

PARTY AFFAIRS

A PUBLICATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
23 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

Vol. VI, No. 3

Price 25c

209

January, 1972

PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION (6)

THE PARTY AND NATIONALITY GROUP WORK

By M.K., New York, N.Y.

HALL-TYNER CAMPAIGN SWINGS INTO HIGH GEAR

The following round-up of signature gathering activity in two important states provides ideas and inspiration to other state and district organizations charting their campaigns. (These reports gathered as Party Affairs goes to press, January 25.)

MICHIGAN

Michigan requires about 13,500 signatures by May 1st but to guarantee valid signatures is trying for 20,000. A chart indicates how many signatures are needed each week.

Every Party member as well as non-Party people are organized into teams of 15
(continued p. 32)

This is not a report on the positive activities of the National Groups Commission of the National Committee of our Party, but rather a review of the lack of a class approach towards this question on the part of most district committees in the country. That does not mean that the Commission is not self critical about its work. We were remiss in our responsibility to inform the membership and leading bodies in the districts on the importance of this question. The forming of this Commission by the National Committee many years ago speaks for its importance.

The most powerful weapon the bourgeoisie has--dividing the working class and making it impotent in its historic mission to change capitalist society to socialist society--is the weapon of racism.

The nationality groups play a major role in the daily political aspects and every other aspect of life in the U.S. The bourgeoisie is aware of this and has manipulated the nationality groups effectively in its racist schemes to divide the working class. It gives high priority to organizing nationality groups.

The Nixon administration created a so-called Ethnic Council, with the most reactionary and fascist elements of the nationality groups on it, with Agnew at its head. "...basic in the ideological arsenal of monopoly capital is the escalation of racism." ("Roots of Racism," Political Affairs, Dec. 1971, p. 13.) With the intensification of the class struggle in the last few years, monopoly capital intensified its manipulations of the nationality groups. The anti-Black demonstrations in Chicago and other cities a few years ago which attempted to block Black people from moving into so-called white ethnic neighborhoods was a good example of it. The bourgeoisie is also trying to foster the notion that white nationality group people are inherently racist, in order to gloss over the class character of the question and use it as a splitting tool. In the mayoralty elections in Cleveland in 1971 (in which the Black candidate was defeated in a racist campaign) the elected mayor greeted the assembled audience in a victory speech the following morning with "hello ethnics." In the previous election when Stokes was elected Mayor, he had the support of a considerable number of nationality groups.

The election campaign of the fascist Rizzo as Mayor of Philadelphia was heavily concentrated on nationality groups. The Jewish community, which in the past was a stronghold of Liberal-Democratic electoral politics, swung to Rizzo on the basis of a racist, demagogic campaign of law and order. The examples of manipulations by the bourgeoisie of the nationality groups are too many fold to recount them all here.

The bourgeoisie is not restricting itself in its manipulations just to the domestic scene. With the change of the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism, from confrontation with the socialist world of the Dulles era to the ideological softening up policy of the Brjenski type, the bourgeoisie is spending millions of dollars a year to manipulate nationality group organizations against the socialist countries.

The success of the bourgeoisie in organizing the nationality groups can be gauged by their success in mobilizing the nationality group youth, in fostering the culture of the diverse groups. The nationality groups organize massive parades every year which are strictly under the control of the reactionary elements.

Working class history and struggles in the U.S. is the history of the nationality groups. Let's take some recent history. When monopoly capitalism tried to destroy the Communist Party in the late 40's and 50's, it first tried to isolate it from the peoples' mass organizations. It tried to destroy the influence of the Communist Party and expelled its members from the trade unions. Then it physically destroyed the foremost mass organization outside the trade union movement--the organization which unified most of the left national group organizations, the I.W.O. The bourgeoisie knows that the Party is the heart of the class struggle, pumping life blood into the masses to lead in that struggle. When they killed the mass organization, they weakened the heart but they couldn't kill the Party. Despite set-backs, the basic ties remained. They can't kill Marxist-Leninist ideology.

But we are still limping from the wounds received. The size of the nationality groups is around 40 million, not counting Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano. The composition of the groups is the same as the general population--that is, working class. How can we apply the basic policy of our Party, industrial concentration, without taking into consideration these masses of workers with their nationality group arities? How can we succeed in building the Party, in organizing intermediary organizations, raising the class consciousness of the workers in a shop with a large concentration of nationality group workers? The boss has an approach. He'll try to divide the workers on the basis of their nationality, one against the other and all against Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, for greater exploitation and higher profits.

There is a misconception in the Party that the nationality groups are old and dying out, but this misconception exists only in the political left and left ethnic organizations. The bourgeois nationality group organizations are jumping with activities, with the youth at their core. There was a large post-war immigration from all middle European countries (German immigration alone was over 2 million). No, the nationality groups are not dying out. A certain degree of assimilation is taking place, to a greater extent among second and third generation native born, but even in second and third generation native born young people are attracted to the culture of their people. But beyond this natural process, the bourgeoisie won't let it die out as long as they think it can be used for the bourgeoisie's racist, exploiting, imperialist aims.

Most district leadership in the Party is not aware of the role the nationality groups play in many trade unions. The basic industries such as steel, mining, metal trades, food and many others are centers of nationality groups. In any mining town one can find some building which is the social center of a nationality group. There are unions in New York and probably in other parts of the country in which languages other than English were the official language at union meetings. Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers created societies of the nationality groups represented in the union. It probably had the first Black caucus in the country, but it was not created to enable the workers to fight better for their interests. The Van Arsdale leadership created the societies to split the membership to perpetuate his leadership. It could have backfired had we understood how to work among these groups and build a unified rank-and-file movement in Local 3.

The best example of manipulation by U.S. imperialism is the Jewish community. Zionist bourgeois nationalism has succeeded to quite an extent in subverting the class interests of the Jewish workers and has used the Jewish community for its imperialist purposes in the Middle East. This problem has also invaded the ranks of the Party.

The bourgeoisie, with its poisonous nationalism is subverting the class interests of the workers of every other nationality group as well. It uses the groups for its domestic purposes of dividing the working class, as well as for its international imperialist machinations against the socialist countries and the international working class.

In all the years of activities of the nationality group Commission it was not idle. Left nationality group organizations and publications are operating. The language papers played an important role in the United Mine Workers election campaign in behalf of Yablonski. The Commission meets regularly but cannot function to its full capacity without the full cooperation of all the district leaderships. The Party clubs are stagnant or nonexistent in neighborhoods with heavy nationality concentrations. A neighborhood in New York City's Yorkville section with heavy concentration of German, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian and others has a Party club with no relationship to the neighborhood.

A shop or industry with a large nationality group concentration needs a nationality group approach by the industrial clubs to better and more effectively organize the workers. For example, a shop in Queens, N.Y., has a working force of 1,500 workers, 500 of whom are Greek women who speak hardly any English. It is obvious that to reach these Greek women it is necessary to do it in their own language. The rest of the shop is more than 50% Black and Puerto Rican. This shop is a point of concentration and the Party started a correct approach. For lack of having a Greek-speaking comrade to send into the shop, the neighborhood club and YWLL branch had their leaflets translated into Greek. Unfortunately the distribution of the leaflet has not taken place yet. The Clubs started distribution of the Daily World 10 months ago and is selling 20 copies of the paper now, once a week, at the shop gates.

Milwaukee is a city with a large German-American population as well as Polish, among others. The German-American community has a strong trade union history. They are organized in the Teamsters Union, as Brewery workers, members of metal trades and many other unions. In asking leaders of the district how many German-Americans are members of the Party they couldn't come up with one.

For the Party to be more effective in its basic policy of industrial concentration, in effectively struggling against bourgeois influences and for a higher degree of class consciousness to combat the scourge of racism, the Party has to have a systematic approach to nationality work. We are suggesting the first steps to such an approach:

1. Every district review their community as to the composition of nationality groups, especially in industry.
2. The district leadership make one comrade responsible for nationality group work where it warrants it, not necessarily a member of a nationality group.
3. To coordinate the district nationality group work with the Nationality Group Commission of the National Committee.

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WAR AND THE ECONOMY

(Last in a series of six--Draft Theses on the Economy)

By National Economic Commission

1. Reliance on force in the pursuit in domestic and foreign policy, militarization of the economy, finances, politics, ideology and other spheres of social life is an important element in the policy of the modern monopolist capitalist state.

