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Discussion Guide for Draft Main Political Resolution for the 21st National Convention, CPUSA

(The Discussion Guide for the Draft Main Political Resolution was sent to the clubs in mimeograph form a few weeks ago. We reprint it below so that it will be accessible to every member as a tool for pre-Convention discussion in the clubs and all Party bodies.)

In his opening remarks to the Central Committee meeting, Comrade Gus Hall indicated some central questions to keep in mind in discussing the Resolution. He states, "We must make sure that the assessment and analyses are not only correct but as precise as possible," and adds, does it give "a correct overall direction for the Party" and "a correct level of tactics that synchronize with the present level of mass patterns of thought and consciousness?"

He then emphasizes the need for "a working-class approach as a theme from the first to the last word" to give it "a correct Marxist-Leninist framework" and to "measure up theoretically."

He then warns that "some sections do not stand out sharply enough" and possibly "we may have missed some questions entirely."

In suggesting goals to be accomplished by the Convention, he asks, "Can we now, in a new way, raise the work of the Party qualitatively to a higher level?" And "does the draft give such a lead?" And further, "Can we now make a decisive turn in the role and life of the clubs, ... can we now, in a better way fulfill the leadership gap in mass struggles," and "provide leadership that measures up to the objective possibilities?" He calls for "Communists becoming better mass leaders--united front leaders" and expresses the need to "raise the ideological level of the Party to a new level."

"In short," he summarizes, "how can we best prepare a Draft Resolution so that it will be a continuous prod, a continuous guide for every member of our Party, ... a document that will help force changes in the everyday work of the Party?"

Those guidelines for the discussion in the Central Committee meeting can also apply for discussions in clubs and leading committees as well as for members in preparation of articles for pre-Convention discussion. The following brief series of questions are given to aid in the discussion, without pretending to deal with

everything in the Draft Resolution.

I. ON THE INTRODUCTION

Since our Convention comes in the period of the Bicentennial, how would you elaborate on the points made in this introduction in discussing the class struggles and the role of the working class with workers who participate in Bicentennial events?

What should be the point of emphasis in leaflets issued by your club on these occasions?

II. THE WORLD SCENE

1. What event marked the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, and what is the character of the general crisis?

2. What is the significance of "the coming together of all contemporary revolutionary forces into a united anti-imperialist alliance of socialist states, the forces of national liberation, and the democratic movements of the capitalist countries led by the working class"?

3. What are the factors which characterize the current new stage in the general crisis of capitalism? How does this influence the struggle for detente? Does this change the nature of imperialism? Discuss the shift in the balance of the overall quality of life between the two systems.

4. How is Maoism an accommodation, a capitulation to the wishes of imperialism, and how has Maoism worked contrary to the program of the peace movement?

5. What is the nature of this epoch and its place in history? How can this strengthen the peace movement and the struggle against imperialism?

III. THE GENERAL CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

Briefly, how does the new stage of the general crisis make itself felt in all aspects of national life? What are the sharpened dangers and what are the mounting anti-monopoly struggles? What can your club contribute to new victories on a new plane?

1. The Crisis of United States Foreign Policy.

- a) What is the policy of U.S. imperialism and what are its tactics in today's balance of world forces with the forces of world revolutionary process in the dominant position and determining world events?

- b) Discuss the struggle for detente and the specific areas of resistance.

2. The Economic Crisis

- a) What are the factors in the present depression, the crisis of inflation and overproduction?
 What is the source of mounting inflation and who is hit hardest?
 What is the character of growing unemployment and who is hit hardest?
 What other factors contribute to the deepening depression?
 Why do economists, propagandists and bi-partisan politicians use the term "recession"?
- b) Discuss the energy crisis.
- c) What is the bi-partisan ruling class program as to the depression?
- d) What is the program of the people's struggle against inflation and unemployment and the depression?

3. The Decay of Bourgeois Democracy

- a) Discuss the inherently anti-democratic character of state monopoly capitalism; the increased danger of ultra-right violence; the use of racism as a virulent weapon of monopoly capital in assaults against Black Americans, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed peoples; and concrete steps toward fascism and the destruction of the democratic rights during this period of the decay of bourgeois democracy.
- b) How can the mass struggles of the people defeat the threat of fascism?
 What has been the impact of Watergate in the thinking of millions?
 How can the masses be united in struggle?

IV. MASS MOVEMENTS

Introduction

With new waves of mass struggles and the working class coming increasingly to the forefront, how do you see our Party fulfilling its vanguard role? What steps can a Party club take to overcome routinism and participate in organizing and leading united front struggles and movements in the nine major areas discussed in this section?

1. The Trade Union Movement.

- a) How do you see a new, left trend and the eleven other

expressions of new trends in labor, as listed in the Resolution, influencing the work of your club? Does your club apply the policy of industrial concentration in its plan of work?

With the class collaborationist policies of the AFL-CIO leadership in a crisis, what can your club do to strengthen the trend toward class struggle trade unionism?

Discuss the necessity of the building of rank and file movements around struggles on specific issues.

What is the meaning of "class struggle trade unionism?"

Discuss the necessity of "maximum unity of the working class" and of "winning white workers to a mighty assault against racism within the framework of the class struggle and in their own working-class interests."

Discuss the role of young workers and women workers in the trade unions and the need to give special attention to their full participation in the unions.

Discuss the new program demands which came with the growing economic depression, the necessity to organize the unorganized, the struggle against racism and anti-communism in the unions, and the need to strengthen by every means the struggle against monopoly capital, the multi-national corporations--the "boss-employer as the real enemy and the exploiter of the working class."

2. Political and Electoral Struggles

Discuss the growing disaffection from the ruling class two-party system, the varied forms of independent political action, and the possibility of a "new people's anti-monopoly political vehicle for 1976."

What can be done by your club to strengthen working-class electoral independence? What positive relations can be established with independent candidates who may continue with independent forms within a major ballot-status party? What steps are being taken now to guarantee the Communist Party candidates are on the ballot for the 1976 elections in every possible state? Looking toward 1976, certain aspects of our work are stressed in five points. How can your club implement these points?

3. The Black Liberation Movement

The struggle for Black liberation is a central factor in all struggles for social progress in this country. It is in the self-interest of the whites to eliminate racism and to struggle for Black liberation. How is this being implemented by your club and by the entire Party membership?

Only the monopoly corporations profit from racial and national

oppression. Racism is their weapon against the working class. What more can your club do to expose the role of monopoly capital--of specific corporations--in fostering racism?

The import of the economic crisis on the Black community, on Black youth, on Black workers is being revealed in many studies, surveys, newspapers and other media--but what is being done about it amounts to racist neglect. What use is being made of all such material and what forms of struggle against racism are being developed in your area by your club?

There are many forms which call for support, such as the Congressional Black Caucus and the varied organizations influencing the election of Black public officials, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the National Anti-Imperialist Conferences in Solidarity with African Liberation, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, as well as the NAACP, the Urban League and other organizations. Every Party club needs to re-examine what is on its agenda in the struggle against racism.

4. National Group Oppression

How are people already suffering from special systems of racial and national oppression under monopoly capitalism special victims of the crisis developments? What is the relation of these struggles to the struggle for Black liberation?

The Chicano Movement and Struggles

Recognizing that the brutal oppression of the Chicano people by U.S. monopoly is the oppression of a national group gives a guideline to the struggle for national liberation.

That they are also an integral part of U.S. economic, social and political life with millions as wage workers and part of the working class gives the base for broad, massive support to their struggle.

How, then, have we helped develop the struggle against anti-Chicano chauvinism? How is this expressed in the field of political action?

What is the relation of the Chicano liberation struggles to the struggle to build the United Farm Workers and to the full participation of Chicano workers in other unions such as unions of steel and copper mining? How can the struggle against massive brutal deportations be strengthened?

The Movement and Struggles of the Puerto Rican Community

The struggle for Puerto Rico's independence from U.S. imperialism and the struggles for complete economic, political and social equality of Puerto Ricans in the United States are separate, but are also closely intertwined. How have our Party clubs participated in these struggles? What has been our activity against anti-Puerto Rican chauvinism in the mass movement and unions?

Indian Liberation

The struggles of the one million Native Americans against repression, racism, discrimination and impoverishment, for Indian liberation and the democratic right of full freedom of choice with respect to jobs, residence, education, culture and all other aspects of life include many historic and important developments during recent years. How have our Party clubs been involved? What support have we mobilized for their struggles? How can the working class movement become more related to their struggles? How can the genocidal oppression of the Native American Indians become a feature of Bi-centennial events?

