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PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION (7)

Building the YWLL Among Young Workers

NOTE ON PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

This is the final pre-convention discussion issue of Party Affairs. We realize that it will reach the clubs just as the 20th National Convention takes place, but feel that our entire membership should have the benefit of the contributions to the discussion made by clubs, individual members and committees, whose articles appear herein. Of course, this will be available to delegates to the Convention.

Some articles reached us after the deadline of January 31st. We are sorry that they could not be included. If their contents are useful for after-Convention discussion, they will be used in forthcoming issues. We expect to have our next issue out in early March. Any materials or resolutions from State or District Conventions that deal with basic Party policy, or plans of work, are invited for publication.

- The Editors

By Jarvis Tyner
and Judy Edelman

This article is intended as part of our pre-Convention discussion. It aims to review our work in implementing one aspect of the youth policy adopted at the 19th Convention, that is, building the Marxist youth organization among young workers and developing an industrial concentration style of work in the entire youth organization.

The youth policy adopted at the 19th Convention called for the building of a Marxist youth organization which placed "prime stress on work among young workers, especially industrial workers." Such an organization, our resolution stated, "should stress the fight for the needs of young workers, Black and white, the building among young workers and bringing a working class orientation to the youth as a whole as central to its unique contribution in building democratic youth unity."

This new organization, we said "must have special approaches and special organizational forms for young workers The aim should be separate clubs of young workers Even when there are insufficient numbers to permit this in the beginning, separate agenda points and other forms are needed to assure that young workers receive the main and special attention and are

submerged in a student-oriented atmosphere."

Finally, the resolution stated: "It is the responsibility of the whole Party ... to lend every assistance to the building of such an organization as a central feature of our youth work." (Party Affairs, Feb. 7, 1969, pp. 14-18)

The special approach to young workers and the industrial concentration policy of the youth organization as a whole was one of the main features that distinguished the new Marxist youth organization from its predecessor, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, and, indeed, from most other radical youth organizations in the country.

Now, two years after the adoption of this policy and the founding of the Young Workers Liberation League, it is necessary to review how we have implemented the policy and to discuss how to strengthen our work in helping to build the YWLL among working youth.

The YWLL has grown among young workers, though not nearly as rapidly as objective conditions indicate is possible. Nearly one-half of its members are workers, and the overwhelming majority of its members are from working class backgrounds. The working members have jobs in auto, steel, electrical, transportation, hospital, teachers, as office workers, government employees, and in many other industries.

League members have made substantial contributions toward the building of rank-and-file movements, have run for office in their local unions, and have helped to build TUAD, shop committees to free Angela Davis, and other forms. These developments are positive and very important.

In only a few areas, however, has the League built branches in a shop or industry. In most cases, there are workers from a whole number of different industries meeting in one general industrial branch. Or, where the organization is too small for this all League members meet together--workers, students, and unemployed and community youth. The League has not grown as rapidly as it should in industry. Moreover, there are still some differences within the ranks of the Party as to the goal of building the League in industry.

Why is this the case, and how can the Party assist the League more in its efforts to grow? Chiefly, in our opinion, it is for the following reasons.

The Party membership as a whole lacks a clear understanding of the youth question as a special question. This is true of both older comrades and younger comrades whose main political assignment is to work to build the League. In our trade union work this leads to a failure to recognize that youth in industry face special problems as youth, and that special forms are needed to deal with these problems. As a result, in our efforts to build rank-and-file formations, we have built general rank-and-file movements with no particular attention being given to youth problems. We have not attempted to build youth caucuses within any of these rank-and-file forms, and we have not raised youth issues within the overall rank-and-file. Since young

workers in many cases are among the most active participants and leaders in the rank-and-file movements, we tended to see separate youth forms as a diversion which would pull young workers away from the task of building overall rank-and-file movements.

Some comrades have also questioned whether branches of the League should be built in industry. They suggest that all youth should be recruited into community forms instead.

Finally, some comrades believe that industrial youth should be recruited directly into Communist Party clubs, and that no League form is necessary for them.

In our view, all of these concepts are shortsighted and incorrect. Young workers do face special problems as youth which require special forms. These include: insufficient numbers and unnecessarily prolonged apprenticeship training programs, lack of full rights for apprentices on the job and in the union, lack of job security, lay-offs, unemployment, dead-end jobs; use of young workers as pace-setters to speed up the whole production line in basic industries; 90-day waiting periods during which there is no union protection for militant young workers and in which benefits are reduced or nonexistent; no say on shift preference, vacation preference. For young Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican workers there is added racial oppression and superexploitation, with young Black and brown workers being forced to accept the worst, hottest, heaviest, dirtiest and least safe jobs in the industry; with racist insults and harrassment by racist foremen; and unequal application of disciplinary measures; lack of representation in the unions and lack of concern on the part of most union leaders for the special problems Black and brown workers face due to racism. For young women workers there are special problems of low pay, job discrimination, lack of adequate child care facilities, threatened passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and insulting male supremacist practices. More and more in basic industrial plants there is the problem of widespread use of drugs which is encouraged by the companies and tolerated by the unions.

For most young workers -- Black, brown or white -- there is inadequate attention given by the unions to integrating these new members into the ranks of the union, informing them as to their rights on the job and how to protect them, and how to play a role in the life of the union.

Further, the New Economic Program of the Nixon Administration has especially serious effects on young workers. By holding down the wages of all workers, especially those in basic industry, this freezes young workers into the lowest-paying job categories, again with Black, Brown and women workers being hardest hit. The passage of H.R. 1 (Family Assistance Plan), which forces welfare recipients to register and be available for work at jobs paying 40¢ less than the minimum wage, further acts to pull down the wage levels of all workers, hurting young and Black workers most. Nixon's threatened compulsory arbitration bill is aimed at further continuing this freeze and depression of workers' wages.

This partial listing of some of the problems faced by young workers indicates clearly that there is a need, objectively, for organizing young workers into special youth caucuses through which they can fight for their special grievances,

There is a need as well to build the YWLL, as the most advanced Left form among these young workers which can help to raise their level of consciousness from trade union to class to socialist consciousness through education and struggle.

In regard to this point, the 19th Convention resolution stated:

"For success in winning any sizeable number of youth to Marxism-Leninism and to the Party, an independent youth organization is needed that can reflect the conditions shaping this young generation, its style and forms that fit the new conditions. It is also necessary that youth have the opportunity to gain the political and organizational experience of running their own national organization and in this way to develop and solidify a Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

While other kinds of general and specifically youth organizations are needed for the struggle, recent experience shows and theory indicates that none can substitute for this special type of youth organization. Among the forms that cannot substitute, though sometimes complementing it are: (a) Communist Party clubs"

The need for a special youth form is every bit as valid among young workers as it is among any other grouping of the youth. Young workers, like all other youth, will come to socialism in their own way. Their experiences are different from those of their parents' generation, and special forms are needed which take into account this difference in development. Young workers are no exception to this basic Leninist principle.

Finally, for those in the Party who argue that young workers should be recruited into the League but that there should be no special forms, such as trade union divisions, and that workers should be recruited into community forms, we say:

Special forms are needed in order to guarantee that the special shop problems the young workers face can be discussed in detail and some help given through the collective discussion with other young workers. To place all young workers in community forms would carry with it the danger of submerging the needs and problems of young workers in overall community issues and movements. At the same time, we recognize the need for closer working together by trade union and community branches. For a real industrial concentration approach to the League calls for a focus by community branches on reaching young workers, and other working members of the League can be of great assistance in this effort. Moreover, the problems of young workers do not stop at the shop gate. There is need for young workers to be active in organizing community struggles as well (around housing, an

end to war and draft, unemployment, transit fare increases, lack of recreational facilities for youth, lack of educational facilities, police harrassment and brutalization of youth, the fight for the freedom of Angela Davis and all political prisoners, and a host of other problems.)

The problems that have arisen because of the close overlapping of League and Party membership by young workers in industry have led some to conclude that the best solution is to dissolve the League in industry. In our view this is incorrect. As the League grows and becomes more of a mass youth organization, the ratio should develop of about one League member who is in the Party to about five League members who are not. Then the League meetings and discussions about work in industry will take on more of a life of their own and will not seem to be a duplication of Party discussions.

