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The outline for a program for Mexican-American people

Today the theory of "manifest destiny" is being spread from the Western Hemisphere to all corners of the world by U. S. imperialism through the Marshal Plan and Truman Doctrine. The existence of the policy of "manifest destiny" has meant the subjugation of the Negro people, the Puerto Rican people, the economic control of Mexico and other dependent countries of Latin-America, and made possible the oppression of the Mexican people in the U. S.

The Mexican people as a whole felt the power of the dominant country in the War of 1846, when the U. S. invaded Mexico and as fruits of conquest gained one-half of the territory of Mexico. The U. S. conquered the Mexican people who inhabited this territory, stripped them of their land, mining claims, etc. In 1846, slavery, fighting to maintain government control, was in the forefront of the war for expansion. The rising capitalists of the North were not opposed to war for new territory; they saw in California the gateway to trade with the Orient.

The War of 1846-48, glorified in U. S. history books as the justified development of "manifest destiny," was an unjust, predatory war of conquest opposed in its day by a small and determined group of principled leaders, such as Lincoln and Frederick Douglass.

The status of the Mexican people in the U. S. became, as the result of the war, that of a conquered people, severed from their nation. The millions of Mexican people who have migrated into this area since 1848 have been subjected along with the original population to the conditions created by this expansionist and unjust war.

The Mexican people in the Southwest have been kept in the position of an oppressed national minority (having special features peculiar to that of a conquered people) by U. S. imperialism, in order to have a vast reservoir of cheap labor, and to extract super profits from their labor, particularly in the agricultural fields and in the mines of the Southwest. The conditions under which the Mexican people have lived in the U. S. and are living today flow directly from this fundamental fact—U. S. imperialism needs the Mexican people as a semi-colonial reserve for its super-profits.

As a necessary condition of the system of oppression of the Mexican people, U. S. capitalism has created and maintained with growing viciousness the monstrous lie of the "inferiority" of the Mexican people. This poisonous chauvinism has gone hand in hand with the systematic denial of elementary civil rights, discrimination in employment, segregation in all phases of community life, and the denial of language. It is one of the principal weapons of U. S. imperialism in maintaining the Mexican people in the status of an oppressed national minority.

There are approximately five million Mexican people in the United States. Out of an approximate labor force of 1½ million (1940), 65 to 85 percent were in agricultural fields or common laborers in the mines and railroads of the Southwest. This situation remains practically unchanged today.

Throughout the Southwest the Mexican people face police brutality; deportations and other forms of abuse in violation of their civil rights. The language and culture of the Mexican people is denied, in spite of the fact that the 1940 census showed that all but 7 percent of the second generation speak Spanish in the home.

Today, the blatant exploitation of the Mexican people is being expressed in its historical form. In the early 1900's, when the industries of the Southwest were developing (particularly agriculture), close to one million Mexican people migrated to the U. S. from Mexico to work in these industries.

Today, with the connivance of the Immigration Service, hundreds of thousands of Mexican people from Mexico are again being lured into the Southwest as a source of cheap labor by the agricultural interests. They are paid 30 and 35 cents per hour, in competition with established wages gained through struggle by the former Mexican agricultural workers who still form the base of agricultural workers in the Southwest.

At the same time, hundreds of thousands are deported yearly—207,000 were deported in 1949 and at least 200,000 are expected to be deported in 1950. The weapon of deportation serves to beat down and prevent any form of struggle among the newest arrivals, and most especially to prevent them from joining forces with the older and more experienced agricultural workers. It is a weapon to prevent organization of the agricultural workers and serves as an instrument to maintain all of the Mexican people in a semi-colonial status.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A NATIONAL MINORITY?

"But persons constituting a nation do not always live in one compact mass; they are frequently divided into groups and in that form are interspersed among foreign national organisms. It is capitalism which

drives them into other regions and cities in search of a livelihood. But when they enter foreign national territories and there form national minorities, these groups are made to suffer by the local national majorities in the way of limitations on their language, schools, etc." (Stalin—"National and Colonial Question," Page 28).

In the case of the Mexican people in the United States, the dominant nation extended its borders and brought about the subjugation of the economically weaker nationality at the expense of the weaker neighboring state. National minorities do not always remain such, because in the course of time they "lose old contacts, acquire new contacts in their new domicile from generation to generation, acquire new habits, new tastes and possibly a new language." ("National and Colonial Question," Page 31).

The Mexican people, because of their economic position in the United States and because of their relationship to the mother country, have not lost their old contacts, etc., but have maintained closer contact with new arrivals from the mother country, have retained their language, etc., and remain a national minority.

PROGRAM AND TASKS

The Communist party must expose the imperialist character of the exploitation of the Mexican people and must fight for full equality for the Mexican people in the United States. In fighting for full equality it must fight for the unity of the Negro and Mexican people, including unity with other minorities for joint struggle for democracy.

CIVIL RIGHTS—End to police brutality; end to segregation in all its forms; representation on governmental bodies; use of language in governmental agencies and courts, etc.

EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING—Full job opportunities and training;

end of wage differentials; upgrading; end to denial of housing facilities, pensions, etc. because of non-citizenship.

DEPORTATIONS—End to deportations; facilitation of the establishment of legal residence; protection of the non-citizen; right of Mexican nationals to establish legal residence without all present restrictions.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT—Free cultural development, including use of language in schools; end to denial of academic and business training in schools.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—Organization of agricultural workers; establishment of \$1 per hour minimum wage; inclusion in Social Security and Retirement Insurance; elimination of child labor; right of residence regardless of form of entry; guarantee of education for youth; establishment of housing and medical facilities.

The working class of the U. S. must fight for the rights of the Mexican people, it must give leadership in this struggle in order to win the Mexican people for a firm alliance in the struggle against imperialism and for the liberation of the working class in the U. S.

The alliance of the working class of the United States with the Mexican people of the Southwest, and the inclusion with complete equality of the Mexican people into the organization of the working class and the trade union movement, will guarantee as well the necessary alliance of the working class of the United States with the semi-colonial peoples of Mexico and Latin-America.

Only with such an alliance can the U. S. working class and the oppressed peoples of Mexico and Latin-America successfully fight the common oppressor—U. S. imperialism—for the realization of democracy for all.

—National Mexican Commission.



MEXICAN-AMERICANS in Los Angeles protest a police outrage after a gestapo-like raid on a private home and the unprovoked arrest of 50 Mexican-American residents.

PROBLEMS OF PARTY EDUCATION

How it works (or 'doesn't) in the groups

As part of the pre-convention discussion, we have begun a collective, critical evaluation of educational work. While it is too early to formulate any conclusions, some problems emerge very clearly.

● **EDUCATION IN THE GROUPS.** This is one of the most serious problems in educational work. Some attempts were made earlier to tackle the problems of group educational life; however, these attempts were made on the basis of the previous group structure. For a period after the groups were reorganized, there was absolutely no direction from the county on methods and content of group education.

Some three months ago, a beginning was made. A county educational bulletin was started, which was specifically oriented toward the groups, providing question outlines for group discussion, relating the educational discussion to projects for mass education, giving reading lists, etc. Two issues of this bulletin have appeared, and a third will appear in December. As yet, we have no reports on how the bulletin was used in the groups, although the general first reaction was enthusiastic. Some of the unsolved problems are: How to organize and carry through an educational discussion with a very small number of people; how to provide leadership to group discussions; how to guard against abstract theoretical discussions?

The idea of a controlled self-study program was also projected. A group of comrades were to be selected in each section, together with a group of "consultants" who were to work personally and individually with the comrades on the self-study program. A study program was to be mapped out for a month at a time. Circumstances—notably the arrest of the county educational director by the immigration

authorities under the McCarran Act—have delayed putting this program into practice. One division—the Western Division—issues some self-study guides on its own initiative, but there has not as yet been time for a report back on the effectiveness of these guides.

● **LITERATURE.** The reorganization of the groups after a devastating drop has in some cases eventually resulted in a better situation in so far as literature is concerned, as there is now in some areas a more organized, systematic distribution of literature to our own membership. The problem of mass literature is still a very vexing one, and this is one of the major problems to which we will attempt to find solutions during this period. Also, the lack of a systematic, planned educational program has had its immediate reflection in a decrease in the sale of basic theoretical material.

● **RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND THE POLITICAL WORK OF THE PARTY.** Early this year, we projected the necessity of relating educational work very closely to the current political work of the party—using our educational activities to relate questions of basic theory to our current tasks, thus deepening and enriching our political work. In our preliminary discussions, there is the general feeling that this remains an important task, even more so under the present conditions of party functioning. However, we recognize now the serious danger of vulgarizing this concept into one of the misuse of theory to justify current policy.

