist and believed in socialism as it is practiced in the Soviet Union.

There was such perfect harmony between his theory and practice that not only was he at peace with himself, but others got a sense of that harmonious feeling when in his company. He was a student of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the best of his ability he tried to apply it in his daily life. When he met with opposition to his views he did not become emotional or aroused, but pursued in explaining his

views and convictions in the most self-respecting, convincing manner. He never compromised on basic principles, but was very flexible in working with people who did not share his views. This won him many friends and admirers.

He was a very modest, almost humble man, rather terse with his words, but the few he spoke had depth and profundity. He never spoke about his personal achievements. He was sorry that his age prevented him from more active participation in the stormy class struggle, but he made up for it by always bringing in more money for his beloved paper, the Peoples World, for Angela Davis' defense, for peace. While suffering with a heart ailment, and at the advanced age of 86, he was able to somehow get around and collect those enormous sums of money. He really put us to shame in that field of activity.

He was very much interested in the Black liberation movement, in Chicano work, in the struggle against racism and white chauvinism, in the Middle East and especially in youth work. He led discussions in the above fields. What made his eyes glitter was when he led a discussion on the 24th Congress of the Soviet Union and its achievements.

He was not only a creative student and activist of Marxism-Leninism, but he was an artist in his own right. Perhaps he would have been more recognized in that field too, if not for his shyness and genuine modesty. He told us that at 70 years of age he considered himself quite young and he started attending an art school for painting.

Then the last scene in the hospital just one day before the operation, Jack and I visited him. He did not speak too much about himself, his coming surgery, but about the events on the outside, the struggles that are raging. He wanted to know the minutest details of victories and setbacks. Again that deep concern, dedication, involvement, just hours before such serious surgery.

Even now I see him vividly bringing in those sums of money for his and our beloved paper, the Peoples World and while he is not here in person, his spirit to build the PW, to struggle for peace, for racial equality, for socialism hovers all over the room.

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(Continued from page 13.)

4) Part of the task of educating the people about the Party is in getting out our program and principles, but equally important is the task of combatting the widespread bourgeois notions of what a Communist is. Henry Winston wrote a pamphlet some time ago called "What it Means to be a Communist." We need more written material of this type, to educate the masses about the true nature of communists, but also to help give new recruits a real sense of the kind of organization they're joining. Liu Shao Chi's pamphlet of 1948, "How to Be a Good Communist" should be considered for re-publication, along with more timely material on the subject.

J.E. Wisconsin District

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ON INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY

By Phil Bart

The Theses for the 20th National Party Convention gives a sound estimate of the problems before us. In its final form, it will give direction for the work of our Party in the coming period. The discussion, therefore, is most timely.

In discussing the Theses I want to deal with one aspect: the struggle for international working class solidarity. The meeting of 75 Parties held in Moscow in June, 1969, in which our Party participated marked a high point in the development of ideological unity on the central issues before the Marxist-Leninist movement. Our Party has consistently fought for international unity in the struggle against imperialism--firstly, U.S. aggression in Indochina.

In a period of sharp imperialist adventures, particularly its attack on underdeveloped countries, chauvinist and racist ideology is accelerated. We Communists, living in the most powerful imperialist nation, must be constantly on the alert to its poisonous influences. Comrade Gus Hall directed his fire to this phenomenon when he stated at a recent meeting of the National Committee that "the growth of U.S. imperialism (has marked) a steady growth of U.S. great power chauvinism..." He concluded that "this current affects most sections of our people. ("Racism: The Nation's Most Dangerous Pollutant")

The Party's stand in the struggle for internationalism is one that we can be proud of. This is true in its participation in and leadership to the movement to end the war against Vietnam. It helped elevate the consciousness of many sections, especially youth, to the realization that these adventures are a part of an imperialist policy. It thereby enhanced anti-imperialist consciousness. Although this understanding is still in an early stage it requires consistent attention by us. The Party's speedy response in support of the Warsaw Pact nations defending the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia won international admiration.