Asian People in the United States

Many volumes could be written to expose the brutal, racist practices by U.S. monopoly capital against Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean and other peoples for more than a century, and we must be vigilant and specific in this fight against chauvinism and racism. Many are also victims of the racist deportation practices of the Immigration Authorities in the service of monopoly capital.

Many special problems must be tackled, including their full participation in the trade union movement, in the anti-monopoly struggles, in community activities and organizations especially in relation to housing, education, health and correct relations to the Black Liberation and other national liberation struggles. This also requires a special struggle against the influence of Maoism. How has your club been able to support these struggles against racism and chauvinism?

5. The Peace Movement

The struggle for Peace--for detente, for slashing the military war budget and using those appropriations for the needs of the people--continues as a central task. The events in Chile, the role of U.S. imperialism in the Mid East and other parts of the world, the role of the Pentagon, the C.I.A. and other agencies clearly demand constant activity in this area. The national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles in Southeast Asia, in the Mid East and in Africa continue to advance and call for support. How is this area of struggle tied up with the struggles against inflation and unemployment? How does this get expression in the political action field? What are the organizational forms that need special attention?

6. Economic Struggles

Discuss the struggle against inflation and unemployment, the National Coalition actions and their influence upon the labor movement, the Party initiative in relation to the November 16 demonstrations--and now the massive actions of the unions and National Coalition toward the April 26 demonstrations. Are we utilizing our full potential to move millions and participate with them in this key period of struggle? While there is so much activity with literally growing millions of workers unemployed and ever greater numbers

victims of inflation, demands for program, action and leadership are on the agenda. With many new forces coming into the struggle, especially from the trade union movement as well as in relation to the national coalition, our Party has ever greater responsibilities. The question Comrade Hall raised can again be asked, "Can we now, through our clubs, fulfill the leadership gap in mass struggles?"--and "can we provide leadership that measures up to the objective possibilities?"--and "what are we doing for Communists to become better mass leaders--united front leaders?" This objective structure is such that every club can have a role in these crucial struggles in "the formation of local action-oriented coalitions and centers." This section of the Resolution needs immediate implementation and "every Party club and section of the Party can be involved."

7. Agriculture Today and Farmers' Struggles

The farm problem is considered at some length in the Resolution, partly because the agricultural problems and farmers' struggles have not been on our agenda, and mainly because the rural areas need help on a whole series of points and the farmer needs to be won as an ally in the struggle against monopoly. The struggles of the United Farm Workers have been historic and of great importance and deserve continued attention and support. That does not meet the problems of the family-size farms and their organizations for struggle against monopoly agri-business, and against the mortgage holders. Attention must be given to the farmer in every state as one of essential forces in an anti-monopoly coalition and for independent political action.

8. Women's Equality

What is the role of women in the work force and in unions and working class organizations?

The struggle for women's equality and against the ideology of male supremacy is a struggle which must be consistently developed, especially among the male section of the population.

What are the demands which will bring equality to women in the work force, on the job and in unions? What special attention must be given to Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican and other specially oppressed women?

Discuss the role of various organizations of women and the need for an advanced women's organization led by working-class women.

9. The Youth

For the youth, the present crisis is most marked in the fields of employment, education and culture. What is the rate of unemployment among Black youth, and among all youth?

With an increase of youth in the work force, has there been a corresponding increase of youth in unions? What is their role in rank and file movements?

The cut-backs in funding young students indicate the negative attitude of the government toward the education of working class youth. Discuss the role of the youth in relation to the military.

Discuss the continued radicalization of the youth and the struggle against the ultra-Left.

What are the main features of a program for the youth today in various fields--in employment and the depression, in education and cultural fields, and in the field of political action?

Discuss the relations between the Communist Party and the YWLL.

10. Party Tasks

Discuss the role and responsibility of the Party for the organization of eight mass movements.

What recent organizational experiences provide lessons for some intensive organizing in the eight mass movements?

These tasks are realistic for today, and should be tackled now. What can your club do to carry out these tasks?

V. THE PARTY

Introduction

Discuss the advantages gained by the democratic mass movement and struggles with the participation of the Communist Party in such struggles. How is the vanguard role of the Party expressed and why is it not only essential but also indispensable?

1. Status of Party Work and Organization

Give examples in the class struggle of how our Party has grown in influence and strength with the masses, reaching millions of people through the election campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner in 1972 and by others in the recent local elections, and by the campaign for the freedom of Angela Davis followed by her continuing activity as a member of our Central Committee, and many other mass events.

Discuss our contribution to the united front in concrete mass struggles such as the July 4th Demonstration in Raleigh and the role of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and in the November 16th demonstrations against inflation and unemployment in 40 cities, and the role of the National Coalition in this area, and the many demonstrations against the Junta-C.I.A. fascist destruction of democracy in Chile, and many other events.

Discuss the political contribution in the struggles of the rank and file in the shops and unions, in the fight against racism on many fronts and struggles for democratic victories today and the anti-monopoly coalition as an essential step on the road to socialism.

What has been the role of the increased circulation of our Press, publications and literature in advancing Marxist-Leninist ideology?

What concrete steps can be taken to bring our recruitment of new members in accord with our role in mass struggles? How can we improve our policy of industrial concentration and strengthen even more our Party in basic industry shops?

What steps need to be taken to improve our standards of Communist membership, our collectivity, the life of our clubs, and the application of democratic centralism?

2. Party Building

This needs much more analysis and attention. We are recruiting, but it in no way measures up to our growth in influence.

This substantial section of the Resolution opens up the discussion of many factors involved in Party building.

While Party building is a constant responsibility, is it necessary to have a national, fully organized Party building campaign to overcome the routinism of day-by-day recruiting?

What materials are needed? What are the subjective obstacles--problems within our Party--which need solution to open the doors to new members? What outside and anti-Party forces are creating obstacles and what problems are tackled or overlooked in the Draft Resolution?

How can we say that our Party is indispensable unless we also plan and organize the building of the Party?

3. Standards of Party Work

The development of high standards of Party work is an essential factor in Party building and distinguishes our Party as a Party of a special character, a working class Party. How would you elaborate this feature?

At a time when masses are disillusioned with other parties, sects and fly-by-night outfits, what are we doing to explain and publicize those qualities of our Party which meet their needs and are not to be found in any other party?

Why are democratic centralism, discipline and non-factional methods essential to meet the needs of the working class and masses in struggle?

Many points are discussed in this section. Have they been discussed in the club and with what results?

4. Ideological Struggle

While capitalism in crisis demonstrates bankruptcy and decadence,

Analysis of the Joelle Fishman Campaign

By Joelle Fishman

The following is a section of a report to the State Council of the Connecticut District, January 5, 1975.

The experiences in the Communist campaigns this year showed that the electorate is open to our point of view. In Connecticut, the campaign was a major breakthrough in terms of getting the Party established publicly as an active force combatting anti-communism, and helping to build movements around the crisis of everyday living. We should be self-critical that it took so long for us to make the decision and get started.

A relatively small group of Party and YWLL comrades worked diligently to get enough signatures to put the Party on the ballot in Connecticut for the first time in 25 years. Critically, although we learned many lessons from the Hall-Tyner and Midge Purcell campaigns, we still did not broaden this aspect of the work properly. There was so much emphasis on collecting signatures on the street or door-to-door that comrades who were not in a position to do this were not integrated into the work.

The response to the campaign affirmed the mass revulsion to the two parties of monopoly. The entire scope of the campaign was made possible by the formation of the Independent Citizens Committee to Elect Joelle Fishman to Congress by a group of friends, 20 of whom were active members and another 60 who helped out in individual ways.

Throughout the campaign we tried to emphasize the key aspects of the crisis of capitalism: the role of the socialist countries, detente, the economic crisis and permanent aspect of the crushing inflation, exposition and rejection of the rising tide of racism and reaction, the present crisis of government and the need for independent political action. Forty thousand flyers on these topics were distributed, and six position papers were issued in the community. In retrospect, it was a weakness that we did not develop the concept of the meaning of socialism enough in our propaganda.

The campaign was given an action orientation with a delegation to Pathmark supermarket in East Haven in support of the Farmworkers, a picket line at United Illuminating Company protesting the exorbitant electric rates and calling for public ownership and public telegrams to Ford on Boston and the incumbent Robert Giaimo on the Byrd Amendment.