An example in my own work illustrates this danger very sharply. During the primary election campaign, at a time when there were unresolved differences in the county board growing out of the failure to master the national question, the failure to carry on a sustained struggle for Negro

rights and against the penetration of white chauvinism into the Board (as discussed in the resolution of the county board) I undertook to prepare an educational outline on the struggle for Negro representation. The purpose of this outline was to provide a sound theoretical foundation for mobilizing the party in the campaign to elect a Negro to Congress in the 14th district. In the course of the discussion around this outline, I became aware of the differences in the board. However, instead of forcing a resolution of these differences and thus using our basic theoretical material to illuminate our difficulties and assist in their solution, I prepared an outline which glossed over the differences. As a result, the outline fell into errors of nationalism.

In this case, I feel that the important thing is not whether certain formulations were correct or incorrect. The important thing is that I attempted to use theory in a manner which was essentially dishonest and opportunist.

● **ROLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR.** Comrades involved in the educational apparatus are keenly aware of a somewhat cavalier approach taken toward educational personnel throughout—reflected in shifts of personnel, lack of stability in personnel, and difficulties in building an adequate educational apparatus.

Related to this problem is that of fighting through for a proper concept of the role of the educational director. Generally, there is a rejection by the educational forces of "departmentalization" in relation to education. Certainly the emphasis placed by the draft resolution on the question of our ideological weaknesses means that the entire party leadership must take responsibility for the struggle on the ideological front. Within this, however, the educational director has special responsibilities, and we are now

attempting to define those responsibilities.

● **MASS EDUCATION.** Here also there are very serious weaknesses. On the credit side, two shop papers are now completing their second year of continuous publication. A number of excellent leaflets have been issued regularly by community/concentration groups. A number of leaflets have been issued by the county, and some by the divisions, including some good ones by the Eastern Division in both English and Spanish.

However, the continued isolation of our clubs and groups from the community is reflected in the very small number of leaflets issued by the clubs, and in the fact that the leaflets which are issued deal almost exclusively with national issues and do not adequately reflect the community in which they are issued. In some areas, in the Moranda Smith Division for example, they are beginning to tackle the problem of training the comrades in the groups to write and do the technical work on leaflets. The liquidation tendencies referred to in the draft resolution have undoubtedly affected the question of party leaflets, as well as the question of other forms of mass education.

These are only a few of the problems under discussion now and some of the very preliminary thinking on them. The present period presents a great and exciting challenge to our educational workers. Fundamental to the struggle for peace and democracy today is the battle for the minds of the people. The results of the elections show that while the people do not want war, they do not as yet see clearly how to move forward for peace. The strengthening of our educational work is one of the key factors in winning this battle for the minds of the people.

—Elizabeth Glenn, L. A.

How it's linked with our political tasks

In evaluating the situation in the United States today we have had to recognize that the majority of the American people are confused on such important questions as who is responsible for the war danger; where the threat of fascism emanates from; what the Soviet Union is really like; what the Communists stand for. We have recognized that part of the problem of getting millions of Americans into motion on peace, economic and civil rights issues is an ideological one, of raising their level of understanding, of exposing the big lies of the imperialists and Social Democrats, of convincing them of a correct position.

The ideological work of the party today, therefore, is inseparable from our political tasks. As we work to arouse the people to action so they will learn from experiences in struggle, so we must work to win the minds of the American people, to help them learn through effective mass propaganda and agitation. Our educational work in this period, therefore, must stem from the key political tasks before us and must be geared to provide greater understanding of these tasks as well as a deeper Marxist-Leninist understanding of the complicated situation we face in the U.S. today.

Educational work today means infusing political content into all party activities and especially at the rank and file levels. It means creating an atmosphere in the party—so our people know where we are going and how to get there—an understanding of the objective forces at work in the world, an understanding of the possibilities of action in the U.S. today, an understanding of how union activities for higher wages, PTA work, building a People's World route—all phases of work—are part of the struggle to stave off war and fascism. If we create this type of understanding, through our political discussions, we will be

able effectively to combat moods of fear or pessimism or lack of direction when they arise.

Essentially what is involved is that if our forces do not have this kind of understanding or perspective, if they are confused, they are in no position to answer the questions and problems in the minds of the people.

The absence of work on an ideological level, or we can say the absence of political content, shows up in how campaigns are carried out. There is no doubt but that the political content of the election policy discussion in this recent period in the branches was weak. There was no real political understanding of the united front approach projected, what the state committee meant by its emphasis on issues rather than candidates. This weakness showed up where some forces in their organizations either took a completely negative position toward the followers of Roosevelt and Douglas, or, on the other hand, made a flat-footed endorsement of them, without projecting independent candidates or the issue of peace.

The absence of effective ideological work also shows up in mass agitation among the workers in this period. For example, discussions in the party on the McCarran Act which center around characterizing it as a fascist measure, or attack on the Bill of Rights, are not enough.

As was pointed out in one industrial branch, the worker on the job doesn't respond to something labeled as a "fascist" threat, he wants to know how it menaces him specifically or his particular union. This is part of what Gus Hall termed a "prerequisite to the fight against fascism"—that the American people must learn to identify it. We are not helping them identify it unless our discussions, instead of staying on general levels, are thrashed out and the best mass approaches to the people we are influencing arrived at.

One conclusion we have come to in San Francisco is that there can no

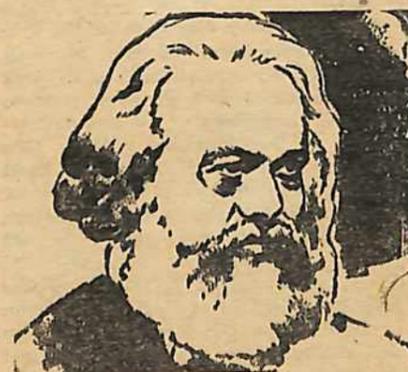
longer be any "departmentalized" approach to education or educational workers. On a section level, at every level of the party organization, the educational workers must be a key part of the political leadership, must take their direction and emphasis from the political leadership. Where comrades are floundering around, not able to carry out our political line, or where they are in a weak organizational state, the educational discussions will reflect these problems. The job of educational workers is to help increase political content and strengthen all our work. In trying to stimulate greater study of Marxism-Leninism, which is of key importance in this period, we must guard against a tendency to conduct study of the Marxist classics in an academic, doctrinaire manner. It is not enough to study Lenin's Imperialism chapter by chapter. We must use articles in Political Affairs, current pamphlets to spotlight the present state of U.S. imperialism—the economic causes driving it toward war—its parasitic characteristics—its fabulous national debt and resulting high taxes which affect the workers, or lack of schools and recreational facilities which affect the children. While academic discussions of theory confront us in some situations, in many of the industrial branches there is another problem, where the discussion is all "practice"—what to do in the union this week—and broader political discussions of any kind is missing; no attempt is made to use Marxist-Leninist theory as an aid to more effective leadership. Involved in the whole question of making more use of Marxist-Leninist theory is the need for self-study; and there will have to be many suggestions and aids from the educational apparatus to encourage this form of learning. To the extent we raise the political thinking in our branches we will stimulate members to do more self-study. The mastery of Marxism-Leninism lies in the ability to apply it to the conditions we face today,

in the ability to derive the essence from the Marxist-Leninist classics so as to help in the solution of current problems.

One key aspect of education today is its close relationship with literature—the need for working out ways so that current literature gets to all our members, is read and discussed. We must also take steps to see that literature is spread among contacts and is used in a mass way, to bring the truth to workers. Here in San Francisco we have decided to get out a monthly letter which will list new material, as well as classics available in order to stimulate sales; and are trying to get regular orders for Political Affairs and mass pamphlets.

Party education in this period must be considered more than just a question of inner party life, but an essential part of our main political task of winning the American people, of equipping our comrades to carry out the vanguard role of our party, of bringing our political line more effectively to the American people.

—E.L., San Francisco.



KARL MARX

"The theoretical conclusions of the Communists . . . merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."

UNITY OF NEGRO AND WHITE PAYS OFF AT THE SHOP LEVEL IN OAKLAND

Some changes that took place recently in a warehouse shop illustrate how the fight for jobs for Negro workers improves working conditions for all workers. This was a jimcrow plant and also (naturally) had the worst working conditions. After a fight was made Negro women were hired for the first time.

