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The Party's Role in the Elections

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SUMMARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETINGS, SEPTEMBER 8-10, 1972

The main business of the September 8-10 meetings of the Central Committee and of the National Council was the 1972 elections. The Central Committee also discussed reports on building rank and file organization among shop workers, the fight for higher standards in the Party and the election of a Political Committee including the assignment of chairmen and secretaries of the various national commissions of the Central Committee.

In his report on the elections, Comrade Gus Hall placed a new stress on the need to combat right opportunist pressures as the predominant problem in the Party as evidenced in the elections. This conclusion flowed from an assessment of the electoral developments, the increasing reactionary drive, what is required to defeat Nixon and his policies and the role of the Party up to this point and for the remaining days of the campaign.

The great stake of the working masses in the elections was emphasized. All social issues

and movements will necessarily be effected by the outcome. Comrade Hall discussed electoral developments in connection with Vietnam, the Middle East, US-Soviet relations, busing and the fight against racism, the economy and corruption in the Nixon Administration. Most important, he pointed out that if Nixon is re-elected he will be a "lame duck" president, not subject to any further election contests, since he cannot succeed himself. In such a setting, the line of policy Nixon will attempt to pursue will be even more reactionary and would greatly increase the fascist danger.

To defeat Nixon and his policies, the policies must be exposed as being in the interests of the giant corporations and against those of the whole working class, the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, Indian peoples, the bulk of youth and women, and the middle strata. Comrade Hall pointed out that a broad people's coalition has to be built much further in order to defeat him. A McGovern, retreating and defensive and without the development of independent forms pressing on issues, will not be able to do the job.

Our Party's campaign is an extremely important means of exposing Nixon, of developing independence and keeping the pressure on McGovern from the left. According to Comrade Hall, we have already made important advances in our electoral work. We have talked face to face with 2-1/2 million people, gotten nearly 400,000 signatures on petitions and achieved certification for the ballot in 9 states (now 11 states - see table on p. 32 of this issue--Ed.), with a number of others expected. Through mass media we have reached tens of millions. The campaign has changed the Party internally. About 25 percent of the Party has been actively involved in the campaign which is an advance over the past. But, he pointed out, we have achieved perhaps 10 percent of the possibilities, and we have to make a further sharp turn.

The report called attention to the fact that there has been significant resistance to our electoral policies. This has been evident at all levels including leadership. Most often it is expressed in lack of activity and initiative, but sometimes it is articulated. Some say we have a sectarian policy which will help re-elect Nixon through our candidacy.

Comrade Hall pointed out that this position often starts with illusions about what happened at the Democratic Party Convention. While important developments took place, the Democratic Party remains a monopoly party and not a people's party and the same is true for McGovern as a candidate.

As a result, independent forms among labor and elsewhere that oppose Nixon are necessary. There can be no reliance on bourgeois parties and candidates. Especially important is the opposition to Meany's policy which is causing major realignment among labor linked with rank and file developments. While there are independent forms, they are inadequate, and we did not do enough to guarantee their development. Retreat by the McGovern campaign under pressure from the right has been the result.

Our failure to do more for the emergence of a major independent form in relation to the McGovern candidacy and to place greater stress on the role of our Party campaign are errors of right opportunism. Without continuous pressures from the left, McGovern will inevitably move to the right and Nixon cannot be exposed and defeated.

The assessment of the report and by the meeting was that right opportunism, as expressed in the election, with strong liquidationist tendencies toward the Party, was far and away our main problem and had to be fought as such. The discussion was quite critical and self critical on this point.

Some comrades underestimated the mass character of the Party's campaign as a very important means of exposing Nixon and creating pressure and independence on the issues. They viewed it as separate and apart from mass work despite the millions of people we talked to face to face, those who received our literature or heard our candidates on radio, TV or through newspaper stories.

Comrade Hall also pointed out the tremendous opportunities to build the Party, to recruit and build the circulation of the Daily World and People's World, opportunities that we must not miss. There was a call to the entire membership to give first priority to the election campaign, to relate our current activities to electoral work and, if need be, to temporarily set aside other things so as to move fully into the campaign at all levels.

To implement the report which was approved without dissent, the following proposals were adopted:

1. All districts are to hold membership meetings or wide activist meetings for reports on the national meeting and projection of the district plan for the balance of the campaign.
2. The Central Committee Office is to reorganize its staff and commissions with everyone fully in the campaign and with all staff members assigned to work for a period of time in the key districts on the elections. (This is being done.)
3. Two special electoral issues of the World Magazine are to come out in 250,000 copies. (The October 21 issue will appear in 250,000 copies.)
4. The Council endorsed the drive for \$150,000 by Nov. 7 for electoral work, with \$100,000 to be raised in the districts with national assistance and 50 percent of it to remain for local work.

At a meeting with the districts, plans and methods were discussed for the fullest use of the candidates on their tours and for the campaign when the candidates are not present. Comrade Hall's report is being published as a pamphlet and will be mailed to the membership through the clubs.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEARS REPORT FROM RANK AND FILE LEADER IN
STEEL INDUSTRY

In a departure from recent practice, the Central Committee approached the building of the rank and file shop movement from the standpoint of a single industry--steel. The report was made by a leading rank and file steel worker who related experiences and lessons in steel. Various national and local rank and file formations were examined, how they were built, around what issues and their relation to local unions. There was also discussion of the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy and Labor Today and forms among Black unionists such as the NALC. The report was unanimously approved. It was agreed that steel should receive special emphasis in our work nationally even among the basic industries because of its importance in the economy and the potential for a real breakthrough. It was also agreed that the pamphlet on steel by Comrade Hall would be reworked and reissued following the Steelworkers Convention in much greater quantity.

PARTY STANDARDS AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

A report was delivered by Comrade James Jackson on the fight for higher standards in the Party. Comrade Jackson began by noting the growth of the mass ties and ideological and political influence of our Party, noting that many new forces were being attracted to our ranks. As a result, the class enemy is stepping up attempts to destroy us and hinder our development including very centrally on the ideological front. He discussed the ideological struggle on the main questions and its internal impact. The fight for the Party as a definite system of organization and democratic centralism was stressed.

This report dealt with a recently discovered plot to assassinate Comrade Hall in St. Louis and the evidence that a small group in the Party was involved. They hid behind a super-"revolutionary" and adventuristic ideological cover. One of the conclusions drawn was that we had fought the influences of petty bourgeois radicalism inadequately, occasionally being influenced by such tendencies.

The report is to be prepared for publication in Party Affairs. A manual dealing with standards is also being prepared. The need for new member classes and national outlines was stressed. A proposal for some kind of candidate membership was referred for study and action at the next meeting.

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The Central Committee replaced the acting Political Committee which had functioned since the 20th Convention with the following members of the Political Committee:

Winston, Henry
Hall, Gus

Buxenbaum, Alva
Hallinan, Matthew

Jackson, James
Johnson, Arnold

Lightfoot, Claude
Lumer, Hyman
Meyers, George
Mitchell, Charlene
Pittman, John

Proctor, Roscoe
Ristorucci, Jose
Rubin, Daniel
Storey, Rasheed

Tyner, Jarvis
Winter, Carl
Winter, Helen
Zagarell, Michael

At the next meeting of the Central Committee there will be a further review with the aim of reducing its size still more. Comrades Patterson, Potash and Weinstone had asked that they not be renominated for the Central Committee and Political Committee so that the pace of their activity could better be fitted to their present health requirements. As among the most honored members of our Party and considering that they continue to contribute in many other ways, this request was agreed to.

Among the assignments as heads of fields of work made by the Central Committee were the following:

Peace
Labor
Black Liberation
Education
International Affairs
Defense (political prisoners,
etc.)
Political Action
Chicano Liberation
Puerto Rican Liberation
Women

Matthew Hallinan
George Meyers
Roscoe Proctor
James Jackson
Helen Winter
Charlene Mitchell

Arnold Johnson
Lorenzo Torres
Jose Ristorucci
Alva Buxenbaum

* * *

Report to the Political Committee on

Seminar on Women's Equality

By Alva Buxenbaum

Background Leading to Seminar

Several factors and circumstances led to the setting up of the Seminar on Women's Equality by the National Women's Commission and Education Commission. The initial plans were to hold a school for Black women in the Party, women who were currently in leadership in the Party and League and women whom districts considered potential leadership. This thinking came about as a result of experiences and some problems brought directly to our attention by leading comrades both in relation to Party work and especially in relation to the YWLL. Since many of our Puerto Rican and Chicana women were also experiencing the same difficulties, we broadened the concept to include them also.

