

Study Course *on* *The Communist Party,* *The Working Class* *and* *Industrial Concentration*

Outline and Guide For Schools, Classes, Study Groups

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These lessons on The Party, the Working Class and Industrial Concentration are prepared for training schools, classes, study groups, club and group discussions. They are generally applicable to all Districts, but they should be supplemented by concrete District experiences - especially in regard to concentration as well as trade union activities, using material published before and since the 14th National Convention.

These lessons are drawn up for seven sessions. Teachers and clubs may select a number of lessons for shorter courses or single lessons for group and club discussion. In a number of cases, material has been purposely extended for the sake of clarity.

National Educational Department, Communist Party

Lesson 1. THE WORKING CLASS AS THE DECISIVE FORCE IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY. . . .

I. The Capitalist Class and the Working Class.

1. The capitalist system of production has divided society into two main classes - the capitalists that have a monopoly of the means of production and the working class which works as wage slaves for the capitalists.

"The basis of the relations of production under the capitalist system is that the capitalist owns the means of production but not the workers in production -- the wage laborers, whom the capitalist can neither kill nor sell because they are personally free but who are deprived of means of production and in order not to die of hunger are obliged to sell their labor power and to bear the yoke of exploitation." (Stalin: Dialectical and Historical Materialism - P. 36)

2. The social and political life of present-day capitalist society revolves around the struggle between the two chief classes - working class and capitalist class.
 - a) Class struggle not invented by Communists - a reality of capitalist society. Interests of working class and capitalist class diametrically opposed.
3. Capitalist class strives with everything at its command to perpetuate system of exploitation and political rule. Carries on continual warfare against working class and all exploited, using its economic and political power to keep working class in subjection. To maintain rule, moves toward fascism and war.
4. Working class compelled by its economic position in capitalist production to resist exploitation, organize economically and politically and defend democracy and peace.
5. Inevitable outcome of struggle - is victory of working class over capitalism, elimination of capitalism and building new socialist society.

II. Role of Working Class in Present-Day Capitalist Society.

1. With expansion of capitalist production, working class increases in numbers by additions from ranks of city middle class and farmers who are reduced to position of workers by bankruptcy and ruination.
2. Working class capable of highest degree of organization as a result of the very process of capitalist production.

Large-scale production - bringing together large numbers of workers in trustified industries and plants - creates understanding of need and power of collective action, discipline and organization. (Small scale production - disunites producers, prevents them from learning real source of oppression, real enemy.)

3. Working class only real revolutionary class - "nothing to lose but their chains... have a world to win." (Communist Manifesto)

Historic mission of working class - leader of all oppressed in the elimination of capitalist exploitation. "What the bourgeoisie produces above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (Communist Manifesto)

III. The Middle Classes - intermediate classes between working class and capitalist class.

1. "Alongside of capitalist property in the means of production we find, at first on a wide scale, private property of the peasants and handicraftsmen in the means of production." (Stalin: Dialectical and Historical Materialism, P. 36)
2. Middle classes - not homogeneous - consist of various social strata - small and middle farmers, small businessmen, handicraftsmen, professionals and intellectuals, officials, etc. - in the main characterized by small property ownership and outlook.
3. Vacillates economically and politically between capitalist class and working class.
"It is a truth long known to every Marxist that in every capitalist society the only decisive forces are the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, while all social elements occupying a position midway between these classes and coming within the economic category of the petty bourgeoisie inevitably vacillate between these decisive forces." (Lenin: Selected Works, Vol. VIII, P. 145)
4. Strives to enter ranks of capitalist class - but constantly being pressed into ranks of working class "partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production." (Engels)
5. Middle classes - though numerous and important in the U.S.A. - under conditions of capitalism, cannot play independent role. Plays progressive role only under leadership of working class.
"The task of the proletariat in relation to this class - or to these social elements - is to lead it and to strive to establish its influence over it. The proletariat must lead the vacillating and unstable." (Lenin: Selected Works, Vol. VIII, P. 12.)

IV. Most Decisive Section of Working Class are Workers in Large-Scale Trustified Mass Production Industries.

1. Working class in U.S., as elsewhere, represents different strata and different degrees of experiences, and, therefore, different levels of understanding and consciousness.
 - a) New "recruits" to the working class - from farms, professions, youth, Negro people, women, etc., - lacking experience in the class struggle (traditions of struggle, building of unions, experiences of strikes, etc.) bring with them many petty bourgeois illusions, habits and customs.
"...the drawing in of new sections of the toiling masses must inevitably be accompanied by hesitations in theory and tactics, by the repetition of old mistakes and by the temporary return to obsolete views and methods, etc. The labor movement of every country periodically expands more or less of its reserves of energy, attention and time on the 'training' of recruits." (Lenin: Differences in the European Labor Movement - Marx, Engels Marxism, P. 80)
 - b) White collar workers -- Workers in service trades, clerical positions, belong to working class economically. However, socially, in education, training and mode and conditions of work are strongly influenced by petty bourgeois habits and outlook. Recent unionization raised understanding of their identity with working class and class solidarity. Millions still unorganized, permeated with bourgeois and petty bourgeois influence. Favorable soil for bourgeois reformism, social-democracy and petty bourgeois radicalism.
 - c) Highly skilled workers - Labor aristocracy - the upper crust of the better-paid section of working class. While with increase of mass production industries its number has decreased, the labor aristocracy still remains an important section of working class. Because of favored position, tends to compromise with capitalism. Main base of support for labor-reformism, for social-democracy.
 - d) Basic mass of working class - is primarily the mass of unskilled, semi-skilled, and lower paid strata of skilled workers in mass production industries. Is constant stable core of working class, long having broken connections with capitalist class. Its position in large-scale industry - inclines it toward socialist

ideas. It is potentially the main base of support for Marxist ideology. In the basic mass of working class must also be included the unskilled, semi-skilled and lower paid strata of skilled workers in such industries as building trades, water and land transportation, etc. This does not mean that sections of highly skilled workers, who feel insecurity of capitalism, cannot and must not be won for Marxist position.

2. Need ideologically, organizationally and politically to win and unite the masses of workers in basic industries, reaching first of all the lower paid and most oppressed sections of the working class, particularly the unskilled, semi-skilled and Negro workers.
 - a) It is necessary to reach the workers in the basic industries because their experience in huge plants develops greater appreciation of the power of organization and struggle.
 - b) They more readily recognize that the fight to defend their interests is fight not only against single employer but class of employers. (This is due to character of mass production industries, absentee ownership, etc.)
 - c) Sharp character of struggles in basic industries - teaches working class to recognize transitory character of "improvements," undermines illusions of "escaping" exploitation, etc.
 - d) Struggles of workers in basic industry influences, stimulates and encourages other sections of working class and oppressed peoples to take the path of struggle.

READING MATERIAL

1. Communist Manifesto, Chapter I.
2. Lenin: Selected Works, Vol. I - P. 453-455; P. 498-499.

ADDITIONAL READING MATERIAL

1. Lenin: Marx, Engels, Marxism - Differences in the European Labor Movement.

Lesson 2. *THE WORKING CLASS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST LABOR REFORMISM & SOCIAL DEMOCRACY...*

I. Peculiarities of American Working Class Rooted in Special Features of American Capitalist Development.

1. American working class (in substantial number) does not yet have a socialist outlook. Still seeks solution of its economic and political problems within framework of capitalism.