The following then took place: The Negro workers found the workers were washing up after the final whistle, not before as they had been doing at other shops. After a little discussion and leadership by example, this was changed. The same thing happened with regard to relief time. The white women accepted the leadership of the Negro women. Negro-white unity had improved the conditions in the shop in a few days.

This is not an isolated example. In some unions and shops a break-through in the fight for jobs and upgrading for Negroes can help bring about decisive change in the relationship of forces—strengthening the progressives. We only need to point out that ILWU Local 10 would be a shambles today were it not for the degree of Negro-white unity achieved.

In Alameda county there are a large number of jimcrow shops and industries, which either have no Negroes or have token hiring. This is true of telephone, transportation, many shops in auto and steel, to mention some of the larger industries. How is it we haven't been able to break through in some of these industries?

The failure of comrades in shops to wage a fight where they are working is one of the outstanding weaknesses in our work. For example, a comrade has been working in a shop for 2½ years. He has been doing some outstanding work in the fight for Negro rights in the civil rights field—in the community. But the shop that this comrade works in is a jimcrow shop and very little effort, if any, had been made to change this condition! This example could be multiplied many times.

One of the main reasons for this situation is that our comrades do not have confidence in the ability of the white workers to overcome their chauvinism in the course of a correct fight. Too often the bulk of the workers are put in the category of the most backward workers and the difficulties of the job are exaggerated.

Another reason is the manner in which previous county campaigns have been conducted. For example, the Safeway and Bank of America campaigns have been the concentration points in the fight for jobs in Alameda county in the past few years. These were campaigns in West Oakland and while necessary and important fights because of the manner in which they were conducted they tended to take away from the fight in the main industrial plants in the East Bay.

One thing is clear. The main problem is not the objective conditions. On the contrary, the objective conditions today—all the demagoguery, the need for workers, etc.—make it possible, even easy, to win jobs and upgrading for Negro workers if the proper fight is made.

Here are a few experiences which light up the way for us. In one of the warehouse shops no Negro had ever been able to attain seniority. When a white progressive led a fight against the firing of a Negro who was about to attain his seniority, it resulted in three Negroes achieving seniority for the first time. What made the fight possible and in a sense guaranteed its outcome was the development of rank and file unity on the issue among the white workers.

Another example was in an auto shop where a fight against jimcrow which had existed for many years was successful. Here for many months the shop committee would report that

management said they didn't discriminate and let it go at that. The real problem was that the committee members, because of their own chauvinism and because they didn't think they had the workers behind them, took no real initiative. They, too, lagged behind the workers on this question.

What happened? The FEP committee which had been dead was reactivated. It developed an educational program. A number of people raised the issue boldly in the shop. The effects of discrimination on wages and the strength of the union were discussed at the union meetings. A fairly wide discussion took place with a generally

favorable response. This was immediately felt by the committee. Also by management which had its stoolpigeons around to tell what was cooking.

Management told the committee they would hire Negroes. Leaders of the Negro community assisted in urging people to begin applying for jobs. Without underestimating the value of the previous educational work, actually the crucial period in which the change took place in the committee and management was a matter of some two months.

What was key here? The development of rank and file support for the issue centering from the FEP com-

mittee, an official union committee which gave the impetus to the fight using solid trade union arguments. In other words, where we develop the united front from below properly in the fight for Negro rights we are going to win, and the ease with which we are going to win will surprise a lot of us although of course there is no blueprint on this—it will vary from industry to industry.

In our convention discussion, every comrade should ask this question: What can I do in my shop to register some real gains in the fight for Negro rights? Then we should proceed to put the answer into effect.

Problems of organization— an industrial section view

At the September plenum of the national committee, Comrade Winston called for "a swift readjustment in form and activities" to meet the needs of the present situation. If we are to single out the one decisive factor in meeting these needs, toward which all aspects of party work have to be slanted, it is more and more mass work. Only more and better mass work has in it all the elements needed to meet the present situation.

The thesis of this article is that in the field of party organizational structure, the key to achieving more and better mass work is—

- (1) to make the group the basic unit of the party, in reality!
- (2) to eliminate the encumbrance of the club form (with it the club exec);
- (3) to substitute other forms that preserve basic Leninist principles of party organization and are better adapted to meet the needs of the day.

Firstly, can the group be the basic unit of the party in the sense of making policy independently? Party policy is uniform for the party as a whole, being made at party conventions, plenums, etc. The group—just as the club before it—will have the task of applying that policy, concretizing it under its own specific conditions of work, and thereby enriching that policy by testing it in mass work.

Does this mean party policy is so specific that the group has only to parrot resolutions? Of course not. The group must, as the club had to before it, exercise a great deal of political initiative and creativeness in so applying the party's policy as to find those answers to specific problems which only it can find. In working out specific application of party policy, the group enriches the policy itself with new experiences. This is the relation between the group and party policy. Can we speak of policy-making by the groups in any other sense than this? Certainly not! We would not be a Leninist party if each party organization had its own policy on the question of peace, for example. In the party there can be only one policy, a single aim uniting the efforts of all party organizations regardless what their field of work.

What if it takes more than one group—say several groups (which may even comprise a club today) to decide a certain course of action? There must certainly be coordination and consultation in such a case, just as previously it was necessary to coordinate several clubs on occasion.

To sum up this point: Because of the group's direct tie with a given department, shop, organization or community, it can—even better than the old diffuse club—apply and enrich the policy of the party.

What happens then to the club and the club executive committee? Life has already answered the first part of this question—for practical purposes, the club no longer exists because it was an organizational form that could

not meet the needs of the day. This point should be driven home because some comrades, in their day-to-day work, still cling to the obsolete concept of a club and this in itself hampers their passing over to group forms of activity.

The club executive committee has been retained as the coordinating medium and political leadership of a number of groups comprising the former club. In some cases this has worked well, but these are the exceptions. In most cases, the club exec has actually been an encumbrance and a bottleneck, tending to brake the activity of any one group until all were ready to move. It has been a buffer between the section and the groups, increasing the distances between the party leadership and membership. It has increased problems of party mobility and contact. It has sapped the energies of some of our best comrades in "inner" party work. (When added to the club execs are the comrades of the section committee, its organizational department and the section council, the picture is one where the best party forces are diverted from mass work.)

What form should replace the club exec in tying up the work of the groups and giving them the best possible leadership? The proposal is that the section committee be that body—but a section committee of a somewhat different character than we have in most cases today. The kind of section committee proposed here is one where each member would have a concrete responsibility, such as education, press, etc., and, at the same time be responsible to the section committee for the work of a given number of groups. Most section committees are so constituted today that such a plan would be impossible to achieve—for two main reasons:

1. There is a separation between the political leadership of the section and the groups. After the section committee makes decisions, it is the club chairmen who transmit them to the groups.

2. The "departmentalizing" of comrades in section leadership—a press director, for example, is that and nothing else, etc.

On the first point, I feel that such a system of organization at the section level is absolutely wrong. The one who helps shape decisions should be responsible for their fulfillment. Then he will know if the decisions were correct and can, collectively with the rest of the section committee, develop a greater sensitivity to the problems in the groups. This proposal guarantees that problems of the groups receive full attention in the section committee and, on the other hand, that the decisions of the section reach the groups in ungarbled fashion.

How about the second question—the various departments of work in a section—press, education, etc.? The first question to ask here is, when the section committee member goes to his groups what does he take up with them? He takes up their specific

problems; but since he is the sole representative of the section to these groups, he must bring the whole program of the section committee with him—not just the phase of work he is responsible for.

New methods of work need to be mastered. We cannot "departmentalize" the comrades on the section committee by a mechanical division of work. Instead there should be a division of responsibility. The difference between these two concepts of party organization was beautifully developed by Julius Fuchik in "Notes from the Gallows."

Where there is a division of responsibility rather than of work, there is a truly collective leadership and a lot less unnecessary running around. Each section committee member gives leadership to the specific phase of work he's responsible for but brings to the groups the rounded out program of the section comprising the contributions of all its members.

The next question is: How would the section committee member keep contact with the groups? Would there be collective contact with representatives of each group, etc., etc.? Contact in the main would be through group chairmen and when necessary and feasible with the entire group itself. As to whether group chairmen meet collectively or not—this cannot be predetermined for every situation and for all time even in the same situation. Collectively the section committee should help each member work out the best system suitable for the groups he or she is assigned to. Certainly the assignment of comrades to groups should be made as far as possible with a view to minimizing rather than increasing the complexity of problems, contact, etc.

It is suggested that the section organizer and in some cases even the organizational secretary be kept free from specific responsibility for groups so as to allow for better over-all guidance and occasional "trouble shooting."