These features are particularly pronounced in the United States.

Following World War II, the U.S. economy and military establishment have been maintained in a permanent state of war readiness. Modern military doctrine of "limited war" holds that the U.S. should be capable of conducting one medium and two small wars simultaneously. The costs of this permanent "Cold War," intermittently interrupted by hot war have been astronomical, and have risen steadily. Between 1964 and 1969 the total military expenditures of the capitalist world rose from \$139 billion to \$200 billion at an annual rate. During this same period the share of the U.S. in capitalist military expenditures, in contrast to its declining position in world trade and production, has risen from 36.9% to 41.3%. (Stat. Ab. 1969)

As noted by Seymour Melman, in his book Pentagon Capitalism:

Since the end of the Second World War, the U.S. Government has spent an astronomical \$1,000 billion for military purposes. This is equal to the value of all residential and business structures in the U.S. Of this amount, over one-half has been spent since the beginning of the Kennedy-Johnson administration in 1961. The true cost to the nation is more realistically measured by what could have been available to the people of the U.S. if priority had not been given to the Pentagon objectives.

Even this figure, however, understates the true "cost of empire" borne by the American taxpayer. If we add to outright military spending of 81.3 billion, international affairs \$3.8 billion, space research and technology \$4.2 billion, veterans benefits and services, \$7.6 billion, and interest \$15.8 billion, the total figure for 1969 comes to \$112.7 billion! This is well over half of federal expenditures, and equals about 8% of the gross national product.

2. Employment, both military and civilian, of military agencies has remained at a high level, totalling more than three million every year since 1950. These totals shifted upward during the Vietnam war period, surpassing four million in 1966, and remaining above that fig-

ure through 1970. The peak figure was 4,681,000 in 1968. Taking figures for the decade of the 60's, as a whole, active duty military personnel rose from 2,494,000 to 2,874,000.

3. Utilization of new scientific developments, the "scientific and technological revolution," have occurred under the direct stimulus of military preparation, and are employed chiefly for these purposes. The breakdown of federal spending on research and development, constituting the bulk of all such spending was as follows:

	<u>In Millions of Dollars</u>		
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>
Total	7,283	13,804	15,098
Defense	5,553	6,628	7,424
AEC	762	1,241	1,346
NASA	330	4,555	3,699

"National defense spending" on research amounted to 82.5% in 1970 of the total, leaving for education, medical and other research 17.5%. Established near major universities are a series of federally funded research centers, e.g. Argonne National Laboratories, Lawrence Radiation, Oak Ridge, Jet Propulsion Research Center, involved in military, atomic and aerospace research. These absorb the major portion of the scientific manpower of the nation.

4. The chief institutional backbone of the policy of permanent war lies in the close ties of the Pentagon with the largest arms contractors, the military industrial complex. The biggest military contractors are chiefly aerospace companies. In 1969 the top ten defense contractors were AT&T (6), Boeing (7), General Dynamics (1), General Electric (3), General Motors (10), LTV (8), Lockheed (2), McDonnell (5), NA Rockwell (9), United Aircraft Corporation (4). In the same year the 100 largest military contractors, holding \$26.2 billion of \$38.8 billion in prime military contracts or 67.4%, employed 2,124 former high ranking officers. Ten companies with contracts worth \$9.5 billion employed 1,065 former high ranking officers. Lockheed, contractor for the C5A transport had 210, Boeing (SST) had 169, General Dynamics (TFX-F111) had 113, and so on. Without exception, the big military contractors fall within the empire of the dominant sections of finance capital, grouped around Rockefeller, Morgan, First National City Bank, etc.

5. The Pentagon disposes yearly of prime contracts valued at over \$40 billion. These are a source of fabulous profits for the big monopolists. A substantial amount of these are awarded on a cost plus basis. This method of financing gives rise to all manner of profiteering, speculation and swindling. For example, if \$100,000 is spent on the entertainment of political figures in order to procure a contract, not only is this money reclaimed, but the company reaps an additional \$10,000 profit on these expenses. Fixed cost contracts are notorious for the frequency of cost overruns, sometimes totalling as much as 500% of the original estimate. A report of William Proxmire's Economy in Gov't Subcommittee detailed cost overruns at least 20 billion, about 50% for 38 major weapons systems. Fixed assets of the Pentagon itself rose from \$154,617 million in 1960 to \$210,121 million in

1969. This included more than \$54 billion in foreign countries and afloat in more than 2,000 military bases.

6. Beyond its direct payroll and procurements budget, the Pentagon exercises a vast influence on civilian life through powerful military associations and an extensive propaganda network. Among the armed service associations are the Air Force Association, the Army Association, the Navy League, the Marine Corps Association and others. Of these, General Shoup wrote, "The several military service associations provide both a forum and a meeting ground for the military and its industries. The Associations also provide each of the armed services with a means of fostering their respective roles, objectives and propaganda." The Pentagon maintains 6,140 public relations men on its payroll. The Armed Services Radio and Television Service operates 350 stations in 29 countries and 9 U.S. territories, operated by 1,700 employees. The military public relations budget exceeds the amount spent by the three major civilian television networks for news programs.

In fact, the military policies of the U.S. remain under the supervision and direction of a little publicized permanent bureaucratic apparatus. This is headed up by the chosen representatives of the biggest and most powerful monopoly circles, sitting in the National Security Council, which consists of the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning. Behind the decisions of this body lies the tremendous power of the Executive, capable of, and often, in fact, by-passing Congress in executing policy. For the clandestine operations, there exists the CIA, and a variety of other intelligence agencies estimated by the New York Times to have a yearly budget of \$5 billion.

7. The Vietnam War has in the past years and continues today to fuel the rise in the military budget. Already it counts as the second most costly war in the history of the country.

	Estimated Ultimate Cost in \$1,000 million
World War II	664
Vietnam	352
Korea	164
World War I	112

Vietnam costs are here calculated on the basis that the war would end June 30, 1970. Already the tonnage of ordnance dropped exceeds that used by the U.S. during the whole of World War II. In the period 1967-70 Vietnam and S.E. Asian military operations comprised roughly one-third of total military spending. The number of American military personnel in S.E. Asia as a whole has increased steadily, reaching a peak of 639,000 in 1970, the last year for which data is available. The same year, military operations in S.E. Asia totalled \$25,733 million, only slightly below the '69 peak.

Even with a reduction of the cost of the Vietnam War, however, no peace dividend is in sight. A whole new round of complex and expensive strategic weapons systems are planned, including ULMS (Underwater Launching Missile System), Safeguard ABM, B-1 bomber, MIRV ABMA and others.

8. The expenses of America's imperial role, economic distortions introduced by state military economic policy, and by the Vietnam War especially, have played a central role in the present economic crisis. What is bought must be paid for. Military products, being utterly wasteful in consumption, and military budgets, which grow by fits and starts, are especially prone to be paid for through inflation. The lopsided distribution of military expenditures among NATO members and Japan has contributed heavily to the uneven rate of inflation of the various imperialist countries. The hundreds of foreign U.S. naval, air and arms bases have become wounds through which dollars have gushed at an accelerating rate, reaching \$7 billion in 1970.

9. The stimulating effect of the build-up accompanying the Vietnam War has largely worn off. Prosperity, however, is far from being the lot of employees in aerospace and armaments industries. Developments have revealed how unstable the hothouse growth of war production is.

The struggle against the aggressive cold war aims of the American monopolists is at unprecedented heights. This reflects the growing realization of the masses of the American people that the road out of S.E. Asia, back from Europe, out of the Middle East, and away from the brink of nuclear confrontation is the only road to greater prosperity and security. An illustration of this is the aircraft industry. From 1965 to 1968 employment rose sharply from 619,000 to 849,000, or 27%. During the next two years it plummeted to 690,000 and continued to drop into 1971.

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IMPORTANCE AND PROBLEMS OF CLUBS IN OUTLYING AREAS

By the Kaarte, Edlund, Lampella Club, N. Calif.

I. IMPORTANCE. Communist Party strength in outlying areas is of vital importance to the Party as a whole; lack of cadre in many instances forces our people to the cities; however, this may not be in the best interests of the Party and the mass movements.