The question arises: Why is it that despite the fact that Marxism is most easily accepted by workers in large-scale industry, that in the U.S. only a small section of working class as yet has assimilated socialist ideas?

This due to a number of economic, political and social factors which have tended to check growth of class-consciousness of American working class; stimulated petty-bourgeois illusions; and hindered development of independent political action and of a mass labor or peoples' party, as well as retarded development of socialist ideas. These factors are:

- a) Favorable conditions under which American capitalism developed, such as: comparative absence of economic and political feudal remnants; vast stretches of free land and expansion of inner capitalist market; vast natural resources; early shortage of labor power which accelerated drive for labor-saving devices and mechanization of industry, and established a relatively higher wage in comparison with European workers.
 - b) In recent decades additional favorable factors - strategic location of America; freedom from ravages of war; America only country which rapidly expanded during two world wars at expense of other countries.
 - c) For a long period of time, particularly before the first World War, existence of large immigrant strata of labor, and later, of large unorganized masses of Negro workers (migration from South to North). This was used by the capitalist class to create artificial division - foreign born vs. native born; white vs. Negro. This tended to retard the unity, class consciousness and organization of the working class.
2. The peculiar features of American capitalist development cited above as well as the specific bourgeois democratic origin and traditions (First American Revolution; Civil War; early struggles for democracy; people's fight against the trusts, etc.) cultivated a number of illusions which in the past and today are exploited by monopoly capitalism and its agents in the working class to retard class-consciousness.
 - a) These illusions include ideas of: "unhampered freedom of equality and opportunity"; ever increasing American standard of living; possibility of making American capitalism work - New Dealism; "classless" character of American democracy; "non-imperialist" character of the United States; solution of political problems through two party system, etc.
 - b) These illusions were developed into "American exceptionalism" theories - that America is exempt from the laws and shattering effects of capitalist development. These false "exceptionalist" theories found expression even in our Party in Lovestoneism and Browderism.
 3. Strength of American capitalism is not due to inherent superiority over capitalist nations. American capitalism subject to same laws of development as other capitalist nations. Very strength of American capitalism sharpens all contradictions.
 - a) The greater strength of American capitalism, as compared with the broken-down capitalist systems in Europe, only means that capitalism here developed under historically more favorable conditions than world capitalism generally and is also the result of the law of uneven development of capitalism which operates with great force in the period of imperialism. This gives American capitalism a temporary advantage. But capitalism in this country has all the internal and external stresses and contradictions that have wrought havoc with capitalism in the rest of the world.

"American monopoly capitalism is not unique, a thing unto itself, with its own internal laws that are "exceptional" to the capitalism of other coun-

tries. On the contrary, it is flesh and blood, an organic part, of the world capitalist system, and it is subject to all of capitalism's inherent economic and political contradictions. American capitalism, despite its relatively greater strength, which is bred of its temporary advantages over the capitalism of other countries, is inexorably travelling the same path to decay as capitalism in Europe and elsewhere. The laws of capitalist growth and decline, worked out by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, apply to the capitalism of the United States as well as to that of broken-down Europe." (Foster: Marxism and American "Exceptionalism," September 1947, Political Affairs)

- b) This decay is seen by intensity and protracted character of economic crisis of 1929-32. Inability of American capitalism in period after the big crisis to reach new high level of production except through war and war production.
 - c) This decay is seen also by the fact that despite comparative better position of some sections of workers - large masses of production workers, foreign-born, Negro workers, etc., receive low wages - are ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed - brutally oppressed and exploited.
 - d) In period of general crisis of capitalism (since the First World War) masses of workers in the U.S.A. have felt full effects of growing insecurity, unemployment and lowered standards of living. (Modified to certain extent, and only temporarily, by war production and advantageous position of American capitalism as result of World War II.
 - e) Though American capitalism came out strengthened from the war, the instability of this very strength drives it toward seeking world markets, and towards war to dominate the world. At home the shakiness of American capitalism expresses itself in insecurity, high cost of living and the danger of new economic crisis as well as the curtailment of democratic rights and threat of fascism.
4. American working class while not yet adopting socialist perspectives is moving toward greater consciousness. Experiences in two wars, economic crisis, sharp economic and political struggles, fight against fascism, etc., has advanced level of understanding, organization and militancy of American working class.
- a) Mass unionization of workers in basic industries - tremendous growth in strength of organized labor in contrast to weak craft trade union base of 15 years ago. Growing understanding of need for organization, unity and solidarity to combat employer attacks. (Recent strikes - some over heads of bureaucratic trade union leaders.)
 - b) Recognition and demand for government responsibility in protection of people's welfare, providing jobs, etc., - struggle for and achievement of social insurance against unemployment; old-age pensions; public works; protection of unions and collective bargaining, etc.
 - c) While not yet breaking with two-party system workers recognize need for greater independent political action to influence outcome of elections, legislation, accompanied by growing mood to curb the trusts.
 - d) Beginnings of Third Party - though not yet mass party - evidence of growing mood among sections of workers for a party independent of two capitalist parties.
 - e) Identifying Republican Party with Party of Wall Street (though not yet seeing Wall Street as dominating Democratic Party as well - due to past Roosevelt traditions and role of social democracy and labor reformism).
5. Impending struggles against reactionary offensive of monopoly capitalism and Truman Administration can accelerate working class and socialist consciousness if Communist Party is strengthened and plays necessary leading role.

II. Social Democracy and Labor Reformism - Main Support of Bourgeoisie in Labor Movement.

1. It must be realized that class consciousness does not arise of itself - spontaneously. Bourgeoisie and its agents in ranks of working class - the labor reformers and social democrats - will always deceive the working class as long as strong Communist Party is absent.

2. American working class in the main still follows leadership of labor and social reformists.
 - a) Main sections of American labor leadership (both AFL and CIO) tied to capitalism and capitalist parties.
 - b) These reformist labor leaders are proponents of capitalist "free enterprise," class collaboration, labor-management cooperation, and advocate harmony of interests of working class and capitalist class; they spread theories of Keynesism - "making capitalism work," etc.
 - c) The labor reformist leadership serve to rally labor movement in support of American imperialist drive toward war and help the restriction of democratic rights; sell the Marshall Plan to labor at home and abroad; spearhead campaign against Communism and the Soviet Union; strive to keep workers tied to two-party system, and prevent rise of a mass anti-monopoly party of the working people. Essence of its role is to subordinate the interests of the working class to that of the bourgeoisie, with the consequent sacrifice and betrayal of the workers' economic and political interests, of democracy and peace.

(This is seen at recent AFL and CIO conventions where most elementary economic interests of workers - wages, speedup, etc. - were sacrificed to support of imperialist program of Truman administration.)