I believe these proposals would quickly result in some real advantages for the party:

1. It would release many good forces for work in the groups, thus strengthening the groups and the party's mass work.

2. It would raise the quality of leadership in mass work by bringing the operative leadership of the party closer to the groups.

3. It would tremendously increase the party's mobility.

4. It would make collective work and development of cadres a regular, consistent style of work.

5. It would be a concrete step to mass work and "inner" party work.

—Bob, Org. Sec., Morgan Hull
Division, Los Angeles.

Industrial concentration

SOME CONCLUSIONS DERIVED FROM WORK AT STEEL AND AUTO PLANTS

There is no doubt that in this pre-convention discussion much attention will be given to the problems of how to win the working class in the fight for peace and democracy.

"The key to changing the relationship of forces within the country in favor of peace, democracy, and economic security, is to change the relationship of forces within the working class and its organized labor movement." (Draft Resolution).

There can be no doubt, too, that the situation today demands new approaches, new forms, new methods of work in our concentration work to root our party among the basic industrial workers. While there are new problems, however, we still seem to be plagued with some old ones.

In a recent evaluation of our concentration work in Los Angeles county for the past two years, numerous examples of advances were cited—activities developed and struggles won which expressed the independent as well as vanguard role of our party.

However, our very small base in the shops (in some of the biggest plants not a single Communist); and the fact that the work from the outside has been too scattered and inconsistent to represent a steady county-wide approach involving the whole party, indicates that we have not yet made a decisive turn in the direction of rooting the party among the basic industrial workers.

Why is it this so? A primary reason, in my opinion, is a lack of understanding of the role of a certain section of workers who are in certain key plants and industries, an unclarity as to what we mean by "industrial concentration."

While it takes different forms, the nub of confusion is the failure to recognize that industrial concentration means, in the first place, turning the face of the entire party to the organized workers of the key plants, in the basic trustified industries.

It is to the workers in the large mass production industries, generally found in certain key plants; such industries having the greatest significance to the economy of the country, whose workers have the greatest degree of organization, that we must turn. It is these workers who will influence the entire working class and labor movement.

The very stating of this seems to be beating a dead horse. But this conception has met with resistance.

There are some who have said, "By concentrating on working class residential communities, we're bound to hit workers just going home to house. And besides, it's too hard to get community people to go to the shops, or too long a process to visit a selected list of, say, steelworkers (even though they live in our area)."

Then there is the idea that it is not in the first place the organized workers that we want to reach. "There are many thousands of unorganized workers that must be reached, and these, too, are the most exploited," some say.

This generalized, diffused approach has led to tugs-of-war between community sections and industrial sections. There is great resistance to releasing comrades who rightfully belong in shop clubs. (This resistance is heightened by the failure of shop comrades to play their role in the struggles of the communities in which they live).

It is shown in different form in the failure to establish a relationship be-

tween work in the Negro and Mexican community and a policy of concentration among the industrial workers of these communities; as well as in our failure to begin first of all, to win the white worker in the basic industries for the fight for Negro and Mexican rights.

It has led to the idea that perhaps the orientation of the Labor Youth League need not be on the most decisive industries—just on working youth, wherever they are in large numbers.

At the party's last national convention it was stated: "The central task before the party is the fight for shifting the main base of our party to the working class. This cannot be done unless we turn the face of the

must direct our major efforts on pain of suffering a major defeat." (Winston).

The need for giving attention to agricultural workers in California has been raised as an argument against this approach, on the basis that these masses of workers are "unorganized," and not in key big shops. Yet the party must certainly have a concentration approach to these tens and thousands of agricultural workers because of the importance of agriculture to the economy of California, and certain special features of California agriculture.

But it is to the extent that they are organized as a decisive mass production sector of California industry, to the extent that they are "factories in

"The Party National Committee calls upon the whole party to establish guarantees that a real policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward, and that major attention is given to the workers in the strongholds of trustified capital, which happen also to be the strongholds of the reactionary labor officialdom. For by winning the workers in these industries we will be influencing the thinking and actions of the entire labor movement. . . .

"Only a more determined struggle on the part of the leadership against being swayed by pressures of one kind or another, only closer ties with our industrial workers, and a policy of training and promoting them, can in time bring about the radical change called for in our work by the period in which we live."

—The National Draft Resolution.

entire party to workers in the factories." (Winston).

At the most recent national plenum this was restated: "We must turn the party as a whole toward work around key plants under right wing and Social Democratic leadership. This is a task of decisive importance if we are to win the workers away from class collaboration and for class struggle policies. This is the number one task." (Russo).

These are not accidental formulations. They are based on very fundamental conceptions of the role of the urban, industrial shop worker in basic industry.

The working class is not an undifferentiated mass. It is not to workers in general, but to the workers in certain mass production industries, key to the economy, that we must first turn.

These are the workers most organized. When it is said in defining "industrial concentration" "to the organized workers," we are referring not only to those workers organized into trade unions. It also means those workers organized by the very nature of social production itself.

"Either the organized sections of the working class are decisive, or they are not. If, as we know, they are decisive, then nothing can excuse neglect of our work in the basic industries. . . . It is in the shops, at the point of production, that the class struggle originates and rages unceasingly every hour of every day. . . . It is at the point of production that the working class comes into direct conflict with the ruling class, and in practice discovers that the interests of these two classes are in fact, irreconcilable. Hence, it is in the shops that the decisive forces in the camp of peace and democracy daily come up against the monopolists who head the camp of fascism and war. This is the basic front of the class struggle—a front from which we dare not be diverted and to which we

the field," and hence are "organized" by the productive process (as well as by labor unions), to that very extent must the agricultural work be reviewed again in the light of concentration attention. California agriculture has certain special features (along with much of the Southwest)—such as large-scale mechanization, absentee ownership by banks, work for wages, and pay by the hour, social production, workers living in or near large cities—all of which makes a thin line between the urban industrial worker in the big shops and the agricultural laborer.

Even here, however, while the special factors in California agriculture lend it to special consideration, in my opinion, this must not be allowed to detract from the weight thrown to the non-migratory, urban industrial workers in key industries.

Some interpret this "going to the shops" as being limited to "shop gate distributions."

It has been stated that those who were emphasizing the need of "going to the shops" were wrong because they put all the emphasis on reaching the "shop gates" for distributions. And there are other ways to reach the shop workers besides shop gate distributions. No one could possibly propose concentration work on a "shop gate"—it is on the workers in the selected shop. For this very reason, what concentration work was done on some of the key plants, like steel and auto, included attempts to obtain names of workers who could be visited in their homes; coverage of union meetings, enlisting the efforts of certain community mass organizations, etc.

In my opinion, any emphasis that was placed on shop gate distributions as a way of making initial elementary contact with a given group of workers from a selected shop was not amiss two years ago—when there were practically no shop gate distributions.

But in any case, that was not then, and it not now the issue. It is: Should

it be concentration on certain sections of the working class, from certain selected shops, or concentration on working class residential areas in the first place, and the working class in general, organized or unorganized, etc.?

Some forces have interpreted the slogan and policy of "going to the shop" to mean that if we don't have any of the plants of a concentration industry situated in a given community, the responsibility of that community organization of the party towards industrial concentration is ended.

Besides the job they would have of making contact with workers from the industries selected for concentration who live in their area (even though the plant is elsewhere)—beyond this, every section of the party must think in terms of (1) bringing the working class to the forefront of all united front activity, and (2) bringing community organizations, and movements to an understanding of the leading role of labor.

The following are suggested proposals for industrial concentration for pre-convention discussion:

1. First, select those mass production key industries and plants for concentration. In my opinion, it would have to include, in Southern California, such an industry as aircraft. Los Angeles county is first in the nation in aircraft production. In this county during the war, there were 238,000 workers engaged in aircraft production. In California as a whole, there were 330,000 or one in every four workers in manufacturing industries during the war. In Southern California it would also have to include, in my opinion, maritime, auto and steel.

2. Maximum assistance to work in those selected shops and industries; to strengthen the influence of Communists in the shop, expanding their numbers, helping develop united front activities, etc.

There have been major struggles of the workers in the past two years. Workers are fighting back, with the Korean war no influence in holding back these movements of the workers for immediate needs. Our people are not isolated. More than one example could be given of the leadership given by individual Communists, and the accompanying respect they command among their fellow workers.

But our party is not always in the vanguard of these struggles, raising the level of political understanding of the workers. The attack of the ruling class has weakened, temporarily, our concentration base (in one auto plant, the shop club was wiped out). And we are not giving leadership in the most effective way commensurate with ever the strength at our disposal.