The main problems centered on the following:

- 1) Widespread underestimation of the abilities and potential of many women, including the tendency to ignore and to undercut

their leadership.

- 2) Failure to give any consideration to special problems of circumstances and attitudes toward women and Black women in particular.
- 3) A tendency to spread women cadre too thin when giving them assignments including leadership assignments, without concrete help, together with a general unspoken attitude that amounted to letting them adjust for themselves and find solutions to objective problems for themselves. Often, when solutions were found, they were inadequate either for these women's families (in cases where children are involved) or for their personal situations. In brief, it is a question of survival of the toughest or of those best able to solve any difficulties on their own.

However, in reviewing these problems, we realized that although they hit Black women in the Party most severely, and Puerto Rican and Chicano women in similar but often different ways, these problems are still common to all women in the Party and to women in leadership in particular.

We next evolved the idea that such a Seminar should attempt to strengthen leading women cadre and potential women cadre. To do this we decided to begin with an East Coast leadership seminar consisting of women on the Central Committee and National Council and to include women in district leadership or selected by their district as potential leaders. The seminar was to include some leading men as well. We felt that in the Communist Party such a form was essential if we are to make any substantial gains against male supremacy in the Party. We concluded that the participation of men, although a majority of the participants were to be women, was the kind of serious and constructive approach necessary to convince our comrades that the working-class character of women's oppression is not just an abstract theory and that, in order to free the whole working class, it must maintain and build the movements and issues of women workers and working class housewives. We must recognize women as a critical element to any movement for social and ultimately revolutionary change. In short, the special interests of women must be thoroughly integrated into working class struggles and demands.

The general aims of the proposed seminar were to change the general attitude and approach which sees the role of the Women's Commission as concentrating on the "Women's Liberation Movement" per se, and dealing with problems of male supremacy both inside and outside of the Party. These two views were and are current and see the above in their most narrow sense.

Such views fail to see the role of Communist women as initiators of mass developments and as struggling to consciously interrelate the special interests of women as they relate to the issues of all workers. Such an approach, quite common in our Party, tends to view women's issues as separate from workers' issues and sees women as "doing their own thing." This attitude is totally inconsistent with Party ideology and policies, and adherence to such concepts, whether conscious or unconscious, is harmful to the work, growth and

potential influence of our Party.

In brief, we see as a basic weakness in our Party's work the failure to grasp and apply the class nature of women's oppression and therefore to view the question of women's equality in its proper perspective - that is, as absolutely essential to working class unity. Part and parcel of this weakness is the limited understanding of the impact and explosive force the leadership of Black women could bring to working class struggles, precisely because of their relationship to this society as victims of both racism and male supremacy. To talk of freeing Black people without linking the militant struggles inherent in simultaneously freeing Black women is to ignore those very aspects of women's equality most essential to working class liberation.

In order to achieve the clearest and most consistent working class policies with the fullest collective strength of the Party, the special relationship of women's oppression to working class oppression must be intertwined through emphasis on those issues that will achieve the fullest equality for all women, i.e., those issues which best expose the use of racism and male supremacy as an ideological tool of the ruling class; namely, those aimed at changing the most oppressive conditions of Black women. Our Party must display the very highest sensitivity and sharpness on these questions, and Communists must demonstrate openness and honesty in their daily lives by facing up to their own weaknesses on questions of racism and male supremacy.

Response to Seminar and its Composition

Our approach, as described before, was to involve women and some men in the highest levels of leadership (Central Committee, National Council and district leaders). Since, however, the general attitude of the district leaderships was to view it as "the women's thing", we consequently did not succeed in involving leaders whom we felt should participate. Therefore, the composition and participation in the seminar were almost entirely due to the efforts of Sylvia Newcomb, the commissions and some national leaders. In one case, Danny Rubin had to call directly to an important nearby district and request a specific person in order to get any participation. Of the Black women participating, three of the four attended as the result of special efforts by those organizing the seminar.

The composition of the seminar was as follows: 21 participants in the course of the three days (3 were men); 17 attended all sessions (1 male), with 4 of the 21 attending the first day only. Of the 21, there were 5 trade unionists, 5 Black (1 male for one day); 1 Puerto Rican; 2 charter members; 7 full-time comrades (2 New York State, 4 National staff, 1 New York Marxist Center); 3 Daily World staff; 1 teacher, and 2 students.

The first day of the seminar, before this session began, comrades were asked to respond in writing to the following: "For the seminar on Women in the Party and Women in Leadership, we would like all participants to indicate what they think are the main problems and questions that should be dealt with in this discussion."

I am quoting some examples of the kinds of problems listed, to both indicate what leading comrades express as the problems, and to also give an indication of the deep level of commitment and understanding of those participating:

- 1) Need to explore methods to promote more participation among women who work, have children, etc.
- 2) Explore ways to involve non-working wives of industrial workers, many of whom support the Party but aren't members.
- 3) Intermediary forms for our work among women.
- 4) Male supremacy within the Communist Party and how to fight it,
 - a) weaknesses in leadership
 - b) tendencies to de-emphasize the struggle for women's equality.
- 5) Public projection of the Communist Party's leadership in the fight for women's equality (including Party electoral campaign). Bringing the work of the National Women's Commission to the rank and file of the Party.
- 6) The struggle to be recognized as political cadre capable of teaching and leading ideological discussions, including giving leadership in such areas as trade union work (which is viewed primarily as a man's field).
- 7) How do we place the relationship and priorities on the struggle for Black liberation and women's equality? Is there a subordination of one to the other?
- 8) Main problem is development of cadre:
 - a) why are there relatively few women in top national leadership and even district political leadership? How can women develop confidence and be encouraged to play a full role?
- 9) Are classes for women only wrong? Will they necessarily encourage feminism?
- 10) What are the forms of male supremacy in the Party and the effects on women? (Sometimes women are super-critical of other women, due to influences of male supremacy.)
- 11) How do personal lives in Communist families relate to the Party? There are some very poor relationships based on male supremacist attitudes.
- 12) Problems of white chauvinism combined with male supremacy towards Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano women leaders.
- 13) What is the correct way for men to fight for women's leadership and acceptance?
- 14) The need for a thorough historical materialist approach to the problem of inequality of women throughout the ranks of the Party.

- 15) The response to leadership of Black women, ranging from non-response to patronizing response.
- 16) What are the key internal changes to be made that will help us change the practices and thinking toward women all down the line?
- 17) How do we conduct a successful and lasting internal ideological campaign against reflections of ruling class ideology like male supremacy?
- 18) How do we involve the whole Party in a central mass initiative for women's basic needs?

Some questions appeared several times from different comrades, such as those dealing with (1) cadre development and women in leadership; (2) ideological problems of male supremacy, and male supremacy coupled with white chauvinism; and (3) problems of Black women in the Party and especially giving support and developing the potential of Black women and taking the necessary steps to enable them to develop.

CONTENT OF LEADOFFS

Theoretical Aspects: Women in the Economy and the Role of the Family - Carmen Ristorucci

The basic threads running through the leadoff and discussion were:

First, an examination of the current theories being projected by friendly sources seeking to project a working class (Marxist) analysis of women's oppression under current conditions of monopoly capital, with a critical view as to whether or not the theories projected are consistent with Marxist-Leninist concepts on the working class nature of women's oppression. The leadoff and discussion appraised the positive contributions of these documents as well as what we agreed were fundamental weaknesses in the projections of the documents.

One of the documents discussed in great detail was written by Isabel Larguia and John Dumoulin, Toward a Science of Women's Liberation (Political Affairs, June and August, 1972), a document which was sent to the National Women's Commission by an American friend living in Cuba with the hopes that it would be published as a theoretical piece and discussed in our Party. Another was Women's Estates by Juliet Mitchell, a British author also attempting a Marxist analysis and thus making a substantial contribution to theoretical discussions on this question. The dialogue and discussion stimulated by the theoretical questions projected by these sources are extremely helpful in clarifying and projecting the thinking of Marxism and clarifying our own thinking here in the U.S. where anti-working class notions are so prevalent and disruptive.