A. REASONS:

1. WORKING CLASS CONCENTRATION. Many outlying areas are predominately working class; they are often dominated by a single industry which most of the people in the area work for. Because of this domination which in some cases has existed for generations, class-consciousness is heightened; it is generally well-known who is on top and bottom. The direct control over the local government machinery by

the industry bosses should be obvious and becomes so especially during strike struggles. The effects of the monopoly's direct control over the community also are clear: more people unemployed, more people on welfare (because of the monopoly's power to keep other industry out), tax burden for workers, breaks for bosses. The clearness of cause and effect here makes an excellent possibility for raising the question of nationalization or local government or workers' control over the industry to the rank-and-file. Also, there are certain key industries such as lumber and farming which are concentrated everywhere in outlying areas; so, if we are going to be a major factor in these industries we have to have cadre there.

2. RACISM. As the pollution of racism infects our cities in its particular diseased way, so too it affects our rural areas. Outlying areas are a potential stronghold of Wallace or Klan-type reaction. (The reasons for this are a subject for a whole other entire paper). If comrades can struggle and win the fight against racism among, for the most part, a poorly educated lily-white working force in rural America, they can win it anywhere. Also, though many minorities have historically been forced to the cities, the American Indians are very often living in ghettos of rural poverty. We must have cadre in such areas.

3. ANTI-MONOPOLY COALITION. In the smaller-population, single-industry centers there exists a unique possibility of building an electoral anti-monopoly front with the working class in the leadership. Perhaps, it is more possible to build a people's government here than when we have to confront the big city machines. Such a government could carry out working class reforms--be an example to the entire country of potential of working class power.

So, outlying areas can be of strategic importance. However, Party work in these areas can't be effectively conducted without solving certain problems within the Party which affect the rural club's work.

II. PROBLEMS.

A. NEW PARTY MEMBERS IN OUTLYING AREAS. The Party has no efficient and friendly method of bringing recruits into the Party in areas where Party clubs do not already exist. In many outlying and rural areas a Party club and left activity have most likely not existed for many years. Therefore, new clubs are probably all new Party comrades, and from the experience of our club, they are pretty much lost organizationally, and somewhat hazy ideologically. These problems were and still are very much problems in our club. We would offer this procedural suggestion to help alleviate the problem of organization:

There should be a field representative from the District Committee whose responsibility it is to help set up new clubs. The field rep. could go to the area, talk with the new comrades, encourage them, give an explanation of the dues system, the club format, how they are to communicate with national and district offices, commissions and committees. The comrade could answer questions on the Constitution and Party procedure such as during pre-convention discussion, etc. It is true, a guidebook could be issued--but as with Comrade Rubin's pamphlet, interpretation can become mechanical. And, a comradely helping hand is worth a stack of pamphlets. The comrade could also check back with the clubs at other times to see how they are progressing.

B. COMMUNICATION. Problems that seem to plague the entire Party are poor communication, bureaucracy and organizational inefficiency. If these things exist in the Party they will especially be felt in the outlying areas as distance will intensify them. Thus, it is essential that communication channels be wide open--that county and multi-county club meetings be held regularly. (Our experience with these meetings was that they were very important to us--though they were slow in producing results--perhaps because of lack of understanding among comrades on what we were to accomplish in them. We had no plans of work, etc. Now our multi-county meetings have unfortunately been discontinued as a result of new comrades moving to cities and lack of leadership.)

These meetings should draw up multi-county plans of work and strategy involving comrades from distant areas. These could especially be effective in electoral work. Such procedures could do nothing but increase the democracy, effectiveness and inner strength of the Party.

C. IDEOLOGY. The problem mentioned earlier of comrades who are ideologically hazy on coming into the Party could be rectified procedurally. It is being worked on in the trade union schools--but not all new comrades can make it to those schools. What are needed as well are short new member schools to be held on one or two weekends or 5 nights or whatever in a place not too far for working people to travel and be back for work on Monday. Or perhaps, the field rep. could take on the club's ideological introduction as well.

In this time of crucial mass upheaval in our country, it is vital that our Party be strong and healthy internally, and externally, be a Party of every struggle possible--city and country. Striving to attain this, we offer the above criticism and suggestions.

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PARTY APPROACH TO YOUTH, PART 2

By Jay Schaffner, Chicago, Ill.

Without spelling out a full program for the YWLL, I think that there are certain basic issues which the Party should concentrate on in its youth work.

A mass campaign against unemployment would include unemployment compensation for first job seekers until they find employment, a government-sponsored training program for youth tied to guaranteed employment on completion at union wages. A struggle against unemployment has to be tied to the fight for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay along with a fight for job training, a campaign to open up the universities and even high schools tied to a struggle for meaningful community centers.

A real struggle for job training programs against both the government and the large monopolies is needed. Our slogan should be that if a company does business in a community it has to hire the youth of the community. We need a campaign for apprentice programs for youth in basic industry, especially Black youth, a real fight for job security for youth in the shops, tied to a fight for the 30 for 40 work week.

A mass struggle is needed like this country has never seen against all forms of repression with us showing the atrocious role that racism plays. We need a struggle on all levels for the freedom of Comrade Angela Davis that represents the all-out nature of the reactionary assault of the Nixon administration on the people. We have to tie this struggle to a fight against all forms of repression down to the police brutality and harassment of youth on the streets.

We have to turn ourselves more to the student movement than we have in the past two years. The task of rebuilding a democratic student movement at both the high school and college levels really falls to the Party and the League. The fight for a people's curriculum that orientates youth to the real world that faces them upon completion of either high school or college is a top priority. So too is to fully grapple with the problem of tremendous numbers of youth who for one reason or another have been forced out of the educational institutions of our country and written off by the ruling class, with the only path being drugs. At the high school level we have to see how to wage a two-pronged fight for an end to the tracking and channeling system along with a really relevant people's curriculum tied to program of community control. On the college level we have to fight for an open admissions program and priority admissions for minority youth as well as, I feel, the demand for free tuition in state supported schools, the revising of both the scholarship and welfare programs, financing this and the building of new schools, hospitals and day care centers with the cutting of the military budget.

The ending of the war in Vietnam still remains the central issue to the American people and especially the youth. The continuation of the war in Southeast Asia prevents the solving of basic domestic problems, is the source of inflation as well as the door for outright racism and jingoism in America. The draft and forced dying for American imperialism is still the fate of most young men, even with the lottery. While we have to address ourselves more and more to work with returning vets and even with the army amongst the growing GI movement, we cannot forget that our position is for no peacetime army whatsoever.

There is no sharper indictment of American imperialism than the fact that in the communities, youth are faced without an education, without jobs, with police repression, without any form of community centers, and with drugs. For Black and Brown youth this future is in actuality genocide. We have to begin fighting for an alternative. A fight is needed to force the government to open community centers under the control of the community, centers that would offer athletic, cultural and recreational alternatives to the decadence of American imperialism. The youth league should even be able to organize youth under its leadership and give a progressive content in the cultural arena combining jazz, folk and rock music along with drama and the-

ater. In the past many future stars on the American cultural scene came through Party-led youth groups. There is no reason why this cannot be true today, only this time we will hold them.

There is full room for the League to carry on a struggle for the freedom for Angela Davis and an end to repression, an end to the war in Vietnam as well as fight on other aspects of the peace question and a campaign against unemployment. There is no contradiction in fighting on all these fronts; in fact they are wrapped together.

The League has to be characteristic of excitement, action, education and social activities geared to the mass of youth. It is within this framework that we have to see how the League branch functions.

The basic League unit is the branch, but we have to begin thinking in terms of branches of 50 and more members instead of coffee-klatch discussion groups of 10-15. The branches have to have live, exciting meetings. This is the basic League collective that should meet every 2 weeks, with an exec meeting in between. Branch meetings should have educationals, political discussion related to the work of the branch along with reports on branch activities, short check-up and introduction of new members. In-depth political problems of day-to-day work should probably be brought before the exec of the branch. We should begin to plan and hold public League meetings that include films, speakers, forums as the educational part of the meeting that also include a cultural program.

In view of the type of branch that we are trying to build, it is absolutely essential for the League to have a face in the community. We have to build youth centers in the community through which the League can function--centers of struggle, centers of progressive and Marxist-Leninist education, cultural and athletic centers, centers where youth will congregate for a rich social life.