The attention of the party must be given to:

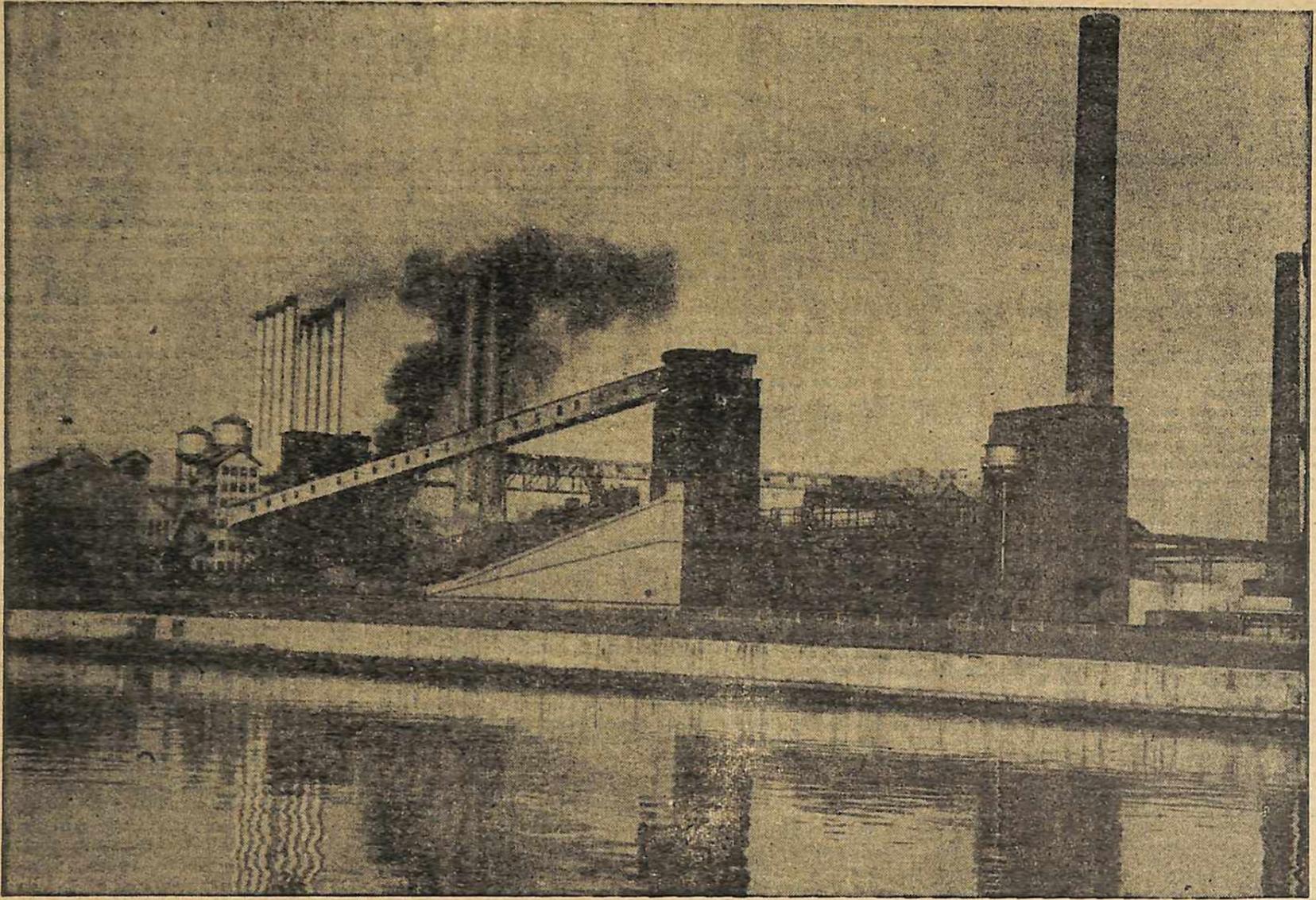
a. How, on a day to day basis, to help the comrades develop united front actions. Too often we sling the slogan around—"united front from below," without working out concretely the how, the when, the what.

b. How to overcome right opportunist, as well as left-sectarian mistakes in the right led unions in those basic industries:

(1) Failure of Communists to give leadership in the fight for peace in the shops.

(2) Opportunism and white chauvinism on the Negro question. We must help the comrades work out concretely, the fight for jobs for Negroes in shops in auto, steel, aircraft that are completely

on—why—where—how



THE FORD PLANT at River Rouge, the largest single industrial enterprise in the United States. Behind its walls toils an army of some 60,000

workers. An immense fortress of monopoly capital, it is a potential fortress of the working class movement in our country.

Jim Crow (Columbia Steel—probably the only basic steel plant in the country today with no Negro steel workers; Nash—where the local union leadership stated they approved the company policy of Jim Crow); and a plant like Northrup — unorganized, which has an unannounced policy of hiring no Negroes, no Mexicans, and no Jews!

e. Help in involving shop comrades and the trade unions in community struggles.

d. Help in guaranteeing the correct organizational forms of clubs and groups leading to most effective mass work. For example, working out a concentration policy within the shops—selecting those departments which are key to the shop and union, selecting those mass of underpaid semi-skilled and unskilled; those departments in which breakthroughs in the struggle for Negro and Mexican rights must be made. Responsibility for the failure to carry out such a policy of concentration within the shops must be laid at the feet of those very comrades who have been most vociferous for a "correct" county concentration policy—namely, myself, in the first place.

e. Allocation of additional forces, finances, literature, and other material assistance. A complete county concentration budget, for example, should be established.

f. Comrades from other fields, such as students, small business men, even workers in light industry, etc. should be selected in an organized way to work in those industries selected for concentration.

g. The best teachers, leading forces to be assigned to given individuals and groups for cadre training.

h. Continued support and attention to the publication and con-

tent of shop papers. The auto and steel comrades are proud of the record of continued publication of the "Spotlite" and "Steelworker" for over two years.

3. Regular discussion of problems in concentration industries in leading political bodies of the party. The absence of such a regular policy is reflected in the fact that it was not until almost the end of the steel strike that a part of the county board had some discussion with the comrades involved (for which these comrades also bear some responsibility). In the Chrysler strike, there was activity developed throughout the party, but the initial impetus came from the shop itself.

All political and organizational problems should be discussed on the basis of application in the concentra-

tions industries. (Example, election campaign, in which practically nothing of the policy-making discussions of the top County body reach the shop workers.)

4. All party commissions should orient themselves on a concentration policy. Trade union forces should participate in such commissions.

5. Whatever influence we have in mass organizations should be directed toward an orientation that they must base themselves on the labor movement, and the basic organized industrial workers in the concentration industries.

6. Organizational forms. It has been suggested that perhaps the county organizational commission change its character, by adding to the commission one person from each area of concentration. This would help (1)

begin to guarantee over-all leadership in the coordination of work between community and shop comrades and (2) guarantee that the functions of press, literature, education, etc. reflect our concentration approach.

Then set up county-wide concentration committees for each industry, responsible for coordination of the work in each industry.

Then assignment of certain plants to certain divisions for special responsibility.

It is the hope of this writer that this basic problem of shifting our party to the workers in the basic industries becomes the property for discussion by every comrade in the party. Everything written here has been said before, but because of lack of decisive results, we have to re-evaluate what has been said before and try and get at the whys.

Bud Blair, Los Angeles.

In concentration, Lenin's famed motto would help—better less, but better

First, we feel that concentration should be understood. It means that we choose one special place. We also do activities in other shops, but in the particular shop we choose for concentration we put our best workers and spend all the time possible to develop the work.

Since the last convention we have begun to work on some shops, but we have picked too many places. We must decide on one place in each major industry—then get enough forces to do a job.

The McCarran Act and the county and city ordinances have limited some activities but there are still a number of things that can be done, such as (1) visiting contacts; (2) mailing shop papers and The People's World;

(3) getting literature to contacts; (4) getting support for the party; (5) getting contacts in mass organizations, etc.

Comrades in the shops have to work differently. Because of the betrayal of the right wing leadership, the workers do not attend union meetings. We have been spending all of our efforts in influencing the workers at union meetings. We must still emphasize the importance of our union meetings, but the main job is to influence the workers around us. Each one must make it his business to get around him at least four or five workers. He should be able to give literature to these workers and talk to them in the shop and also at home.