Giaimo (Democrat), James Altham (Republican) and Peter Koltypin (George Wallace Party) did not deal with issues for the most part but made general appeals based on experience, youth and anti-communism. All of them supported cold war policies during the campaign, and none of them offered a positive approach to eradicating racism. With his reactionary program, Koltypin paraded as the "third party candidate of working people," while Giaimo tried to upbraid him on the basis that George Wallace is a Democrat.

The campaign received an excellent response based on the issues and the projections for action it contained. In many cases people were exposed for the first time to such program demands as roll back prices, nationalize energy resources, no wage freeze, slash the military budget, peacetime conversion and a youth act providing unemployment compensation for first-time job seekers.

The highlight of the campaign was the address to the AFL-CIO Cope Committee to the State Convention where I received the best response of all the 3rd District Congressional candidates. Many unionists introduced themselves to me after indicating they were glad I was present. This response is the beginning of a fuller recognition of the role of the Communist Party and its supporters. Also important were handshake tours of Pratt Whitney (IAM), Sikorsky (Teamsters), Sargents (UE) and Southern New England Telephone Company (telephone workers union) and leafleting at many shops, especially in Winchester. Everywhere the response was enthusiastic, with different workers saying they had seen or heard me on TV and radio and were impressed.

When I appeared on an RSVP radio call-in show for two hours, there were no hostile calls, various friendly calls and some calls from small businessmen and others who liked the program and were struggling with the fact that this was the Communist Party program. There was also a good response in the suburbs at schools and League of Women Voters meetings which have led to subsequent speaking engagements.

An important show of support came with the public endorsement of ten clergy and laypeople in a press statement and Register (New Haven newspaper) ad. These members of the religious community were reacting to dissatisfaction with and frustrations over the other candidates because of their lack of interest in people's needs. During the campaign I was often on radio or TV news programs. There was some newspaper coverage. We placed ads on the radio and in newspapers. I had a total of 36 speaking engagements to various groups and meetings. The Citizens Committee maintained an office and raised nearly \$3,400.

As part of the campaign, the first large public meeting of a Communist candidate was held in a public school. Henry Winston got front page coverage in the Register. This experience is part of the defense of democracy for all left and people's groups.

BALLOT STATUS ACHIEVED

The campaign brought 2,307 votes or 1.3% of the registered voters in the district, with 1,000 in New Haven or 3% of the registered voters. The Communist Party now has minor party status in the Third

Congressional District and will automatically be on the ballot in two years. In the first ward in New Haven, we came in second to Giaimo, who won overwhelmingly in the district as a whole. Many people who didn't vote Communist accepted the program and took the campaign seriously.

Much was learned that will make the next campaigns more efficient and effective. With a campaign manager we would have been able to do much more. The committee is discussing what we learned from experience, why more people and organizations weren't involved or actively responsive and how the campaign could have been more of an organizing one, not only agitational.

The core of those involved on the Independent Citizens Committee has formed the nucleus of a New Haven People's Center Political Action Committee and is going to work on building a neighborhood organization against the huge utility bills. The group is helping on the January 15 People's Legislative Hearing and will explore the possibilities of a working class based people's party and other independent forms for the future. It has become very clear as a result of working with this committee that we need ideological clarity among ourselves as to what kind of party we would seek to build, how to build it and who could be involved. There will be a sub-section of the pre-Convention discussion resolution on our work in the political and electoral field. Hopefully such a discussion will develop. Now that we have gained ballot status we are in a much better position to make initiatives toward alliances and perhaps to be included as part of a broader ticket as we had desired from the first.

Many Party and League members from every city gave of themselves selflessly during the campaign, despite difficult work schedules, family responsibilities, other political assignments and so on.

The campaign magnified both the positive aspects and the problems within the Party at this moment. Had we achieved a greater degree of collectivity in working on the campaign, the additional work of the campaign could have been integrated into comrades' other political assignments and not have seemed to be opposed to them. As it was, contributions that comrades did make were often unplanned or haphazard so that the strength of the Party as an organization, for example, in insuring industrial concentration, was not felt as it should have been in adding to the work of the Citizens Committee.

Much of the problem in mobilizing the Party as a whole arose from the fact that, because we often do not take time to prepare sufficient ideological discussion, we have not yet developed an understanding among ourselves of the urgency of the hour at this time of the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, mass frustration, anger and searching for answers to the crushing economic problems and other problems of everyday living. One of the goals proposed at the beginning of the campaign that was never achieved was neighborhood meetings with the candidate. This again goes back to our method of work and the fact that we have come to rely on city-wide actions alone and have not yet fully realized the importance and necessity of the unity of both organizing on a grass roots basis and having city-wide actions at a time when thousands can be organized.

Excerpts from Report to Illinois Party and Press-Building Conference, January 26, 1975

By Linda Appelhans,
Organization Secretary, Illinois District

Every capitalist country in the world is facing inflation and growing unemployment, and recently governments have been crumbling just over this question. And it is also true that every one of the capitalist countries faces this problem from here on out, without proposals for a solution. The United States, of course, is no exception; rather it is one of the clearest examples. Everyone will tell you that this is the foremost question on the minds of people. For the working class this struggle is a fundamental one. It is a fight against the decline in living standards. For Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other nationally oppressed peoples it becomes crucial as prices continue to rise and unemployment in these communities becomes staggering.

Every major struggle today becomes intertwined with the economic situation which leads us to say that we are on the eve of a great mass movement to fight inflation and unemployment. Therefore it should be a major focus for everyone at this moment. Every club and leading body of the Party must grapple with the ways and means of orienting all of our work to the centrality of anti-inflation and unemployment work. We must be the initiators with others in reaching working people to convince them that we must fight back. We should never express the idea that nothing can be done about these problems so why waste our time. In every instance, where we have actively participated in anti-inflation work, there has been signs of tremendous success. It is only where and when we are not actively struggling on the question that we do not register successes.

After we say all this, it becomes obvious that the successes in all these struggles raise the possibilities of still more victories, and the nature of the crisis demands it right now!!

Maybe we don't realize it at the moment, but in the course of all these struggles not only do we fight the ruling class but we defend also the Party against the onslaught of concepts and organizations that confuse masses of people. It is not arrogant (as I've heard some say, even some of our own comrades) when we say that we are the only working class Party. Our program, outlook, commitment, membership and leadership are testimony to this fact. We are the only Party of Black and white, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed minorities in membership and leadership. We are the only

Party with a consistent record in the struggle against racism, anti-Semitism and chauvinism. And we are the only Party that has had a consistent position for international working class solidarity. Some of us had the opportunity to have lunch with Gladys Marin while she was here in Chicago, and it was an inspiration to hear her speak of the world movement's recognition of the struggle that we have conducted against the fascist junta in Chile.

Everything that I have said goes for the Daily World as an instrument of the working class. There is no other paper in the country today that can boast of such a record. There is a growing respect on the part of masses for the Party and a willingness to work with us on many fronts.

We have non-Party members functioning on the Jewish Commission, and forces in CLUW have come to us to ask us to help in routing out the Trotskyists. Colleges, newspapers, etc. solicit our views on questions almost daily. Then if all this is true, we cannot be satisfied with our rate of growth. The possibilities for the growth in size and influence of our Party are greater than those that have been realized in practice, and they will become greater still. Therefore, we have to do something about it. That is why we called this conference, to assess what stands in the way and what we need to do in order to realize these objective possibilities and meet the needs of today.

It's not easy to join the Communist Party in more than one respect. Sometimes it's not always ideological but organizational as well. Sometimes it's even more organizational. But let's discuss the ideological first.

To become a member of the Communist Party reflects a political consciousness and a commitment to struggle. There are many obstacles that stand in the way of joining the Party for many people. What we do about these obstacles is an important question in relation to Party-building. Sometimes people are afraid. Some of the fear is based many times on real problems like job security, but there are also many other questions that come up such as the question of illegality. That's where people, even comrades, speak in hushed voices about the Party. Especially in light of the recent victories around the McCarren Act, we have to clear these misconceptions up. Then there are the anti-working class concepts. That's when you're not sure the working class is gonna make it. Well, if you're not sure the working class is gonna make it, then obviously the Party can't make it either if we're a party of the working class.