At all times, however, both now and in the future when the League is larger, the effort should be made to have a common overall strategy with regard to work in any given industry and union. Within this, the League members should concentrate mainly on youth issues in that industry and union, and older Party members should concentrate more on overall shop issues. This division of responsibility is what we project as the long-range approach for our work in industry. Some flexibility is needed as to when and how such a division of responsibility takes place, so as to ensure that we do not undercut the building of the overall rank-and-file movement.

Lastly, we see the League beginning to single out certain key shops as "youth shops," where there are large numbers of young workers. Such shops could be taken on as League concentration projects.

In our judgement, the following steps are necessary if our Party is to fulfill its responsibility in helping to ensure the growth and development of the League:

1. Every Club should have an educational on the youth question. Special materials should be prepared for this purpose.
2. Older comrades must view it as their responsibility to help build the League in industry, to introduce contacts they have among young workers to the League, and to help young comrades in their work in the industry and union.
3. Older comrades must be much more conscious of the importance of not placing too many Party responsibilities on young comrades whose main political assignment is to build the League. They must resist the temptation to "solve" every cadre problem by pulling a youth out of youth work. Instead, they must require more from older comrades in fulfilling these tasks.
4. Where League and Party people work together in the same shop or industry there should gradually emerge some division of responsibility in the building of the rank-and-file movement so that younger people can concentrate somewhat more on the building of caucuses and movements among young workers around the special problems they face. From such

movements they can recruit into the League, and eventually many of these new recruits will come into the Party.

Successful building of the League ensures the future life and growth of the Party. Training and development of youth in the YWLL, winning these youth to socialism, Marxism-Leninism, will ensure more and better cadre for the Party in the future.

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PROPOSAL ON LEGISLATIVE WORK

By National Women's Commission

We are demonstrating that during the period of Party's electoral campaign the Political Action Commission will have responsibility for legislative work in addition to election campaign, but this is not now a permanent body for legislative work. The National Women's Commission therefore proposes to the 20th Convention of our Party the reconstituting of a National Legislative Commission or Committee; that as a beginning to setting up such a collective, one person be assigned to full-time legislative work and that this national example be a lead to all districts. Our Party must become once again abreast of what is happening in the legislative process and become a force for pushing issues of vital concern to the working class. We must begin again to put our demands into legislative form; we must bring constituencies to their legislators; we must as Communists state our demands publicly before Congressional legislators, in the State houses as well as city council meetings.

GENERAL IMPORTANCE

It is not possible to develop fully in a short discussion piece the close interrelationship of legislative work to electoral work on all three levels, the anti-monopoly strategy, the struggle for a people's party and possible people's government on the path to socialism. One need only glance at the years of development in Chile which has brought about the present favorable conditions, the close scrutiny of legislative processes involved in moving to this point and the closer scrutiny involved in protecting the democratic rights under attack and advancing the present situation to develop it further.

Just to cite a few examples of the relevance of such emphasis for us at present, let's look at the need for an independent thrust within the bourgeois parties to force the break for a people's party. We speak of the need to struggle on issues. An important aspect of this is the ability to pressure legislators before, during after elections as well as the long periods in between elections.

Issues and programs for the working class, oppressed minorities need to be expressed in concrete legislative form and we must force candidates to introduce and support people's legislative programs. We must weigh their re-election on how they performed on these legislative demands. ADA and COPE (Committee on Political Education - AFL-CIO) ratings are insufficient guideposts for Communists engaged with and leading people's movements in this area.

We speak this year of the need to interweave our electoral work (on all levels) with mass activity on all levels. The extension of this is to integrate this work on a continuing basis. We must demand of all legislators, at all times, that they not allow the usurpation of powers in the Executive. This requires close scrutiny and is a necessary part of our job in preventing the attempts to move the country further to the right.

CASES IN POINT

We have found in our own work that one stumbling block in translating policy into realizable programs of struggle is a lack of familiarity with day to day legislative procedures, pending bills, the possibilities of introducing legislation and amendments as well as possibilities of causing the defeat of certain legislation. Such has been our difficulty in developing a legislative approach to our position on the Equal Rights Amendment.

So, too, we have noticed other commissions and sections of our Party in similar situations. Our youth comrades (particularly League people) are thinking in terms of a National Youth Act, an entire legislative package for youth.

The confusion concerning the Family Assistance Plan (FAP) has affected not only our Commission but trade union comrades and those working in or in coalition with welfare rights organizations. Nixon withdrew for one year his reactionary proposal (when he announced the New Economic Policy), two bills were subsequently introduced which were better than FAP, but a far cry from the NWRO bill introduced by Rangel and McGovern. Some comrades take the shortcut and simply criticize Nixon for withdrawing his welfare bill without characterizing it as a reactionary bill in the first place. NWRO is split to some extent; sections who gain through the compromise bills tending to push for them, others holding off for better legislation. And what is the Party's position on sorely needed national welfare legislation?

We could go down the line and show that we are basically, collectively unaware of possibilities to repeal the Economic Stabilization Act which brought the roof down in terms of the Wage-Price Freeze. Or what are the possibilities of national legislation to protect the unemployed, medicaid for unemployed and welfare people, etc. What chances are there to pass a bill opening the Mexican border and ending harrassment of the Chicano people?

There are reams of anti-labor legislation which must be repealed. Of primary importance is the need for better civil rights legislation.

In one week, (December, 1971) Nixon vetoed a child care bill and legislation was passed forcing welfare mothers to work. Not only did we not react to such an onslaught in words, we were not in a position

to react in deeds. How did the Party prepare to deal with the pending approval of Rehnquist?

We must ask ourselves, if we are to become a Party of action, if we are to overcome our present "lack of concreteness" (Gus Hall, The Struggle for Higher Standards of Leadership, p. 26), keep "pace with objective developments" (Ibid, p. 5) and "fight for application" of our policies (p. 9), what is needed in our style of work and what is needed in the way of forms of struggle.

HOW COULD SUCH WORK PROCEED?

Virtually every movement organization now has legislative watchdog offices or committees. Our committee must utilize their research, make estimates of their positions and bring this before the Party. Our committee must do its own independent research (through use of Congressional Record and discussion with lobbyists and legislators) and compile data on what is pending, what can be introduced, what needs support, what must be defeated, what has passed and needs repeal.

Our committee must follow the work of the Black Caucus very closely. It must watch the women and youth caucuses. It must follow events such as the Hispanic Conference. It must follow congressional hearings, White House Conferences and the work of the continuations committees from these conferences.

* * *

ON CHICANO LIBERATION

From a Southern California Comrade

1. What do we mean by National Liberation?

- A) What is the impact of a developed capitalism on national minorities within a capitalist country? (And incidentally, what is the impact of imperialism on national groups within a colonial country?)
- B) What is the impact of urbanization and industrialization-- and the resultant development of the dominant working class character among the Mexican people--on the Chicano national liberation movement?
- C) What is the difference between National Liberation under capitalism and National Liberation under socialism?
- D) Historically, do we see any difference in the status of the Mexican people (or the Indian people for example) in the U.S. as a conquered people indigenous to the area, vs the status of various oppressed European immigrant groups? Is the

class structure of the Chicano people essentially the same as the class structure of other nationalities in the US?

- E) Do we see the role of national liberation struggle fundamentally in the same framework as the role of class struggle? Are they one and the same--or are there basic differences between the concept of national liberation struggles and class struggles?

2. National Liberation relates to the quality of a people--formally united--and their aspirations to express themselves. In modern times it has expressed itself in the building of nations--first capitalist nations and later socialist nations--with a clear form and content. Nations express themselves through languages, through idiom, through culture. They express themselves through the running of their own affairs. They express themselves through the independent development of external relations with other peoples. They express themselves through the production, sale and exchange of commodities.

A) Under capitalism, we see nations developing the bourgeois freedoms they require to expand their productive process.

- 1) There is assuming control over their economic processes.
- 2) There is the winning of the national market.
- 3) And running the gamut of developing one's own national capitalists, a national working class, a large, bourgeois professional grouping, and the development of capitalist farming.

B) Under socialism, we see national planning as the central core for expanding the productive process.

- 1) There is collective industry.
- 2) A national working class.
- 3) A large professional grouping.
- 4) Development of collective farming.