U.S. imperialism is in serious crisis, affecting its domestic and foreign relations. As a result it places the greatest burdens on the workers and the people as a whole. Wage freeze,

inflation, and governmental regulations are introduced into the lives of the people. Its ideologues seek to detract from the responsibility of capitalism for this condition. "The fault lies elsewhere and not with the monopolists."

One of the reasons given for acute unemployment is the establishment of factories in Europe, especially in Asia and Latin America. This has the blessing of the top labor bureaucracy. It is well to recall when the vast riches from Latin America were stolen by U.S. imperialism (copper, oil) that not a sound was heard from the same labor oligarchy.

In time of serious unemployment workers are ready to grasp at any straw in the hope of getting a job. This must be of greatest concern to us. The tempting appeal by the Meanys that "your job is being exported" becomes attractive. This is especially true in such industries as textile, clothing and electrical appliances.

But the question arises: what have they done to the continuous erosion of employment due to automation, speed-up and the introduction of new machinery. They have resisted the move for shorter hours; for the cry that industrial towns cannot be turned into ghost towns and whole sections of the population thrown on the scrap heap. Of course, this does not answer the immediate needs of the millions of jobless. The question is: does the "exporting of jobs" ameliorate the situation. In reality this situation will not be solved by expecting that multi-national corporations return their foreign investments to the U.S. It only creates an illusion, a hope which will not be realized.

The multi-national corporations established elsewhere cannot be halted or their investments diverted to the U.S. Monopoly seeks and will continue to seek areas where it obtains the greatest returns on its investments. They can no more be curbed than the trusts were "curbed" in the early part of this century. They can be fought by the united efforts of the working class, greater international unity, and in the direction of nationalization, etc.

Meany & Co. have resisted every attempt to create international labor unity. He resists ties even with the conservative International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In his anti-Communist mania he has demanded that the U.S. Government refuse to pay its share to the International Labor Organization because it had elected, as one of its officials, a representative of the Soviet Union. In this effort he has the full support of anti-labor congressmen.

At a time when the greatest international unity is required, Meany seeks to isolate the American workers from all world ties. He pursues an "international" stance in support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam while severing all relations with established world labor bodies. A domestic class collaboration policy leads

logically to an international class collaboration policy. The monopolists are the gainers in both spheres and the working class the losers.

U.S. investments abroad take numerous forms. The multi-national is most prevailing. In most instances it establishes factories in foreign lands; in others, it forms partnerships with national corporate bodies. And at times its devious tricks do not even surface. To illustrate the point. The Guardian (London) reports that "in 1969 Tokyo exported goods worth \$200 million to Saigon and took return goods worth only \$3 million." Quite a haul! Japan exported 65 times as much as it imported from the U.S. puppet regime. Was this used for manufacture which later landed in the U.S.? Do we have here a partnership of U.S. and Japanese interests affecting the workers of both countries?

The threat of imports is now affecting most industries. It is used in an attempt to drive down wages of workers, as seen in the steel industry. The Party's Steel Commission exposed this well. It declared that "by raising the spectre of a 'foreign menace'" the steel corporations seek to keep "wage demands down to a minimum." ("Steelmill or Treadmill?")

Or let me take the more prevailing cry for reducing imports, which has been raised by the textile industry. They won their demand and an agreement was reached with Japan to reduce its imports. The employers are now in an even more favorable position. It has less competition from the outside. But how about the textile workers. What have they gained from this deal--a wage freeze. As usual Nixon paid off his southern allies.

A hue and cry goes up from the top bureaucracy about loss of jobs resulting from production in Mexico and other Latin American countries. But no attempt has ever been made to reach and cooperate with the workers "south of the border." And nothing is mentioned about Puerto Rico. Are the workers in the U.S. occupied islands paid any better? U.S. manufacturers do not have tariff barriers or other trade restrictions in this haven of sweat shop conditions. The AFL-CIO has some organization there, but what has been done to raise the conditions of these workers? To overcome "competition" they can help eliminate the wage differential there.