The fight against racism is a key and central factor in all our struggles, and very often the influence of racism becomes a road-block with many individuals. It should not be treated in general terms because the struggle against racism is the essential ingredient in uniting the working class and building the Party. Because of this, we cannot accept people that accept racism. But we should also consider our own ability to convince and win people if we cannot help them overcome their racism. When we speak of racism outside the Party we should not forget that sometimes the influence

of white chauvinism within the Party is an obstacle to recruiting. Black people and other oppressed minorities are not going to join or, if they do join, they're not going to stay in if the struggle isn't carried on within the Party. We have had many examples of this. Young Black comrades have either left the Party or they have dropped out of activity precisely for this reason. There should be an immediate response on the part of Communists in the Party and in the mass movement when manifestations of white chauvinism occur. This has not always been the case, and perhaps we can examine this question more in the discussion.

Then we come to the great garbage heap of so-called "left" organizations, many of which divert people from joining the Communist Party. And publicly and privately many confess that is their aim. The National Caucus of Labor Committee's (NCLC) claim to fame is that they have successfully "mopped-up" the Communist Party. But there are honest forces who think that in some way the C.P. is connected to some of these organizations and, as long as they think that, they're not going to join. That is why it is important to expose them and very frankly it isn't hard to do for they are no match when it comes to Marxism-Leninism and the Party that practices it. The recent publication of the "Open Letter" and Henry Winston's response to it is but one example.

If all these things are obstacles, what are we doing to help people overcome them? And, if we're not tackling these obstacles, then why not?

It becomes clear that first we must work with people. It may sound mundane to state it in such a fashion, but there are clubs that are not involved in any mass work at all. Therefore, the first obstacle for those clubs and comrades is to become involved in mass activity. We have some very excellent examples of initiatives on the part of some clubs and some individual comrades. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. We have quite a few comrades that do tremendous "inner" work, but are these comrades exempt from mass work? So our first obstacle is to plunge the entire membership and leadership into struggle.

At the same time we must raise our mass ideological work to a new level. Our organizational work also leaves us unsatisfied in many respects, first on a leadership level and on a club level. Many times people who write in inquiring about the Party are not contacted. When they have been contacted, it has proven successful, so why do we let these opportunities slip by? Very seldom do we make provisions at public meetings for people to establish contact with us in an organized manner. We don't utilize the forms we have already. Two examples come to mind: the Daily World Forum and the Marxist School. Are they really being used as intermediary forms for bringing people closer to the Party? If they were viewed as forms for bringing non-Party people who want to learn more about the Party, surely the attendance would be greater than it is.

Or take the whole question of literature. Even though there are weaknesses, most of our literature is geared to convincing people

to join the Party. But we don't view it that way. In fact, many of us don't read it. There is enough evidence to conclude that a great majority of our members do not even have prospective recruits in mind and therefore they do not provide literature or carry on discussions with recruiting in mind.

Many are afraid about people joining the Party. In most cases only people who are old friends can "break into" the Party. When the enemy is able to create a situation where we are afraid to recruit, it has won the battle.

The question of underestimation is also a problem. Statements like "Oh, they'd never join the Party," or "They don't think like us" are overheard occasionally. What stems from this line of thinking is that they're never asked. And if we don't ask, how can anyone join? There's a woman who works on a voluntary basis in our office and I asked Comrade Ted, "Why doesn't she join?". Well, finally we both decided she probably has never been asked. The next time she comes in we intend to correct it!

Within the proposal for a concrete plan of work, we are proposing to hold monthly club chairman's meetings. It will mean direct communication with the clubs and, even if it means another meeting, we feel it will make an important contribution in the work of the clubs. They will be used to give the clubs direction both ideologically and organizationally. The Educational Commission will also participate in helping to develop the content and scope of these meetings. We hope to better equip the clubs for mass tasks. We will also take up questions in these meetings of an on-going nature with respect to recruiting.

Club life has to be discussed and put on a new plane. What was okay a year ago is not okay today. The standards of our Party are higher than those of any other organization, but they are not high enough or good enough for this period. Our weaknesses in attitudes and standards have their roots in basic ideological weaknesses. Some of the weaknesses appear in the form of bureaucracy, individualism, elitism and just plain irresponsibility. We don't have to point fingers; we are all victims at one time or another of these influences. But we do have to keep in mind the need for criticism and self-criticism.

Criticism and self-criticism is an art! Some comrades take that statement literally. And the proof of it is the fact that most who agree see weaknesses only in other people. I've been to club meetings where a word of criticism brings on a most subjective reaction which makes the problem more difficult to overcome. We must create a working class atmosphere in our clubs where problems can be discussed openly, honestly and resolved in a framework of mass activity. We have to assess our priorities constantly within a framework of collectivity.

On collectivity, there is a joke that goes, "Collectivity is an obstacle to individual work." Let's keep it just that, a joke. Collectivity is the only way we can be effective and accomplish our

tasks, to work together. Everyone will agree to that but in practice it does not always happen that way. Some comrades think collective work means that everyone else in the club is there to listen, support their position and do the necessary work to see the club keeps functioning. Some comrades feel that they will determine what meetings they will go to depending on their own needs of the moment and not what's beneficial to the Party as a whole. Intellectual snobbery and individualism are obstacles to collective work.

Most of us would also agree that we need firmer discipline but just agreeing doesn't solve the problem. Communist discipline is mostly self-discipline, and that is related to a sense of responsibility based on a commitment to the class struggle.

Many comrades say, "I can't recruit to my club." And when you ask why, they say, "You should come to my club meetings, then you'd see!" There are a number of questions that we can pose at club meetings that can help determine whether actions in the club are constructive or destructive. And basically the life of the club revolves around these questions. Are my actions constructive? Am I a factor in building confidence in the Party and in our class? Am I a factor in clarifying issues and eliminating confusion? Do my actions increase the enthusiasm and pride in our Party?

Whether intentional or unintentional, factionalism, negativism, constant complaining about weaknesses, constant complaints about the leadership, gossip, pettiness, rudeness, or generally keeping the club in turmoil on a given question, or downgrading the Party and its achievements becomes an obstacle to recruiting. Sometimes these are the methods used by the enemy in order to keep the club from its mass tasks. Raising the level of the club must become a priority for all of us.

Some comrades are not fully convinced of the indispensability of our Party. There is a theory that sooner or later masses of people will become class conscious on their own. Well, it follows then that the Party will sooner or later grow by itself just kind of like, all of a sudden, as soon as people wake up. These concepts are responsible for not recruiting. If we have no plans, if we don't organize in order to help develop class consciousness, then all that's left is to sit and wait for people to come to us. So far, history tells us this is not the case. Class consciousness does not develop spontaneously. It is our science that equips us in raising the level of class consciousness. This is the main reason for the indispensability of the Party. When we see the Party as an indispensable element in the struggle, then we see the need to build the Party. It becomes an historic necessity, a fact of life. We cannot raise the level of our work without an understanding of this question.

To fight for the line of the Party means to start at the club level with a plan of work, definite assignment of cadre, check-up and control, criticism and self-criticism. This approach will also raise the level of club life and give life to the Party as a whole. It will help us in our policy of industrial concentration, in the

struggle against racism and white chauvinism, in the struggle against male supremacy and for women's rights. It will make it possible to build the Daily World Forum, the Marxist School and help us to make better use of the Daily World and other literature. The objective factors for building the anti-monopoly coalition which can lead to socialism, exist now! The objective factors for building the Party exist now!

ILLINOIS DISTRICT PLAN OF WORK THROUGH THE 21st CONVENTION

- I. Drive to open at the Party and Press Building Conference (1-26-75).
- II. Institute a regularized monthly meeting of club representatives to discuss ideological and organizational questions.
- III. Assignment of Comrade Ted Pearson to be in charge of check-up and control on District and club goals. (Goals to be determined by each club according to their own plan of work on recruiting).
- IV. Every club schedule a discussion, with a leading district comrade present, on Party and press building, with a concrete plan to emerge from each, including:
 - A. Daily World and Literature
 1. Responsibility for sale of the paper and literature
 2. Mailings
 3. Distributions of Daily World
 4. Regularly inviting contact to the DW Forum
 5. Organizing contacts to participate in educational discussions based on a pamphlet or the DW
 - B. Club Mailing List - Broken down into categories.
 1. Those ready to join now
 2. Those who can be readied to join before the Convention
 3. Those who aren't ready but who will work with us
 - C. A plan on concretely when and who will recruit the above.
- V. Institute a system for the speedy reply to all requests to the District office on information or asking to join the Party.
- VI. Guarantee the distribution and/or sale of the DW at every event in the city that has political significance either through a special DW task force or a committee.
- VII. Visitations downstate to guarantee a plan of work for recruiting and breaking new ground in other areas.
- VIII. Educational Commission in conjunction with the district to be responsible for educational classes in the club and new members classes.
- IX. Work out a plan with the YWLL so that both organizations are built.