C) National liberation for the Chicano people:

- 1) First relates to their status as a conquered people. Their special exploitation and oppression stems from their history. The historical conditions of their conquest is the basis for their current oppressed status. Oppression of the Mexican people within the borders of the U.S. began with the expropriation of their land!
- 2) The struggle for equal opportunity and the struggle for economic progress cannot be equated with the struggle for national liberation. It is part of the struggle for national aspirations--not its totality.
- 3) The class structure of the Chicano people is not the same as the class structure of the various immigrant nationalities in the U.S. It more approximates the class structure of the Indian people and the Black people in the U.S.

The special characteristics are:

- a) There are no large capitalists.
 - b) There is a small professional class.
 - c) There is a large farm migrant working class.
 - d) There is a large unskilled industrial working class.
 - e) There is a small skilled-craft working class.
 - f) There is a large unemployed and unemployable sector of the Chicano community.
- 4) Thus we see that the character of the oppression is different:
- a) As reflected in the special characteristics just enumerated, which have bent and shaped the development of the Chicano people.
 - b) The difference stems from the national character of the oppression first.
 - c) The differences will only be eliminated when the national liberation question is vigorously pursued and the special aspirations and needs of the Chicano communities are fully expressed.
- 5) National liberation and class liberation are not the same.
- a) Programs for national liberation have some possibilities for development under capitalism. Programs for class liberation can only be solved by the elimination of capitalism.
- 6) What should be the relationship between the national liberation struggle and the class struggle?
- a) Only through the national liberation struggle can the people be aroused sufficiently to attack imperialism.
 - b) Because, in essence, the Chicanos as workers and the Chicanos as a national grouping are oppressed by monopoly capitalism there is a common struggle -- but only to a point! The final aims are different! Thus, the relationship today, must be one of coalition, to support the struggle for national liberation --and to fight to develop the national program into a socialist program!
- 7) The present status of the Southwest and the future goals:
- a) Must relate to the 100 years of changes in the southwest as well as to the historic period of the conquest. The southwest has changed from an agricultural area into an industrial area. The economy has changed and the population has changed. The economic development of the Southwest has primarily been influenced by the United States and not by Mexico.
 - b) If the southwest had remained essentially the same as at the time of the conquest as relates to popula-

tion spread and method of earning a living, there would be much validity for demanding that the people in the Southwest can best continue their development by returning the area to Mexico.

c) Further, a demand for ultimate reunification doesn't answer the short-run problems of the people living in the area and gives no handle for developing tactics needed now which would move forward the anti-imperialist struggle of the national Chicano movement.

D) The Party should re-affirm the right of self-determination-- as a position that should always be available to oppressed national minorities. The Party should study the national development of the Chicano people; the special characteristics and status of the Chicano people are guidelines toward the development of a national program. The powerful impact of capitalism upon the Chicano people must be further probed. Capitalism, during its historical development, has bred new nations and has swallowed up nations. The strong national feelings uniting the Chicano people in the United States has had a place in history and we are feeling it today. New solutions should be examined including the possibility of autonomous regions, and including the possibility of local control on a many-folded level: Politics, education, community organizations, cultural organizations.

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SOME SENIOR COMRADES SPARK ACTIVITY IN INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

By C.L., So. California District

Retirees in our Party are playing a vital role in industrial concentration. They are ideologically equipped because the majority of them were workers and active trade unionists. In spite of advanced age and physical disabilities, they are in the forefront in this struggle.

This work is carried on regularly once a week with a rotating system in front of three huge factories and also once a week at an important union hall. These are basic, heavy industries, controlled by big monopoly complexes. The latest methods of speed-up, oppression, intimidation goes on behind those tall walls of prison-like appearance.

Who are some of these comrades who participate in this most important phase of our Party work? Perhaps a short description of their background including their age and physical condition would throw some light.

In our Day Club eight comrades volunteered to do concentration work, four men and four women. They range in age from late 80's, late 70's, late 60's and the youngest is in her 50's who is still working.

One of the comrades has a bad case of arthritis in her legs and has to use a cane to support herself. Another had an auto accident. He carries a metal plate in his leg and, even though on crutches, volunteered for this work. A third one has stomach ulcers and was already confined to a hospital for surgery, but due to a severe cold they could not operate on him. They sent him home to recuperate and then return for his surgery. During this period of recuperation he has participated. Our youngest comrade is a diabetic and on her day off she volunteered to help. The last one has a bladder condition. Every once in a while he disappears from the factory gate because his condition demands his being near toilet facilities. The three others: one is in her late 80's, very agile and the life of the brigade; the last two in the 60's do not seem to have any serious, or obvious ailments.

From the above description it becomes very obvious that neither old age nor physical handicaps are deterrents from carrying out concentration work.

We believe that other clubs have just as good, dedicated comrades. Perhaps some of them are not as old or sick and, therefore, could do an even better job. This type of work could be duplicated and improved upon in almost every club where we have retirees.

What must we do in order to unleash the energies of the retirees and other comrades? How can we best channel those energies in the most constructive way in order to fully carry out the resolutions of the 19th Convention towards industrial concentration?

It requires constant clarification and education on what concentration among industrial workers means. It requires initiative on the part of some to start the ball rolling. We must display boldness, leadership by example, inspiration and self involvement. It might start with a few but will grow as a result of our experience and ability to involve others.

Such an endeavor as picking up six to seven comrades at a punctual time, as well as picking up several hundred P.W.'s and being prompt at the factory gates for distribution, requires the highest form of organization, promptness and self discipline. One wrong step such as lateness or not working in harmony with the rest of the comrades at the gates could throw us out of gear and ruin our operation on that particular day.

This type of work has not only brought us closer to the workers, but has created stronger comradesly ties among ourselves, greater concern and respect for each other.

We too often talk about our Party being too old and too sick. Sometimes we hear such remarks as "Look around this hall. Where are the young people? We see only gray haired comrades." Dyeing our hair is not going to solve the problem. What are some of us doing via the policy of concentration to help change the composition of our Party? We go with our press, leaflets, pamphlets, Angela Davis peti-

tions to the factories and unions where there are thousands of workers. There we reach the workers in heavy industry. Included among them are Black, Chicanos and young workers. The next stage is the visitation of some of those in their homes since some do respond to our cards attached to the P.W. (People's World) offering free trial subscriptions. Through such methods and others we hope to get closer to them, and the best, more advanced can be recruited into the Party.

We should utilize the rich experiences, the complete dedication of the older comrades who have given a lifetime of their energies towards bringing socialism here. We have to honor and cherish these old timers, not only for sentimental reason, but because of their willingness to be active participants, to be that bridge in reaching out to the industrial workers, thus helping somewhat to change the composition of our Party.

By having this positive orientation, we work with what we have in the most constructive way, placing each sector of our movement in the type of work where the maximum results can be achieved. Such an orientation gives us a Marxist-Leninist outlook geared towards the utilization of all the energies and vitality that our movement possesses. We have to fight the subjective approach that our "Party is doomed because it is old and sick." We cannot help it because we are old and our hair is gray and our faces are wrinkled, but we can play a vital role by bringing in the young industrial workers. Between December 16th, and December 21st, we gave out 1,500 P.W.s, collected 100 signatures for Angela Davis and sold many cards asking for her right to bail. At the union hall we sell 70 copies of the P.W. monthly and also distribute 150 sample copies. Due to the excellent work of two comrades in the local, the Executive Board went on record in support of bail for Angela and the local donated \$1,000 towards it. We believe that the P.W. played a positive role in this endeavor.

It is important to mention that the P.W. staff and Donna in particular works very closely with us, gives the most cooperation and is very much involved in our work with the P.W. at the factories, as well as guarding and handling properly the contacts from the free trial offer.

This type of work will create a merging of the old and young which gives it a new qualitative, indestructible power.

* * *

VIGILANCE AND STILL MORE VIGILANCE AGAINST THE CLASS ENEMY!

Draft Resolution of the National Review Commission

The Nixon-Mitchell administration, despite setbacks and defeats to many of its policies at home and abroad, relentlessly pursues as

one of its central objectives the undermining of the ideological and organizational unity, strength and health of our Party. Aware of the dynamic role our Party plays in the struggle against U.S. state-monopoly capitalism and of the Party's consistent efforts to forge a broad anti-war, anti-monopoly coalition approaching the 1972 elections, the class enemy spares no cost, mobilizes all the powerful resources at its command, utilizes every means to prevent unity of Left and progressive forces.