Who Should We Focus on in Youth Work?

The League should be geared to young people between the ages of 16 and 23-24. We should concentrate on high school youth, college youth, veterans, GI's, unemployed youth and young workers, specifically those who have very little seniority, those on apprentice and job training programs.

I think we should use that age range as a guideline and be flexible in its application. A couple of examples: the age of college youth is really postponed past the age of 23-24, because as long as they are in school they really haven't entered in a stable relationship to the means of production. Another example is a young mother or father who is 25 or 26 and has a 5 or 6 year old child. While they are young, they not only face the problems of young adults, child care, but also of public education and even the PTA's. I just don't think that the problems they face as young adults are really part of the youth question and are not in fact youth problems. I also think that a good argument could be made to the fact that young children of that age and the problems the parents face in attempting to provide for them somewhat stabilize their relationship to the means of production more so than a young couple without children or with very young children.

I think that as we sharpen up on our youth policy we have to make a differentiation now more than ever before between youth and young. I have attempted to outline the nature of youth today in our country (see Party Affairs, Vol. VI, No.2--Editor) and how we, as Marxist-Leninists define the youth question. If defining the youth question is hard, so too is reaching a consensus of what young adults are. I think that we can agree that young adults are just beginning to stabilize their relationship to the means of production, they face the overall problems that the whole society faces, and while I don't think that there is a definite special oppression of young adults as young adults, it is a fact that they are confronted in a special way by the problems of monopoly capitalism and of society.

Today, because of the absence of a generation from struggle (roughly aged 35-50) due to both the McCarthy period and it's repression on the Party and the Left and the revisionism on the Left and in the Party (Browder and Gates), young people are the bulk of most progressive struggles in our country. I think it would be wrong to conclude that just because they are young that this is necessarily the youth movement. Rather young people are playing a new role in our history in the overall political movements and in the leadership of these movements. This has however had an impact on our Party. For one, there has been no continuity of youth work from the 1950's. The other has been tremendous pressure upon Party youth to play leadership roles in the overall political movements to the neglect of the youth movement because our Party constantly needs new cadre and our older comrades are getting older. But I really don't think that this is the answer. Rather we should be recruiting the bulk of our new members in the age group of 35-50 as the last recruiting drive was supposed to.

The League is seen as both a mass organization as well as cadre organization. This has created confusion throughout the short history of the YWLL and I think that we can finally sharpen up on it. The League has to have its own life, has to be a mass youth organization with its own program and initiatives. I think that the best of the League membership, mainly the Party youth will be engaged in cadre work in other youth organizations as well as building the League.

Up until now the League has been mainly a cadre organization with very little mass role of its own. I think we have to examine and probe why this has been the case so that we can correct our weaknesses. At the time of the 19th Convention, there was an organized expression to the youth movement. We had SDS, SNCC, SSOC, Black Panther Party, BSU's and an organizationally large peace movement. Today the situation is somewhat different. We still have the youth upsurge and radicalization at a higher level than in 1969, yet there is a lack of an organized expression to this upsurge and radicalization. Our concept in 1969 and in 1970 at the time of the League founding was the idea that we would recruit the best out of these movements and the best of the shop youth. This has still been our concept even though "the surroundings" have changed. We have still gone on functioning as if we were a cadre form neglecting our responsibilities for building a mass youth movement and a mass Marxist-Leninist youth organization.

This is one of the reasons for the contradiction between the growth of the YWLL and the unparalleled upsurge of the youth movement on the other hand. We don't have anywhere near the answers but I think we have to look at this question as part of our pre-Convention discussion. Also during our pre-Convention period we have to analyze different trends and organizations in the youth movement today, their status, base, and our estimate of where they are going--groups like the Black Panther Party, shop and union youth caucuses, the young voters movement, Student Mobilization Committee, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, various GI organizations, YSA, NSA and NABS, as well as the various collectives that have derived from SDS and the May Day movement.

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OUTLINE ON PRESS AND LITERATURE

By Minnesota District

The Minnesota District of the Communist Party prepared an outline for a discussion on press and literature as part of the pre-Convention discussion. We have slightly edited and altered the outline so that it might be valuable to any club discussion on press and literature.
--Editors.

A. THE DAILY WORLD

1. Do we use the Daily World only superficially to inform ourselves of part of its contents?
2. Or do we thoughtfully and consciously use it to make new friends for the paper? For instance, do we clip and mail or give personally specific articles or issues to shopmates, neighbors or other contacts with priority to workers, youth, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian potential readers? Do we use information found in the Daily World in leaflets to shops, neighborhoods, public events? Do we use information from and refer to the paper in letters to labor, union or daily press, school paper, neighborhood or movement paper?
3. Do we consciously write articles on local activity for the Daily World and then use the issue with the story to introduce potential readers to the paper?
4. Do we try to supply DW columnists with other relevant points of view, facts, etc., from local sources?
5. Are we struggling consciously to make the DW THE paper among workers, Black and white?
6. What can be done among local readers and on Party club level to guarantee better action on the above?

B. Has each club and each club member a "live" list of potential readers, contributors, etc.? Have we approached non-Party readers and non-Party groups to take quotas on the fund and circulation drives?

C. What prevents us from getting 100% on renewals? Lag time in seeing readers? Does the club or readers group have a local "time payment" plan? Are all renewals visited?

D. Is there a plan of activities to involve new readers in forums, discussion groups, trade union work, electoral activity?

E. Does the club have a press director, goals and regular check up?

BUNDLE CIRCULATION

A. Every club is to have one route at minimum. A neighborhood route of 25 in a concentration area can be maintained by two people plus one alternate. Of the 25 customers, 10 should be talked with at some length each week. Inserts in the paper on various issues, promoting the local bookstore, advertising their literature, etc., should always be included.

B. Every club should have a factory concentration for regular sale or distribution. In addition to the weekly or bi-weekly distributions, mailings and visitations to workers is important. Leaflets with local shop news on other issues as above should always be included.

C. The Daily World should be sold at all public events--rallies, marches, cultural events, movies. Regular sales on campuses, unemployment offices, temporary labor marts, shopping centers and similar places should begin on April 1.

LITERATURE

A. How do we now get pamphlets on current issues and Political Affairs out beyond the membership? How can we reach 10 people? 50? 100? 1,000?

B. What additional effort can we put into making the bookshops a center for education and activity. How does the bookstore serve in fighting for the visibility and political line of the Party?

C. Discuss the following proposals:

1. A piece of promotional literature on new pamphlets and books should be issued every 60 days to be used as stuffers and leaflets for each club for enclosing in the DW, and other uses.

2. Each club should discuss and take quotas for sales and mailing of important pamphlets.

3. Quotas should be set for subscriptions and regular sales of Political Affairs.

4. Special attention to press and literature in '72 electoral work.

* * *

LESSONS FROM THE PAST AND PROPOSALS FOR OUR PRESENT WORK IN THE SOUTH

PART I

By Hosea Hudson

I would like to say a few words on our Theses and discussion about the coming 20th National Convention of ~~our~~ Party. I would like to speak about building our Party in reference to pages 28, 48 and 16. First I want to say that I feel that when we are dealing with the question of the South we have to see the South to be as it was placed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the middle 30's. At that time he came out and made an open statement and said that the South was our nation's No. 1 economic problem. When he made that speech it aroused the white leaders and so-called liberals throughout the South so much they were up in arms to do something about it.

In the Fall of 1938 there was a South-wide conference called by the various liberals and leaders of the South in Birmingham, Alabama, in the city auditorium for the purpose of discussing the question of the South and to try to work out plans to do something about the conditions that President Roosevelt had spoken of. At that conference there were such outstanding leaders as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black, Mrs. Mary Bethune and many others. Some of the members of the arrangements committee of that conference were such outstanding people as Federal Judge Louise Charlton, a woman judge, Catherine Green, who at that time was the Postmaster General in Birmingham, Luther Patrick, who at that time was the Congressman from Jefferson County, and many others, including labor leaders such as William L. Mitch, who was the head of District 20 of the United Mine Workers and also was the State President of the Alabama CIO. At that conference there were professors, ministers and mass leaders from all over the South--Negro and white. I myself was a delegate to that conference from the Workers Alliance.