Strengthening the Trade Union Section

By the Auto Club,
Eastern Pennsylvania District

The Draft Main Political Resolution for the 21st National Convention of our Party is noteworthy for its strong analysis and profound insights. We quote, "The crisis developments are giving rise to new waves of struggles. These are reaching new levels, as is shown especially by the fact that the working class is coming increasingly into their forefront. The main danger that remains is that we will not become fully aware of these upheavals in time to lead and influence them. Such underestimation will lead to tailism --to trailing events."

The section on the trade union movement is an essential part of the document. It points out significant examples of the new militance in the trade unions--the growth of the rank and file movements in basic industry, the significant role of the Black caucus movement, etc. It correctly points to the crisis of the class collaborationist policies of the Meanys and Abels and stresses that the crisis provides new opportunities for winning white workers to the struggle against racism. It places proper emphasis on the call for the six hour day, for the end of "attrition" and "productivity" agreements, for an end to racist discrimination in hiring, lay offs and job upgrades. It raises the question of nationalization of key industries. Finally it correctly highlights the importance of fostering industrial unionism and of taking up the essential task of organizing the 80% of U.S. workers who are unorganized.

There are several areas however where this section of the Draft Resolution does not go far enough in orienting our trade union work to the present moment. The fact that there is no discussion of the seniority system is a serious omission. The massive layoffs of the past year have gone a long way toward wiping out the gains Black and other nationally oppressed workers and women have made over the last period. The Communist Party fights for the preservation of these hard won positions and the logic of this fight leads us to reexamine the concept of the seniority system as the heart of trade unionism.

We feel that the Resolution should call for systematic amendments to the seniority system in order to preserve these gains and to reduce the tremendous disparities between the levels of unemployment suffered by Black and other nationally oppressed workers and by white workers. We should point out that the seniority system in the

U.S. has always served to bolster and uphold the racism propagated by U.S. capitalism and that it is time for consistent trade unionists to recognize this. In order to lead a victorious fight for more jobs, for full employment, we must resolve the contradiction between the call for equality and the dictates of job seniority. The latter must be changed.

The seniority system is supposedly intended to protect militants from arbitrary treatment. Now however we find that many of the most militant trade unionists come from the ranks of Black, nationally oppressed workers, youth and women. These workers are the first to be laid off. As a result, for example, we can see that the UAW locally is moving to the right now that many of the most militant rank and filers are on the street. We can expect this tendency to manifest itself over and over again. In line with this, we also feel the need for a more complete discussion of situations where the Party feels it necessary to support the formation of parallel unions in cases where racist exclusionary practices exist, for example in construction here in Philadelphia. Do we plan to take the initiative to form unions which will fight against these racist practices? Is this feasible or not? We feel the need for fuller discussion of this question in the context of this section.

We felt the lack of a section dealing with the problems of trade unionism in the South. We think there should be a fuller discussion of the role of the ultra-Left. Given the greatly increased militance of working people in this period and our inability to reach into many important shops, the desperate and deceptive rhetoric of these groups will sometimes be attractive to many workers. In auto in Philadelphia, we have such a group with ultra-Left tendencies which has attracted significant worker support. How do we deal concretely with this situation? In general we felt the need for concrete discussion of tactics. The question of the sitdown strike as corresponding to the new level of workers' militance needs discussion. These questions need more discussion throughout the Party in order that this section can give practical leadership in trade union work and enhance the ability of our community clubs to carry out the industrial concentration policy which is at the heart of our work.

* * *

Landless Farmers of the South

By Hosea Hudson

I would like to deal with two points that I think some thought

should be given to.

Page 2, line 13 deals with the special needs of the youth, senior citizens, farm laborers and small farmers. Our fight is for all of these, but it seems to me that these three should not be lumped together. The farm laborers and small farmers should be dealt with in a separate paragraph.

It also seems to me that we cannot stop at just the small farmers. When we deal with the question of the farmers, we must make a special point about the poor, would-be, rural landless farmers of the South today, who are not even small farmers. Some of these people cannot get land to farm on. And there are also these little small farmers that have the small tracts of land but cannot get financial help from the federal government to finance their raising of farm products. Markets are opening up in the rural South by the federal government, so that these rural people, Black and white, can have a share of the farm markets for their farm products. We should address ourselves to this question so that we can become more clear and distinct on the difference between the poor rural would-be farmers in various sections of the South and the small farmers as a whole and the farm laborers as a whole today as we deal with this question.

There is a difference between the poor rural would-be landless farmers in the South that can and would farm in the back woods in the countrysides in the South if they could get the land and the farming tools to farm with, where they could raise this food that Ford calls on everybody to go out and raise as he did some months ago. Therefore we should find the way to raise the question of farm cooperatives financed by the federal government for these poor rural Blacks and whites in the rural South today.

On page 3, in the middle of the 5th line, it reads "only such a popular majority alliance with the working class and the Black people as a whole at its center." I would like to suggest adding the wording, "the Black people and all oppressed minority groups as a whole at its center are capable of curbing the power," etc.

* * *

Thoughts on the Draft Resolution

By the Paul Robeson Cultural Club,
New York, N.Y.

It was felt by the club that the discussion of the political

development of our country and of our national tradition (introduction) was too pessimistic and one-sided. It was felt that the progressive struggles of the people as well as the bourgeois democratic tradition of our country was not sufficiently stressed.

It was felt that

- 1) It should be our aim to preserve the democratic tradition as a safeguard against a more repressive kind of order while at the same time using bourgeois democracy to struggle for a socialist revolution and the replacement of bourgeois democracy with socialist democracy.
- 2) A statement which sees only the bleak side of our history underrates the importance of the progressive and revolutionary contributions of the working class and our people in general. This can lead to pessimism, cynicism, perhaps notions of American exceptionalism, and thereby make it more difficult to engage people in struggle.

What is the nature of the new stage (see page 7) of capitalism? There seems to be no adequate definition of it. Is it possible that what is really being discussed here is a new stage in the balance of forces in the world, rather than a new stage of capitalism per se? The two may be related, but they are not the same thing. If the balance of power between capitalism on the one hand and socialism, national liberation forces on the other is changed, then this is a new stage in relations between the two loci of power. It is a new world stage. But is it a new capitalist stage, where capitalism has already become something new, has itself become transformed internally?

We should make clear what we are talking about--a new world stage or a new capitalist stage, or both.

It was felt that the charges against China (pp.10-11) need to be bolstered with greater documentation. Certain charges were made in such a way that they are made to seem self evident, whereas this is not the case. For example (p.10): "U.S. imperialism wants to keep its troops in Southeast Asia. Maoism is the chief advocate of this policy."

Also (p.10): "U.S. imperialism wants to bolster the NATO forces in Europe. Maoism is its main propaganda mouthpiece in this effort."

The entire section on China needs to be bolstered with more facts. Many people who could be convinced of our point of view, people who may lean now towards Maoism, as well as others, need to be persuaded by facts, and will probably be turned away from our point of view by over-simplification.

A leap in science and technology (p.9) in the capitalist world is spoken of. Yet elsewhere in the Draft Resolution it is stated that Soviet production increased 113 times in the last 60 years, U.S. production only 9 times. Is there in fact an explosion in

science taking place in the capitalist world or is the reverse the case? Are science and technology being held back? The latter, it seems, is a possibility, given the fact that the relations of production (social production of wealth and private ownership of the means of production) may be holding back the forces of production (the machines, skills, raw materials, etc.) making it harder for the forces to develop. Is science growing in such areas as medicine and health? Is automobile technology growing where car manufacturers can't sell their cars? It is not made clear. When the capitalist system was growing, there was an industrial revolution. Are we having one now or is the reverse occurring? Given the Marxist theoretical explanation that relations of production eventually become a fetter on the forces of production, one might well wonder if that is what is occurring in the capitalist world today.

It is not well documented in the Draft Resolution that there is indeed a shift to Marxist thinking in the world today (p.8). It is rather vague. Marxism makes inroads on capitalist thinking, but bourgeois ideology makes inroads on Marxism. What is the true relationship of Marxist to bourgeois ideology in the world today?