Organizationally, operating through a nationwide network of undercover men, agents-provocateurs, police agents, systematic use of informers and stoolpigeons, it seeks to infiltrate Party and Left organizations and movements to incite adventurist and anarchistic actions, instigate acts of terrorism, inveigle unsuspecting activists into conspiratorial plots, plant false evidence for purposes of entrapment and blackmail, and to spread suspicion, disruption and fear from within these organizations and movements. As was disclosed in the Media, Pa. F.B.I. papers that were stolen and released to the press, one of their main objectives is to give the impression to activists that "there is an F.B.I. agent behind every mailbox" and that they try to involve every organization and movement in internal witch hunt and thus immobilize them.

Ideologically, through control of the mass media, it seeks to sow confusion, doubt, cynicism in the ranks of the Left, to promote moods of frustration and fatalism. Only the tip of the iceberg of CIA-financed and manipulated organizations came to light with the exposure a few years ago of the CIA's phoney foundation-funding setup. Through such agencies it has met more than a measure of success in fomenting factionalism, division and strife, skilfully utilizing issues like the "winding down" of the Vietnam war, the hoax of "Soviet anti-Semitism," increasingly vicious Maoist attacks both outside and inside the UN on the USSR and its peace policy, conflicts of policy within the Black liberation and peace movements, forced labor of welfare recipients, and Nixon's monopoly-inspired and monopoly-backed "wage freeze."

Groups like the Jewish Defense League, the Minutemen, the KKK, Rev. McIntyre and his followers with impunity engage in acts of violence, resorting in some cases to bombing of headquarters, homes, cars, mob disruption of public meetings and concerts, invasion of business and newspaper offices, personal harassment and assaults even on women and children, and outright attempts at assassination.

The arrest and imprisonment of Comrade Angela Davis, held without bail for almost two years, the murder of George Jackson at San Quentin Prison, the Attica Massacre which Comrade Winston characterized as a big step on the path to fascism, these are a measure of the ruthless repression directed by the Nixon administration especially against Black, Puerto Rican and other minority groups, but also, as evidenced at Kent, Chicago, Jackson, Orangeburg, Washington, D.C., against all political dissent. The murder last year of rank-and-file mineworkers' leader Joseph Yablonski and his family reveals the extent to which this repression reaches into the organized labor and trade union movement.

The situation today more than ever calls for heightened vigilance against the class enemy. The problem of safeguarding the Party,

its personnel, its premises, its members and leaders in every city, must be made a task of serious concern. Experience in all political trials demonstrates that Left and other people's democratic organizations must be constantly alert against enemy infiltration and subversion.

The ideological and organizational health of our Party is and always has been premised upon its firm adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, on consistent application in its day-to-day activity of the practice of collective work, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism, democratic centralism. Party consciousness, high Party standards of personal conduct, Party discipline based on our Party's Constitution, on our socialist world outlook and goals, on our dedication to the continuing struggle for democracy, national liberation, socialism and communism as the bright future of all mankind -- these are the foundations on which our Party and its members must become steeled, must grow, must advance. Humanist values in our relations with others, readiness to war on all manifestations of racism, national chauvinism, anti-Semitism, attitudes and practices of male supremacy -- these are the hallmarks of a Communist. While viewing these as the main obstacles to class unity and alliance of the working class with its foremost allies, the Party also combats reactionary separatist nationalism of specially oppressed peoples and feminism.

In his report to our Party's National Committee last July, Comrade Hall hailed as "an achievement" the fact that after a lapse of many years a National Review Commission had been re-established. All districts, in order to be able effectively to cope with problems arising from violations of Party discipline and to initiate appropriate measures for ensuring Party security, should strive to establish such commissions on a district scale.

In projecting the main areas which require attention by the Review Commission, Comrade Hall included "personal matters that have political implications or...that affect the work of the Party," and he called for struggle "against bureaucratic methods, self-centeredness, subjectivity, and individualism." He also criticized "sloppiness in the inner life of the Party." It is a measure of the importance which the National Committee attaches to the need for quickly and effectively resolving such problems that it called for expanding the forces and enlarging the authority of the Review Commission. Its proposal that the Commission "take over the task of auditing and checking" the books of Party institutions and committees points up the vital importance of strict accountability in financial matters and dealings on every level.

At a time when the reactionary offensive of the Nixon administration threatens the most fundamental Constitutional liberties, when its policies at home and abroad more and more take on fascist-oriented characteristics, when it shamelessly seeks to pack the Supreme Court with racists and die-hard reactionaries, when it clothes with new powers racist Mississippi Senator Eastland's Sub-committee of Internal Security as a bludgeon to crush resistance to its war-and-hunger policies, when he rushes to congratulate a Rockefeller for his murder-massacre at Attica, when he arrogates to himself the power to decree a wage-freeze that threatens all the gains labor has won over decades of bitter struggle -- at such a time the question of safeguarding the Party takes on crucial importance. It is all the more so since the

Party's active participation in and leadership of mass struggles is growing from day to day. Its voice is increasingly feared and hated by the enemies of the people. Its international prestige as a powerful leader in the fight against U. S. imperialism and its genocidal war against Vietnam and Indo-china is at an all-time high.

Immediate practical measures should be initiated to strengthen its security. The times and the struggle demand vigilance and still more vigilance against the class enemy.

* * *

ON IDEOLOGY AND TACTICS ON THE CHICANO QUESTION

By W. B., Southern California

I think in talking about the Chicano movement we should do so in the context of two very important things which, I think, should be constantly emphasized and discussed more specifically. One is the Chicano movement as it is related to racism and imperialism. I feel that is the context which should be constantly emphasized when we talk about the Chicano movement. Imperialism and racism are the foremost tactics used by the capitalist class to divide the working class both nationally and internationally. They have kept us from developing the kind of power and the kind of relationships that we're talking about right now. I think that if we're going to talk about leaving the conditions of the disorganization of the Chicano community or improving the direction or improving our analysis, we first have to consider and emphasize imperialism and racism as they relate to the question of the Chicano. A lot of questions, criticisms and ideas have come out as to the clarity of the Chicano resolution, about the thinking, consciousness and direction of the Chicano people. I think that the one thing that is going to develop clarity is concrete work with Chicanos.

That kind of concrete work will lead to concrete analyses of what is happening and not a removed analysis of what we think is happening some distance away from us. That's the problem with discussing an issue which you are not directly involved with or which you have very little direct education about. Sometimes your analyses or your ideas tend to be a little further up or a little further down than what is actually happening, so I think that this call for clarity is actually a call for each of us to get more involved in the national struggles of minorities and not simply to continue discussions. I think that a lot of us should be more involved in the struggles within this community. If we continue to do that, our discussions will get much better and we will improve a lot. I think that racism is an important problem especially in the national arena. Speaking about racism apart from imperialism--simply emphasising racism in the country -- presents a major problem in our political development.

It is the extreme racism that exists which has brought about a lot of reactionary culture and cultural and racial chauvinism in our political movements whether in the white movements, the Black movements or the Brown movements. Practically every movement has developed some kind of chauvinism and some type of prejudices and it has really limited our direction and consciousness. This is why we have to speak nationally about combatting racism on a higher level for, if we don't overcome racism at our political level, we are constantly talking about solutions for which we have no conditions to bring it about on a mass level.

We have to begin to set political examples of how racism can be overcome and how we can do it now even though we live in a racist society and I think once we do that we will begin to limit a lot of the chauvinism that has developed among political leaders and political movements. There is racism now even in progressive parties, even in progressive organizations. We suffer because of extreme racism. I think we have to discuss nationally how we can combat racism together. I think we have to discuss Chicano questions but I don't think we can talk about the Chicano isolated from the Black, Puerto Rican and the Native American peoples. I think we have to keep that in mind.

The problems of the Chicano are not the same as other minorities, and although we have a unique identity and some unique problems, we have very much in common with the Black people, Puerto Rican people and the Native American people on one score and that's repression.

I think two or three major types of repression are suffered by us and this is one thing that must be kept in mind by any organization or race or party that is seeking to alleviate the conditions and one of them is repression in education. One of the reasons for the lack of consciousness in our areas is that we lack bookstores. If you go in our areas and begin to look about for the resources we have to develop our education, you'll find a severe lack of educational resources for our people. We've got the worst schools, the worst teachers, the worst materials. We have very few bookstores; we have very few lectures going on in our community; we have very little of things that build the dynamics of consciousness.