The opening session was on Sunday. The main session began on Monday. The opening session was a mass meeting of the unemployed called by the Workers Alliance and I also was one of the speakers at the mass meeting in the City Auditorium. There was great discussion on the whole question of the right of franchise for the Negro people of the South, the rights of labor to organize, the rights of the women. At a hotel there was a panel on the woman question. At that time Negroes were not allowed to walk into the front entrance of that hotel. They could only go in by the back on the freight elevator. I and a Negro woman went into the hotel and up into the meeting room by the front door. On the first day's session when everybody registered as delegates in the city auditorium, we went in by the front door.

Everybody had their seats--white and Negro, all seated interracially together--no complaints. The morning session after the registration--and the afternoon session on Monday, and the night session, everybody was seated wherever he found a seat. Tuesday morning when everybody went back to the city auditorium--all these great professors, school teachers, Supreme Court judges, first lady of the land, Mrs. Roosevelt--the city officials had taken a white ropecord line and had stretched it from the avenue on the sidewalk straight across the green lawn, split the front doors all down to the aisle all up to the speaker's platform to the back of the speaker's platform. One side said "White" and the other side said "Colored." We Negroes went in on the side for the colored and the whites all went in on the side for white. This was at a time when all these leaders, white and Negro from Washington, D.C., on down, from all over the country, and this was the time--at that conference--that I feel and always have felt that racism in the South, Jim Crow in all of its ugly forms, could have been broken. But those great white leaders --and Negro leaders--meekly bowed their heads in submission and abided by that Jim Crow white line.

So today when we look at the South, we still have to say, as Roosevelt said, that the South today is still somewhat the economic, political and social ill of this nation, and the job that was supposed to have been done in 1938 still has to be done today.

Out of this conference came a standing committee known as the Committee for Southern Human Welfare. On that Committee were such outstanding leaders as William Mitch of the United Coal Miners of Alabama and President of the State CIO. He was elected on that committee. Edward E. Strong of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, a Southwide Negro youth organization was also elected on that committee along with many others, Negro and white. I dare say that racism, redbaiting, rumor mongering, witch hunting, destroyed the power of that conference and of that committee in the South.

So today, when we speak of the job that has to be done, we must see what we have. We must stop and take inventory. Up until the 30's the early period of the labor movement and the Scottsboro struggle in the South, the mass of people, white and Negro, working class, did not know anything about mass organizations, about organizing. Before that time we had what was known as the white and Negro Ministers meeting in little groups together calling themselves interracial.

But there was no organization among the masses of Negro and white people. We had in Alabama the NAACP, we had the so-called Urban League, and we had the so-called Negro Democratic Club. The white politicians had called a few of the Negro leaders together after the struggle of the Scottsboro case began and got to a high pitch, demanding the rights for Negroes to vote, for Negroes to serve on juries and full rights of citizenship for the Negro people. The President of the Negro Democratic Club told me in person in a private conference in 1938 that the white politicians of Alabama, particularly of Birmingham, called them together--a group of Negro leaders--and told them that the Communists were agitating among your uneducated people and agitating them on the question of the right to vote. But we are going to organize you into a club. We're going to give you a charter, and we're going to let some of you vote to help you people keep from going over to the Commu-

nists and supporting the Scottsboro case. They also told the Negro leaders to bring only the best type of Negroes to be recommended to be registered and they would be registered, but not to bring over 50 a year as they weren't going to qualify over 50 in one year's time. These Negro leaders accepted that.

In dealing with the whole question of the labor movement, let's look at the labor movement in the South today. Let's look at the industries in the South. Since that time industry has moved from the North--moved from New England into the South. We have the Western Electric in the South and we have General Motors. There are places in Massachusetts that are ghost towns as a result. We have the Textile Workers Union, the United Steel Workers Union, the Rubber Workers Union, the longshoremens and the seamen. But despite all the years that these unions have been in the South, we find the South, by and large, still unorganized. The domestic workers and many of the shops and mills down there are still unorganized. When we speak of racism we have to say again that we have to see what we have to work with. We must still see the South today as the economic, political and social problem number one for this nation.

After all the progress that has been made there is still work to be done and the progress we expect to make in the East, North and West will depend on the degree of the progress we make in improving and changing the conditions in the South. The South is the bedrock of all the lynching, exploitation and persecution of the Negro people. This is what we have to see when we discuss this program for the 20th National Convention of our Party.

On page 24 which deals with the question of the rank-and-file workers, we have to see building of these rank-and-file trade union councils in the South as a number one problem because we have to see the role that the basic industrial workers have got to play if we expect to change these conditions. We also have to see the importance of that link that lies between the basic industrial trade union workers and their councils and the problem of the workers and that chain binds the whole of the liberation movement of the Black people in the South. We speak of leading the Negro people in their liberation struggles on page 28. We have to sit down and plan how to work in the communities, in the towns and in the cities on county-wide and state-wide bases in the South for building these rank-and-file trade union councils and committees side by side with building the Party and the liberation movement of the Black people as well.

It seems to me that when we talk in terms of building these rank-and-file trade union councils from the various locals, one of our major tasks, first of all, is to plan out what shop and local union we are going to concentrate on, what worker or what group of workers are we going to attempt to work with in order to make a beginning. We can talk about building trade union councils until we're blue in the face, but if we don't bring this whole question down to earth and organize in a planned way to use our Marxist-Leninist understanding in organizing our Party clubs, educating our Party members on how to go about this, then we'll still be talking about building the rank-and-file trade union councils and talking about the Black liberation movement but we won't have it down in organization, in the communities and in the areas of the South as it should be.

Along with this question, we have to raise our level of education and understanding among the masses of people in the communities and in the towns and in the countryside. Black and white workers, we today have a better opportunity than we had back in the 30's. In the 30's we had to build from scratch but today in the South the broad mass of people have been baptized in struggle. Even if they did not participate in them, the struggles have been all around them and they are awake today to what it is all about. As I see it, the machinery is there; the foundation is there. What we have to do is oil up this machinery organizationally and improve these foundations, these mass organizations.

There are the unemployed movement and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in many places. We have contact among them. There are meetings on Monday nights in the various churches, particularly in Birmingham. We do not reach out and bring the masses in the community and educate the people in the blocks. To a great extent we will find that we hold meetings on Monday night and many people don't know we are meeting on Monday night, and therefore, it is our job in this new undertaking to change this situation and put the organization in the communities as we had them back in the thirties in the Scottsboro case days and the Unemployed Council days.

In those days we had block committees of unemployed and we had neighborhood clubs--International Labor Defense, regular weekly meetings, passing out pamphlets, penny pamphlets, putting out leaflets on local issues. People were talking; people were discussing. We kept the minds of those in mass movements on issues from day to day. One of the shortcomings we have today is that there is not enough local education being conducted in the communities, in the towns by our local people. How many local leaflets do we have being put out now by a city committee, or a neighborhood club by our Party in the various parts of the South that deal with the questions or issues that arise around the unemployed or around Nixon's appointments to the Supreme Court? When Roosevelt appointed Hugo Black to the Supreme Court everybody around Birmingham was talking about Hugo Black having been in the Ku Klux Klan. In barber shops I had more arguments...in the weekends with ministers, deacons, trade unionists and everybody who said that Roosevelt had put a Ku Klux Klan member on the Supreme Court. Our Party took the position that Hugo Black could become a progressive Supreme Court judge at that time and our Party was correct. Hugo Black came to be, for a period of time, the outstanding spokesman for civil rights and for constitutional rights on the United States Supreme Court.

Hosea Hudson is a veteran fighter, steel worker organizer and leader in many struggles in the South from the 1930's. Part II of his article will appear in the next issue of Party Affairs.

* * *

PROPOSED CHANGES IN DRAFT THESES

By J., Reporter for New Haven Club

MASS STRUGGLES IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

We felt this section should be rewritten because it seemed to approach the subject defensively. In that regard, this was unlike most other sections. We also discussed possible additions and came up with the following:

Nearly six million Jews live in the US--by far the largest Jewish community in the world. The Jewish people are in the main wage and salaried workers. About 15% of the Jewish families have incomes below \$3000 a year. In addition to facing the same economic problems of all American workers, they are victims of anti-Semitism. They are subjected to discrimination in employment, housing and other aspects of life. They are a chief target of the ultra right. In addition to fighting against anti-Semitism, the Jewish people have a history of struggle against all national and racial oppression. They have played an important part in trade union struggles, in the fight for peace, and in the socialist movement.