The major questions singled out for examination in both these documents were those dealing with (a) labor power as specifically applied to women, especially as housewives and under present conditions of state monopoly capitalism; (b) the special relationship of women to production; (c) whether or not women in the home have a special (if any) relationship to production, given the refined and more extensive forms of exploitation under monopoly capital, and (d) the specific forms of op-

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pression growing from the special status of women on the job and in the home, and the degrees and forms of oppression depending on class.

Second, the special effects on Black women and on the Black family. We found that the weaknesses in both documents were that they failed to see the special use and effects of racism, and were consequently thrown off base in their analysis. Neither article considered the role and use of racism itself, or racism coupled with male supremacy, as a very effective method of dividing and confusing the struggles of women as a section of society. This weakness also prevented a full understanding of how such divisions along racial lines affect the degree and intensity of struggles and consistent militancy.

Third, questions centering around the development of class-consciousness (where, too, the understanding and effects of racism are crucial), and especially the development of the class-consciousness of women in the home. The fact that a housewife is part of a working class family, even when the husband is fairly and even strongly class-conscious, is no guarantee that the woman is class-conscious. Degrees of oppression based on class, race and sex were discussed and the various effects of these factors, along with experiences and their effects on the development and extent of class-consciousness and class militancy among women.

The framework of the entire discussion considered our main aim to be a theoretical understanding of what conditions and programs are necessary to give women the right to choose to enter fully into the productive forces. Giving women the ability to enter the work force of necessity also means relieving the burdens of housework and responsibility for child care; in brief, dual standards.

Communist Party and its Goals for Mass Mobilization and Action for Women's Equality - Alva Buxenbaum

We focused primarily upon developing the necessary strategy and tactics for winning full equality for women through the struggle to enable women to fully enter, as they choose, into social production, making essential the fight for those social, material and ideological gains that will make this goal possible. We discussed, evaluated and projected those struggles which we viewed as essential to building unity among women which cuts across class lines and allies different classes of women directly with working class struggles most important to curbing monopoly and developing further anti-monopoly coalitions.

The fight against racism is the first priority and the primary key to working class unity, and therefore to the unity of women. Racism was examined in all of its various divisive forms, among workers in general and specifically in struggles related to Black women. Flowing from this were discussions of special issues affecting Black women most acutely and, therefore, key to advancing the struggle against racism. It became obvious to us in the discussion that this was the only really dialectical approach. This approach not only unites women on a multi-class basis but is the only way to advance and deepen working class experiences and consciousness, not only of women but of the entire working class. We felt that there was a real, collective understanding among those of us participating in the Seminar, and we hoped to influence the Party to fully grasp this.

The specific ways that male supremacy is used to disunite male and female workers on particular issues and to disunite women from each other were explored and examples that were concrete and to the point were given.

The discussion on issues included the following areas along with the diversionary ideologies that are injected:

1. In relation to trade union and shop struggles, attention was given to the need for deeper discussion and evaluation of our position on the Equal Rights Amendment and of the subjective and objective factors involved in the passage of ERA. Were there ways that we could have been more influential, for example?

2. Attention was given to evaluating and developing further our approaches to the struggles around child care and welfare rights, including what is essential now to advancing and winning these demands.

3. Extensive discussion was given to the character and content of an intermediary women's organization. We discussed the need for a mass women's organization which is led from the very beginning by working class women, primarily Black women, and which unites these women on an anti-racist and pro-peace basis. Such an organization must be multi-issue and ally women of all classes, racial and national backgrounds. It was felt that an important section of this organization must be left-oriented, of an avowed anti-imperialist character.

Specific examples were given of some left and advanced forms already in existence, forms which include Communists and non-Communists. It was unanimously agreed that immediate attention be given to building additional forms of this nature. The examples given were forms consisting primarily of Black women from the Party and the YWLL, and some who were drawn into struggle around the fight to free Angela.

Male Supremacy and Women in the Party

This section included a report by Danny Rubin on male supremacy, followed by a report by Sylvia Newcomb on Women in the Party, followed by discussion.

Danny Rubin dealt with male supremacy in the mass movement and with specific examples in relation to specific issues. With the increased desperation of monopoly capital and rising class-consciousness of our people, monopoly is using as its most effective divisive ideologies racism coupled with male supremacy. These are issues which the Nixon administration has picked to concentrate on in its efforts (presently effectively) to confuse the main election issues. Examples include concentration on welfare, busing and abortion. Wallace and Humphrey are also concentrating on these questions and using them as the main pressure to move McGovern to the right.

Comrade Rubin pointed out that in the fight against male supremacy on a mass level, we have to ask and answer the question: What are the main problems and key ideological questions preventing males from entering struggles around women's issues? For example, we examined the idea many men accept, that women are a threat to their jobs. We

examined the concept of a worker as tough, able to work hard and long, able to work at difficult, back-breaking tasks, and the effects of this concept on the fight for better health and safety measures, or its effects on the minds of people that a worker is male and not female.

It is clear that without ideological struggle on male supremacy, we just won't make break-throughs on some issues. The discussion also considered arguments and problems aimed at overcoming male supremacist ideology.

Sylvia Newcomb followed with a comprehensive picture of the main ideological and daily problems of women in the Party on various levels - club, district and national. (This report follows in this issue of Party Affairs - Ed.) We examined the reasons for such a high percentage of women in the Party membership (50%), a predominance of women leaders on the club level, but a sharp drop in percentage as we go to higher levels of leadership.

The main ideological problems of male supremacy in the Party which create this, and some of its reflections were projected:

1. Higher standards of leadership and performance are required for women than are for men.
2. Insensitivity to problems and obstacles placed by society on women which prevent their functioning on the same basis as men, and the need this creates for special considerations and flexibility.
3. Especially damaging to the growth and standards of the Party are the standards and attitudes toward Black women. For example, in airing our experiences we found that the standards for Black women in leadership are even higher than for white women and that, compounding the problems of male supremacy presented by men, there are the added problems of racism. This creates special problems of relationships between Black women and men, Black women and Black men, and Black women and white women.

Although Puerto Rican women and Chicanas experience many of the same problems as Black women, there are also differences in how these problems are manifested, based on chauvinism and "machismo". These attitudes are not only restricted to political leadership but also create social and moral questions and, in the long run, are most destructive to minorities and especially Black women. Such attitudes are very much evident in a tendency to reject the leadership of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicana women by accepting the concept that "there are too many problems to be solved which we can't do anything about." This is a problem with many comrades and is always an unconscious act. On various levels of the Party, Black women are too often viewed as "token" leadership by white comrades.

4. Special problems of women in the leadership of the YWLL were brought out in discussion, as well as some reasons why it is so difficult to keep women in League leadership. Again, this problem was especially sharp in relation to Black women, Puerto Rican and Chicana women. The problem of lower standards of performance and ability in relation to men as compared to women, here, too, was especially sharp.

Evaluation and Some Proposals

The evaluation of the Seminar was that it was "historic," "the best experience (comrades had had) in the Party." (This included new members up through charter member who participated, and was a unanimous opinion.) There was satisfaction and praise for all of the reports and for the discussion. Comments and contributions to the discussion were precise and to the point; they were probing and searching; they were critical but there was not one moment in the entire Seminar when the high level of devotion, commitment, and ideological clarity on the need for and role of the Party was questioned. Even the sharpest criticism of some of the standards and methods of work by Party members and leadership was in the context that these problems and weaknesses must be changed for the further growth of the Communist Party and to enable our Party to make its maximum contributions to the current and continuing struggles of our class, the working class.

Proposals:

1. Proceedings of this Seminar be used to stimulate the most deep-going discussions and evaluation of the Party's work among women and of attitudes holding back this work.
2. A sub-committee of 3 or 4 be set up from the Seminar to meet with the YWLL leadership and discuss some of the League's problems brought out in the Seminar.
3. We encourage and work out the mechanics for setting up future seminars along the same lines as this one.
4. We continue to work for higher standards and greater consciousness on the questions discussed here and on the full intertwining of the work of the Party among women with the policies of industrial concentration and community work.