What we do have is excessive and extreme corruption. Where you can't find a book, you can find narcotics. Where you can't find a lecture, you can find some kind of police repression going on in the neighborhood. There are more liquor stores than anything else. We're victims of a corruption that is perpetrated by the system to keep us in a very extreme position. This has to be taken into consideration for our Party and other organizations -- to help to bring about the consciousness that we need.

We need books. We need resources. We need these types of things and they must be accessible. Someone talked about a library at Cal State or UCLA. How can our people get a hold of books even about themselves if the books are themselves 20 or 30 miles beyond their reach? This is really a concrete struggle, and a concrete solution is needed to find ways to improve consciousness of the need to bring these resources to our people. Right now there are many within the movement

who are curious. There is a lot of militancy in the movement but it has nothing with which to build its consciousness based on concrete theory and concrete history.

We need books and we need them badly. We need lectures. Discussions like this, on different levels, should take place in our community, but how many lectures do our people get to go to? How many things do our people get to see that develop their dynamics? There is very little happening over there. It's a very repressive, uneducated type of situation that we live in simply because we don't have these types of resources.

Physical brutality is another question concerning our community. The type of brutality suffered by Chicano people, Black people, Puerto Rican people and Indian people is practically unimaginable to Anglos because they don't live under those conditions. You can know them by looking at those conditions and seeing them yourselves. At night we have helicopters flying over our areas with spotlights on the houses and the people. There is a concentration of unmarked cars and police officers without uniforms. People are beaten up; they're shot, they're brutalized in many ways that never come to the surface.

You feel the difference when you drive through East Los Angeles. You think something is wrong when you go through there. You begin to be more conscious about your tail light, you begin to feel like there's something wrong. There is a very high concentration of tactical police in our community. It is a military force, not a police service. It is a military encampment--that word is not exaggerated. You merely have to drive through East Los Angeles or Watts or through the Puerto Rican areas in New York or wherever they exist and look at what takes place, look at the expression on the policeman's face, look at the treatment of the people, look for the helicopters that constantly are shining those lights all through the area to let us know that we are especially being watched and controlled and that we are due for special punishment if we react by increasing our militancy and our consciousness.

These are the types of things that Anglos must be more aware of and sensitive to so that people can feel the solidarity that needs to be felt. Right now Chicanos feel certain things which they feel Anglos do not feel, and for that reason there is a lack of solidarity. We're not in the same position. One thing is to stand up and speak your mind when you can, another thing is to do it when there's somebody with a nightstick in back of you. It's two different positions and it causes two different reactions. A lot of our militancy has been very ineffective because of the type of violence we suffer.

We have been more prone to becoming more extreme simply because we live under extreme conditions. We are more prone to talking about retaliatory violence because we live in a violent situation. I think if the Anglo political leaders realize this they will begin to find out what type of struggle to wage against this so that our political consciousness can become more mature and not so related to defending ourselves physically, simply because we're being put upon physically so much.

I think the whole thing of mass political imprisonment is another question that is very important. That is the importance of the prison.

movement -- not that it is a romantic movement, not that it is the most extreme element of society, but because it affects our people so much. The narcotics laws are now such that if you have three violations you have a life sentence. Those laws were passed to perpetrate a certain kind of reaction against a certain kind of people. Who are more prone to being arrested, who are more prone to being in the court-rooms, who are more prone to being imprisoned if it isn't Black and Brown and Puerto Rican people and all the minority people in this country?

A lot of our people are hurt by this fact because we have so much corruption in our community we are more likely to commit a crime and we are more likely to be imprisoned and suffer for it. This is political imprisonment. This is a political tactic and we suffer from it and it means that this movement in the prison is a special political feature of minority people which we have to become aware of. Prisons are being used against us more and more often. We are being threatened with it. We are being made a special example in this country and right now there is a movement to create political prisons and political prison tactics such as shock treatment, shock therapy and other types of tactics to completely destroy the mental health of political thinkers.

This is not a romantic idea. This is not an adventurous idea. It is not an overly dramatic idea. It is happening right now and it is being done to politically repress the development of certain parts of the country first and people in general. This movement is also against Anglos because Anglos are also becoming aware of this type of repression. It is now used to keep down the most militant people, the people who are most likely to take a more militant stand. It is used now to keep us down first. We are, as always, the whipping boys for society. You know, it is the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and, Native American who will take the first five whips that will be dealt to the Anglo working class itself.

We have to become aware of this. Another thing that is important in discussing the Chicano movement itself is the question of national liberation in other countries, especially in Mexico and other Latin American countries. The United States, the CIA, the FBI, all the police forces see this relationship very clearly. They see the relationship of the student movement in Mexico to the student and working class movements in this country. They see it so clearly that they are beginning to train police officers in Mexico and bring Mexican police officials into East Los Angeles to train them to deal with the problem as a common international problem.

Every political development that takes place in Mexico or Latin America affects the thinking of the bourgeoisie of the capitalist class in this country particularly their attitude toward Chicano, Black and Puerto Rican people in this country. They see the relationship and they are afraid of the relationship. They want the Chicano people to be aware of those borders. They want the Chicano people to disown those people on the other side of those borders simply because there is power in making those kinds of relationships and there is power in that type of international solidarity especially when we have Cuba right across from us, Chile right across from us and various liberation movements taking place right next to our borders. This is why they want the Chicano to think less and less of his bro-

thers and sisters on the other side of the border and they want the whole Anglo working class to be dulled and dumbled to this special effect. I think we have to discuss these issues because the special type of repression Chicanos will suffer is due to the liberation struggles going on all around the edges of the United States.

The Vietnamese struggle is also a special feature. The Black people, Chicano people, Puerto Rican people, all people of color in this country are being directly punished because of the war and the developments in this war. Just as in the zoot suit riots during WW2, Chicanos were punished because of how the people perceived and how the people were racially prejudiced against Asian peoples. So who do they take it out on when it comes to bringing it home? They take it out on the people toward whom they feel racial prejudice here in this nation.

And the zoot suit riots are one example of how international racism and prejudice deals with the national minorities and how important a feature that is. The developments in Vietnam will most directly affect our people. Whether there is a victory or a defeat, our people will suffer first for it. You know, the tools for class unity. We have them; they are objective tools. We are workers; all of us are workers. The majority of our people are workers. The class tool is in the relationship to other workers--working together, struggling together, suffering together under the same conditions. What a lot of us have failed to do is to adequately utilize these relationships as tools. We have failed to get more involved in the working class struggle relating to the Third World peoples, relating to the minorities in those struggles, helping to bring about a lessening of racism in the trade unions, helping to bring about unions in the unorganized shops where a majority of the Third World people or minorities work.

The tools are there but we have to create the conditions so that those tools will improve. We don't have to bring about working class conditions; they exist. All we have to do is utilize those conditions to our benefit.

I think one thing about political representation, which is especially undesirable is patronizing such movements. That's a mistake many people make even with good intentions, the Chicanos, Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans do not just need representation and are not just talking about representation. We don't want just a slice of the pie because the pie is corrupt. We want different ingredients in that pie and we want an adequate slice of that pie when there are different ingredients in it. We want revolutionary representation and not simply representation because simple representation can lead to cooptation. We can utilize a Julian Nava, an Ed Roybal, to a certain measure, and a series of other people even though they have been used to dull our movement by giving us exactly what people ask for--representation. They are beginning to groom many more Chicanos to fit into this type of representation, so we have to begin to define what kind of representation we want.

Do we want a Chicano Nixon or do we want somebody we can relate to? This is the question. We may confuse the Chicano movement by just giving them representation because we're not defining repressive representation and revolutionary representation. I don't think Anglos will settle for a Nixon. I don't think Chicanos will settle for a

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TOWARDS A COMMUNIST POSITION ON A NATIONAL HEALTH PLAN

By Medical Professionals Committee

The World Health Organization declares that "The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief or economic or social condition" and defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." So defined, health may be said to derive from 1) the nature of the physical, psychological and social environment, 2) the application of the science of human biology to problems of health and disease, and 3) the way medical care is delivered to the people. In the last analysis, the environmental factors, medical science, and the health care delivery system are socially determined. Health derives out of social existence, and social existence is determined by the political economic system, e.g, capitalism or socialism, and the particular characteristics, historically formed within that system. If health has a predominantly social character, then ill-health may be ascribed to distortions in the relationship between man and society. As a corollary, therefore, improvement in the quality of health is more likely to arise from an improvement in the quality of life than it is from increasing the number of health professionals or by changing the health care delivery system desirable and necessary as these may be.