The whole concept of "job export" needs to be clarified. It even appears in some articles in our press. It is found in the Theses, which refers to a "struggle to restrain corporations from closing down plants and exporting jobs." A movement needs to be created against the closing down of plants and having workers drift without hope. This is a key question before the working class, before our Party. But the concept of "exporting jobs" is something else, as we have related here.

The struggle for international working class unity is an all pervading issue today. During the strike of British auto workers, Leonard Woodcock, head of the UAW, visited the trade unions there. Such exchanges are valuable, but unity requires more than such a step. It may require, during the coming period, exchanges of workers employed by the same monopoly. Let me recall that when Henry Ford was in Britain following the auto strike, he announced that he is moving a motor production plant back to Ohio. This, he said, would be a lesson for the British workers. This process can be reversed. It is a lesson for the Ford workers in Britain and in the U.S. -- for all workers.

The Party Program formulated our policy clearly. It remains a guide in our work. I am quoting at length from the Program:

"This truth was expressed more than a century ago in Marx's ringing call, 'Workingmen of all countries, unite!' This call is a thousand times more compelling today when operations of monopoly capital have become increasingly international in scope. The giant U.S. monopolies employ and exploit labor of all continents of the earth. Copper miners in the Rocky Mountains and copper miners in the Andes confront the same monopoly corporations. So do men on assembly lines in Flint and Detroit and those on assembly lines in Dusseldorf and Dagenham. As a matter of economic self-interest, therefore, American labor must strive for workingclass internationalism."

The section in the Theses on ideology deals with different anti-working class currents. This is essential. But it should include a section dealing with the struggle against chauvinism, the contributions made by our Party and the continued attention to international working class solidarity.

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CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM REVISITED

By a group of comrades in
the Behavioral Sciences

We would like to call attention to the following passage in the section on "The Party" in Draft Theses for 20th National Convention and to discuss its implications: ".....There are serious weaknesses in the functioning of Party clubs. Often they suffer from lack of initiative, lack of dynamic inner life, from routinism and conservatism. Underlying these weaknesses is a serious gap in communication between the party leadership on all levels

and the clubs.....With this there exist bureaucratic tendencies to by-pass the clubs, to work around them. (p. 66,67.)

We believe that a revitalized use of criticism and self-criticism is urgent today. The discussion that follows is not intended to provide answers but to open the whole question for further discussion.

One of the basic contradictions within our party involves what we are as individuals and how we behave as Communists in confrontation with the most intensive economic, political and social struggles of all time. On our agenda for action we strive to mount a well-thought out program against the inroads of the Pentagon and the great monopolies in their attacks against our living standards, our well-being, against the very survival of Black people in the slums and against the Vietnamese people in our incredibly evil war against them.

Such an agenda for action, however, must also be directed at the insidious onslaught of imperialism against people's minds, their emotions, values, attitudes and relationships with each other. Party members are not immune from this onslaught.

Our Party draws from among the best people of all classes, people with social conscience. But it was Marx who said that the conditions of life determine people's consciousness and certainly, the conditions of life under a corrupt and decadent system can prove very destructive of human personalities. Inevitably we bring to our clubs all our contradictions which reflect the contradictions outside.

Is our society racist? Then we must struggle with the reflection of this racism within ourselves as well as with its contradictions outside ourselves. Is our society competitive, opportunistic, male supremacist, alienated? We must overcome the contradiction between struggling against these daily manifestations of imperialism and their reflection within us at the same time. One cannot be done without the other. No one is pure.

It was Lenin who provided the answer--criticism and self-criticism. The process is not easy and it raises the complex problem of how people can offer and accept criticism and even more important, be self-critical. Lenin believed this to be the highest form of social behavior--a process through which Communists are trained to recognize the objective basis of their subjectivity and to see the dialectical relationship between the two.