3. Special features of labor reformism and social democracy in the United States today.
 - a) Traditionally there has not been a mass social-democratic party in America as in European countries, but mass base for social democracy exists in specific characteristics of American development and position of working class.
 - b) Today we see an increase in the influence and use of Murray-type of labor reformism and also of social democrats in labor movement (growing role of Reuther-Rieve forces in CIO; expression by AFL Convention of kinship with social democracy in Europe, etc.). An additional feature of recent times is the growing activity of the ACTU.
 - c) The increased use and role of social democrats and Murray-reformist type of labor leader, as well as ACTU, is an expression of recognition of militant moods of workers, their shaken confidence in ability of capitalism to work, and therefore, need for greater demagogy of the type of Murray and Reuther, to check the growing militancy of the workers at home, to destroy the influence of world socialism and to carry through the imperialist program at home and abroad. (Judge Douglas speech at CIO Convention.)
 - d) Special feature of present situation is the cooperation of bourgeois reformism (some former New Dealers), labor reformism and social democracy through the ADA which is a combination of former New Dealers, Dubinsky-Reuther-Rieve Social Democrats and Murray-Carey labor leaders.
4. Hence need for relentless political and ideological struggle among the masses against labor reformism, particularly the Murray type of reformism, and the social democrats. Such a struggle is a fundamental condition not only for labor's advance to socialism but especially to defend democracy, peace and the economic and political conditions of the working class at the present time.
 - a) It is possible to conduct a successful struggle against social democracy and labor reformism because of the worsening conditions of the mass production workers; because of left wing and progressive leadership among sections of unions; because of intensified attacks of reaction; because of the continued advance of the world democratic and socialist forces and the rising mood of struggle of the working people in our own country and because our own Party has rid its ranks of Browder revisionism and developed correct policies and tactics to meet the present conditions.

READING MATERIAL

1. Foster: Marxism and American "Exceptionalism," Political Affairs, September 1947.
2. Weinstone: Case Against David Dubinsky - Chapter: True Face of Social Democracy.
3. Williamson: Articles Daily Worker, December 6, 7, 8, 1948.

ADDITIONAL READING MATERIAL

Lenin: Differences in the European Labor Movement.

Lesson 3. THE COMMUNIST PARTY & ITS VANGUARD ROLE...

I. Strengthening of Communist Party is vital need in order to win working class and allies to stop Wall Street's Drive Toward War and Fascism, and in Struggle for Socialism.

1. The results of the elections and experiences in recent economic and political struggles, show that absence of Party, or weak Party organization leaves working class to mercy of monopoly exploiters and their agents in the labor movement - the labor reformists and social democrats.
2. It is impossible to establish the leading role of working class in people's coalition against monopoly capitalism; it is impossible to set the working class firmly on path of independent political action; it is impossible to overcome capitalist illusions, and isolate and defeat social democracy and labor reformism, without building of a strong Communist Party.
3. Finally it is impossible without a strong Communist Party to realize historic role of working class - a classless socialist society.

II. Role of Communist Party is to impart to working class an understanding of its true position and tasks and in the course of day-to-day struggles to imbue it with socialist consciousness.

1. Existence of Communist Party gives conscious organized direction to struggles of working class - helps weld its ideological and organizational unity - in struggles of today and in fight for socialism.
2. No need for Communist Party if socialist understanding, understanding of the conditions for the emancipation of the working class, would arise of itself, spontaneously, in course of day-to-day struggles. "The History of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own efforts is able to develop only trade union consciousness." (Lenin: What's To Be Done)
3. The importance of the unions and their limitations.
 - a) Trade unions - elementary and broadest form of working class organization - arise spontaneously in attempt of working class to overcome division in own ranks, to overcome competition for jobs - and as means of resistance to capitalist exploitation.
 - b) The trade unions are the most important mass organizations of the working class enjoying great prestige and influence among the workers and the people. The unions are important because through their struggle they place limits on capitalist exploitation. Without such struggles the working class "would be degraded to one level mass of broken-down wretches past salvation," and "would disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement." (Marx: Value, Price and Profit, Section 14)
 - c) Through trade unions the working class learns how to fight employers; how to develop militant economic struggles to protect its rights; how to wrest concessions - wages, hours, working conditions; how to force labor legislation from the government and the value of collective and organized action.
 - d) However, trade union struggles of themselves cannot eliminate exploitation - do not in themselves educate working class to understand need for and how to secure emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

"...the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of these effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady."
(Marx: Value, Price and Profit, Section 14)
 - e) Hence the danger of Economism - narrow trade union practicalism which affects the labor movement. "Economism" is the tendency of tying the workers to small economic issues, narrowing the fight to economic reforms, keeping the workers away from, or underestimating the need for political struggle on immediate class political issues, such as: the Marshall Plan, struggle for peace, civil rights,

third party, attacks on the Communist Party, etc. Economism is the policy of trade union reformism. Today, under conditions of the deepening crisis of world capitalism, this policy is incapable of defending even the most elementary immediate needs and interests of the workers. It prevents political development of working class, negates role of socialist consciousness and, therefore, role of the Communist Party. It leaves the working class to mercy of bourgeois ideology, policy, and leadership. It thus betrays the fundamental class interests of working class.

4. Hence it is necessary for the working class to have a strong Communist Party. Only Communist Party which is the embodiment of socialist ideology, can imbue working class with understanding of conditions of its exploitation and conditions for its emancipation. Through leadership of Communist Party the struggles of the working class merge with science of socialism.

III. Communist Party - Marxist Vanguard of the Working Class.

1. Communist Party - political party of the working class - represents most advanced, class conscious, revolutionary elements of working class giving expression to aspirations, interests and tasks of working class as a whole. As Party of the working class, it is at the same time Party of all exploited.

- a) Distinction between Party and working class. Party is part of working class - its conscious, advanced, leading core. The Party aims to raise the working class to level of class consciousness. Submerging Party in working class reduces Party to level of class and hence negates its vanguard role.
- b) Communist Party must embrace within its ranks the best elements of the working class; it must be "inseparably bound up with the working class with every fibre of its being." (Stalin) This means that greatest part of membership must be workers; also that membership must belong to trade unions, fraternal, youth, women, and other workers' and people's organizations.

Party's ties with working class must be systematically expanded by recruiting into its ranks most militant elements, particularly from unions, shops. Especially in trustified industries.

2. To be a vanguard means to stand at the head of the struggles of the working class and to lead them in fight for socialism.

- a) Socialism is the ultimate aim of the Party. The immediate aims are the improvement of economic and political conditions, the defense of democracy and peace, the development of a broad people's coalition against monopoly capitalism and the building of the Third Party.
- b) The struggle for the immediate and ultimate aims are linked together. Hence, the Party can fulfill its vanguard role only if it carries on the day-to-day struggles, small and big, economic and political, as part of fight for socialism.

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of the movement." (Communist Manifesto)

3. Party cannot be passive spectator in struggles of the working class and engage only in agitation and propaganda important as this is.

- a) Experience in day-to-day struggles indispensable condition through which Party educates working class to break its adherence to capitalist class and to take path of independent and finally revolutionary political action. Among the organized workers, the Party can win prestige and influence only by patient, systematic work demonstrating to the shop and trade union workers on the basis of their actual every day experiences that the Communists correctly and courageously express and defend their needs and sentiments.

"Self-satisfied sectarianism will not and cannot understand that the leadership of the working class by the Communist Party does not come of itself. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working class must be won. For this purpose it is necessary not to rant about the leading role of the Communists, but to merit and win the confidence of the working class by everyday work and correct policy." (Dimitroff: The United Front)

b) To perform role of vanguard and win leadership of the working class, Communist Party must reject theory of spontaneity - the theory of opportunism.