Corrections:

p.3 top -- statement about lynching of Black Americans makes little sense. Not many Black Americans have been lynched "in all the rest of the world."

p.4 middle -- Marxism cannot have been repressed for 200 years since it is only about 100 years old.

* * *

Building Working Class

Political Independence

The following article was collectively prepared for pre-Convention discussion by a study group in the recently concluded DuBois-Foster School (national cadre training school). The comrades were from the Western Pennsylvania, New Jersey, District of Columbia-Maryland, Illinois, North Carolina, New York and New England Districts.

The Democratic and Republican parties are the political instruments of the monopolies in our country. Monopoly capital exploits and super-exploits workers by dividing them through the use of racism and anti-communism, its main ideological weapons.

Inherent in capitalism are basic contradictions which are

speeding up its present stage of deterioration. An indication of this is the present economic crisis, the effects of which are forced on the backs of workers in all capitalist countries. Inflation, mass unemployment, crisis after crisis are beginning to indicate to the masses that the bourgeoisie cannot act in the interests of workers.

Today the world system of socialism--the working class in power --is a living example of a better way of life. The anti-imperialist struggles and victories together with the struggle of workers in other capitalist countries are further examples to U.S. working people of the meaning and need for political independence.

Working class political independence means essentially the independence from the domination and influence of monopoly--the ability of the working class to determine for itself what its program shall be, what direction it shall move in, who shall represent its class interests, and who its allies and friends are. Lenin wrote:

"Only the proletariat--by virtue of its economic role in large-scale production--is capable of leading all the toiling and exploited masses, who are exploited, oppressed, crushed by the bourgeoisie not less, and often more, than the proletariat, but who are incapable of carrying on the struggle for their freedom independently." (State and Revolution)

This is true not only for the actual transformation from capitalism to socialism but for the struggles that lead all working people to the conclusion that socialism is necessary.

The working class in our country is developing a growing understanding of the need to unite against monopoly. This consciousness is expressed in sharp class struggle. 1974 saw an unprecedented number of strikes and developing rank and file actions to make the trade unions viable instruments of struggle against the bosses. The further development of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the launching of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the militant actions of coke workers in Clairton, Pa., Baltimore and elsewhere against the steel monopolies are a few examples of growing struggle and independent forms of working class organization. A dramatic expression of changing consciousness was the election of Ed Sadlowski in District 31 of the USWA. Most recent of these developments is the rank and file pressure brought to bear on the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department to join progressive and militant workers in a massive demonstration in Washington on April 26 and to play an active role. This demonstration, against workers being forced to bear the brunt of the depression and inflation, will help to create a new, more conscious level of working class and popular struggle.

The breakaway from the two parties of monopoly will not inevitably assume left forms. The forces behind Wallace, the new reactionary grouping around Reagan are examples of movement away from the two major parties but movements which in no way express independent political action on the part of the working class. As Gus Hall has pointed

out:

"We have a situation developing in the U.S. in which the ruling class will have the two old parties with an ultra-Right fake independent movement on one side and a liberal fake independent movement on the other."

True independence must be measured as independence from monopoly capital.

The leftward movement of workers is linked to the development of the struggle against racism. This special tool of ruling class ideology demobilizes white workers and divides the class. It is important to note that gains have been made. This is evident in the electoral struggles in Detroit, Los Angeles and elsewhere. The election of more than 3,000 Black officials, in particular of Black mayors, was accomplished first by the unity of the Black community and by the considerable struggle among white workers to act in their own best interests. There is also a growing number of examples of rank and file actions where white workers have moved in growing unity with Black workers. These advances in the struggle against racism are indicators of what is possible. But by no means do they yet express the level of struggle that is required for fundamental and consistent advances of our class.

The strategic goal of our Party is the formation of a mass anti-monopoly party based on the working class. This will entail ultimately a mass break-away from the two major parties, especially from the Democratic Party.

But we should not view the process of moving toward that goal in rigid terms and make unrealistic demands. We should understand that the process toward independence will and does express itself in a multiplicity of forms. The criterion for evaluating the independence of political movements, formations and candidates is not and cannot be solely and simplistically the immediate cutting of all ties with the Democratic Party. Such an undialectical approach confuses the goal with the process leading toward the realization of that goal.

This distinction is crucial for understanding the most significant current mass manifestations of political independence--the struggle for full representation of Blacks and other minorities at all levels of government. Black and other oppressed minority candidates have run and been elected mainly on Democratic Party tickets.

A good example is that of Coleman Young who was elected Mayor of Detroit on the Democratic line. Young was elected despite the Democratic Party machine on an advanced program of fighting for workers' needs. Support for his campaign came from all sections of the working class of that city. While the UAW leadership hemmed and hawed in its support, the rank and file, especially Black workers, made an important contribution to the campaign. As a result of activity, community organizations, both Black and white, threw their weight into the struggle. Such a campaign, although still within the orbit of the Democratic Party, contributes to the process of creating the

pre-conditions for a mass breakaway from the Democratic Party and helps prepare the organizational forms needed to move in that direction.

The process toward working class political independence and the development and intensification of non-electoral mass struggles are closely intertwined. Our electoral actions must be hinged to and based on our involvement and leadership in mass struggles, especially in the economic area and in the struggle against racism. At the same time, we should caution against prematurely pushing non-electoral mass organizations--which express unity in action of broad, ideologically and politically diverse forces--into independent forms of political expression. The political independence we encourage and fight for should be expressed in new organizational forms distinct from the non-electoral mass movements.

In the struggle for working class political independence, our Party is called upon to play a role which no other Party or group can play. That role is ideological, political and organizational. And for the Party to play this role fully and successfully, it must project itself, its program, its ultimate objectives to ever-growing numbers of working people in struggle.

The number one challenge for our Party in fighting for working class and popular unity is the struggle against racism. No other Party understands the way ours does that the defeat of racism among white workers and white people in general is the absolute prerequisite for forging the unity needed to defeat monopoly on all fronts. The efforts of our Party in this area must be intensified and strengthened. The responsibility of white comrades in this struggle is paramount. The degree of success of white comrades in fighting racism will be the determinant of whether or not the working class as a whole advances to higher forms of independent political organization and to corresponding higher levels of consciousness.

Similarly, it is our Party which must play the leading role in the battle against anti-communism in all of its forms and in particular against anti-Sovietism.

In all of our mass work, we must consistently pose the need for anti-monopoly coalitions, an anti-monopoly party, and an anti-monopoly government. Our job is to make clear to people exactly what an anti-monopoly government could accomplish. Too, we must draw the connections between anti-monopoly struggle, an anti-monopoly government and our ultimate goal of socialism.

The participation of Communists in electoral battles must be stepped up. Our participation can take many forms. Also, it is important to recognize that we cannot insist on the same criteria for Communist candidates and campaigns in all areas of the country. In some states we are still waging the struggle to eliminate electoral laws which discriminate against independent political parties and especially against the Communist Party. In other states we have several years of experience in running candidates and we should demand higher standards for our candidates and the campaigns. We

cont. on p.39

Recommendations of the Chicano Liberation Commission

By the National Chicano Liberation Commission

The Chicano Liberation Commission met March 8-9 to discuss the pre-Convention Draft Resolution. The following are some of the motions adopted. We sincerely hope that our discussion will add to the content of our up-coming Party Convention.

IMMIGRATION

1. The National Chicano Liberation Commission goes on record in support of a full bill of rights for immigrant workers--with or without documents.
2. We should utilize the full resources of the Party to pass such a bill in the U.S. Congress.
3. We must aim our forces at advancing the same concept through the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations as this is a world problem caused by the multi-national corporations.
4. Our Party should recognize the concept of "economic refugees" in the cases of these workers.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

1. The commission goes on record in favor of forming united front movements among Chicano organizations and trade unions for the purpose of forging adequate solutions to the economic crisis affecting the masses within the United States.
2. We propose to join forces with those movements which are dedicated to struggle for adequate jobs as a constitutional right for all.
3. We commit ourselves to work diligently for all reforms such as rent controls, lower taxes, controls on prices of utilities, food and other necessities of life including the proposition of nationalization as a requirement to meet the guarantee of a high quality of life for all peoples.
4. We support the thirty hour week as a means of hiring more people.
5. In the event that Congress recesses without meeting the demands

to adequately provide relief from the economic crisis, the commission goes on record in favor of calling for a special session of the Congress to pass appropriate and adequate legislation with which to do the job.