We must give leadership to the struggles that arise in the shop on all issues, not neglecting the most simple

beefs. If we work correctly, these small groups of workers can be the core to organize the union for a fight against reaction and for peace.

There must be closer ties between the comrades who work in the shop and those in the community concentration groups. This will make it easier for the community concentration forces to talk to workers. They will know the problems the workers face and will be able to influence them.

We must pick the key shop and concentrate our forces to make that shop an example for the other boys to look to. Our party will gain prestige by doing a real job.

—York Club, Morgan Hull Division, Los Angeles.

About some deficiencies in the national draft resolution

The draft resolution of our National Committee provides on the whole an excellent analysis and estimate of the fundamental tasks facing our party and the entire anti-imperialist camp. The resolution also provides the beginning of a serious, self-critical examination of the work of our party and its leadership.

The resolution correctly singles out our weaknesses on the ideological front as the most serious continuing weakness in the work of the party, a weakness which takes on new significance in this period when "the ideological tie becomes paramount."

In the course of digging into an examination of our work in Los Angeles—an examination which is taking place at all levels and in all fields of party work—we are consciously attempting more than just a listing on the credit side of the things we did well, and on the debit side of the things we did badly or failed to do at all. We are attempting to search out the basic ideological questions involved, to find out what was the source of our weaknesses and failures so that the process of correction will also be a fundamental one, and not just a New Year's Resolution to do better next time. It is too early in the discussions to come to any conclusions—but I am sure that with a serious and honest approach we will be able to make at least a healthy beginning in this process.

From this standpoint, I feel that the draft resolution shows certain weaknesses, and I want to deal with some of them.

1. LIQUIDATIONIST TENDENCY IN THE PARTY. The draft resolution properly raises the alarm about the liquidationist tendencies that emerged as a reaction to the attack on the party, and the National Committee is self-critical about its own responsibility for these tendencies. I feel however that it is necessary to dig deeper to try to find the ideological source of these tendencies.

In my opinion, these liquidationist tendencies resulted from a basic over-estimation of the strength of U. S. imperialism, both in relation to domestic policy and foreign policy. The National Committee repeatedly stated that the passage of the McCarran Act (or the earlier version, the Mundt Bill) would not in and of itself mean fascism—yet in practice, the reaction was that it did. This reflected, I believe, a false concept that U. S. imperialism could do as it liked at home—and reflected also a lack of confidence in the ability and willingness of the people of the U. S. to rally to the defense of traditional constitutional rights.

In practice, this meant jumping over a whole stage of struggle. This tendency was corrected to some extent—but in the meantime, considerable damage had been done, and time had been lost which could have been more ef-

fectively used in rallying the people to the defense of democratic rights.

This over-estimation of the strength of U. S. imperialism applies to the field of foreign policy as well. At the July plenum, according to the reports we received as well as to the printed material, there was little or no analysis of the contradictions facing U.S. imperialism—the internal contradictions, contradictions between the U. S. and other imperialist powers, etc. This was even more marked in the September plenum. This is one of the factors, I believe, which has contributed to the difficulties in building a strong peace movement. It has resulted in fatalism, in defeatism, in a parrot-like repeating of theses that the camp of peace is stronger than the camp of war, without a fundamental conviction of the type that results in determined action.

Yet in the capitalist press there have been recently two news items which demonstrate that U. S. imperialism cannot "do as it likes." One was the statement that U. S. military authorities had seriously discussed using the A-bomb against the Korean people, but had decided against it because of the force of world opinion. The other was an earlier item to the effect that no nation would now dare to use the A-bomb because of the tremendous popular opposition that had been developed against it, as a result of the Stockholm peace campaign. The reaction against President Truman's statement that the U. S. would use the A-bomb in Korea and China—including Attlee's 10-point program for settling the crisis—is further indication of this.

2. WORK AMONG WOMEN. In the present draft resolution, I feel that we repeat the old, careless habit of making the last few paragraphs of the resolution a catch-all for tipping our hats to a whole number of important questions which are not really tackled in the resolution. In this resolution, we tip our hats to the question of the youth, the women, and the national groups. In the last category, the resolution does not even mention the Mexican people, although a special National Commission has been functioning for two years on this question, conferences have been held, theoretical work has been done, etc.

I believe that none of these questions will ever be properly tackled by our party until they are dealt with in connection with the basic political tasks of the party and until they are dealt with on the basis of the fundamental ideological questions involved. A special sub-commission was set up by the National Committee to dig into the woman question—yet in the resolution, there is only the reference to the ideology of male superiority, without any attempt to deepen the understanding of the party on this question. How can we deal properly with the problems of labor unity without at the same time tackling the problems of the women workers—particularly in a war economy? How can we feel completely with the Negro liberation movement, without dealing with

the special oppression of Negro women?

In our discussions here in Los Angeles, this question has already begun to come to the forefront. It came up sharply at one of the industrial section conventions, for example, and will also undoubtedly come up at the convention of the community division in which there are a number of the wives of our industrial workers. The Moranda Smith Division, which includes in its territory the two largest Negro communities in Los Angeles, in preparation for its convention is holding a special conference on the women question. I hope that from these discussions and others will come material which will assist in rounding out the resolution and the program of our party for the coming period.

3. RELATION OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLES TO THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM. The draft resolution, in the section on the party, deals with the struggle on two fronts against both "right" opportunism and "left" sectarianism, and emphasizes that the right danger is still the main danger. I believe that one of the keys to developing this struggle on two fronts is to develop the proper understanding within our party of the relationship of the present-day struggle to the struggle for socialism. This relationship should be developed throughout the resolution, and not confined to the concluding paragraph.

For example, in the section on labor, the resolution makes a very important distinction between the Social Democrats and the labor bureaucrats who do not find it necessary to use socialist phrases to mislead the workers, but who mislead the workers through demagoguery about the "Fair Deal." The significance of this, it seems to me, is that the workers of the U. S. have not yet developed socialist perspective. This is a highly important factor in developing our policies and shaping our tactics—and places special responsibilities upon the Communists. Yet this question is not dealt with in the section on labor.

One of the basic questions involved in the National question is the relationship of the struggle for national liberation to the working class struggle for socialism. This is key to both the fight against chauvinism and the fight against nationalism. Yet this question is not dealt with in connection with the Negro liberation movement—and the question of unity between Negro and white WORKERS in the South is not even mentioned!

Obviously, the final resolution will not and cannot deal in detail with all the problems confronting the party. However, I feel that more emphasis should be placed in the resolution on some of the key ideological questions that can serve as the lever to move the whole party forward, at the expense of sacrificing some details of tactics and forms.

—E.G., L.A.

A tentative program for farm labor

The past three years have seen the recurrence of depression conditions among the agricultural workers of California's rich valleys. Last winter this was culminated by the deaths of babies and a magazine article in a national magazine focusing the attention of the nation on the scandalous conditions of the workers in one of the state's richest industries. Metropolitan newspapers sent reporters and photographers to record the misery, the governor set up a committee and the whole state waxed indignant. In all likelihood, the same picture will be repeated this winter.

The AFL has made an ineffectual attempt to organize the agricultural workers. It would be more proper to say that the AFL has tried to harness the militancy of the workers for its own bargaining power. In reality, the AFL organizers are more afraid of the workers than the big growers, and stifle every effort on the part of the workers for demonstrative action.

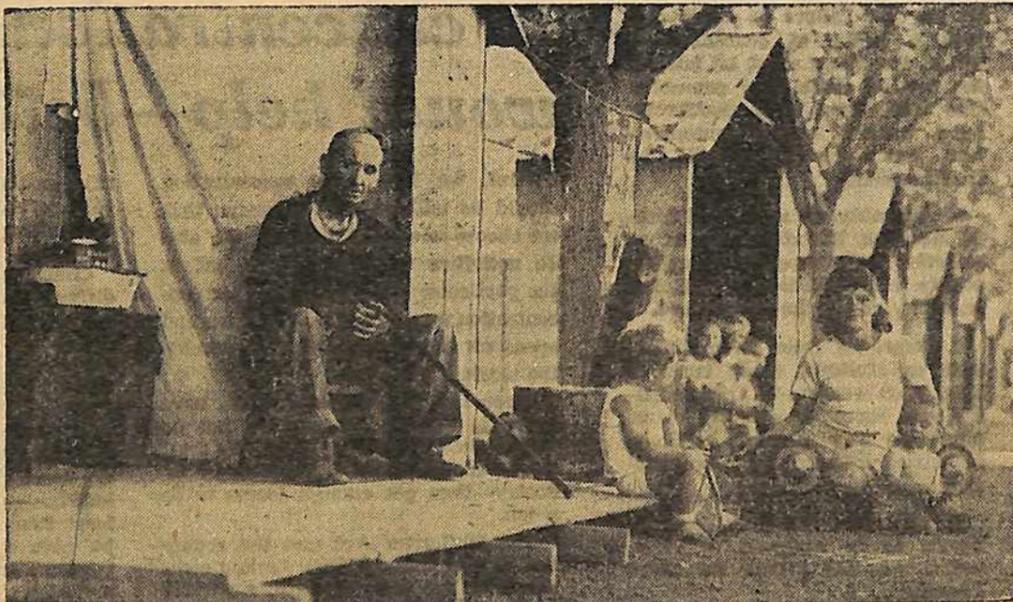
The San Joaquin Valley is completely controlled by the land companies, Southern Pacific, Pacific Gas & Electric, Bank of America and the oil companies. These gentry own the city, county and state controlling bodies in the valleys. The minute the agricultural workers ask for 10 cents an hour wage increase or better housing, they find themselves up against the whole policing power of the state.