- Social-democratic theory of spontaneity - waiting until the masses are ready of their own spontaneous development to take up the necessary actions and policies - would reduce role of Party to tailing behind backwardness of working class, instead of giving leadership in the struggles and raising working class understanding to level of class-consciousness.

- Social-democratic theory of spontaneity represents ideology of trade union reformism - following line of "least resistance," struggling only for so-called "realizable" demands "acceptable" to capitalism.

- Social-democratic theory of spontaneity is theory of tailism.

c) Hence the Party acts as vanguard by 1) initiating and resolutely fighting for the needs and demands of the working class; 2) by helping to develop the most effective forms of struggle for the victory of the working people; 3) by strengthening the unity of the working class and its allies; 4) by exposing and defeating bourgeois ideology and opportunist influences; and at each stage of struggle drawing the necessary lessons for the masses and advancing the understanding of the working class of the need for socialism and the Communist Party.

4. The Party can perform role of vanguard only by developing its independent role and maintaining its independent identity among the workers.

a) In promoting the unity and militancy of the working class, around the issues of peace, democracy, and the economic and political issues of the day, the Party must not submerge itself and lose its identity in the united front movements it helps to develop.

b) While participating in united front movements, the Party must strive at all times to maintain its own position (including right to criticize its allies), appear in its own name among the workers, and carry on its independent activities. Weakening of the Party's independent political and agitation activities can only lead to the liquidation of the Party and hurt the entire mass movement.

The strengthening of the Party influence and organization must be an inseparable part of all struggles and activities.

5. Communist Party can perform role of vanguard only if it bases all policies and actions on firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism - the only scientific theory of the working class.

a) Theory as a guide to action. Without mastery of Marxism-Leninism and its systematic application to concrete historical conditions in country and to changing events, impossible to give leadership to complex problems facing working class and people today, impossible to achieve socialism.

"The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connections of current events, to foresee their course and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing at present, but how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future. Only a Party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward." (History of CPSU, P. 365)

IV. Party must conduct relentless struggle against opportunism - Right and "Left" variety - struggle on two fronts.

1. Working class living in capitalist environment subject to the influences of the capitalist class, petty-bourgeois and other non-proletarian sections which surround the working class. Constant pressure of non-socialist anti-working class ideology upon the labor movement penetrates the ranks of the Party.

a) Vigilant and consistent struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and influences in ranks of Party - struggle against right opportunism and left-sectarianism.

b) History of internal life of Party is history of struggle against opportunist groups within the Party - Lovestonism, Trotskyism, Browderism.

c) Right opportunist danger expresses itself in capitulation and adaptation to American imperialism; to tailing behind bourgeoisie; to denial of leading role of working class; to illusions and insufficient struggle against labor officialdom, especially of Murray-type, and social democrats; to submerging and denial of independent role and program of Party, etc.

"Left" danger advanced under the cloak of "revolutionary phrases" and "militancy" results in the isolation of the Communist Party from the working class and the working class from its allies. Examples of this type are to be found in failure to work with backward masses, in tendencies toward withdrawal from the CIO and ideas that the workers in the AFL cannot be won for progressive policies, etc.

- d) "What is needed today is a merciless struggle on two fronts, to eradicate completely the consequences of Browder revisionism and to put an end to all irresponsible and semi-Trotskyite "left" deviations and practices. What is needed is the sternest struggle against Right opportunism, which now prevails in the labor movement and finds expression within the Party, as well as against "Left" sectarianism which continuously arises and obstructs the winning of the masses for our main line." (Gene Dennis)
- e) Need to expose manifestations of both right and "left" opportunism in daily work - in the struggle for the application of the policies of the Party.
- f) Party becomes strong in struggle against all opportunist expressions and trends of the right and "left" variety.

2. Criticism and self-criticism indispensable weapon to overcome weaknesses and mistakes, to combat all manifestations of right or "left" opportunism.

- a) "A Party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in Party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time." (History CPSU)

READING MATERIAL

1. Stalin: Foundations of Leninism, Chapter VIII, 1, 2, and 3.

2. Lenin: What is To Be Done, Chapter II and III.

ADDITIONAL READING MATERIAL

1. Foster: Concluding Remarks at 14th National Convention, September Political Affairs.

2. History CPSU - Concluding Chapter.

Lesson 4 · THE STRUGGLE FOR SECURITY, DEMOCRACY & PEACE...

I. Struggle for Anti-Monopoly People's Coalition

1. The main task for the present period set by the 14th National Convention of the Party is the organization of a broad anti-monopoly, anti-fascist peace coalition of all democratic, progressive forces in which the working class and its militant sections will play the decisive role.

"Is it possible to beat back the offensive of Big Business, to check and defeat Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism?"

"Yes, this is possible - if labor adopts an independent class position and comes forward as the staunchest defender of the nation, as the most stalwart champion of peace, democracy and social progress." (Eugene Dennis - Convention Report, September 1948 Political Affairs, P. 789)

"...the key task in advancing the cause of peace, security and democracy, is the fight for partial economic and political demands on the broadest united front basis." (Eugene Dennis--on the 1948 elections, December 1948 Political Affairs, P. 1053)

2. It is possible to achieve such a broad coalition in which the working class leads because:
 - a) The organized trade unions have immense potential strength and have shown and are showing great capacity for militant struggles as evidenced in the three postwar rounds of wage fights and in recent strike struggles.
 - b) Powerful allies are moving in a new way toward the working class and its Communist vanguard - the Negro people, the working farmers, intellectuals and professionals.
 - c) The election struggle showed that the people do not want reaction, but want to move in a progressive direction, even though there are illusions regarding the possibility of securing this through the Democratic Party. The election results were possible because of a heightened understanding and activity of the masses of labor and through the aggressive campaign of Wallace, the Progressive Party, and the activity of the Communists.
 - d) The development of a broad coalition is favored by the forward strides of the world democratic and socialist camp.

II. Key Task - the United Front From Below.

1. The achievement of the broad coalition will not come by itself. Nor will labor be able to play the leading role without a stern and relentless struggle against labor reformism and social democracy in both CIO and AFL, which are not only supporting the foreign policies of imperialism but sacrificing the interests of labor and the people at home, neglecting, evading or opposing any real struggle for workers' conditions.

These policies of labor reformism and social democracy, which has shifted ever further to the right, result from the offensive of imperialism and the division of the world ever sharper into two main camps - the camp of imperialism and reaction headed by the United States, and the camp of anti-imperialism and democracy headed by the Soviet Union.

Under these conditions, the mobilization of the workers can be accomplished by the application primarily of the United Front from below.

- a) The united front from below means working among the rank and file in the shops and unions of the CIO, AFL and independent unions, intensifying work in all unions, including the AFL, which has been neglected or lessened in recent years.
- b) The united front from below means organizing the workers on the basis of immediate economic and political issues, (especially speedup, wages, hours, prices, repeal of Taft-Hartley law, as well as peace, anti-Communist attacks, etc., etc.)

- c) The united front from below does not exclude united front with local leaders nor coalitions on the basis of important single issues where differences exist on others.
2. In connection with the immediate struggles, effort must be made to expose the Republican and Democratic parties and convince the workers of the need for independent political action and for the building of the Third Party.
3. An important means toward this end is to make President Truman deliver on his promises. We must make the slogan, "Make Truman Deliver" ring throughout the country and especially the labor movement. We must strive to organize movements (petitions, committees, etc., striving for mass movements and actions) for labor's demands which Truman promised, combatting illusions that these demands will be granted without pressure and struggle.