Since societal influences are paramount to problems of health and disease, we must address ourselves to an understanding of how that society is affected by the general situation in the world today. What is the nature of the general situation; how does it influence or in fact, produce the present crisis in health care, and what should be done to overcome that crisis?

The intensification of the general crisis of capitalism with its concomitant deterioration in the quality of life and the accelerating tendencies to alienation of people from their society as well as from one another makes it possible for the American working class and its allies both to experience and to understand better the nature of the contradictions that beset present day capitalist society. The disintegration of social existence is laid bare for all to see. The drive by corporate monopolies to maximize profits in the face of the tendency of the average rate of profit to fall, the renewed and increasing competition among the capitalist countries, the removal of the socialist world from the sphere of capitalist exploitation, the revolutionary struggles of national liberation in the colonial nations all increase the problems and difficulties facing imperialism. The vast military expenditures designed to create enormous profits and to maintain the

economy have indeed produced the opposite by developing the present monetary crisis and further distorting an already disabled economy primarily at the expense of the working class. The relatively high wages and high standard of living of some segments of the American working class attained by extracting maximum surplus value from the exploited workers and peasants of the colonial world, as well as from the racially oppressed at home, may no longer be possible. With the decline in surplus value or profits from abroad and therefore the increasing need to seek maximum profits at home--an inevitable consequence of monopoly development--the American bourgeoisie will of necessity move to continue its super-profits at the expense of its own working class. This attempt to increase the appropriation of surplus value can be accomplished only by increasing exploitation by speedups, wage cuts and freezes, and increasing unemployment, all of which can have, and indeed is already having serious consequences for the health of the American workers. The wage freeze is but the first step. The oppressive nature of the Nixon administration, functioning as the executive arm of monopoly capital, can be expected to worsen out of the need to counter the rising militancy of the working class and its allies. Fascist-like measures can be expected as the ruling class is no longer able to control and to further exploit its own working class.

The deterioration in the social fabric which can have only adverse effects on the people's health, verifies the correctness of Marx's analysis of capitalist development and the truth of the law of the increasing misery of the working class. With monopoly capital in severe crisis it is inevitable that this crisis will be reflected domestically. Wherever one looks there is decay, decay manifested by urban blight, pollution, alienation and a host of lesser but equally pervasive crises in education, jobs, housing, transportation and health. It is to the latter crisis that we address ourselves in the full knowledge and confidence that capitalism is no longer capable of overcoming its own internal contradictions and that the problem of health, as with other problems created by a dying culture, are solvable eventually only through socialism, only when state power passes to the people who then begin consciously to create a new society based on scientific socialism and directed toward the development of Socialist Man.

(A) THE ENVIRONMENT

The physical, mental and social environment referred to earlier is rooted in a society that in specific ways reflects the problems created at home by the general crisis of capitalism. American society is being brutalized and dehumanized by a barbarous imperialist war in Southeast Asia, by rampant racism and discrimination of all kinds at home, by growing alienation among all classes but especially among the youth, and by massive urban decay. We live amidst monstrous environmental pollution, growing unemployment and job insecurity, inflation, increasing poverty as well as hunger and malnutrition, and deterioration of housing and of our educational and transportation systems. Our youth see no promise of a decent and hopeful future for themselves. Society has no place for them save in the military so as to remove them from the competition for jobs and to dehumanize them as killers to make easier the transition to fascism when that becomes necessary.

In this kind of society is it any wonder that so many of our youth are deeply involved with all sorts of drugs as an escape from reality? If the physical and mental health of the people grows out of social and economic roots, as it must, it should therefore not surprise anyone that in this relatively affluent nation with its great scientific and technological expertise the criteria by which we measure health and ill-health indicate that our accomplishments are far from our potential.

DEMANDS TO IMPROVE OUR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

We call upon all the American people to join with us in the struggle to create a new society and to participate with us to secure better health for all the people. To improve our social environment we demand:

- 1) The immediate end to the Indochina War as the first step in halting the brutalization of the American people and as a necessary prerequisite for attacking all the other problems of contemporary society.
- 2) An end to racism, male supremacy, and discrimination of all kinds.
- 3) New and improved housing for all with a deliberate program for the repair of deteriorating dwellings so as to eliminate the chance of lead poisoning, rat-bite, burns, etc., among children living in slums.
- 4) As vital first steps in the fight against alienation, socially meaningful jobs for all at livable wages; the elimination of poverty by a guaranteed annual income, thus eliminating the degrading welfare system.
- 5) An end to hunger and malnutrition.
- 6) A massive overhauling of our education system with more teachers and more effective curricula to better prepare our children for a socially meaningful life.
- 7) The extensive construction of day care centers for children of working mothers as well as for disadvantaged children to insure proper early nutrition and pre-school preparation.
- 8) The creation of a free, modern, quiet, high-speed urban and inter-urban transportation system.
- 9) The development of more parks and recreation facilities.
- 10) Continuous investigation and monitoring of working conditions of factory, mine and farm workers to safeguard their health and protect them from accidents and from industrial and agricultural hazards. Recognition of right to good health of all prisoners.
- 11) Research and testing of food additives such as preservatives, hormones, antibiotics, flavoring, coloring, to determine safety as well

as nutritional effects and appropriate regulation to assure the highest quality and safety of all foods coming to market.

ANTI-POLLUTION DEMANDS

Our physical environment as well has deteriorated. Our air, our water, and our soil are grossly polluted. We are inundated by solid waste and refuse. While this is largely the legacy of industrial capitalism, socialist nations are not without similar problems. However, the latter societies are already committed to the task of preventing and overcoming environmental pollution. We invite the American people to demand, with us, the following:

- 1) The rigid enforcement of already existing controls against all manner of environmental contamination.
- 2) The creation of new anti-pollution controls as necessary regardless of cost and regardless of their effects on profits.*
- 3) The development of non-polluting engines.
- 4) An increase in efforts to develop less hazardous automobiles, greater emphasis on highway safety with strict enforcement of safety laws, and improvement in highway construction so as to minimize automotive accidents.
- 5) The conscious effort to develop viable programs for recycling waste products on a grand scale.
- 6) The deliberate programming of industrial and non-industrial enterprises so as to reduce to an absolute minimum any residual non-cyclable waste.
- 7) An end to the deliberate free enterprise policy of building in obsolescence into commodity products.
- 8) The assumption on the part of the federal government of responsibility for all aspects of consumer protection and safeguards.

In general, the improvement of our social and physical environment will go far to change our psychological environment from pessimism, alienation and cynicism to hope, struggle and humanization.

(B) MEDICAL SCIENCE

The past several decades have seen a veritable burgeoning of new scientific and biologic discoveries, development of new drugs, new procedures and new and increasingly sophisticated technology. In the general over-all perspective their contribution to improved health is limited despite undoubted individual successes. We do not wish to demean their importance and their achievements; indeed, we call upon the government to increase research funds so as to develop new methods of combatting the major causes of death and chronic illness--heart disease,

* Costs are not be passed on to the consumer

cancer, degenerative diseases, congenital deformities, inherited diseases such as sickle cell anemia, mental illness, and others. At the same time we need an outpouring of federal financial support for the public health sector so as to create improved conditions of living and thus promote good health for all the people.

A great deal more could be said about the role of medical science as a factor in the people's health, about the pragmatic nature of bourgeois medical research and the distorted priorities that determine which projects are funded. It is no coincidence that sickle cell anemia, a disease almost exclusively encountered in Blacks, did not excite any research interest until Black militancy thrust it upon the scientific establishment. While support of all scientific research in health and disease is essential, we recognize that the creation of a just and secure society with jobs for all at decent wages, good housing and recreational facilities, an end to pollution of all kinds, a society free of tensions, abnormal pressures, alienation, discrimination and war as well as the universal application of all that is currently known in medical science would of themselves significantly improve the health of all workers even if medical research were suddenly to come to a halt at this time. Further studies of the application of the methods of dialectical materialism to science, medical science in particular, are necessary to bring new directions and greater meaning to scientific research of all kinds.