6. The commission goes on record in encouraging all organizations to denounce the government, big corporations, and trade union class collaborationists in their efforts to place the burden of guilt on undocumented workers as the reason for the economic crisis.

GENERAL

1. Immigration should be taken out of the Farmworker section and should become a part of the world scene section or maybe the general labor section of the document.
2. The forced movement of people should be placed as being the "cutting edge," (one) to implement racism and (two) to divide the working class and finally to divide citizen against non-citizen for monopoly's benefit.
3. Our Party should begin to give focus to International Women's Day by organizing and participating in mass demonstrations and mass functions to express recognition of women's contributions to the liberation movement.

LABOR

1. The Commission goes on record in favor of anti-strike breaking legislation which will prohibit the use of workers for the purpose of breaking strikes in progress or for the purpose of avoiding trade union recognition. Penalties against employers (violators) should be the denial of corporate status.
2. The practice of signing sweetheart contracts, as a union breaking technique, should be abolished by law.



Letter to the History Commission

By Alberto Moreau, New York, N.Y.

The course-outline of the Communist Party USA, published in the October issue of Party Affairs, is an outstanding contribution to the Party. Coming as it does in this period of mounting battles against depression and its dire consequences for the laboring masses and the poor, the course-outline will serve as a guide to absorb the lessons of the past and apply them to the new qualitative conditions of today. This study will teach, especially the young cadres, to avoid mistakes and shortcomings, will equip them ideologically to better fight and overcome opportunism and sectarianism.

The study of the Party history is of special importance today in the training of new members and young cadres to build the vanguard as the struggles against monopoly develop in breadth and depth. In this process, the perspective of socialism in our country will be better understood in the course of uniting the working class and its allies in a mighty anti-monopoly coalition.

I wish to point out a serious omission in the course-outline which, if not corrected, will obliterate one of the fundamental pillars of the Communist Party, i.e., its proletarian internationalism expressed in support of the liberation movements. The history of the Party is chock-full of mass actions ever since its inception in behalf of freedom and national independence. A bird's eye view of the Party's struggles against colonialism would indicate how the CPUSA courageously discharged and is discharging its responsibilities by supporting the national liberation movements.

The anti-imperialist forces, in joint actions with the CP, unhesitatingly came to the support of Sandino, the Nicaraguan patriot who opposed the US marine invasion during the latter 20's. History records the extension of mass opposition to US imperialist policies in Latin America, military interventions under the camouflage of Pan-Americanism. It was called gun diplomacy, dollar diplomacy. The struggles for the Second Independence of Latin America (the first independence was from Spain) met and is meeting with the support of important sections of North American society: Brazil in the 30's, Colombia (the great banana strike drowned in blood), Venezuela, etc. We can go on enumerating here from decades ago to the present, the movements of solidarity, at this moment, the solidarity with the Chilean people suffering under the yoke of the CIA-engineered fascist Junta. Special mention could be made of the support extended to Puerto Rican independence.

The revolutionary process in Latin America is crowned by Cuba's victory over imperialism, achieving complete economic and political independence. Socialist Cuba is a beacon light that illuminates the high road to national and social liberation. It can be said with modesty that the progressive forces and the Communist Party has unreservedly opposed US monopoly control of the beautiful island 90 miles from our shores. Today the demand is the lifting of the blockade and the ceding of the Guantanamo base held illegally by the US in violation of the sovereign rights of the Cuban nation.

The CPUSA forged a broad united front which included a number of trade unions represented in the Anti-Imperialist League. Unrelentingly it demanded the freedom of the Philippines, independence of India then under British domination and support of the national liberation movement in China. And today there are gigantic struggles for liberation of Africa and the Arab world.

Since World War II, the CPUSA together with other forces has discharged the responsibility of unconditionally supporting movements for African liberation which today have reached a qualitative change in the role of the African people in world politics.

Never to be forgotten is the movement built in the USA against Franco's counter-revolution in Spain and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on the battlefields in the land of Cervantes, Unamuno and many illustrious democrats.

Some of the glorious pages of the Party's history are the militant opposition to the wars in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in united actions with millions of North Americans.

These are some of the militant actions initiated and participated in by the Communist Party. They are an integral part of US and CP history.

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On the Introduction to the Resolution— Inclusion of Chicano History

By the Tucson, Arizona Club

The Tucson club submits the following as discussion of the Introduction to the Draft Main Political Resolution and specifically to support the inclusion of an additional point following paragraph 2 on page 3 of the Draft Resolution. The object is to

recognize the magnitude of the Chicano problem at this point in the draft, without postponing it to later sections.

The historical basis for the special exploitation of the 10,000,000 or more Chicano people in the United States is the seizure by the United States of half the territory of Mexico in the war of 1846-48. The forebears of today's Chicanos were not immigrants like the labor force drawn from Europe, nor like the slaves abducted from Africa. They were the earliest settlers in the Southwest after the Native Americans and were surrounded and captured on their own land by the U.S. aggressors.

The Chicano minority is the second largest and the fastest growing minority in the United States. We have always considered the Chicano question to be one of the Southwest, but it is no longer so, since Chicano workers are now in middle western industries, in southern agriculture, and employed throughout the country.

The Chicanos have been the main factor in building the economy of the Southwest under conditions similar to slavery.

In agriculture, they cleared the lands of mesquite forest for 50 cents an acre throughout Texas and Arizona. Theirs was the main part in the growth of the mining and smelting industry with the lowest wages paid in any part of the U.S. In furnishing the networks of railroads and highways, they were the main force in construction and maintenance.

During World War II, the main labor force in the Southwest consisted of workers from Mexico. Meanwhile tens of thousands of Chicanos in the United States were serving in the U.S. armed forces, often with distinction and on many occasions with heavy losses. The Chicano winners of the Congressional Medal of Honor in the ground and sea forces far surpassed the percentage of Chicanos in those forces.

The states of Arizona and New Mexico were not brought into the Union until 64 years after their conquest during which complete domination over the Chicano people and expropriation of their land by whatever means were established by the invaders, contrary to the guarantees given in the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848.

Mexicans were lynched and murdered throughout the Southwest, and during World War II mob-like groups of servicemen in California hunted and murdered Chicano youths who were called "pachucos."

In the Depression of the 1930's thousands were deported under a so-called "repatriation" program which struck many U.S. citizens born and raised in this country.

The California state relief commission issued a decree that all Mexicans, Blacks, Asians and American Indians were used to a lower standard of living than whites and therefore would be issued "relief in kind" meaning food rather than cash. It was only through the struggle of thousands of Chicanos that this decree was not

carried out, and that the legislature was forced to rule against racial discrimination in the issuance of relief.

* * *

The Need for Special Literature

By David Englestein,
Northern California

Since much space and considerable probing thought are devoted to the section on the Party in the Draft Resolution, I wish to make early in the discussion two recommendations that I hope will be given serious consideration.

The recommendations are tied directly to the two sections dealing with party building and ideological struggle. Our heightened activity linked to the inflation and crisis situation in the country give them an urgency at this time.

First, we need a well-written popular pamphlet or booklet (perhaps 48 pages) on our Party. At the moment - and this is hard to believe - we do not have such a piece of literature. A booklet of this nature would be highly useful. We would give it to people who are seriously interested in finding out more about the Party. People at large gatherings and at small social events often ask for just such material. Requests by mail, and phone, customers in our bookstores, shopmates and neighbors often ask for just such basic information.

The Program of the Party served this purpose in a limited way, and now even this has been out of print for about a year. Of course, we now make up a packet of diverse literature when requests about information on the Party are received. This is not very satisfactory.

I therefore suggest that someone be assigned to write such a booklet, that he or she be given a small committee to work with, and that every effort should be made to have the booklet ready for distribution in about a year - let's say by July 1976. The semi-final manuscript copy of the booklet should be gotten out to about 20 comrades throughout the Party for comment and criticism before it is whipped into final shape.

My second recommendation: For individual study, for classes, seminars and schools, inside and outside the Party, we need a

Marxist textbook on political economy. The English, Italian, French and Soviet Parties all have such texts on the political economy of capitalism. We use some of them to advantage, and we could get ideas from them for our text. It is essential that at this stage of the general crisis of capitalism that such a text be prepared dealing concretely with the laws of political economy as they are expressed in imperialist U.S.A. - and briefly as they apply to the capitalist world as a whole.