III. Role of the Communists and Left-Progressives.

1. It is not enough to urge the workers to struggle. The struggle must be organized and led by the Communists and Left Progressive forces in all mass organizations and particularly in the trade unions.
2. It is essential for that purpose that the Communists and Left-Progressive forces in the unions clarify themselves on all major questions and coordinate their actions in order to mobilize and unite the working class and the labor movement against the offensive of Big Business and their labor-reformist and social democratic agents in the labor movement. Towards this end, Communists must regard work in the unions of both AFL and CIO as central in the overall work of the Party.
3. The fight must be carried on inside the unions and cannot and must not be evaded either by opportunist capitulation or by leftist proposals to withdraw from the CIO or AFL.
4. The Communist and left forces must fight for unity of the CIO on a democratic basis, combatting all raiding, denial of the right of political opinions, violation of the autonomy of international unions, against expulsions and suspensions of Communists and progressives and other violations of democracy. They must oppose the efforts to withdraw from the WFTU and to disrupt international unity and solidarity.

IV. Recent Developments in the Work of Communists and Left Progressives.

1. The estimation of the achievements and weaknesses in the trade union work was summarized by the Draft Resolution of the National Convention and in the Convention report of John Williamson published in the September 1948 issue of Political Affairs.
2. Since the Convention progress has been made by the Communists and left progressive forces in opposing the reactionary policies of the labor reformists and coming forward more aggressively with a direct independent position on fundamental issues within the unions in the face of fierce red-baiting hysteria and intimidation. Their work, however, is still marred by serious weaknesses. These were indicated at the 14th Convention of the Party and the recent AFL and CIO conventions emphasized the persistence of a number of these weaknesses among some of the Communist and left forces in the trade unions. In the main they are:
 - a) Insufficient initiative and aggressiveness in putting forward issues and taking the lead in struggles for the economic and political needs of the workers; insufficient unity of the left progressive trade unions and coordination of their activities.
 - b) Remaining illusions regarding the reactionary role of Murray, Potofsky and the Social Democrats and insufficient mass exposure and struggle against them in the unions and shops. Tendencies to shirk this struggle either by opportunistic silence or abstention on controversial issues, or by moves to leave the unions.

- c) Insufficient confidence in the ability and willingness of workers to fight if the issues are made clear and if effective leadership is given - this relates to the economic struggles in general and more particularly to the political issues, such as Marshall Plan, Third Party, anti-Communist attacks, the slander regarding the Soviet Union, etc.
- d) Insufficient tie-up of the day-to-day issues with the fight for peace and democracy and with the task of raising the class-consciousness and internationalism of the labor movement.
2. These weaknesses in the ranks of Communists in trade union and mass organizations can be more easily overcome if the leading forces would be in close touch with the rank and file masses, particularly in the shops, would seek out and pay heed to the opinions especially of the active local cadres in the shops and unions; if the leading Communist forces would work consistently as part of the Communist clubs; if they practiced more genuine self-criticism, educating the membership on the basis of weaknesses and mistakes; and if they studied better Marxist theory and tactics.
3. The following is of particular importance in Marxian tactics at present in regard to our mass work.
- a) The winning of the masses requires initiative and steadfastness in fighting for their needs - above all the necessity of developing mass actions for the economic needs of the masses, especially the most exploited sections: The Negro workers, youth, women, the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled, coming forward with real sustained mass campaigns.
- b) While paying greater attention to the direct economic and political issues that agitate the masses not to shirk the big political issues, such as Marshall Plan, etc., because at a given moment a majority may be opposed, or because of chauvinist hysteria, etc. It is quite possible that immediately the Party may not succeed in winning a majority of workers on such issues (due to their past experience or because of momentary intimidation or misleadership). The Party cannot evade such decisive political questions, nor can it sacrifice basic principles because at a given moment there is a majority sentiment against the policies we propose. We cannot swim with the tide at all times when this would be against the real class interests of the majority, against the interests of the labor movement, and the cause of socialism, and consequently, injure the position of the workers. We must be confident that with correct policies, tactics and activities, the workers will realize the correctness of our line and support the Communists and left forces.
- (Numerous examples of the past show that correct Party initiative and leadership transform issues which are the property of a few into issues of the millions. Party's early fight on industrial unionism and organization of the unorganized; the fight for unemployment insurance; the struggle for Negro rights - Scottsboro; the fight against threat of fascism, etc.)
- c) In developing united front of struggle against the reactionary offensive, compromises may be necessary and unavoidable. But these should not endanger the unity and militancy of the workers. At the same time while compromises are necessary with allies, this should not cause the Communists to stop their own agitation, nor prevent necessary constructive criticism of allies.
- "The whole point lies in knowing how to apply these tactics in such a way as to raise and not lower the general level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and conquer." (Lenin: Left-Wing Communism)
- d) Not to confuse the increasing accommodation of labor reformism to the policies of American imperialism as expressing the basic views of the masses of the membership of the unions. The policies of imperialism do not serve the interests of the basic masses, although the latter may for a time be confused or intimidated. It is necessary to work harder among the basic masses, explain the issues, and work out ways and means to hasten their understanding of the correctness of Communist policies by their own experience.

e) To keep steadily in mind Lenin's teaching on the importance of working among the masses in the reformist-led unions, of not trying to skip over their backwardness or the reactionary influences and leadership among them, of not running too far ahead of the masses and thereby isolating the Communist vanguard. Instead it is necessary to follow the policy of struggling to win these masses in their midst, not only by agitation but also by tactics and policies which develop and educate the masses.

"To fear this 'reactionariness,' to try to avoid or skip over it is the greatest folly....to refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficient developed or backward masses under the influences of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labor aristocrats, or the completely 'bourgeois workers'." (Lenin: Left Wing Communism, Selected Works, Vol. X, P. 91, 93)

V. Fight Against Opportunism.

1. These weaknesses and mistakes indicate opportunistic influences of right and "left" nature which must be understood, criticized and overcome.
2. It is also necessary to vigorously combat the Browderist attacks on the Party from the right which exonerates and covers up the betrayal of Murray, the Social Democrats, and the trade union renegades, placing the blame on the Party for the shift of the former Murray center forces to the right, instead of seeing it as an inevitable result of the new alignment of forces since the war and the capitulation of Murray to imperialism.
3. We must also combat the phrase-mongering of "left" renegade groups who seek to sow pessimism and defeatism in the Party, discredit the growing crystallization of the left-progressive forces, and try to isolate the Party by leftist policies.
4. In combatting these groups it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between these anti-Party attacks and slanders, and criticism within our own ranks, even if they be incorrect, where the objective is to strengthen and advance our Party.

READING MATERIAL

1. Gene Dennis: Convention Report, Part 1 and 2, September 1948 Political Affairs.
2. John Williamson: Convention Report, September 1948 Political Affairs.
3. John Williamson: Article, January 1949 Political Affairs.

Lesson 5 • THE STRUGGLE FOR SECURITY, DEMOCRACY & PEACE . . .