It is pretty obvious from this that any organization of agricultural workers must be on an economic and political basis jointly. It is futile to organize economically only when the growers can use the city and county governments to beat the workers over the head.

The very nature of the work tends to isolate agricultural workers from the rest of the community and except for the incidents that draw national attention, they were left pretty much to solve their own problems. In many instances progressive workers living in close proximity to the agricultural workers give no leadership in their struggles. Some of this confusion undoubtedly stems from the fact that our party does not have a clear program for the agricultural workers. To be sure we dutifully mention agricultural workers at every convention but we have not developed a program that our own comrades can work toward. Thus we find party members living in the midst of agricultural workers completely ignoring them in carrying out our work. For the purpose of this discussion we might pose the following as a minimum program in agriculture:

- A minimum hourly wage in agriculture.
 - Unemployment insurance.
 - State residence for relief.
 - The popularizing of agricultural problems in urban centers in the valley.
- Our party learned many valuable lessons when we led the agricultural workers' struggles in the '30s. It is our duty to see that these lessons are not lost to the agricultural workers in their struggles today.

—P. V.



FOR A POLICY OF CONCENTRATION IN PARTY'S WORK AMONG WOMEN

Another look at party building

It has occurred to me that it is high time to reopen a discussion on a basic party proposition relative to party building. This, of course, in the spirit of criticism and self criticism as we understand it, which is another one of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on party organization and the role of the party.

But let's stick, for the moment, to our objective matter, the party.

What is the party?

Why and how to build it? When to build it? Who shall do the job?

Let's begin, first of all, what is the party, from a theoretical point of view.

Comrade Lenin carried on an intensive and extensive theoretical and practical struggle to define party structure and the role of the party in a thoroughly Marxist-Scientific manner, against dilettantes and opportunists. It has become more or less an axiom to paraphrase the party as the vanguard of the working class. And usually we stop here. Why and how come? Yes, we have read about, and some pay lip service by enumerating additional characteristics of a Marxist party.

The most advanced, best organized and highly disciplined organization. The foremost mass organization. And we've got to be a mass organization if we want to fulfill our historic role of the vanguard.

A mass organization with a numerical strength capable of coping with the task confronting the people generally and the working class in particular.

Take the problem of the absolute and relative strength of the party according to the strength (in numbers) of the working class and the population in general. We hear more advanced party members speak about qualitative changes which have taken place in our party, a healthy core of cadres in leadership and membership, and then when people express surprise at the gap between our being a small party and our influence way beyond our ranks, we pride ourselves on being a part of this; we belong to and almost cherish to stay this way, an exclusive party.

Dialectics of nature teaches us to observe quantitative changes first before a higher qualitative change occurs. We have to grow numerically to reach a higher level of political development inside and outside the party!

A mass party means exactly that, a mass organization, a Marxist-Leninist mass organization.

Now we all know or should know the specific circumstances of American social economic development that lead to minimizing scientific theory. The objective conditions of the growth of American capitalism. Simon pure trade unionism in the labor movement. Lack of class consciousness and socialist consciousness in the labor movement here. And we present a correct picture; we understand why it happened. And all this argument to prove why we have no mass party as yet!

On the negative side, there is a dangerous opportunistic approach sometimes covered up with revolutionary phrase mongering, right and left deviations reflecting the pressure of bourgeois ideology fostered by the ruling class in our own ranks. A mechanical approach which leads to reliance on spontaneity, tailing, lagging behind, a lack of understanding of the dynamics of life, a lack of dialectical approach, minimizing the role of subjective conditions.

The intent of this article is not name-calling but to rectify a stubborn weakness manifested in our work persistently. We have no forces to build the party, a frequent answer. How can we build a mass party when we have no available forces? A vicious circle. A very convenient way of shrugging our shoulders, and compiling an additional list of reasons:

factionalism, fighting on many fronts, red scare, the heritage of the past and so on, ad infinitum, we rationalize and glory in our pseudo-Marxist answers on why we do not have and possibly cannot have a mass party until this and that happens.

What is the other side of the picture? A positive approach, of course!

To understand the world and problems of party building, of course, is a prerequisite. But not the whole answer!

Let's assume we know and recognize the problem as being of the utmost importance. What next? Who is going to do it?

Party building is a task of vital importance to the whole party, its membership and leadership. It's a matter of life and death for our party, for the trade unions, for peace and democracy, for Negro liberation, for the unemployed. Organization is decisive.

The best formulation is only as good as our ability to carry it out in life. A true barometer of our maturity as a Communist political organization is its constant growth (including numbers).

Now I think personnel is essential. A person should be given as his or her main assignment on all levels to keep party building on the agenda, or shall we say transfer it from there into deeds of actual party building! In the county, section, clubs.

When to build the party? Always, constantly tying it into all our activities!

How? Generally, I would say the best method is that which brings home the bacon. The art of party building must conform to existing conditions.

Concrete situations; relationship of forces; political climate, a careful analysis of the situation will help to determine the form of the approach. I would say group meetings with non-party workers of 5 to 10 with a dynamic speaker is one way.

Where to build? In concentration industries, neighborhoods, shops, trade unions, among the Negro people, unemployed, among the peace forces, Mexican-American, etc., etc.

A strong party is the absolute prerequisite for building trade union unity in struggles that will cement unity of Negro and white, will develop the independent thinking of working class along with class consciousness and socialist consciousness, that will cement unity of the working class with its strategic allies, Negro people, farmers, middle class and with all the decent and genuinely democratic forces fighting for peace and for survival.

The stronger the party the sooner will we realize our immediate aim of defeating our war mongers and realize peace in our time and socialism, the guarantee of permanent peace and prosperity for all!

Defend the party and its leadership! Free Dennis and all political prisoners! More power to the party and its spokesmen, the 12 indicted leaders! Build the party in numbers and in quality, always!

Security problems involved, should not deter us from our course.

A period of party candidacy for screening should be considered. We have to be bold and race against time. Avoid pitfalls of nonchalance and panic! Work efficiently and enthusiastically for the victory which shall be ours! Take pride in your membership and imbue everybody around you with this pride. With all our weaknesses which we constantly try to eliminate, we are indestructible. Capitalism creates its own grave diggers, the modern industrial proletariat and its vanguard party, our glorious C. P. in the U. S. A. The party is the key to the answer of who shall win, life or death. We are with progressive humanity for life, for a free, new life!

M. K., Oakland.

Too often in attempting to fight through in our party on the problems of women we fall into a trap. We correctly characterize male supremacy as an enemy ideology; however, in attempting to struggle against it we start struggles against the men who express this ideology rather than the ideology itself. As a result, there is a tendency to look upon the men of the working class as our oppressors, rather than the bourgeoisie. There is no doubt but that the capitalist system sets up a double standard for men and women from the time of their birth, and this ideology of the double standard is carried into the party with a lot of other bourgeois ideology.

There is a real necessity for special attention to be paid by our party to women. They must be helped in fighting for leadership, and special attention must be paid to their problems, especially to the problems of working mothers. We must assist them so that their political activity will not penalize them as mothers or as wives. At the same time, we must realize that under present capitalist society we cannot and must not allow the special problems of women to degenerate into the departmentalizing or artificial separation of our homes from the party.

Communist parents want their children to be Communists, and many times we hear discussions about the fact that children are not reconciled

ed in struggles for jobs, equal pay for equal work, child care, peace, the day-to-day problems of their lives, and the building of a better world for their children.