(C) THE MEDICAL CARE SYSTEM

The American health care system, or more appropriately, non-system, is in crisis. Medical costs are too high and while 7% of the gross national product is currently spent on health the return is less than that achieved in some countries which spend relatively less than we do. There are serious shortages in health manpower including physicians, dentists, nurses, technicians and other allied medical personnel. These manpower shortages are accentuated by mal-distribution since physicians are concentrated in affluent urban and suburban centers leaving rural and ghetto areas almost devoid of health professionals as well as medical facilities. Infant mortality rates, maternal mortality and life expectancy in many countries are better than in the United States and most of these countries are either socialist or at least have viable national health systems. Among our own people the Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Chicanos in general have poorer health than whites and poor whites have poorer health than middle class whites. Public hospitals where the poor seek medical attention are often obsolete and dilapidated, overcrowded and underfinanced and understaffed. Too often they are inaccessible, impersonal, demeaning and non-compassionate. Medical facilities are improperly distributed and the community does not control them nor does it have any significant role in planning or in the determination of policy. Medical care is available as a commodity to be purchased or as a charity to be gratefully received. It should be a right for all people to enjoy irrespective of status or ability to pay. Medical practice emphasizes cure rather than prevention and ignores the role of the total environment in problems of health and disease. Medical care is episodic, oriented to crises in health rather than to continuous health maintenance; it

is often fragmented among several specialties and frequently discontinuous. There are too many specialists and not enough primary care physicians and the system is elitist in character and hierarchical in structure. A redefinition of the roles and responsibilities of the health professionals is needed as is the development of a new health care system that is more responsive to the needs of all the people. The health care delivery system is presently undergoing change partly in response to working class demands and partly in response to the entry into the health care field of liberal and radical health workers.

What should be contained in such a health care system? Such a system must be national in scope, universal in its application and subject to deliberate and conscious planning. It must recognize the right of every individual to complete and comprehensive medical care that includes preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic and rehabilitative services. These services should be continuous, available, accessible and humane and provided in local, decentralized facilities that operate under the control of the consumers and the providers through community boards that are responsive to the wishes and needs of the people. What is required is a national health service together with a national system of financing health care. Legislation dealing only with financing and not with the creation of a national health service would leave us with the same nonsystem currently prevailing. A national health service should address itself to the creation of a healthy environment, elimination of racism and discrimination of all kinds both in the health professions and in society in general while government social policy should provide a guaranteed annual income, jobs, housing and healthful nutrition for all. Lastly, the national health service should establish and keep inviolate a single class system of care for all in place of the two class system for rich and poor prevailing at present. The 7% of our gross national product now being spent on all aspects of medical care is more than enough to pay for a new national health system. However, these goals, no matter how rational and even efficient in relation to cost they may appear, are probably unattainable under capitalism. Nevertheless, the Communist Party will continue to organize and struggle for major changes in the health care system and will maximize the effort to achieve these ends in the face of these influences within bourgeois society which tend to worsen the present health crisis.

Over the past several years successful attempts have been made to locate neighborhood health centers in deprived inner city communities almost devoid of practicing physicians and to develop new methods of health care delivery systems based on the concept of the medical team. These teams consist of physicians, dentists, nurses, nurse practitioners, *health assistants, nutritionists, therapists, physical and occupational, family health workers, etc. The team concept arose in response to the chronic shortage of medical personnel and from an appreciation of the desirability of transferring some of the functions previously performed by physicians to other members of the medical team, who with some training, might be expected to carry out these functions equally well. The movement to develop neighborhood centers followed by several years an earlier attempt to help relieve the health crisis by organizing prepaid group practice units in the more affluent urban, suburban and even rural areas. As the system of medical care in this country changes it is quite

* Nurses or other health professionals who are especially trained to perform some of the tasks presently performed by physicians so as to permit the latter to reserve their function for those aspects of medical practice for which they alone are trained and possess the necessary expertise.

likely to evolve dialectically out of both these trends. That is, health facilities serviced by several kinds of medical specialists and other health professionals should be located in the communities and should operate under a system of prepayment so that no money is exchanged at the time a medical service is obtained.

WORKING CLASS DEMANDS

The working class and its allies should therefore demand the following for improving health care and its delivery to the people:

- 1) Immediate federal funding to permit an extensive expansion of present health training facilities as well as the creation of new institutions to make possible a massive increase in enrollment at all levels of training (medical, dental, nursing, technical) necessary to overcome the marked shortage of health manpower.
- 2) Free tuition and stipends to all trainees in the health field so as to eliminate economic factors as obstacles to entry into these careers for the poor and for minorities.
- 3) Admission into these schools irrespective of prior education and preexisting requirements with adequate time and tutoring to permit all who enter eventually to cope with the curriculum as a way of overcoming society's deficiencies.
- 4) Building mobility into the training programs so as to allow those who wish to and are able to advance to different levels of function within the health field irrespective of prior background and service.
- 5) The deployment of physicians, dentists, nurses, technicians and other medical personnel where they are most needed, urban and rural, and at adequate compensation.
- 6) The location of health facilities in the community and under planning and operative control of the community.
- 7) The availability of all conventional medical services in these community-based facilities--preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic, rehabilitative--and delivered by teams of health professionals.
- 8) Availability of adequate and meaningful social service functions to assist in the recovery of the sick and in the maintenance of health of the well.
- 9) The establishment of local acute and chronic disease hospitals, nursing homes, convalescent homes, psychiatric institutions as well as facilities for the retarded within the communities so as to permit family participation in the daily care of patients where possible and desirable. These institutions should be small enough to be efficient and compassionate and able to avoid the coldness and impersonality of the modern gigantic medical center.

10) The organization of a series of progressively more specialized hospitals serving several communities and functioning as referral centers from the community hospitals with the most highly specialized standing at the top and directly related to the professional schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing, technology and allied medical services with the students receiving instruction at all levels of the system appropriate for their training.

11) The payment of health workers by annual salaries with the mechanism for this built into the national system of financing health care, and therefore an eventual end of fee-for-service practice.

12) The nationalization of the pharmaceutical industry at all levels to abolish exorbitant profits in the manufacture and sale of medicinal drugs and unconscionable deception in advertising, the elimination of useless medication, the avoidance of the proliferation of known drugs under countless different trade names, and strict controls in drug research before any new medicines can reach the consumer.

13) The organization of humane care of the aged where necessary in a way that permits them to participate in and enjoy the comradeship of social living in dignity and consistent with their capacities.

An important consideration is how the people establish and maintain control of the health care system and its facilities. Under socialism the working class and society as a whole have common interests; but under capitalism it is the so-called establishment--the ruling class--which exists at the expense of the working class, and the interests of the two groups are antagonistic.

The fight for community control is an aspect of this class struggle and as such is supported by the Communist Party. With community control under capitalism, the class struggle, the antagonism between working class and ruling class, is not resolved but rather accentuated. The fight for community control advances the class struggle by challenging the capitalist process without assuming capitalist responsibilities. The working class must not take control of nor preside over disintegrating urban institutions and obsolete health care facilities in the absence of an adequate theoretical social policy. Only a correct social policy can and will give the working class the necessary means to create adequate health institutions. Only by the simultaneous struggle for such a social policy can agitation for community control avoid creating illusions among the working class that it can really control community institutions. The working class must not permit the ruling class to abdicate its responsibilities by yielding control over the decrepit hospital plants without at the same time acquiring real power to effect meaningful change. The people's fight for health care is thus an integral part of the class struggle.

We therefore make the following additional proposals:

14) The creation of local and regional community health boards consisting of both consumers and providers of health services, charged with the responsibility of organizing both the services and facilities that are consistent with the outlines of a national program. The method of selection and the structure of the local boards may well vary

from community to community but local needs and autonomy would be emphasized.

15) The development of regional boards from the local boards to deal with problems of health and disease that go beyond the capacity of the local boards such as health education, pollution control, public health measures.

16) The creation of a position of Secretary of Health with Cabinet status.

17) The elimination of separate state licensure requirements and the substitution of national criteria for licensing all health personnel.

18) The establishment of a national health care fund financed by those in higher income brackets, (with the poor and working class exempt from payment), with the funds used to pay for all health services and facilities.

19) The national health care fund is to be mandated trust fund and thereby exempt from annual congressional appropriation.

20) The distribution of these funds to the regional and local boards on a per capita basis with additional monies available for those communities with poor health records or with special problems.