Before such a process can take place, there must be real communication among comrades in the clubs. There is today too much discussion and too little communication, and where this

happens, alienation sets in. In some clubs, Roberts Rules of Order reigns supreme in the interest of expediting agendas. But there is a tendency to allow these rules not to expedite discussion but to stultify communication and prevent a real exchange of ideas. Except where there exists a quickening mood of controversy, rigid and often pontifical little speeches tend to be directed to the abstract political issue at hand with little active interchange going on. What is often lacking is a human quality, a feeling of responsiveness toward each other's ideas, toward each other's attitudes and feelings. Why are there comrades who sit silently meeting after meeting uninvolved and alienated? Why are they docile and uncritical in their acceptance of leadership? Why has leadership grown bureaucratic with so little communication with those in the clubs? There are no glib answers. But certainly there is a need to start listening and talking to each other.

There is a trend in our country to attempt to overcome alienation by attaining some kind of intimacy in sensitivity, confrontation of feeling, and other "therapy" groups as though mere intimacy in and of itself might solve basic problems. Such groups have little notion of the role of capitalist exploitation in causing alienation. Most do not yet see the economic and political need for a socialist revolution to ameliorate their own plight.

As Communists we do see the political realities more clearly, but what of the reflection of these realities within ourselves? Are we dealing with our own alienation from each other within the Party? How shall we move toward a more meaningful comradeship, an accountability for and to each other? For it is only within the context of this kind of human quality of acceptance that we can feel free to criticize others and to be self-critical of our own personal characteristics in relation to the racism reflected within ourselves, to the male supremacist attitudes, to the old-young conflicts and to many other contradictions.

Nor should such discussions, critical and self-critical, be considered to be turning inward. A comrade struggling with personal chauvinism will make a better fighter against ideological racism than one who is unaware of it. A comrade conscious of and fighting his own male supremacist attitudes will be the first to support more women in leadership positions in the Party and will be more effective in helping to politicalize the women's movement outside.

Criticism is necessary and must not be avoided, but criticism can be painful and so it must be given constructively and with comradely feelings. Only a Communist Party can truly employ this method of work because its goal is not individualistic or competitive, but one based on human and cooperative relationships. The growth of one comrade is the growth of all.

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CULTURE AND SOCIALIST REALISM

By Paul Levi, Arizona

I. Art is a special expression of man in that it is the union of thought and emotion, of present perception and past memory, of the general merging and being merged in the specific, of collective and individual. "The cardinal feature of art is that, in contrast to science, it reflects reality not in concepts, but in a concrete form perceivable by the senses, in the form of typical artistic images."¹

What does art have that it can capture the imaginations of people today and yet, like Greek and Roman art, last beyond its time? Bourgeois ideologists claim it is the ability of art to portray unchanging "human nature." This is, of course, nothing but reactionary philistinism inseparably linked to discredited theories of "art for art's sake."

Marxism-Leninism must probe deeper into this problem. Nevertheless, now we can say that an important part of that which allows art to outlive its origins and to grip the consciousness of masses is its ability to reflect the dialectical nature of change in man and society. Marxism-Leninism teaches that change and its dialectical nature are eternal and absolute. It is how these absolutes are reflected in Aeschylus or Homer and the fact that these reflections were true to reality that makes their writings still viable in the 20th Century. What is the significance of Milton's Paradise Lost for today if not its profoundly revolutionary essence, the fact that it is a poetic polemic against the feudal church and a proud exultation of the new bourgeois man?