This major undertaking could be assigned to one comrade with a competent committee to work with him or her. Here again, the rough draft before it is finished should be sent to workers and professional Marxist political economists in various districts for critical evaluation. I believe - allowing for necessary research and study that such a text demands - it could be completed in a period of about 2 to 3 years.

Both the booklet on the Party and the textbook on political economy could be regularly revised and updated with new editions every few years.

In the days of struggle ahead these ideological instruments would be a most valuable asset to our Party.

* * *

On the Role of the Church

By H.P., Brooklyn, N.Y.

I fully agree with the Draft Main Political Resolution for the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party U.S.A.

I do want to draw attention to the complete omission in the Draft Resolution on the role of the Church in the U.S. today:

- 1) What change is there in the Church towards its members in relationship to the new conditions in our country?
- 2) What role do the Churches of all denominations play in regards to racism and its power to immobilize its membership in the struggle for progress?
- 3) What influence does the Church have over the Black, Jewish, Chicano, Puerto Rican and native Indian peoples?

- 4) What is the evaluation of Marxist and Church dialogue that has taken place in the U.S.?

These questions are not put with the objective of an attack upon the Church. It is mainly for an evaluation that would help Party work among the people of all faiths.

* * *

What is CLUW?

By B.D. Industrial (Print), New York, N.Y.
CLUW Member

On page 10 of the December 1974 issue of Party Affairs (Gus Hall's remarks to the Central Committee meeting), in the second paragraph, we find:

"In the progress of mass work in the trade union field one must include our contributions and work around CLUW."

The brevity of this statement aside, one may well ask "What is CLUW?" I notice in the next two paragraphs the spelling out of names such as National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation. We are not yet as mature as TUAD.

Considering the newness, relatively, of CLUW, I would therefore suggest that in all future writings, the full name be given, thus: Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) to acquaint our membership with this important organization.

* * *



The Challenge of the Women's Movement

By Betty Martin
Southern Calif.

Being alert to what is new is a time-honored approach for Marxists. In the last decade the emergence of a dynamic women's movement is certainly a new development. More currently what is new is the constant and continuous broadening of that movement.

For clarity it is necessary to distinguish between the so-called "women's liberation movement" led primarily by middle class white women and the broader movement toward emancipation which includes the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) and organizations of Hispanic, Native American and women of various Asian nationalities. Another facet of this development consists of large numbers of women's studies departments in thousands of colleges and universities across the country. A plethora of newspapers and periodicals edited by women offer a forum for a tremendous amount of discussion and debate. An increasing number of these publications have a working class orientation. For example: W.A.G.E. in San Francisco, The Changing Woman in Portland, Oregon, Triple Jeopardy on the East Coast and several Chicano publications on the West Coast. This does not by any means exhaust the list.

It is true that many of these books, periodicals and newspapers reflect the ideology of feminists rather than a working class ideology. But it is also true that up to now it is the radical feminists and reformist organizations such as N.O.W. that have, more than any other force, been responsible for turning this country around in its attitude toward women.

It is this dynamic movement and its influence which goes far beyond any organized contingent that has made unprecedented gains in defeating discrimination against women and making inroads against the ideology of male supremacy. The change of atmosphere that has come about in this country is probably a prerequisite for making substantial progress in dealing with trade union bureaucracies on this issue.

The chief contradiction in this situation lies in the fact that there has been a massive leap forward without a corresponding theoretical or organizational development. The central problem, therefore, is how to reach this massive movement with a working class line.

This writer submits that this cannot be done by abstract treatises which reach mainly Left wing groups nor solely by isolated struggles here and there led by Left organizations. Rather, in addition to the above, there must be a dialogue with those who are already wrestling with theoretical aspects of the struggle. Such dialogue on our part must be within a frame of reference familiar to these broader groups. It must help to clarify questions they pose.

For us on the Left, for Communists, it means we must know the facts about the thinking, life style, concerns and economic condition under which various groups of working women live. It means we must be familiar with the national, racial and cultural backgrounds of working class women. The backgrounds of Black, Chicana and Indian women have each their distinctive attributes. What is needed above all is to bring the facts and insights gained to the personnel of the presently organized women's movement regardless of who is leading activities at the moment.

For a powerful, united thrust for women's equality it is absolutely necessary that the present activists be reached with a working class, anti-racist line. Such a powerful united force would be an invaluable ally to the proletarian struggle for socialism.

Criticizing feminists abstractly and from the side lines is a useless procedure. To think they cannot be influenced is to misread the historic dynamic of this worldwide movement. How can Communists help raise the theoretical level of the women's movement?

- 1) Deepen our own understanding by familiarizing ourselves with the polemic on this question which is proceeding in the international arena. Almost every country with a Communist Party is discussing theoretical aspects of women's oppression in a new way based on the situation in their respective countries. Fidel Castro showed a good example of how to deal fearlessly and self-critically with this question. (World Magazine, 1/4/75).
- 2) Become familiar with the various facets of the movement in this country and the questions being raised by the more thoughtful participants in the ongoing dialogue.
- 3) Get involved. Participate in broad issued conferences that include women's special problems and learn from such events as well as taking the opportunity to bring forward a working class point of view. Be involved also in the working class struggles that occur under union auspices.
- 4) Give consideration to participating in or initiating struggles around those issues which disturb most women most, especially working class and minority women. Consider what issue or issues will best unite all women and have the possibility of securing the support of men. (For a suggestion as to what that issue might be see Note below.)

In conclusion: At the present time, the women's movement has one of the most dynamic thrusts of any movement in the United States. Historically speaking this is doubtless a temporary situation. But for today it holds true. Whether the logic of this struggle leads in the direction of buttressing the developing proletarian revolution depends, in part, on us. In any case, whether we agree with the above estimate or not, we cannot afford to be on the outside looking in.

NOTE: This writer submits the proposition that the issue which best fits the above description is universally available, publicly supported, community controlled child development facilities for every family who needs or wants these services, such services to be available to the child from birth to maturity. The rationale for this statement is as follows:

Dependence on a single wage earner for the family is now unrealistic for the average working class family or even salaried workers of the middle class. Thus, we see 40% of the labor force made up of women. Male heads of families often resort to "moon-lighting" or do over-time in a desperate effort to make ends meet. The number of single parent families is on the increase.

The emergence of so many families in the work force has created a need for child care centers. The discovery of the importance of the early years to maturation and intellectual growth has generated a demand for developmental rather than mere custodial care. The price of developmental care is beyond the power of the individual family to finance.

The idea that the nuclear family should be primarily, almost exclusively responsible for the upbringing and education of the next generation is obsolete. This task should be the responsibility of society as a whole. This is an idea whose time has come.

This child care and development issue cuts across all national, racial and class lines. It is of concern to all women with children. Yes, even to grandmothers who are beginning to rebel against raising a second family.

This issue is of special concern to working mothers, the majority of whom are Black, Chicana, or of other oppressed national minorities.

A network of universally available child care and development facilities would take the pressure off the father as well as the mother.

* * *

cont. from p.10

socialism is on the upgrade and advancing from success to more successes and victories. How are we using this to strengthen our Party and to help meet the needs of the masses?

Why are we hesitant (or are we?) in popularizing the working class character of our Party and that quality of our leadership?

Nine propositions are discussed as decisive areas of ideological struggle. Discuss each one of them in relation to improving the character of our clubs. In doing this, open the way for further examination of other problems which the members feel have special importance. How does the club help solve the political and ideological problems and needs of the members?

In summary, we refer you to the first page of the Draft on "How to use the Draft Resolution" and to a few of the opening remarks of Comrade Gus Hall as summarized in this outline guide. Has the Resolution helped solve problems for the club?

* * *

cont. from p.27

should strive, to the extent possible, to put forth candidates who have demonstrated leadership in mass movements and thus have a base from which to run. In some areas the question of electing Communists to office is on the agenda.

We should strive to create independent tickets that include open Communists. These formations should result from our mass work. In creating such coalitions, our Party will inevitably have to confront and defeat anti-Communism. It will be the responsibility of the Party also to insist on the inclusion of working class candidates and representatives of Black and other nationally oppressed people.

In all of our electoral work, whatever the forms they take, our task is to unite Communists and non-Communists in the organization and the carrying out of the campaign. As important as the actual results are, we must orient the campaigns themselves so that they strengthen our ties with non-Communists, lead to recruitment into the Party and League, lay the basis for subsequent electoral and non-electoral struggles and promote the need for broad anti-monopoly unity with Communist participation.

* * *

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