Unfortunately, since 1967, Zionism has become the largest organized force in the Jewish community. Zionism is a form of reactionary ultra nationalism which divides the Jewish people from their natural allies in oppressed peoples throughout the world and allies them with imperialist forces.

The masses of Jewish working people are not Zionists. Motivated by sentiments of national pride and concern for the welfare of their fellow Jews, they have been swayed by the Zionist demagogy, however. Zionism constitutes a dangerous base of support to imperialist reaction. It preaches blind support of the aggressive, annexationist policies of the Israeli ruling circles and support of U.S. imperialism. It actively or tacitly supports the US aggression in Indochina. Zionists have become the spearhead of anti-Sovietism, joining with Israeli rulers and the forces of right wing reaction in this country in the slanderous campaign against a nonexistent persecution of Soviet Jews. They have allied themselves with political spokesmen of the right such as Reagan, Buckley and Jackson, whose right wing constituencies have been the most flagrantly anti-Semitic. In the US the Zionist forces have created and perpetuated the myth of Black anti-Semitism leading to the separation of the Jewish people from their natural ally--Black people.

The logical outgrowth of this process is the fascist gang calling itself the Jewish Defense League. This band of stormtrooper hoodlums has perpetrated an endless series of outrages and crimes, ranging from invasions of offices and premises of organizations to bombings and attempts to murder women and children housed in Soviet institutions in this country. It is the most blatant of all the self-styled "saviors" of Soviet Jewry. It preaches the most extreme racism and commits acts of violence against Black people.

It has carried on its gangster activities with the tolerance and connivance of the authorities. Its leaders have been let off without punishment even when convicted of serious crimes. And the leading Jewish organizations and spokesmen, though condemning the JDL in words, have conducted no real fight against it. On the contrary, they have tolerated and even supported it.

The JDL has become an open spearhead of fascism in the United States. The forces of extreme monopolist reaction find it a most useful instrument for their purposes and support it financially and otherwise. The danger it poses and the need to smash it can scarcely be overestimated.

The Jewish masses can be won away from these influences provided that they are exposed and the struggles organized. Our Party has not fulfilled its responsibilities and this failure needs urgently to be corrected. Our Party must:

- 1) launch an ideological campaign against Zionism, exposing its true nature and logical conclusions,
- 2) combat the alarming growth of racism within the Jewish community,
- 3) develop an organized campaign against the criminal acts of aggression of Israeli rulers and their alliance with US imperialism,
- 4) expose the myth of Soviet anti-Semitism for the fraud that it is,
- 5) launch an all-out mass campaign to wipe out the fascist JDL.

INDIAN LIBERATION

We felt there should be three additions (or added emphases) in this section to bring out that:

- 1) the Indian people are part of the working class,
- 2) the Indian people should have full control over the Bureau of Indian Affairs and
- 3) that the Indian people should receive full restoration of all lands.

BUILDING THE PEOPLE'S COALITION AGAINST MONOPOLY

We felt that this should be the major section of the part of the Theses on mass movements. Therefore, we suggested that it be on the FIRST section under that heading and that it be expanded. Since building the anti-monopoly coalition is our guiding strategy, it should be spelled out clearly and in depth what that coalition means, politically and economically. Although we were not able to expand the section ourselves, we do suggest the following for a first paragraph and hope those equipped will expand the entire section.

Suggested first paragraph:

The first roadblock in the way of the various reform movements is monopoly capital. All of the people's struggles are faced with the fact that the drive of monopoly for super-profits is conducted at the expense of filling needs like housing, health care, etc. This is a common ground for the different reform groups to join together in an anti-monopoly coalition guided by the interests of the working class.

* * *

COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT THESES

By E.C., Reporter for New Haven Club

We enclose specific comments, etc., on a few sections of the Draft Theses for 20th National Convention.

ON PEACE - We feel there is a need for greater emphasis on building and broadening the coalition against imperialism. It is especially important to reinforce our stand on the question of peaceful coexistence. This last question is both critical in the ideological struggle on the right and left, and important in determining the day-to-day tactical direction of the movement.

There should be broader reference to the struggle for peace in areas of the world other than Indochina, e.g. Bangladesh, the Mid East, etc.

ON THE RANK-AND-FILE MOVEMENT - Appalling absence of discussion on issues, questions, etc., specifically related to working women, young workers, and the unorganized (especially in the South). We should also develop special support for progressive unions and their leadership while specially differentiating more exactly between the Meanies, Woodcocks, etc. Woodcock may look good by comparison to Lovestone, but he's no working class hero!

There should be an exposition on the reality of "a defense of the trade union movement is a defense of the working class" in the struggle shaping up between Washington and the organized sector of US labor.

ON ELECTORAL STRUGGLES - We all felt this to be the best (most accurate and solid) part of the Theses. We shouldn't assist the ruling class in building (rebuilding the sort of youth vanguardism that characterized much of New Left history. The 18 to 21 vote will be a "new" thing only once. At the same time, we should build and develop special approaches to relate to the way youth are alienated from electoral struggles.

The document carried nothing relevant on the Black Caucus and the struggle to unify Black voters in the US.

And we must re-emphasize for our own understanding the triple role of independent struggle that our Party leads within the two bourgeois parties, in independent forms, and as a vanguard Party, running candidates in our own right.

* * *

ON THE CHICANO LIBERATION RESOLUTION

By J.H., Southern California

There is overwhelming confusion in the movement as a whole and in particular in our Party as to the status of the Chicano people of the Southwest. Some say that the Chicano people are a nation and hence have the right to self-determination (right to secede from the USA and form a new nation-state or join another country). Others say that: "Chicanos are a distinctive people (or nationality) who are an integral part of the U.S. nation..." (from the draft resolution on Chicano Liberation). (How can a "distinctive people" be an "integral part of the U.S. nation?")

I do not pretend to have the knowledge needed to make a determination of the national status of the Chicano people. As yet, I have not been convinced by any document or by any oral arguments in the pre-Convention discussion, that any others have the needed grasp of the subject either. Certainly, there are many aspects of the question which still have to be answered before an authoritative statement can be issued.

In this letter, I merely wish to present a couple of thoughts which seem pertinent and which I have not heard expressed yet. In addition, I want to express my personal confusion about several aspects of the question. Perhaps other people can help clear up my confusions. Finally, I would like to suggest some changes for the draft resolution.

Lenin wrote that nations have the right to self-determination. National minorities, on the other hand, do not have this right. Both nations and national minorities should be treated with respect, dignity, their rights of language protected, the right to vote guaranteed, etc.,--their full bourgeois-democratic rights must be fought for. But only nations have the right to secede, to form their own nation-states!

According to Lenin and Stalin, a nation is an objective reality and cannot be wished into existence. Nor can the demand of a movement or a portion of a movement that a nation exist create a nation.

On the other hand, given a socialist state, it is possible for national minorities to develop into nations because of the conscious economic, social and political planning of the government. This has been seen in the USSR.

In addition, under particular historical conditions, even in capitalist society, it is possible to create a nation. I think that the Jews of Israel now constitute a nation.

"Nations are historical categories" they are born, develop and eventually die. Often, they are destroyed, dismembered. The reestablishment of such nations may occur in some instances, but there is no general law of society forcing this outcome.

What does it mean to destroy or to dismember a nation? The separations of Vietnam into North and South Vietnam, Korea into North and South Korea, are attempts to destroy nations. Over time, if the nations are kept divided politically, physically, economically, culturally, etc., they will cease being single nations. Stalin wrote that a nation does not exist if any one of its characteristics are missing: "historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."

Is Stalin's description of a nation invalid? Is it dogmatic? If so, then in what way? What better description can we give? I have heard the criticism that it is too rigid. If so, what should be changed? Evading the usage of Stalin's description leads to sloppy thinking and eclecticism slipping in under the guise of originality. Social science took a giant step forward when Lenin and Stalin formulated the national question and emphasized the key importance of an exact conception of the nation. To ignore their contribution would inevitably be to step backwards. Yet in our discussions this is the dominant tendency!