(Continued)

I. Chief Economic and Political Issues of Mass Struggle.

1. For Wage Increases, Price Control and Improvement of Living Standards.

- a) It is necessary to develop the fight for wage increases as an immediate need to reduce the burdens of the high cost of living. Such wage increases should come out of the huge profits of the corporations. We must, therefore, expose the policy of labor officialism to tie wage increases to escalator clauses and price boosts - labor must not become an agent of the employers to achieve price increases which only isolate it from the farmers and city middle class and help the trusts to weaken and undermine the unions. We must fight to maintain or achieve equal pay for equal work for women and youth, combatting all efforts to drive down their wages and living standards.
- b) It is necessary to develop the fight against the growing speedup in the shops as a major issue. (Examples movement developing in Ford's, textile, etc.)
- c) At the same time we must fight against layoffs, part-time employment, particularly of Negro workers in the first place, as well as women and youth. Towards this end we must fight for the shorter work-week, without reduction in pay, and develop agitation for the 30-hour week.
- d) We must give support to real campaigns and programs to organize the unorganized, especially in the South, involving the rank and file as the decisive organizing force.
- e) Demand price control and rollback of prices and firmer rent control under agencies in which labor and consumer groups have effective representation.
- f) Urge the widening of social insurance, raising of minimum wage to \$1 an hour, the establishment of federal program of medical and hospital aid and for an effective large-scale housing program.
- g) Call for heavier taxation on high incomes and excess profits with increased exemption for the low brackets. We demand a capital levy on large fortunes and corporations to finance essential social legislation.

2. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law. Re-enact the Wagner Act without crippling amendments

- a) This is a central demand. It is important to warn the workers regarding maneuvers on this issue, especially proposals to re-enact a fake Wagner Act, that is, one which would be called the Wagner Act in name but would have amendments which would weaken or cripple the labor movement. We must oppose any such amendments regardless of whether they have the support of the labor bureaucracy - concretely showing why they are harmful and combatting the ideas that the Wagner Act stifled the corporations. The fact is that the corporations made the greatest profits in their history under the operations of this act.
- b) Especially must we be on guard against proposals to tie labor's right to strike to labor-management, arbitration systems, cooling off periods, such as the Railway Labor Act on the railroads which has caused such harm to the railroad workers.

3. The Fight for Peace - The chief tasks here are to expose the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, the military preparations, the refusal to scrap the atom bomb, the anti-Soviet campaign, the intervention in Greece, China, etc., as part of the drive of American imperialism for world domination and as preparation for a new World War to achieve that end.

- a) It is essential to unmask the slogan of democracy under which the war is being prepared as a hypocrisy and a sham. The policy of American imperialism is utterly reactionary and the new war being organized by Wall Street would be an imperialist, unjust reactionary war directed against democracy and socialism, for the benefit of Wall Street.
- b) It is particularly important to explain again and again on the basis of facts that the Marshall Plan is not a plan of recovery but on the contrary a plan which is preventing recovery, and reducing the industrial power of France and Italy, etc., is robbing them of political and economic sovereignty and con-

verting them into dependencies of U.S. imperialism. It is a plan to rebuild the industrial power of the German industrialists and cartels.

- c) The Marshall Plan is opposed to the interests of the American people because it boosts prices for the American consumer, increases taxes, is already causing increased unemployment especially in consumers' industries, is an instrument to regiment the unions and speed-up the workers, and will further help to bring on a new economic crisis. If the standard of living of the American people is to be improved and world peace and democracy maintained, it is imperative to combat this reactionary imperialist war breeding plan.
- d) Similarly it is essential to expose the lies and maneuvers about "red imperialism"; "iron curtain"; etc., regarding the Soviet Union and to boldly show that the Soviet Union is a fighter and powerful bulwark for peace and democracy, is attempting to carry out the Potsdam agreement and by its fight helps the people of America. The Soviet Union is made the main target of attack by imperialism and its agents precisely because it firmly and unyieldingly opposes an imperialist peace. It is necessary to explain that the Soviet Union as a Socialist country cannot, will not, and never has pursued an imperialist policy.
- e) The specific tasks in the fight for peace are: 1) end the cold war, restore American Soviet friendship; 2) Conclude a peace settlement for a united democratic Germany and Japan based on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements for democratization and demilitarization of these countries; 3) Stop military aid and intervention in China, Korea and Greece. Break diplomatic and economic ties with Franco Spain. 4) Scrap the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. Give aid to Europe through the United Nations without political strings; 5) Lift the Embargo on, and extend full recognition to Israel. Demand immediate unconditional independence of Puerto Rico and the abandonment of economic, political and military pressures on the countries of Latin America.

4. Defense of the Indicted Communist Leaders - the fight for civil rights.

- a) In the civil rights fight we must demand the end of the witch hunts, Loyalty orders and spy scares, call for the abolition of the Un-American Committee; stop lynching and persecution of Negroes and the campaign and persecution against the foreign born; demand the outlawing of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, ending the discrimination against Mexican-American people in the Southwest, etc.
- b) Central at present in the fight for civil rights is the defense of the indicted Communist leaders. This issue must be raised everywhere pointing out that it is a case of defense of the Bill of Rights and affects the democratic rights of labor and all the people. In connection with this fight, the "foreign agent" slander must be exposed, as well as all other lies about the Communists and their true stand on labor and the people's needs, on war, on the Soviet Union, on democracy and socialism must be brought more widely and effectively to the people.
- c) It must be pointed out that American imperialism in its drive towards world conquest and war, is curtailing and wiping out democratic rights and moving toward fascism. To prevent the establishment of fascism, of an American brand (i.e., covering itself with democratic phrases), it is imperative to fight resolutely day in and day out - NOW.

It is essential to combat the underestimation of the danger of fascism and especially illusions regarding the democratic intentions of the top leaders of the Democratic and Republican Parties on the one hand, and on the other hand, combat ideas that fascism is inevitable and that nothing can be done to prevent its further development and victory.

5. Struggle for Negro Rights.

- a) Of utmost importance is the immediate struggle for jobs for Negroes in all industries, for the right to work, for equal rights in job promotion and learning skilled trades, protection of rights in layoffs, full rights to membership in union affairs, including the right to posts on all levels of leadership.

- b) It is necessary to struggle against discrimination in housing, education, health, relief, etc., and to carry forward aggressively the fight on the civil rights issue, for the immediate enactment of a federal anti-lynch law, for a National FEPC, for outlawing the poll tax and for federal protection of the right to vote and for full representation in government enforcing the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution.
- c) We must fight for the immediate ending of segregation in the armed forces and of all forms of discrimination in Washington.
- d) We must agitate and struggle for the end of all national oppression in the South and for land reform to the Negro and white tenants.

We must demand that Truman carry out his civil rights program, exposing efforts on his part to betray it and to yield to the pressure of the Dixiecrats.

- e) In this struggle for Negro rights, the white workers, especially the Communists and progressives must take the lead locally and nationally, in the unions, fraternal and other mass organizations, and in the community, striving to effect the widest unity. Towards this end it is imperative to combat relentlessly and unhesitatingly all white chauvinist tendencies as the poisonous and disruptive influence of imperialism in the ranks of the workers.

Among the Negro people, it is essential that the Negro proletariat assume the leading role in the fight for their rights and for Negro and white unity.