* * * *

Women in the Party & Women in Leadership

By Sylvia Newcomb

We should examine the status of women in the Party and women in leadership, keeping certain questions in mind. Are we meeting what is possible in strengthening the movements which are centered around women's issues? Are we meeting what is possible in terms of mobilizing and organizing women in trade unions? Are we encouraging the full-

est possible participation of women in the Party on all levels? And if we are not meeting these possibilities, and I think we can agree that we are not fully meeting them, what is holding us back? How do we evaluate ourselves in the following areas:

1. The fight men comrades wage against male supremacy and for full equality in relationship to issues in their trade unions, mass and Party work?

2. What steps are we taking to overcome subjective obstacles preventing women's fullest involvement in mass work and Party leadership, obstacles such as lack of confidence and reticence -- the net results of women's experience in a society which puts them down as women and as workers, in a society ridden with male supremacist ideology and practice?

3. What concrete steps are we taking in the struggle to free Black women comrades and enable them to participate more fully in giving leadership in mass activity and bringing them into direct leadership of the Party? What specific help and encouragement are we offering which recognizes that their triple oppression creates obstacles that others do not experience?

To bring us forward in all these areas, to collectively work to free women from their extra burdens, to pay special attention to their growth and development in moving into leadership of the Party and mass movements is to monumentally increase our active cadre perhaps by a figure equivalent to a third of our Party membership. Such steps would accelerate our efforts to build the Party among masses of women and strengthen our activity in every trade union and mass work field. It would advance the struggle for Black liberation, the struggle for peace and employment. Bringing working class women into the forefront of the women's peace movement is one prime example, but this applies to other movements as well. It would strengthen the organization and leadership of our Party by dramatically increasing our ability to recruit and consolidate new women into the ranks of the Party - Black, Chicana and Puerto Rican women in particular.

The converse is also true. Failure to tackle these obstacles to the fullest participation of women is to hold back these mass developments and to weaken the Party's ability to give leadership.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PARTY

We must ask and answer the question of just what is the status of women in our Party today and in what direction is it moving? Roughly 50% of our Party are women. Though some districts are predominantly male and others are predominantly female, most are even in distribution. The majority of clubs are chaired by women, and women are most prominent on the club executive level. We do not have figures of the percentage of women on district committee levels. In 1962 there was one woman district organizer in our Party. Today, there are 4 out of 25, or 16%. In 1962 there were 4 women working

working full time in the districts. Today, there are 13 out of 41 full-timers in the districts, or, roughly, 32%. In 1962 there were 4 full-time women on the national staff. Today, there are 7 out of 22, or, roughly, 32%. About 27% of both the Central Committee and National Council are women and although we do not have the comparative figures of ten years ago, this, too, is a higher percentage than in 1962. However, women on the Political Committee are less than 10%.

What conclusions can be drawn from this, and what problems do they indicate?

1. Women are more highly represented in the lower levels of Party leadership than on the higher bodies.
2. We know that more women fall into organizational positions rather than those requiring political leadership.
3. In the current period the status of women in the Party is increasing.

The same general obstacles to advancement of women would apply to the two basic areas under discussion: (1) Women in the Party and problems of preventing their fullest development as Communists and as leaders in the people's struggle, and (2) Women in Leadership and the problems which prevent women from making a maximum contribution to the leadership of the Party.

We understand that the primary reason for weaknesses in relation to the development of women in our Party is the fact that the Party reflects the realities of the society we're living in. Under capitalism, women do not have equal employment, equal economic or social status. It is standard to consider housework and care of the family as totally women's work, despite minimum elevation of consciousness spurred by the women's liberation movement. Hundreds of thousands of Black and Brown women live under these ideological effects of capitalism, multiplied by special genocidal attacks upon themselves and their families; attacks related to repression, housing, welfare, cost of living, conditions which make life's super-challenge the task of feeding and caring for their children to make it through today.

We need these women in the leadership of the people's movements, for they fight with a special militancy and steadfastness dictated by their own oppression. We need these women in the ranks and leadership of our Party. We need these women who are the most exploited workers in the foundries, factories, hospitals and other service occupations across our land.

FIGHTING FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

The mass movement also needs Communist women. Recent experiences of open Communists show that their leadership is sought and expected.

We must fight for their participation and the participation of all working class women on several levels: One is the mass campaigns to force maximum reform for the things that move in the direction of freeing women for political struggle on the job and off the job; universal child care, protective legislation for women workers, maternity leaves, and so on. But, as the advanced sector of the working class, we must also be ahead of the game. We must see and learn the importance of taking internal organizational steps and the building of community facilities to free these women for leadership in these very mass struggles and full participation in the ranks of the Party and its leadership.

The majority of working women and women recruits to the Party are ages 20-40, the prime child-bearing ages. I think that the double burden of house and job or, in the case of women not employed, the physical tying down to the household should be recognized as the major obstacles to working class women's consistent participation in struggle. These will not be fully overcome until we are well into a socialist or Communist USA or when housework is truly socialized. But a fighting working class can win major concessions under capitalism and a more fully conscious vanguard Party, through collective sharing of baby-sitting responsibilities, can collectively ease the burden to a great extent. A fully conscious Communist husband and wife can share household chores and thus free Communist women for greater and fuller involvement.

A second major obstacle, not related to the first, is the fact that the Communist Party is certainly not immune to male supremacist ideology. Though it is countered here more than anywhere else in our country, ideologically and concretely, it is a serious problem which has been inadequately dealt with for too long. It affects all areas of work. It hinders recruiting, consolidation and development of women in our Party. It holds back our work in every field of struggle, because it weakens our collective fighting strength.

One crucial area of work perhaps most seriously affected by insufficient struggle against male supremacy and insufficient understanding of the importance of the role of women in struggle toward socialism is our trade union work. The districts which are primarily male include some industrial concentration districts. We may recruit auto workers but fail to see the importance of recruiting their wives, who may very well be members of other unions. The lead we once gave in the garment industry has dwindled through the years in areas such as New York, Florida, Philadelphia, Los Angeles. It was interrupted by Browder liquidationism and is practically non-existent today. Among other reasons, is the failure to see the importance of women in these industries and the need to work collectively with such women in our trade union bodies on all levels.

A hopeful sign is the involvement of younger women, especially in the service unions, but we are still putting more women into this work than we are recruiting out of it. There is potential but it will not affect our overall collective work in rank and file struggle to any great extent until these women can work as equal partners in the

trade union collectives of our Party. These bodies are today frequently all-male. When one woman comes to a meeting of the "guys", she is forced to put up with all manner of male supremacist attitudes toward her. There are very few with thick enough skins to hack it.

What is needed to begin to remedy the situation is a campaign initiated on the highest levels of our Party to fight for our work among women in the unions. And combined with this, we need careful organizational work among each collective to break down the barriers and help bring women into these bodies in numbers. The men comrades capable of the most sensitivity have to be primed to facilitate the addition of 2, 3 or 4 women at a time.

GEARING THE PARTY TO HELP WOMEN BECOME MORE ACTIVE

We must understand that the key to immediately increasing young women's involvement in the work and leadership of our Party is to physically free them to do more political work. The clubs, districts and national have collective responsibilities towards baby-sitting, as well as the Communist husband who plays a role in this.

There have been some initial gains in initiatives taken in some sections of the Party on this score, and there are some good examples. But it is still mainly token and will continue to be so until its importance is understood by a far larger section of our Party and its leadership.

Some resistance to such an approach comes from women comrades who are not rearing children. But far and away, it is least understood by a good section of our male comrades. As Comrade Hall pointed out in his discussions on the struggle against racism, the preponderance of errors are not by commission but rather by omission. Here, too, though some will concretely fight an immediate proposal to share baby-sitting on a collective basis, the more frequent error is to dismiss the possibility of a woman handling a certain task or position because she is tied down to the home, and freeing her just seems to be too immense a chore to warrant being bothered by it.