In my opinion, to allow the demands of the dominant leadership of the Chicano people to determine our viewpoint regarding the national status of the Chicano people is opportunistic. This is not a "tactical" question to be decided based upon the level of struggle at a particular time, the forces in motion, the strength of the bourgeois opposition. Rather, our evaluation must be based on a scientific evaluation of the factors determining nationhood.

Once this question of nationhood is decided, then if the Party feels the Chicano people are a nation, we will support the right to secede. We will agitate, educate, organize the entire population of the USA to support the right of the Chicano people to secede. Depending upon the "tactical" situation, and this may vary from month to month, we will urge the Chicano people either to exercise their right to secede, to stay as part of the USA, or some third or fourth solution.

Some feel that a characterization of the Chicano people can wait. After all, they say, the solution to the national question will only come with socialism--and that is not an immediate question. This point of view ensures that we follow the rest of the movement. Some sections of the Chicano movement are now agitating, educating for reun-

ification of the Southwest with Mexico; others want a new nation (or an old one) to be created in a state form: Aztlán.

What position do we take? Before we can even decide what tactical direction to take (new state, reunification with Mexico, etc.), we have to decide whether or not changing borders is a solution to the national question with any historic validity!

I have attempted to stress the importance of study of the actual conditions of the Chicano people with respect to each part of Stalin's description of the nation. The results and some, at least, of the evidence, need to be presented to the Party.

Let me mention several of my confusions, some of which go beyond the question of the nationhood of the Chicano people. In most of the Southwest, the Chicano people are a minority of the population. When the solution (based upon the assumption of nationhood) of making the Southwest either part of Mexico or a new state (Aztlán) is projected, how are the rights of the majority population being considered?

Secondly, most of the Chicanos in the Southwest have been separated from Mexico for many years. To what extent have their cultures changed? A feeling of brotherhood with brothers and sisters of similar backgrounds is not the same as being one nation. How do we evaluate this?

Third, the USA thoroughly dominates the economy of Mexico and probably northern Mexico is most completely under US imperialism. So the economy in Mexico is probably quite tied and integrated with all of the USA and not merely the Southwest. How does this affect the question of the Chicano people being part of the nation of Mexico?

It seems to me that I cannot understand the national status of the Chicano people without answers to the above questions.

The Draft Resolution on Chicano Liberation of 18 pages ends with 5 pages of a program for struggle. While I agree that an enumeration of our demands in some detail is necessary and useful, especially for educating the readers of the resolution, I also feel that this is inadequate. Information which does not lead to struggle is not useful for a Party of struggle.

I strongly urge that a series of slogans encompassing the essence of our most urgent demands be drawn up. Around these slogans struggle can be organized and people can be educated. Further, our members will only move into struggle on the basis of slogans. Slogans should not be scoffed at; on the contrary, they are our most powerful weapons for catching the imagination of the masses of people. Then, we fight for the proper content to our slogans. For example, "Open the Border" encompasses (I think) the essence of our proposed program around the question of the border. The specifics of our program still need to be explained and fought for, but the slogan catches the essence. Part of this would involve educating ourselves and the country about European borders and the US-Canadian border.

The Party is attempting to get ready to play a significant role in the fight for Chicano Liberation. Well, then we need our spears, ready to throw, sharp and well-balanced. Isn't that what slogans are?

I think that the resolution must clearly state that the political realities of the USA dictate that secession, federation, or any other plan for changing the boundaries of the Southwest is impossible until the victory of socialism. Further, the gaining of full equality for Chicanos within the boundaries of the USA will also depend upon the victory of socialism.

No matter what our evaluation is of the national status of the Chicano people, we should all agree on the struggle for full bourgeois-democratic rights. Thus, the program at the conclusion of the resolution must be fought for. To stop here and consider this a complete program for a revolutionary party would be a serious error. Our program must include our solution for the complete emancipation of the Chicano people.

* * *

WORK IN THE PAINTERS UNION

By Painters Club, New York, N. Y.

The Draft Theses for the 20th Convention devotes a considerable section to the rank-and-file movement and the development of national rank-and-file conferences in 1970 which led to the formation of the Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy.

The sharpening class confrontations provoked by the Nixon administration through Nixon's wage freeze and compulsory arbitration have created a stimulus in growth of rank-and-file struggles. These movements are the instrument of the fight to replace class collaboration policies with class struggle policies to make trade unions an effective force in the sharpening class struggles. To help strengthen them politically and organizationally is the primary task for our Party.

The fight to organize the unorganized for opening the doors to all ethnic groups is part of the fight against racism and for Black and white working class unity. We in the Painters Union, part of the Building and Construction Trades Council, the reactionary bulwark within the AFL-CIO, have played an important role on the side of progressive trade unionism. The contributions of our Party in the late 1930-1940's is still current topic among the veteran actives both left and right in our union. The influx of Black, Puerto Rican and other minorities in our union is in sharp contrast to the Jim Crow policies of the rest of the building trades unions and is in itself a monument to the contributions of the Communists within the Painters Union.

This forward march was held back by the anti-labor position of our Government which instituted the Taft-Hartley Laws and witch hunts through the McCarthy Committee. The reactionaries within the labor movement, the Ryans in longshore, racketeers in the building trades and others--in the name of U.S. patriotism augmented and implemented the State Department's red-baiting campaigns and framed the most militant leaders and actives in the unions. This is what happened in the Painters Union. As a result, the painters, who were among the leaders within the building trades on wages and conditions are today in last place. The speedup has increased many fold, while profits are at a maximum. Needless to say, many individuals behind the reactionary Rarbach leadership which took power in 1948 also shared the profits as a reward for their class collaboration.

The Black and Spanish-speaking members were relegated to housing developments. Union conditions were what the boss wanted, and speedup and high profits were the results. Union participation by membership was not encouraged, while a small corrupt leadership in control with the aid of Troskyites and Social Democrats and headed by Martin Rarbach rode wild in the Union. Their own corruption proved their downfall. With splits in their ranks, forces developed within the Painters Union augmented and nourished by active elements of the rank-and-file. They exposed the graft, corruption, bribery, etc., prevalent in public works and Rarbach and his henchmen as well as the employers were indicted by the City Government.

Rarbach was defeated by a coalition of rank-and-file and anti-Rarbach forces headed by Frank Schonfeld, a former stalwart of Rarbach, who subsequently was elected Secretary Treasurer of D.C. 9. During that time the rank-and-file movement deteriorated into an election caucus to be awakened only during the election period, and thus there was no day-to-day activity to involve the members of our union. Enforcement of agreement was neglected and conditions remained status quo. The new-found democracy in the union was not enough to satisfy the most exploited of our membership who in many cases do not speak English. These members, Black and Latin American especially, did not feel that this was their union. They were sullen and stayed away from meetings.

Three years ago some of the comrades expelled from the Union who were actives in the rank-and-file came back into the union. This strengthened the Party club. The club continued the work to develop a meaningful united rank and file coalition with clubs in all locals whose activities would be directed to develop new union activities from the neglected but potentially powerful minority groups in the union. Its purpose was to develop the fight for class struggle policies instead of class collaboration policies which have tied our union down.

The question of amalgamation of the local unions becomes one of our important priorities--to amalgamate over 20 locals, small and ineffectual, into one large local with borough-wide subdivisions. This proposal is being fought by most business agents who see in it a danger to their position. It is agreed by most that our organization of 21 business agents, locals, financial-secretaries is a drag on the union and its membership. The very act of meeting the colossal expenses involved in itself prevents the union from or-

ganizational activities. The organization of non-union workers and constructive activities within the union that would result in more protection on the job for our membership was not forthcoming.

For a long time there was resistance to the development of the rank-and-file. Some elected officials and other opportunist elements in the ranks of the rank-and-file felt that we don't need a rank-and-file movement. During this period when an ideological struggle took place the former discredited Rarbach henchmen lined up with the right wing and ultra right forces in the union against the Secretary Treasurer of D.C.9, and they were successful in winning the majority of the council and stopping constructive proposals advanced by the rank-and-file and the Secretary Treasurer. This made more obvious the need for a strong rank-and-file movement if we wanted to counteract the danger of our union being taken over by the former Rarbach henchmen. We succeeded at long last in organizing a leadership in the rank-and-file club representing the broad composition of our membership and orientated to bring into active leadership and participation the young, Black, Latin American and other ethnic groups.