II. Culture (in its earliest form, poetry) developed at the dawn of man from the economic needs of the tribe to organize collectively for some social purpose. "Unlike the life of beasts, the life of the simplest tribe requires a series of efforts which are not instinctive, but which are demanded by the necessities of a non-biological economic aim--for example, a harvest. Hence the instincts must be harnessed to the needs of the harvest by a social mechanism...Thus poetry, combined with dance, ritual and music, becomes the great switchboard of the instinctive energy of the tribe..."²

This origin from economic necessity points up the profound functionality of art. Its beginning and continued existence was predicated on the purpose it served. "Not poetry's abstract statement--its content of facts--but its dynamic role in society--its content of collective emotion--is therefore poetry's truth."³

With the division of society into classes, culture passed from the common treasury of the collective almost exclusively into the hands of the ruling class. Thereupon resulted an inevitable dichotomy between fine and useful arts. "In primitive society all culture is useful; that is why they have it. But in a society in which those who own and those who work are not the same people the division between fine and useful is at once likely to arise."⁴

The rise of capitalism saw a tremendous development of the fine arts in terms of quality and quantity. But just as any other part of the superstructure, art reflects the economic base from which it arises and bourgeois art is no exception. "It is an art which constantly revolutionizes its own conventions, just as bourgeois economy constantly revolutionizes its own means of production. This constant revolution...distinguishes bourgeois art from all previous art."⁵

It was later, after the further development of capitalism that socialist realism emerged. Socialist realism is a reflection of the outlook and aspirations of the proletarian class. It stands for a materialist representation of reality while examining the interrelationship between man and society. Socialist realism is openly partisan to the most progressive classes and sections of the societies it studies.

III. In this are far-reaching lessons for Marxist-Leninists work-in cultural fields.

First, the fact of the functionality of art. Either one's art serves to raise consciousness or it leads to one of the various dead-ends of capitalist (imperialist) culture. This especially true for Party artists. Lenin wrote in 1905:

"What is this principle of Party literature? It is not simply that, for the socialist proletariat, literature cannot be a means of enriching individuals or groups; it cannot, in fact be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat. Down with non-partisan writers! Down with literary supermen! Literature must become part of the common cause of the proletariat, 'a cog and a screw' of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the working class. Literature must become a component of organized, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work."⁶

Secondly, socialist realism must seek out the dialectic of the interaction between the individual and society. For this an understanding of the laws of dialectics is necessary. Otherwise errors of one kind or another are inevitable. Lack of understanding of the law of the unity of opposites will lead to cardboard characters, to stereotyped, simplistic proletarian heroes who bear little resemblance to reality. On the other hand, proletarian art cannot be so stark and realistic that it loses the important component of emo-

tional imagery. Failure to take note of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of change can lead to artificial or mechanistic portrayals of human relationships and their development.

It is sometimes thought that socialist realism only deals with life under capitalism or socialism. This is simply false-- socialist realism is in fact a method which searches out and highlights in human society what is old and going out of being and what is new and coming into being.

Thirdly, socialist realism does not despairingly portray the conditions of the exploited and alienated in a way leading to hopelessness or passivity. Rather, conscious of the motive force of history, it is imbued with the confidence and strength of the proletarian class and the socialist figure.

Finally, socialist realism can only develop when progressive artists are active in the people's struggles and view their creativity as the conscious development of that movement into the cultural sphere. Socialist Realism does not arise spontaneously; it must be consciously cultivated by proletarian artists. It is the duty of such artists everywhere to harness their creativity to the cause of proletarian revolution and socialist construction. As Lenin told Clara Zetkin:

"Art belongs to the people. Its roots should penetrate deeply into the very thick of the masses of the people. It should be comprehensible to these masses and loved by them. It should unite the emotions, the thoughts and the will of these masses and raise them to a higher level. It should awaken artists in these masses and foster their development."⁷

Footnotes:

- 1 V. Afanasyev, Marxist Philosophy, 1963, p. 346.
- 2 Christopher Caudwell, Illusion and Reality, 1947, p. 27.
- 3 Ibid., p. 30.
- 4 Arnold Kettle and V. G. Hanes, Man and the Arts, 1968, p. 5.
- 5 Caudwell, p. 57.
- 6 V. I. Lenin, On Literature and Art, 1967, p. 23.
- 7 Quoted in F. J. Klingender, Marxism and Modern Art, 1945, p. 46.