In relation to the above program of immediate issues, the Party must educate the workers in the nature of capitalism and imperialism, in the necessity of curbing and undermining the trusts, and strive to raise the level of class consciousness, internationalism, and the need for socialism.

READING MATERIAL

Dennis: Convention Report, Part II and II, September 1948 Political Affairs.

Election Platform of the Communist Party - September 1948 Political Affairs.

Williamson: Article in January 1949 Political Affairs.

Lesson 6. POLICY OF CONCENTRATION, POLICY OF WINNING LEADERSHIP OF DECISIVE SECTIONS OF WORKING CLASS...

- I. Party cannot fulfill role of vanguard unless it embraces the best and most advanced elements of the workers in the key shops of heavy industry.
 1. "The main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in the large factories, because in large factories are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacities. Every factory must be our stronghold." (Lenin)
 2. Disastrous effects of Browder revisionism in weakening Party's ties with working class in basic industries.
 3. Since reconstitution of Party in July 1945, re-established important connections with workers in many key shops and industries through shop and industrial clubs, re-established Party in many important industrial towns, played significant role in all major struggles of last few years.
 4. Continued weakness of Party in shops and industries, particularly big plants, endangers success of the fight for democracy and peace and the development of the political independence of labor.
 5. "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 entire Party to the workers in the factories." (Winston)
- II. Policy of Concentration - Key to Winning Workingclass Base and Building the Party.
 1. Policy of Concentration - political and organizational policy - to strengthen Party's political influence and organizational strength among decisive sections of working class in trustified plants and industries.
 - a) Concentration as a system of work - centering attention of the political and organizational leadership from the National Committee to the club - to secure firm roots in key industries, shops and working class communities, nationally in each state, city and locality.
 - b) The policy of concentration is not a policy for a special group of comrades, nor a special sphere of work which is carried on alongside of other tasks. There must be no counterposing of industrial concentration as "one specific activity" to other mass activities. Winning the workers in the big shops and working class communities is a political task (the struggle for the political policies of the Party - which embrace both economic and political issues). Industrial concentration must be the heart and core of the work of all Party organizations and all Party leaders. Moreover it cannot be successful unless the main leaders of the state, county, section and shop place concentration in the very center of their daily work, give it direct and constant attention and set the pace for other comrades to follow.
 2. Policy of concentration demands selection of key industries, shops and working class communities for consistent attention and work by the Party with clear understanding, why these points must be strengthened to move forward other points, other sections of the working class.
 - a) Explain why particular industry or shop selected in your state or locality in light of conditions in state and position of working class.
 3. Objective of concentration today as compared to concentration policy developed in 1933.
 - a) Open Letter issued by Extraordinary Party Conference (July 1933) aimed to break isolation of Party from workers in key shops and industries, to organize the unorganized on the principle of industrial unionism in the trustified

industries. Important advances made: Party increased its shop membership; led numerous shop and industrial struggles; helped initiate organization of unorganized and contributed to formation of CIO. By 1936 the Party increased its shop membership to 5,000 and the number of shop groups to 600.

In the period 1933-1938 the shop branch was the main instrument of activity; it distributed leaflets proposing actions or policies, issued shop papers on the grievances in the shops and Party policies, distributed Daily Worker in and outside the shop, wrote Workers' Correspondence to the Daily Worker and secured special issues of that number for mass distribution, led and participated in union organization and other mass struggles, etc., etc.

- b) In contrast to 1933 workers in heavy industry in the main organized (although large numbers, especially in the South still remain, unorganized). Offensive of reaction endangers existence of trade union movement and gains secured in past struggles.

Objective of concentration today therefore, is to strengthen Party, to help develop struggles of workers against monopoly attacks and betrayal of labor bureaucracy; strengthen left progressive camp thru development of united front from below around concrete immediate economic and political issues; to defend unions as class struggle organizations: to accelerate process of independent political action thru united front political actions and building Third Party; to advance class understanding of workers by systematic exposure of capitalist exploitation, and by drawing lessons from day-to-day struggles.

III. Development of Consistent Concentration Policy demands concrete plan and systematic check on fulfillment of decisions.

1. Concentration policy demands establishing specific points of concentration.
 - a) Nationally; selection of key districts in heart of industrial area; selection of series of industries. (See Winston's Convention report.)
 - b) In the state; selection of key industries, main shops; main towns; key working class communities. (Develop on basis of your own plan.)
2. Concentration policy demands setting concrete objectives - political and organizational to be fulfilled in definite period of time.
 - a) Concrete program of action must embrace immediate mass political and economic perspectives and organizational strengthening of Party and its press. (Deal with such objectives in your own state or industry.)
 - b) This should be done on the basis of study of industry and shop (the economic status of the plant, the conditions and issues agitating the workers, what demands and slogans to raise to improve their position, strength and role of labor reformism, ACTU, etc.).
 - c) Strengthening of Party and its press to include concrete goal in press and Party building, methods of circulation of press and literature; regular agitational material - shop leaflets and shop papers; cooperation of Communists in shop with Party organizations outside the shop; etc.
3. Concentration policy demands working out specific methods by which goals are to be attained.
 - a) Allocation of necessary personnel to give concrete operative leadership to points of concentration. Need for organized division of work among existing and assigned forces.
 - b) Allocation of personnel from other clubs, thru assignment of certain shops to specific community clubs for day-to-day activity or by establishing special concentration clubs (of selected comrades from various clubs) whose only activity is to develop work around shop of concentration.
 - c) Raising and allocating necessary finances to assure carrying thru program of concentration.

- d) Regular checkup and periodic critical examination and evaluation of concentration plan on basis of concrete experiences, implementing and modifying objectives on basis of this experience.
4. Concentration policy demands major attention of political and organizational leadership of Party to problems in concentration industries and plants.
 - a) Adjustment of Party organization to enable Party to fulfill concentration objectives. (Deal specifically with adjustments made or to be made in your state.) Responsibility for specific concentration objectives by all state, county and section personnel.
 - b) Gearing work of all departments to concentration: national groups, Negro, women, youth, etc. Special responsibilities and close coordination of trade union and organization departments. Educational department to focus attention on development of mass education in concentration industries; training and development of cadres in concentration points.
 - c) It is essential to build over a period of time a new type of organizer, an organizer who has close ties with the shop and industrial workers, who intimately knows their problems and helps to lead their struggles, winning influence and prestige for the Party in the shops and working class neighborhoods.
 - d) Directing attention of progressives in all working class organizations to concentration industries and shops - national group organizations, Negro people's organizations, etc.
 - e) Development of Communist program for concentration industry and shop - which outlines immediate and long-term perspectives of Party as it affects the workers in the industry or shop.

READING MATERIAL

1. Winston: Convention Report, September 1948 Political Affairs.
2. Blum: Turn the Face of the Party Toward the Workers, July 1948 Political Affairs.
3. Tormey: Some New Approaches to Party Organization and Concentration Work, June 1948 Political Affairs.

Lesson 7. IMPROVING WORK & LIFE OF COMMUNIST CLUBS...