During this process the Party club regrouped its forces and recruited some former members as well as a few new members from the Black and Latin American groups back into our ranks. While some of them have dropped out for various reasons (not ideological), we feel that we are on the way to making a qualitative change to better our activities.

We must not underestimate our work in the Painters Union. We have seen in the past how the painters' struggle for a shorter hour week, for fringe benefits, vacation and health insurance, influenced the struggle of all crafts in the building trades who also were able to win similar demands. The fight to open the doors of the lily-white craft unions to the Black, Puerto Rican and other Latin Americans is made easier because of the open door policy of the Painters Union. We in the Painters Union can act as a critical and constructive force within the building trades and Central Trades and Labor Council. In promoting the fight against the wage freeze, for peace and changing our government's policies, the clearance of slums, building of hospitals and schools, to enlist the building trades in this struggle as a guarantee to their existence as a labor organization which could protect and advance the livelihood of all building trades workers is tantamount to enlisting the entire labor movement towards peace, against monopoly capital, in spite of George Meany, Lovestone and their cohorts.

We, however, must be self-critical. We have not done enough work in the fight for the freedom of Angela Davis. While one local union endorsed the resolution to free Angela Davis on bail we were not able to implement it. Distribution of Party literature, leaflets and the Daily World was of a haphazard nature, and while the rank-and-file club has ties with the Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy, and one local has affiliated with this Committee, more meaningful and active support must be generated. More intensive activities along the ideological front will be made possible so as to move the painters towards the path of political struggle side by side with their economic struggles. The tendencies for economism, of right opportunism is prevalent and is counterposed by left sectarianism. Both these tendencies raise their heads in our ranks which makes greater vigilance necessary.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that our nation is being guided along the ultra right path by President Nixon. His aim is to bring fascism to our nation. The attack against civil liberties, the frame-up against the Black and other ethnic groups fighting for a place in the sun is eating away at our democratic institutions. His frame-up of Angela Davis is followed by an all out attack against labor. His continued war in Indochina only serves to expose him as the tool of unscrupulous imperialists headed by American finance capital, the seat and world reaction and promoter of fascism the world over.

The Meany-Lovestone support of Nixon's foreign policy has hamstrung labor in the fight for peace and security. This collaboration is a betrayal of labor's interest in the fight for jobs, security and democracy against monopoly capital control. This class collaboration of the top echelons of labor accepts the premise of Nixon's so-called fight against inflation and has disarmed the labor movement in the battle against the wage freeze and with the government's giveaway program to the industrialists, has robbed the working class of billions of dollars, at the same time, guaranteeing that the unorganized and less skilled workers remain on a poverty level income affecting mainly our Black, Latin American and Chicano workers. This then, is the fruit of class collaboration.

"It is about time," declares Gus Hall, "that we abandon old concepts of struggle and relate and respond to new dimensions in the struggle for our immediate demands." We are a party of socialism and we see all over the world that the dialectics of the class struggle has proven its validity. Now in the Americas we have seen the forces of socialism growing stronger and stronger as witness in the development of the struggles in Latin America. Chile and Cuba are only a beginning. So too, in the U.S. we find the vast majority of the working class unorganized. They represent the most exploited workers in our country. They come from the various ethnic groups, Afro-Americans, Latin Americans, Indians and Chicanos, workers who are doubly and triply exploited as nationals, as workers and as women. Their hatred of the ruling class knows no bounds, and we Communists armed with Marxist-Leninist ammunition can help arm these forces with the necessary ideology as to affectuate the fight against monopoly capital, against racism, for peace and the extension of democracy, all steps that could build the stairway to socialism. Time is on our side.

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REPLY: CHICANO PEOPLE AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

By A.R., Arizona

P.B. raises a number of points in her commentary on my article. ("Response: Chicano People and the National Question," Party Affairs, January 1972, Vol. VI No.2) The first, and one of the most important, is the question of common territory. P.B. says Chicanos do have common territory namely "the states conquered from Mexico in 1848," but then admits that Chicanos are a minority in all these states and a majority or near majority in only some counties. At the same time there are over 100 counties in the South in 12 states with Black majorities. Yet certainly, we don't claim these states are the common territory of Afro-Americans. Stalin dealt with this problem in his definitive Marxism and the National Question. In speaking of why the Jews do not have common territory he described them as "interspersed as national minorities in areas inhabited by other nationalities."¹ So are the Chicanos a national minority interspersed in areas inhabited by another nationality.

Secondly, as to the question of the progressive nature of U.S. capitalism and whether or not such a position would justify imperialist conquests of Africa or India, a quote from Karl Marx would be helpful which applies equally well to the U.S. role in 1848:

"England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfill its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crime of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution."²

Next is brought forward the claim that A.R.'s position is not that of most Chicanos in the U.S. today or of Mexican Marxists. As the Party has written about one comrade's attitude on Israel and Zionism: "he argues that it is impossible to take the position the Party advocates because it flies in the face of mass Jewish sentiment and would isolate us from the masses. But this is sheer opportunism...Mass sentiment can only influence the manner in which positions are presented, but never their basic content."

This must be just as true of our position on Chicano nationalism as it is on Zionism.

As to the position of Mexican Marxists, this writer has yet to see a discussion of the national question in the Southwest by the Mexican Party but would point out that in the period of the Bolshevik revolution the Marxists (Lenin & Stalin, et al.) in an oppressor nation (Russia) had a correct position on the national question in Poland while the Polish Marxists (Luxemburg, etc.) did not.

Further, P.B. states that as a result of national oppression the Chicanos "have had to develop special types of response to be able to survive their physical and social conditions..." Yet the workers and peasants in Mexico as a result of class oppression "have had to develop special types of response" to be able to survive under a feudal-capitalist dictatorship and yet workers, peasants, feudal landowners, and capitalists are all of the same nation.

Most important for a clear understanding of the annexation of the Southwest from Mexico is Lenin's The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up. In it he declares, "The term annexations ordinarily includes: 1) the concept of force (forcible incorporation); 2) the concept of alien oppression (incorporation of an 'alien' territory, etc.), and sometimes 3) the concept of violating the status quo."³ Such clearly was the U.S. seizure of the Southwest. And as Lenin says, "Try as you will, you cannot avoid this conclusion: Annexations violate self-determination of nations; they establish state boundaries against the wishes of the population."⁴

Further, "We are opposed to annexations because they violate the right of self-determination of nations or, in other words, are one of the forms of national oppression."⁵

Footnotes

1 J. V. Stalin, Selected Works, Vol.2, p. 345.

2 Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India," Selected Works (Moscow, 1936) p. 656.

3 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, (Int. ed. 1942), Vol. XIX, p. 275.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p. 281.

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(Continued from p. 1)

people. Team leaders--who show initiative and leadership--pick out shopping centers, unemployment offices, campuses, factories, neighborhoods and arrange time, place and personnel. YWLL members are organized as a separate team.

Peggy Goldman, Organizational Secretary of the Michigan district, remarked about the initial experience, "This has sure proved that our policy is correct." One of the team leaders reported, "Boy, when you go out there and see that people are willing to sign, it's a real morale booster. It builds your confidence." There has been very little red-baiting in petition gathering in Michigan.

Billy Allan, another team leader and Daily World correspondent, is the top signature gatherer.

Signatures average 15 per hour and the areas of greatest success have been the campuses and Black working class communities. A common reaction at unemployment centers has been, "Sure I'll sign. Anything to get rid of ..."

Another important part of the Michigan experience has been the participation of older comrades and friends who have not engaged in this kind of activity in many years.

OHIO

Ohio needs 5,000 signatures by February 2 but is shooting for 10,000 to be sure of getting on the ballot. As of this writing 7,500 signatures have been gathered.

According to Arnold Lockshin, leader of the Ohio district, the reception has been better than anticipated. Two thirds of the Party membership have been involved as well as non-Party people and League members.

Lockshin reported that some sign explicitly because it is the Communist Party. On campuses some have inquired about joining the Party. Campuses and downtown shopping districts have produced the best results. Some say, "The only person I'd vote for would be a Communist, someone who would really change things."

Many have endorsed the brief revolutionary program outlined on the leaflet given each prospective signer. It emphasizes the working class candidacies, calls for freedom for Angela Davis and introduces the candidates including a picture of them.

* * *

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