The problem of being tied to children in the house affects women at all levels in our Party, but where its effects are more glaring is in the relatively small number of women in higher positions of leadership. The natural curtailment of activity caused by childbirth is not consciously and deliberately thwarted by encouraging women to get back into activity at the earliest possible time. This includes attitudes reflecting underestimation of her importance to the struggle on the part of her husband and the collective, as well as lack of concrete assistance to help her to get out. Too many capable women able to give much in the way of leadership to the Party and mass movements have thus been thwarted on the road to full participation, and some older women have never pulled out of the retreat, leaving their husbands in the Party while they move into the category of "close sympathizer". Such women must be worked with and brought back into the ranks of our Party.

Though the objective factors holding women back are, I think, primary, the fight against the subjective influences, the ideology of male supremacy, is also of crucial importance.

Lenin said, "So few men - even among the proletariat - realize how much effort and trouble they could save women, even quite do away with it, if they were to lend a hand in 'women's work'. They want their peace and comfort. . . . Our communist work among women, our political work, embraces a great deal of educational work among men. We must root out the old 'master' idea, to its last and smallest root, in the Party and among the masses. That is one of our political tasks, just as it is the urgently necessary task of forming a staff of men and women comrades, well trained in theory and practice, to carry on Party activity among working women." (Lenin on the Woman Question, Clara Zetkin, International Publishers, 1934, p. 19)

So that we can cite the basic problems, the material problems, as primary, but that doesn't cancel out the subjective - the ideology of male supremacy and the role that plays.

While in the overall the major obstacle is and has been the question of freeing women materially for involvement, there has been no small number of cases where women have retreated and floundered because of male supremacist errors and perhaps, even more so, by lack of sensitivity to their special problems as women, errors of omission by the Party as a whole, and male comrades in particular. Such problems have caused retreat and stagnation on the part of women who are not particularly burdened by household and child care, so they stand on their own and call for the fullest examination. In fact, it is questionable as to how far we can move in the area of the Party fulfilling its responsibilities to women in the home, in light of our current lack of understanding, if we do not perhaps first do some major work in combatting male supremacy in our Party.

FIGHTING MALE SUPREMACY IN THE PARTY

There are a few approaches to fighting male supremacy in the ranks of the Party, and they can all play a role. One is to initiate a long-overdue educational discussion throughout the Party on this question. It is not a cure-all, but it can help. The yet insufficiently developed educational apparatus in the Party has hampered attempts to build strong and sustained educational discussions through the whole Party, as witness the discussion on racism and white chauvinism. There are also few instances where such discussions have led to significant mass initiatives.

Another approach, not unrelated to the first, is strengthening our use of criticism and self-criticism as a form of growth in the Party and thus dealing with concrete examples of male supremacy as they occur. We just had a big laugh when Danny Rubin said, "There are men who can't be corrected repeatedly." And I added, "There are men who can't be repeatedly corrected." What I meant was that, while

it is true that correction often doesn't produce results, the main problem seems to be an absence of correction.

Male comrades too often don't see their special role in taking these questions up and women comrades are sometimes fearful of raising them. It is just a poor atmosphere and an atmosphere must be created where women can raise criticisms without fear of being labeled "feminist", which is often the case when they are the only ones raising these criticisms.

Another arena is concrete application to mass tasks where women are a major influence. What would be the positive results in the thinking and attitudes of our male comrades if they would be involved in a nationally-led campaign for universal child care, for example, or the defeat of the Family Assistance Plan, or for the passage of the National Welfare Rights Organization bill for \$6500. minimum income for a family of four? If they were to do their part in such a campaign, they would necessarily have to come to grips with their own wrong attitudes as they argue these points in their trade unions, mass organizations, or even in letters to their Congressmen. They would also have to learn to take leadership from women. The aim will be to involve the whole Party in centrally-led mass initiative for a particular need affecting women, such as child care.

An advance could be made if more work could be done in any of these areas - criticism and self-criticism, internal education and mass initiatives, or combination of them. But what is key to internally triggering off change throughout our Party is perhaps to start with our highest central leadership, beginning with a deep and probing examination of our work on women's issues, women in the trade unions, and the status of women in the Party, using as a starting point the thinking of this seminar. It could lead to the launching of an ideological campaign coupled with a mass issue campaign, the implementation of which would be fought for at every level of the Party. I really don't know what the key to triggering that off is, but I think Comrade Rubin in his report and I both presented that as the challenge before us.

MALE SUPREMACY AND WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Some of the problems and manifestations of the harmful reflections of male supremacy on the leadership level include the following:

The standards for leadership seem to be higher for women than for men. This is true also for Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and youth comrades particularly when these comrades are women. People in leadership tend to get used to their own collective characteristics and others coming into leadership are more subject to critical examination. Thus, bodies which are primarily male tend to perpetuate their poor composition. Women, too, sometimes tend to be supercritical of other women because of the influence of male supremacy on them.

The first image of a woman comrade is that of an organizational person and not a person also capable of leading political or ideological work. We have women in leading organizational positions who are never thought of as capable of leading ideological discussions or giving leadership to trade union work.

A question obviously on the minds of many women at this seminar, according to what they wrote in our seminar questionnaire, is the need for women not only to be in leading bodies but to sustain and strengthen them once they are there. Too many women are left to flounder. One comrade here cited a woman comrade who is brought into leadership and then "doesn't open her mouth." An assumption too often is that she doesn't open her mouth because she has nothing to say. There are special problems of taking leadership from women. In one district there was a quick switch from a male district organizer to a woman district organizer. The scene after that switch was something similar to what I remember in school when the teacher left the room. We have to drastically increase the number of men who consciously fight for women's leadership.

Comrades have raised several problems about our public image. A minimal public projection of the Party's fight for women's equality comes across to some in the rank and file of the Party as de-emphasis on the women question.

I think what Comrade Rubin said about the need to dialectically interweave the importance of various questions we're dealing with is crucial, because when something is sixth on a list of items, it seems to be de-emphasized.

There are too few women as Party spokesmen. The instances of women included in Party delegations around the world are few and far between. Omissions and tokenism in these areas reflect both a dearth of women in high leading positions as well as the fact that the women who are in such positions are too often overlooked. The net result of such patterns includes the weakening of women's estimates of their own abilities and erosion of self-confidence that doesn't come easily in the first place, and isn't easily rebuilt. It results in weak public image in light of the example that the Party must set and it objectively weakens the struggle on all fronts.

THE FIGHT FOR HIGHER STANDARDS

One of the difficulties in dealing with questions of male supremacy is that it hits closely at interpersonal relations and emotional interaction among men and women. Yet, our discussion cannot side-step the question of standards of Communist behavior and morality, the standards for Communist men, women and families. The heightening of the crisis of capitalism brings with it a sharpening attack on the family, on the emotional health and stability of the family,

The welfare system is designed to split families, Black families being particularly hard hit. Both men and women comrades have a role

to play in developing mutual respect and growth in marital relations, the political health and development of the entire family unit, distribution of tasks of husband and wife in sharing household work, child rearing and, hence, more sharing of their individual and collective talents in productive and political work. An advanced Communist, a "good" Communist, cannot separate his or her political work from personal relationships and responsibilities. The personal as well as political conduct of Communist men and women, of Communist families, must present an example to the working class.

A theme running through virtually all my discussions with leading women and the forms you filled out is a cry for more sensitivity, more recognition, more immediate and concrete assistance in women's development and special education primarily on theory.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF BLACK WOMEN

All these problems of male supremacist ideology affecting women in the Party are real and run deep in the thinking of all of our women, but they are particularly acute in the way they affect Black women in our Party. They affect the very small number of Black women in leadership in our Party today and through the years. The chain of weakness affects and reflects the weaknesses in our work in the organization of Black women generally. So, too, of Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Indian and Asian women whose experience and militance as women exploited by class, race, nationality and as women, are so vitally needed for us to play a vanguard role among the American people generally.

The answers are not merely to advance more Black women into leadership, though that is very important. The Party needs education to avoid what is now too often the response to Black women leaders -- no response, ranging to patronizing response. There is a general questioning of the ability of Black women to give leadership and a tendency to view them as token representation or "leaders in training."

While the Party is brought to higher understanding, it is also necessary to develop such women in a special, more intense, more concrete (task force approach) way to give Black women leaders and potential leaders the assistance and attention they need to advance more rapidly through the ranks. Our general cadre development approaches across the board are still too haphazard, too hit-and-miss. But when it comes to our need to develop Black women in the first place, as well as other specially oppressed groupings, we simply cannot afford to wait. We must develop special approaches; the failure to do so is a serious error of omission.