Organizations of middle-class Negro women, such as the National Council of Negro Women, AKA and other sororities, do not choose the "battle of the sexes" as their areas of work. Their programs in the main reflect the desire for the solution of the problems of the Negro people, the fight against jimcrow, etc., and the aspirations of Negro women for integration.

In carrying on the struggle against the ideology of male supremacy, we women in the party have a special role to play. Within our party we must fight for political and economic equality and must enlist the aid of our men comrades in this fight. We must fight for education for our women comrades to equip more and more of us to lead the party and the mass movements. We must have a theoretical approach to the problems of women, and especially we must see to it that our party publishes material in this field of work to take up a large gap in our theoretical front.

White women comrades have a special role to play in the struggle of the Negro women within the party for political equality. In addition, we have to fight for their integration in every phase of party life, including the social life. Especially, we have to struggle against white chauvinism, which has



to the parents' activity; there is a bewailing about the lack of time spent with the children, etc. Are Communist mothers and fathers different from working mothers and fathers? How much time does the average working class or Negro parent have to spend with his children? It is the party that takes the parent from the child? No! It is capitalism which steals us from our children.

Taking time from party activity to spend with our children will not solve this problem. Therefore, we Communist parents must develop a qualitative relationship with our children, a relationship not proscribed in terms of the amount of time we can take from party activity to devote to our children, but in terms of the quality of the relationship we develop with our children.

The problems of women have been approached from many angles. We must take special note of the fact that the National Woman's party and other feminist organizations in America are composed entirely of bourgeois and middle-class women. Very few, if any Negro women or working-class women are in any way active in these organizations. There is a reason for this. The woman problem as approached by these organizations can find no base in the Negro or working class community. Negro and working-class women are not interested in organizations fighting to put them on a so-called equal basis with men. Negro and working-class women are interest-

kept Negro women in a subject state since before slavery, and which today is reflected in the lack of social contact with Negro women. It is the responsibility of the white women in the party to understand and feel the special problems of Negro women and actively work to help Negro women overcome these problems.

Today, as never before, the possibilities of organizing women, both Negro and white, are great. The struggle against war and for peace, the fight against the high cost of living, the fight for jobs, are issues around which women can be organized.

The weakness in the past in our work among the masses of women has been that we have not really attempted to organize Negro and working-class women. We have taken the easiest way, following the petty bourgeois patterns of organization, and as a result, have developed petty bourgeois approaches to the problems of women.

We have a concentration policy in our party, directed to the working class and the Negro people. This concentration policy must be applied to our work among women—we must have an orientation toward the working class and Negro women. New approaches, new forms of organization must be boldly applied in order to build a mass movement among the women of America.

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KOREA AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE —SOME FAILINGS ON THIS FRONT

The Draft Resolution for the National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. represents the summation of the existing conditions, views and experiences in America in relation to the rest of the world. It differs most significantly from any other such report in that the Resolution represents a scientific analysis of facts and a correct understanding of the relations of the existing forces based upon the Marxist-Leninist understanding of human history at a given period.

The presentation of this resolution in a draft form to the rank and file members of the Party and to the American people for its study, criticism and evaluation at this critical period is a living demonstration of the Party's strength in its behalf and practice of the basic principle of democratic centralism. To the extent the members of the Party and the broad masses of the American people are brought to actively participate in this process of exchange of views and experiences will the Party succeed in molding a correct and clear understanding of the present situation by the American people, and the concrete implementation of that understanding in terms of a people's movement for peace and democracy.

The Draft Resolution correctly underlines the Fight for Peace as the major task facing the American people today. All other struggles in the interests of immediate objectives can have no real meaning or gain unless they are understood and related directly to the basic struggle for peace.

It is easy to see that the fight for civil rights, progressive trade unions, Negro-white unity, better housing and against the measures to establish Fascism in America will lose their real meaning to the people if they should fail in their fight for peace.

In view of this central character of the fight for peace, the outbreak of a shooting war in Korea, and the immediate danger of the imperialist attempts to spread that shooting war into China and other Asiatic countries constitute the first material breach of the peace front. Today, just as all other struggles are related to the struggle for peace, the fight for peace is directly related to the central task of sealing this breach in Korea and securing peace in Asia. In short, the fight for peace cannot be won without winning the peace in Korea. This becomes clearer when Korea is viewed as a segment of over one-half of the world's population who comprise the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia.

The Draft Resolution seems to underestimate this pivotal nature of the Korean war and fails to give sufficient emphasis for the critical need to concentrate the people's fight for peace on the immediate issue of stopping the shooting war in Korea. This underestimation of the Korean issue in relation to the entire struggle for peace may be a reflection of the general lack of the organization of the people's peace forces and the absence of any organized people's action on the question of the Korean war. If the war in Korea in fact represents the imperialists' attempt to usher in a new world war, then the failure to mobilize the peace forces and frustrate this attempt becomes not merely a matter of negligence but in fact a question of defeatism.

Even if this were not the case of a conscious mistake, there is still an imminent need for a thorough examination of such a situation with the view of overcoming this grave weakness without any loss of time.

One of the basic reasons for the failure to organize the overwhelming peace forces which do exist in America, and the failure to implement this peace force into a concentrated action on Korea may lie in the acceptance of a defensive position by the most advanced and progressive elements of



FOR IMPERIALISM age is no distinction. Here, U.S. troops "frisk" a Korean tot. The U.S. Air Force, in its saturation bombing forays against Korean population centers, did not just "frisk" Korean tots; it killed and maimed countless thousands.

the people. So insidious and deadly is such a defensive attitude in the face of an open imperialist warfare as to cause even the most progressive elements to become the unconscious victims of the imperialist war hysteria. By assuming such a defensive attitude one becomes apologetic about speaking out for peace, one becomes isolated and fears that one is surrounded by hostile neighbors, and one is intimidated to the point of believing that it is really a crime to speak or act for peace. Thus, to assume and maintain a defensive position in regards to the fight for peace is to accept the very position of isolation and destruction of the potential peace force aimed at by the imperialist war makers.

But once one pulls oneself outside of this dangerous trap, there remains the fact that in every home, every church, every workshop and office there are millions of American mothers, fathers, sweethearts and youth, each of whom cherish a fervent desire and hope for peace. It remains the immediate and urgent task of progressive Americans to mobilize these forces and set them in motion in terms of a broad unified action.

Another basic cause of the present weakness seems to lie in the shameful lack of knowledge and understanding of the cultural background of the peoples of Asia in general and of the Korean people in particular. (The culture of these peoples in the broadest

sense.) Again in this respect the progressive elements in America have failed to overcome the deliberate designs of the American bourgeoisie to prevent a true understanding of the peoples of Asia by the American people. It becomes obvious, therefore, that without an immediate concentrated drive to furnish the American people with information of political, economic and social content, the American people will remain alien to a real understanding of the basic conditions, hopes and aspirations of the people of Asia. Needless to say, such an understanding is a prerequisite to aligning the American people with the peoples of Asia as true and equal allies of peace.

Yet another basic reason for the defensive character of the fight for peace is America seems to lie in the uncritical attitude toward white chauvinism as it is directed against the Asian peoples. In this respect, too, the progressive forces in America have fallen unconscious victims of the corrupt bourgeois concept of white supremacy.

Consider the fact that one Lidice during World War II was enough to arouse the indignation of the whole world. In this war against the Korean people, hundreds of Lidices have been perpetrated. In fact the complete razing of towns and cities is openly boasting of and has been the pattern of military operation. And yet, it is also a fact that not a single organized voice was raised or any organized action taken to universally condemn this

barbarous warfare. The imperialists' attempt to justify this barbarity with their white chauvinist epithet, "the Asiatic's disregard for life." The failure to actively condemn it is to condone the vilest of the enemies of peace—white chauvinism.

Furthermore, white chauvinism as it is directed against the Negro people can never be rooted out completely unless white chauvinism in all of its forms is wiped out. And just as the fight against this enemy is essential to the defeat of fascism in America, the struggle against the same enemy in another guise in Asia becomes the integral part of the fight for peace in Korea—an immediate and urgent step forward achieving peace for the American people and for all the peoples of the world.

In conclusion, these views and observations are presented to the convention for discussion and consideration. It must be noted, of course, that there are other objective factors affecting the peace movement in America. The existence of these factors, however, does not negate or justify the failure to rally the people's peace forces around the issue of Korea.

To underline the existence of such a condition and to emphasize the dangerously undermining effect it would have on the entire struggle for Peace is the sum substance of these comments on the Draft Resolution on the question of the Fight for Peace.

—J.D., L.A.