I. Concentration Policy - Policy of entire Party.

1. Concentration policy cannot be successfully applied unless whole Party, i.e., every Communist club orients its activity to strengthen ties with the working class, in shop, industry and community.
2. Central attention of Party leadership must be given to task of transforming Communist club into active center of mass political work. Without improvement of work and life of club impossible to assure necessary consolidation and growth of Party; impossible to strengthen working class base; impossible to extend influence and leadership of important struggles ahead.

II. Communist Club is the Party in the community, shop or industry.

1. Communist club basis of entire Party structure, most important organization in Party structure.
2. Communist club has task of translating general Party policies to the conditions and needs of the workers in a particular shop, industry or community. Effectiveness of all Party policies and campaigns determined in final analysis on how Communist club functions, how it mobilizes and guides work of individual Communist; how it unfolds its activity among that section of working class with whom it has contact.
3. Communist club, link of Party with non-Party masses - thru which Party maintains connections with problems of workers in factories, trade unions, territories, mass organizations.
4. Concentration tasks in state must be understood by every Communist club. Each club shall be guided to work out their tasks in relation to concentration objectives, to objective of influencing important sections of working class, to rooting Party among basic workers.
 - a) Information on problems and tasks in concentration industries, trends and developments in ranks of workers, main issues, etc., as well as reports on progress of work - shall be made regularly to all Party clubs.

III. Shop Club - Most Important Form of Communist Organization - Key to Carrying through Concentration Objectives.

1. Liquidation of shop clubs under Browder revisionism; its effects on weakening ties of Party with workers in basic industries. (Use examples from your state.)
2. Reestablishment of shop clubs (your state) helped reactivate many inactive shop and trade union comrades, re-established ties with workers in important plants; enabled Party to play significant role in numerous struggles; related economic struggles of workers to fight for peace, against fascism.
3. Strengthening existing shop clubs key task in every state.
 - a) Major attention to shop clubs in concentration industries; assignment of leading personnel to assist these clubs on a day-to-day basis.
 - b) Organizing shop clubs on basis of departments, buildings, shifts, etc.
 - c) Organizing new shop clubs wherever two or more comrades are employed - selecting comrades to find jobs in industry.
 - d) Setting up concentration clubs of selected non-shop comrades to assist work of shop clubs and help build new ones.
4. Improving work of shop clubs as policy-making body.
 - a) Two-fold task of shop club; One task is to establish correct approach to immediate issues and grievances in shop. (Communists must be in the forefront of day-to-day struggles to protect and improve working conditions.) Another

task is to win the workers for the broader economic and political questions which affect the working class as a whole and the exploited sections of the population. On the basis of both to raise the political level of the workers.

- b) Need to overcome tendency of shop club dealing only with economic and trade union problems, treating these questions solely from a narrow trade union standpoint. Such a tendency negates vanguard role of club; results in tailing behind leadership of union and shop.
- c) Shop club must be a policy making body. Need for shop club determining policies and tactics to be carried on in the shop on the basis of general line and orientation of Party. Leaders particularly must understand that the shop club cannot effectively mobilize members for activity unless members participate in formulating and carrying through policies of Communists in the shop.

IV. Shop Clubs Should Work Out Concrete Plans.

1. Determining main issues of workers in shop and working out a specific program of action around these issues: how to help clarify these issues; how to develop effective struggles for them; how to apply the policy of the united front* around these issues in the shop as a whole, in the departments and on the shifts; how to raise the understanding of the workers in the process of the struggles around these issues. (Use local examples to illustrate this point.)
2. Development of Communist shop program - requires analysis of shop: ownership, monopoly control, methods of exploitation, profits; traditions of struggles of workers in shop, and gains made in these struggles; relationship of forces in shop and union; influence of pro-capitalist ideas on thinking of workers; role of labor reformists, Social Democrats, ACTU, etc.; program of workers' needs and how workers can fight to attain this program; on what the Communists have to offer to the workers, and what socialism means.
 - a) The development of such a program may not be realized immediately. Need to develop systematic discussions within shop club around these various questions to culminate in such a program.
 - b) Such a program can be presented to workers in series of leaflets; popular pamphlet (Example: New England pamphlet for textile workers); systematic treatment of these questions in shop papers; in discussion with workers.
3. Role of shop paper as voice of shop club. Difference between Communist shop paper and union organ. Importance of regular issuance of shop paper and shop leaflets. Systematic sale and distribution of press and literature (setting definite perspectives on sale of press; selecting pamphlets to be sold each month). Role of press and literature in laying foundation for Party growth.
4. Determining work of individual Communists. Discussing how individual Communists should work; how they can become known to the workers. This includes methods of combatting and defeating red-baiting.
5. Systematic building of the Party - regular meetings of Communists and non-Communists to discuss issues and Communist position; house and group gatherings for recruiting; individual methods of recruiting.

V. The Industrial Club - consisting of members in particular industry or section of industry.

1. Basic problems confronting industrial clubs similar to those developed on shop clubs.
 - a) Transitional Form - established in industries where Party membership scattered in various factories. Aim: building shop clubs.
 - b) Permanent Form - in industries where conditions do not permit establishment of shop clubs. Aim: building clubs in sections of the industry.

VI. The Community Club - and its two fold task in working class neighborhood and shops.

1. Community club can play important part to root Party among industrial workers by shifting its base of activity to key working class area in community.
 - a) Re-examine territory to select area of concentration to which work of club be shifted.
 - b) Need to know character of community, composition of workers: main problems which concern them. Aim: to strengthen solidarity of community with labor; unity of white workers with Negro people, etc.
 - c) Select one or two issues around which to organize consistent activity. Aim to develop united front action either through involvement of community organizations or people themselves, for fight around specific issues.
 - d) Establish organizational ties with workers through their community, fraternal and political organizations; through consistent house-to-house canvassing.
 - e) Develop regular issuance of Party leaflets, sale of literature, canvassing with press; house gatherings, identifying Party with community issues and movements, clarifying issues, indicating how issues can be fought for and won, etc.
2. Community club can aid concentration objectives by regular systematic work before selected shops of concentration.
 - a) Regular sale of literature and press; distribution of shop papers and leaflets.
 - b) Visiting workers in their homes - securing subscriptions to press and assisting in recruiting.
 - c) Raising funds to develop work in concentration plant.
 - d) Helping to organize classes, discussion groups and meetings to reach workers in concentration plant.
 - e) Gaining support of community for actions and struggles of workers in concentration plant.
 - f) Close coordination between shop club and work of community club.
3. Group system - indispensable medium through which to activate every member and aid in concentration. Group as an entity can assume specific responsibilities in connection with concentration objectives.
4. Community club to work out program of action with clear objectives to be attained in concentration.
 - a) Plan to be checked, renewed and implemented at regular intervals at club meetings.

VII. Training of Communist Cadres in Shops and Working Class Communities.

1. Need to select for constant attention, promotion and training, working class cadres from the main shops of concentration and key working class communities.
2. Self-study; classes; club discussions, etc. - method of guiding such a program in each club.
3. Systematic reading of the press, Political Affairs, and key Party pamphlets. Utilizing articles and pamphlets for study and discussion in clubs.

READING MATERIAL

1. Winston - Convention Report - September 1948 Political Affairs, especially pages 842-856.
2. Winston - January 1947 Political Affairs, Pages 69-79.
" - March 1948 Political Affairs, Pages 245-250.
3. Fred Fine - Against Opportunism in Practice, August 1948 Political Affairs.