Black women, Party and non-Party, were the backbone of the movement to free Angela Davis. We've already had an influx of these women in the Party and more will join in the near future. But can we hold them as things now exist? Special approaches on the educational level to consolidate these women and develop them as Communists are essential.

There has been much recruiting among Black youth through Marxist-Leninist classes recently. But while we have recruited some women, the classes in the main have tended to be overwhelmingly male. The women who do come in are made to feel ideologically ill-equipped to work in equal partnership with male recruits and with other Communists who have studied Marxism. What was said earlier about this grouping in Philadelphia is an example of spontaneous organization of women for educational ("catching up") purposes. I think we have to give leadership to these groupings, but we also need to examine the problems leading to the spontaneous creation of special study groups for women.

We can often accept bourgeois notions of what is bright, what is intelligent, what signifies capability in a person. If you can speak extemporaneously or write an article in a hurry, ipso facto, you're bright, intelligent, a leader. It is generally a problem in our Party to see capabilities of working class comrades in this light. A comrade with a scholarly background will overshadow the comrade without one. So it is true of the Black women of the working class. Society has caused them to doubt their true talents and capabilities, and the Party has a role to play in the building up of such confidence.

Then, too, there are the double standards in social behavior which bear down heaviest on Black women. Racist stereotypes of Black people, Black women in particular, find their way into the Party in the forms of chauvinist expressions and one-sided estimates and demands of Black women. Here, too, the demands of higher standards in all respects for women is a problem.

THE WOMEN'S COMMISSION, PAST AND PRESENT

It is always desirable when getting into a topic, such as Women in the Party, to trace the history of the subject, but I will not attempt to do it justice. There are comrades capable of presenting that, as witness Margaret Cowl's writing and participation in this seminar. But just to sketch it, there were many women who were charter members of the Party. In the 1920's, according to Comrade Foster, women comprised 20% of the Party. By the 30's, the figure had doubled. Today, as I said, 50% of our Party members are women. Our history records life examples of women such as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudia Jones, Mother Bloor, Geraldine Lightfoot, Miranda Smith, Betty Gannett, and today we can look to such women as Charlene Mitchell, Helen Winter, Alva Buxenbaum, and a heroine to millions of Americans and people throughout the world, and member of our Central Committee, Angela Davis.

In 1921 a Women's Commission was initiated in our Party. Ella Reeve Bloor, Claudia Jones, Margaret Cowl and others gave leadership to it. William Z. Foster and other leading men in our Party encouraged the Commission and gave of themselves to help in the work among women in our country. The kind of work the Commission did among women was of a mass character; its influence was wide and deep; it recruited women in large numbers and led broadly supported legislative struggles. It worked on the community issues of the time, on building women's auxiliaries especially in support of strikes, and it worked on issues

relating to women in the shops. In the early 40's, Browder liquidated the Commission and, as in so many areas of work, work among women and work on the issues necessary to win full equality for women, were monumentally dropped. Consequently, the Party also relaxed its guard against male supremacy.

At the 18th Convention, the Commission was reconstituted under the leadership of Clara Colon and, after her death, Alva Buxenbaum and Carmen Ristorucci took leadership at the 19th Convention and head it today. It has made great progress in this period in many areas, especially in focusing the Party's attention on the need to build mass ties among women, the development of policy and our body of theory on the women question as reflected in this seminar, among other things. The Commission has instituted some very good mass action, including the recent Children's March for Survival.

Among the general problems now facing the Women's Commission are the following: As national commissions go, the Women's Commission probably has the fewest counterparts on the district level and therefore does not get a give and take and feedback through the concrete day-to-day work in the districts. In some districts work among women is seldom, if ever, raised as a question unto itself.

In general, the Women's Commission as a part of national leadership, tends to find itself somewhat isolated from other Party concentrations. Part of the answer is in the general improvement in method and style of work, but the primary problem is the failure of other leading commissions to see the inter-relationship of their work to work among women. From what I know, I think the Women's Commission has made efforts to show these connections.

Finally, the Women's Commission in composition still does not reflect women active in trade unions and women's organizations and around women's issues. It is practically a de facto all-women's commission. I think we made some progress but we're a long way from achieving the kind of composition we need. We have to fight for such composition as we fight from the ranks of the Party to involve more of our comrades in these kinds of struggles.

Even this sketchy background is important to show that our Party, despite weaknesses and gaps in our approach to the women question, has been and continues to be the most advanced in terms of both application and understanding in comparison with other organizations in our country.

Our Party, as Comrade Winston pointed out, has and continues to place the question of women within the overall class struggle. We should probe into our general weaknesses and problems today with this objective overall assessment in mind.

* * * *

Educational on Chicano Liberation

By the National Education Department

The following educational is based on Toward Chicano Liberation, the Communist Party Position, adopted at the 20th Convention, CPUSA.

MANDATORY DISCUSSION

This discussion guide is one part of a continuing process to prepare our Party and its membership for playing a new kind of role in relationship to one of the most dynamic struggles unfolding in the U.S.A. This educational is mandatory for all clubs. The struggle against the special oppression of the Chicano people is a decisive question for the working class of the southwest and therefore one of the major questions for the entire U.S. revolutionary movement.

The fact that the history and struggles of 12 million people are almost totally unknown outside of the Chicano community itself is a testimony to the strength of the system of racial oppression that daily humiliates and grinds them into poverty. All Communists, but particularly Anglo (white) comrades, have a responsibility to learn about the Chicano people's struggles.

Chicano oppression is not a problem for the Chicano people alone. It is an essential part of the system of divide and rule that weakens and disorients the working class of our country. The education of our membership on this question is a first step in preparing our Party for bringing this struggle to the working class as a whole.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

In preparing for this discussion, we would recommend two books:

1. Tijerina and the Land Grants, Pat Bell Blawis, New World Paperback, 1971.

2. North From Mexico, Carey McWilliams, Greenwood Press, 1968 (paperback),

in addition to the pamphlet Toward Chicano Liberation (New Outlook Publishers, May 1972)

Discussion Questions on TOWARD CHICANO LIBERATION

1. Who are the Chicano people? Where do they come from? What common social and historical experiences unite them as a people? What do they share in common with the Mexican people? What distinguishes them from the Mexican people?

2. In what ways is the oppression of the Chicano people similar to that of other oppressed minorities in the USA? What are some of the special features in the oppression of Chicanos? How are these special features expressed in the demands put forward by the Chicano movement? (language, border, land)

3. The Chicano people are overwhelmingly working class in composition. In what ways is Chicano oppression linked to class oppression--both of Chicano and other workers? In what ways do the current mass struggles of the Chicano people reflect both the class and national (people's) aspects of their oppression?

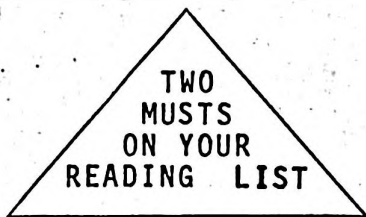
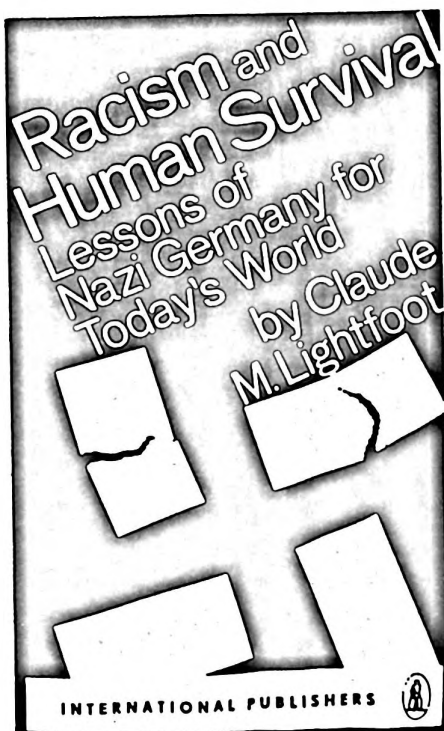
4. On what basis, around what issues and struggles will it be possible to win Anglo (white) workers to a struggle against Chicano oppression? Why is this so important to all progressive and revolutionary developments in the southwest?

5. Do separate Chicano forms such as Chicano caucuses in the labor movement or peace movement conflict with the struggle for class unity, with the struggle to unite all workers? What do you think of Chicano political formations such as La Raza Unida Party?

6. What are some of the major Chicano movement organizations in your local area? What issues do they take up? What is your relationship with them? How could it be improved?

7. What does your Party club intend to do, concretely, both with regard to continuing its own education on the Chicano question and contributing directly to the struggle?

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Response to

“Lenin on Great Power Chauvinism”

By William L. Patterson

In reading the July issue of Party Affairs, I came across the excerpts from "Lenin on Great Power Chauvinism" that, so the article reported, had been used by the Betty Gannett Club of the Party in its discussion of Indian Liberation.

I read the article several times. Lenin's handling of the question of great power chauvinism is deep and penetrating. It has great significance for all Americans. It reveals the great power chauvinism of those who managed affairs for the "Tsar of all the Russias." It shows how chauvinism was a barrier to those workers and peasants in that "prison house of nations," preventing their unity in struggle, pitting one against the other, and thus enabling the savage regime of Tsars to remain in power. One could clearly understand the effects this monstrous tactic of "divide and rule" had on the workers of both the oppressor great Russia and oppressed nations of Russia.

But for the life of me, I could not see how our presentation of the Leninist thesis of great power chauvinism was helpful to the Indian population of our country, the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Blacks or our white workers. It was too abstractly posed and too sparsely treated in Party Affairs, it seems to me.

How, if at all, did the Betty Gannett Club members apply the findings of their discussion ideologically and programmatically to the task of winning the unity in struggle of the Blacks and Puerto Ricans who live among them? Should we not have been informed? The task of winning the unity of white and non-white in anti-imperialist struggles is decisive for us here. Our Party stresses that historic fact in all the material it issues regardless of the front of battle. This Leninist material, if applied specifically to our situation, cannot but have world significance. White chauvinism in its national and racial forms is the most baneful social evil in our lives and country, corrupting as it does domestic and foreign relations.

We are a multi-national state. Forty million of our nations, nearly twenty percent of the population, are savagely and scandalously deprived of even that modicum of constitutional rights and dignity which white workers enjoy, or which they enjoy when not engaged in fighting for a better standard of living and better conditions of work, or when they are not fighting together with non-whites for peace and/or freedom. In those political struggles for the unification of the nation, its national honor and integrity, struggles in which white workers too rarely engage, some white workers learn that the mass of whites have no rights that the "master class" is bound to respect. But still, they do not fully appreciate the mutuality of their interests with non-whites.

It is the relentless struggle for a realization of this Leninist anti-chauvinist thesis that has made the Soviet Union so great. Through the rigid application of that unity the collectivity of the socialist states has become the world's dominant social force. We ourselves have been given a magnificent demonstration of the value of international solidarity in the Angela Davis case. Karl Marx tried to bring the invincible might of Black-white unity home to us when, during our Civil War, he implored President Abraham Lincoln to loose the mighty Black hand of the slave because labor in a white skin could not be free while labor in a black skin was branded.

The wisdom of Marxism-Leninism on the evils of chauvinism must be brought home to the oppressed white masses of the U.S.A. They must recognize that the poison of racial chauvinism has penetrated the bloodstream of the white segment of a multi-national state and if not eradicated can destroy it and perhaps all of mankind.

The most extraordinary sensitivity on the part of all of us must be exercised when we are dealing with the curse of racism, the dominant form of chauvinism in the U.S.A. Our Party calls upon all of us to fight relentlessly against any manifestation of it. It is not alone a matter of the saving of the nation, but, as well, the peace of the world.

If the Betty Gannett Club came to findings of a practical political value, these should be made known to all of us. And, above all else, chauvinism must be purged from our own ranks.

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The March 1972 issue of Party Affairs (Vol. VI, No. 5) contained the Resolution on Asians in the USA the technical production of which included some errors and omissions. The following corrected version represents the complete document as passed by the 20th Convention-- (Editors)

Resolution on Asians in the U.S.A.

Whereas, ever since the rape of the Philippines and the Boxer Rebellion, down through the atomic atrocities of Hiroshima-Nagasaki, on through the aggression against Korea and the genocidal assault on Indochina, the peoples of Asia have borne a major weight of the criminal and bloody aggressions of U.S. imperialism and

Whereas the same U.S. ruling class has systematically oppressed Asians in the U.S. ever since masses of Chinese workers were brought to our country for the semi-slave labor upon which the fortunes of U.S. railroad barons were founded. After passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Japanese were brought in for the same purpose, followed by Koreans, Filipinos and other Asian workers. All were subjected to inhuman exploitation and oppression by the U.S. ruling class and

Whereas one and one-half million Asians in the U.S. today include

600,000 Japanese--approximately 200,000 of them in Hawaii, chiefly workers in sugar, pineapple, shipping and other industries, and 400,000 on the mainland--all of them subjected to racism;

435,000 Chinese, most of them confined to TB-ridden big city ghettos and relegated to the lowest-paying drudgery under sweatshop conditions;

350,000 Filipinos, super-exploited at stoop labor by US agri-business and in the canneries, hospitals, and most marginal service jobs;

50,000 Koreans and additional thousands of peoples of India, Indonesians and other Asians in the U.S. who are similarly oppressed and exploited politically, socially and economically, and

Whereas, these one and one-half million Asians in the US today are more and more responding to the worldwide rise in revolutionary consciousness which is especially marked in the countries of their origin, and

Whereas, despite this rise in consciousness, our Party has only a handful of members of Asian origin and far too few roots and ties among the Asian peoples in our country, and

Whereas our Party at its 17th Convention publicly repudiated past errors, reflecting the very grave inroads of racism in our ranks, one of the most serious of those errors being our failure to mount a struggle against the racist incarceration in 1942 of more than 110,000 Japanese in the U.S. concentration camps and

Whereas, this Convention's vibrant fighting spirit, revolutionary confidence, and determination to raise our standards to the very highest Communist standards can now be brought to bear to organize a major advance in our work among masses of oppressed and exploited Asians in our country, who, like all our people, need the leadership of the Communist Party, with its scientific Marxist-Leninist theory and its international proletarian outlook, therefore be it

Resolved that this 20th Convention of the CPUSA rededicate our Party to the elimination of all remaining racist and big power chauvinist attitudes and practices with regard to Asian peoples in our country, in the spirit of the late working class hero, Sen Katayama, one of the founders of the Communist Party of the United States, who also helped establish the parties of Mexico, Canada and Japan, and be it further

Resolved that we call upon the incoming National Committee to organize a study of the Asian peoples in the U.S. with a new depth and seriousness that is fully worthy of our Party, bringing to bear upon this subject the full resources of our Marxist-Leninist science, and be it further

Resolved that appropriate educational material on the history, status and demands of Asians in the US be prepared, distributed and used throughout the Party and among the working class to greatly raise the level of ideological clarity on this question, and be it finally

Resolved that we ask the incoming National Committee to give very serious consideration to the establishment of a commission on Asians in the U.S. so that this hitherto neglected side of our work may receive the consistent attention it merits.

TO: ALL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, CLUBS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
 FROM: NATIONAL ORGANIZATION BUREAU
 SUBJECT: OUR TASKS IN THE FINAL DAYS BEFORE NOVEMBER 7TH

Dear Comrades:

FOR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION AND ACTION

Comrade Hall's report to the recent Central Committee and National Council meetings pointed out the increasingly reactionary direction of Nixon's policies domestically, while he shows no signs of ending the genocidal aggression in Vietnam and oil imperialism in the Mideast. Reelection would mean an increased reactionary, racist, anti-labor drive as Nixon would not face another election contest.

Therefore, our efforts to defeat Nixon and expose his policies must be intensified. McGovern has been responding mainly to pressures from the right and, therefore, is insufficiently offering a distinct alternative and is not exposing Nixon's policies as required. The forms for advanced independent political expression, at this time supporting McGovern, are as yet inadequate to expose Nixon and pressure McGovern into better positions on racism, the wage freeze and labor, the Middle East, etc. They are also inadequate to assure growth of political independence under all conditions following the elections. We must help independent forms develop much further.

The major means we have at this time to reach millions of workers and the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed peoples as a whole to expose Nixon, help defeat him, further political independence and at the same time greatly strengthen our Party, are the campaigns of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner and our many local candidates. We have already talked to two million people in obtaining 400,000 signatures, passed out three million pieces of literature and spoken repeatedly to tens of millions via mass media. So far we have achieved ballot status in states with 40% of the U.S. population.

For the next few weeks, what is at stake in these elections requires a maximum effort by every Party organization, every leading committee and every member, as well as supporters. We need to set aside all political and personal activities that can possibly be postponed that do not contribute directly to the election campaign on one level or another. We need to relate everything we do to the elections. As many as possible should work full time or part time until the elections or at least take off the day before or election day.

If we agree that our major avenue for exposing Nixon between now and November 7th is the Party's campaign, then every club must plan how it will produce the maximum turnout for the candidates' activities when they arrive, what amount of which literature will be distributed in the club's concentration area or on an exchange basis with another club or at the district concentrations. Especially important will be the special election issue of the World Magazine in 250,000 copies for October 21. Also available is literature on the war, busing, racism generally, labor, Chicano and Puerto Rican liberation, Gus Hall, Jarvis Tyner, Richard Nixon, inflation and taxes, housing, youth, women, the Jewish question - all exposing Nixon and giving the people's alternative program. For some clubs sound trucks, street corner meetings, and similar activities may be possible. Every kind of mass organization needs to be approached for speaking engagements or private discussions.

Help is needed in mailing tens of thousands of district fund appeal letters and in raising money in many other ways. House parties should be organized to watch Gus Hall on ABC-T.V., at 1:00 P.M., Sunday, October 8th and to listen to him on national national radio on Saturday, October 14th in the afternoon and on other dates. Watch our press for further details. Help is needed in watching TV and listening to radio to permit demands for equal time. Those with special talents in writing or seeking free time on radio and TV are needed. There is some way everyone can contribute.

(cont'd on p. 32)

GET YOUR CAMPAIGN MATERIAL

Just Out or Coming Soon

PUT A WORKER IN THE WHITE HOUSE--Gus Hall, Communist Party candidate for President. Quotes on the important issues of the day plus a biography. \$7./1,000; 1¢ each.

NIXON'S DEADLY TRAP--Attractive brochure exposing Nixon's re-election re-escalation plans. 4pp., \$10./1,000; 1¢ each.

YOUTH Election Brochure--\$7./ 1,000; 1¢ each.

NIXON'S PHONY PRICE CONTROLS--Shows Nixon's record on prices, profits and taxes. 4pp., \$10./1,000; 1¢ each.

NIXON EXPOSE--The low-down on Nixon's policies for war, racism and economic privation. \$10./1,000; 1¢ each.

HOUSING FOR PEOPLE, NOT FOR PROFITS--A national housing program. 4pp., \$10./1,000; 1¢ each.

CHICANO PROGRAM--The program of the Communist Party on the struggle for the liberation of the Chicano people. \$10/1,000; 1¢ each.
Order from: Northern California Hall-Tyner Committee, 942 Market St. Room 410, San Francisco, Calif., 94102

A PROGRAM FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY
4 pp., \$10./1,000
1¢ each.

PROGRAM FOR THE SOUTH--4pp.,
\$10./1,000; 1¢
each.

PUERTO RICANS FOR HALL-TYNER--Condensed campaign platform in Spanish, \$10./1,000; 1¢ each.

THE ANTI-BUSING HOAX--Exposes Nixon's use of racism on the busing issue. 4pp., \$10./1,000; 1¢ each.

LABOR AND THE '72 ELECTIONS
4pp., \$10./ 1,000; 1¢ each.

NIXON'S THROUGH IN '72--Reprint of World Magazine editorial on the need to support and vote for Hall-Tyner in '72. \$7/1,000; 1¢ each.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE'S STAKE IN THE '72 ELECTIONS--Reprint from Daily World. Limited quantity. \$5./1,000; 2 for 1¢.

STILL IN STOCK

PLATFORM FOR PEACE, JOBS AND JUSTICE--The 1972 Election Campaign Platform of the Communist Party, U.S.A., 24pp., \$30./1,000; 5¢ each.

JARVIS TYNER--A brochure highlighting the vice-presidential candidate of the Communist Party, containing quotes and a concise election program. Hall and Tyner biographies. \$5./1,000; 2 for 1¢.

PROGRAM FOR BLACK LIBERATION--The Communist Party program for Black Liberation and Jarvis Tyner's speech to the 20th Convention of the CPUSA. \$10./1,000; 1¢ each.

POSTERS AND BUTTONS--Photos of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner with caption, "Vote Communist for Peace, Jobs and Freedom." Multi-colored. Now 35¢ each. (Limited quantities left.) NEW BUTTON JUST OUT: small, multi-colored. 25¢ each. Orders over 100, 10¢ each.

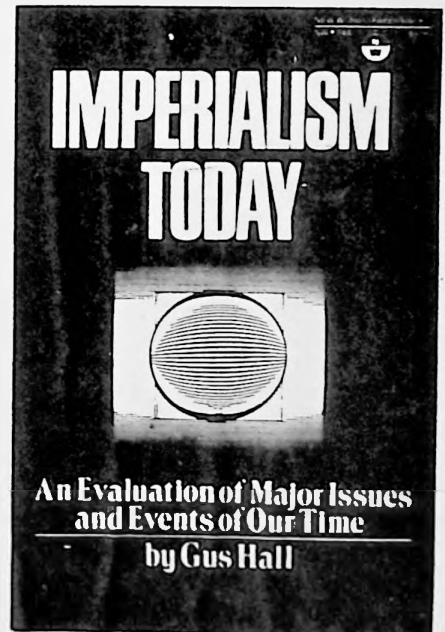
STICKER ASSORTMENT--new: "Put two workers in the White House, Hall and Tyner in '72." Also "Impeach Nixon, End the War!" "Tax Big Business, not the People." \$5/1,000; 2 for 1¢.

MINI POSTERS--Pictures of the candidates, condensed Party Program on the back in Spanish. \$7/1,000; 1¢ each.

**PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER
FOR GUS HALL'S NEW BOOK**



International Publishers will release *IMPERIALISM TODAY: An Evaluation of Major Issues of Our Time* in October. This book by the General Secretary of the Communist Party sheds a penetrating light upon the contradictions and social trends which underly this era of imperialist aggression, wars, monetary upheavals, and man-made disasters. The National Literature Department of the Communist Party has arranged for a pre-publication special offer of the book at \$3.00 for the paperback edition which will sell for \$3.95 when issued. Order forms for this offer are available through local Party Organizations. Get yours now!



**NATIONAL LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
CPUSA, 23 West 26th St.,
New York, N. Y. 10010.**

Putting the Party on the map

WE ARE NOW ON THE BALLOT IN 11 STATES WHICH MAKE UP ALMOST 40% OF THE POPULATION

	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Total Popula- tion of State</u>	<u>Percentage of U.S. Population</u>
New York	41	18,241,266	8.84
Pennsylvania	27	11,793,909	5.73
Illinois	26	11,113,976	5.40
Michigan	21	8,875,083	4.31
Ohio	25	10,652,017	5.17
New Jersey	17	7,168,164	3.48
Minnesota	10	3,805,069	1.85
North Dakota	3	617,761	.30
Iowa	8	2,825,041	1.37
Kentucky	9	3,219,311	1.28
Colorado	<u>7</u>	<u>2,207,259</u>	<u>1.07</u>
TOTALS	193	80,518,856	38.80

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(cont'd from p. 29)

We are reaching so many new people and old friends we must make sure they see our literature and are asked for at least \$1.00 for a trial subscription to the Daily World (People's World on the West Coast). We should be making a breakthrough in building the Party and the Youth League.

We need the maximum effort of everyone for the next few weeks to expose and defeat Nixon and his policies, to build the grass roots movement of political independence and to build our Party, the Party of socialism. An opportunity such as this period of the election campaign must be utilized to the maximum as it can be a key means of building for the future.

Comradely,
Daniel Rubin, Nat'l Organizational Sec'y