A true people's health program will not arise without the effort and struggle that all social innovations require. Out of the struggle for such a program as well as out of the struggle for other progressive measures will come clarity of thinking and understanding of the necessity to move to socialism.

* * *

RESOLUTION ON INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

--Submitted by the Ho Chi Minh Club
and the combined William Z. Foster
and Harriet Tubman clubs, N. Y.

Introduction

The deepening crisis of our society "is expressed in the rise of fascist tendencies, in mounting repression and official brutality in the "law and order" policies of the Nixon administration. The Nixon offensive against the working people is a carefully elaborated plan

designed "to increase the rate of exploitation far beyond existing levels and to destroy all power of the working class to resist." "The popular forces needed to defeat the moves toward fascism exist," namely "masses of workers, the oppressed peoples Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian...." They must be united to act together.

Statement

"There is a "growing failure of a class collaborationist trade union leadership to meet" the problems of the masses of workers. "A rank-and-file movement and an organized left sector are indispensable instruments of class struggle trade unionism." Unfortunately, "TUAD /a national rank-and-file coordinating organization/ has tended to hold back and hence to fall short of its full potential." Throughout our Party "the insidious influences of Right opportunism are today the most serious because they have been least recognized and fought, and they express themselves in conservatism, sluggishness and failure to respond to issues and take initiatives in launching struggles." Until we change the phenomenon of one Party member in one shop, industrial concentration has little chance of success.

During the last convention an industrial policy was decided upon for our district. While there have been some successes in concentration projects there has been an overall weakness in implementing the industrial concentration policy of the last state convention. "Concentration on the working class is not yet the central feature of all our work."

The struggle in the community can and should be related to the struggle in the shop, and vice versa. The forces involved have much in common; many of the shop workers reside in the community while most community people are workers. Both have a common interest in the struggle against the oppressive quality of monopoly domination. Unity of both is necessary to strengthen our fight against these oppressive forces.

The use of both forces (shop and community) makes it possible to attack specific issues from several directions. The same monopoly forces who exploit workers at the point of production also control and oppress the people in the community. They control the politicians, educational system, health care, taxation, housing and other aspects of life. They are the perpetrators of racism and violence against the community and the workers.

Resolution

We therefore propose that the policy of industrial concentration be reaffirmed, strengthened and implemented in all Party bodies and areas that so far have not been involved.

The Program of the Communist Party U.S.A. states that monopoly capital profits from its "exploitation of workers in the productive process and in this lies the special position which the working class occupies in the anti-monopoly struggle. It is the working class which directly challenges capitalist exploitation."

The Program cites the strategic importance of organizing the "millions of unorganized workers" who constitute the great majority of the working class in our country. It notes their substandard wages and falling living standards and points to the ghettos and barrios where the great majority suffer mass poverty and unemployment.

Amongst these unorganized millions "the primary need, however, is organization of the masses of grossly underpaid workers employed mainly in agriculture, in service occupations such as domestic work, retail trade, restaurants, laundries, hospitals and in many factory jobs."

The Party of the working class must be a key instrument in achieving working class unity. It must have its bases and influence other forms of organization that can act to unify industrial and service workers; Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and white workers; female and male workers; younger and older workers; workers in the shops and in the communities -- in short, a Party that fights for a revolutionary unity of the entire class.

In order to build bases of power, with our limited cadre, it is necessary to concentrate our energies, plans and forces. The obvious strategic objective is to bring class struggle policies, actions and organization to basic monopolized heavy industry -- i.e., auto, steel, transport, etc. In order to accomplish this we need a sizable group of trained working class organizers who can by common outlook and activity work to effect basic changes in the giant industrial shops and succeed in building real class struggle trade unions. Working class bases and trained cadre can often be developed most quickly when we are working amongst the unorganized and succeed in building class struggle oriented trade unions. Also, these groups of unorganized workers, many of whom are low paid, generally include large sections of Black, Chicano and other minority groups as well as women and younger workers. The convergence of class exploitation and national and sexual oppression can produce a situation where a quicker process of recruiting advanced cadre for organizing in basic industry is possible.

In priority industries, where trade union democracy is somewhat greater due to an active rank-and-file organization, greater opportunities exist for us to build a larger base, thereby intensifying the working class struggle against the employers and also influencing the organized trade union movement.

* * *

JUST RELEASED FROM NEW OUTLOOK

THE POLITICS OF PEOPLE'S ACTION--The Communist Party in the '72 Elections. Henry Winston's report to the National Committee, Nov. 14, 1971, outlining the importance of the Hall-Tyner campaign for President and Vice-President in 1972 and the necessary preparations which the Party must make. 48 pp. 50¢

Distributed to all Party members through clubs. Also available from New Outlook, 32 Union Sq. E., Rm. 801, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

PROPOSED CHANGES ON YOUTH SECTION OF THESES

By J., Reporter for New Haven, Conn. Club

We consider this section to be an especially important one. The following is a listing of changes, additions, etc. that we thought should be made.

1. Too much space is devoted to a discussion of the history of various now defunct groups (i.e. SDS). This history should be summarized in one or two short paragraphs.
2. A couple of paragraphs explaining the historic role of youth in social change should open the section. This will give needed background.
3. Next should follow a summary of special problems youth in this country face today. One central issue is poor education. Special problems include unemployment, lack of union democracy, problems of young parents, etc. Also, negative influences, including the use of cultural forms and dope for escapism.
4. Then, use the paragraphs of the section that pertain to the 19th Convention, and the situation existing at that time, as included here:

The 19th Convention of the Party took place at a time of widespread student rebellions and rebellions of youth in the Black ghettos. It took place also at a time of the dominance of petty-bourgeois radicalism and anarchism in the New Left, at a time when the SDS was in full flower.

But there were at the time also significant movements in the New Left toward identification with the socialist world and with the working class in this country--movements in the direction of Marxism. The Convention concluded that the times no longer called for an all-embracing youth organization appealing to all youth expressing an interest in socialism, but rather for a more sharply defined Marxist organization appealing to those youth who have already developed some commitment to Marxism.

Since then important changes have taken place, growing out of the upsurge of democratic and class struggles in recent years. These developments, leading to the emergence of new levels of

political consciousness, have had profound effects within the youth movement.

The 19th Convention noted that the process of radicalization had lagged among youth in industry as compared to student and middle class elements. But since then the center of gravity of youth struggles has shifted in their direction. Young workers have become more active and more militant. This is part of the sharpening of the class struggle in this period. The growth of militance and political consciousness has been greatest among young Black workers, but it has by no means been confined to them. Young workers, Black and white, have become a spearhead of the rank-and-file upsurge. Many display an openness to new ideas, to Marxism-Leninism. A growing number are reading Marxist-Leninist literature. Indeed these youth are today making a very special contribution to the trade union movement.

The ideological struggle among youth has by no means abated; rather, it has shifted ground. Petty-bourgeois radical and anti-working class trends have not disappeared, nor have terrorist and anarchist concepts. These continue to crop up in new forms and the need for combatting them continues to exist. Also, other such trends come into vogue, for example, the pseudo-revolutionary concept of "counter-culture" which proposes to do away with the evils of capitalism by changing consciousness or personal life styles in place of fighting to abolish its basic institutions. There can be no letdown in the struggle against bourgeois ideological influences among youth, in whatever form.

5. The paragraph about the YWLL should follow, as included here:

The period since the 19th Convention has witnessed the launching of the YWLL as a Marxist-Leninist youth organization appealing to youth geared to Marxism, oriented primarily toward working youth, and with strong fraternal ties to the Communist Party. It has shown itself to be a viable organization, capable of establishing deep roots among the working youth. However, much has yet to be done to build its membership and extend its influence.

Among the problems to be resolved if this is to be accomplished is the achievement of proper relationships between the YWLL and the Party. There is a widespread lack of understanding within the Party of the necessity of a special organization for youth and a tendency to look upon it as merely an adjunct to the Party. This weakness needs urgently to be corrected. Helping to build the YWLL must become in actual fact a prime responsibility of the Party as a whole.

This part of the section should be elaborated on more. What positive influences has a Marxist-Leninist youth organization had on our Party and our work in general, to date? What, explicitly, are some of the weaknesses in misunderstanding that exist?

6. Lastly, there should be a couple of paragraphs on the role of the Party itself in terms of youth work (in addition to helping to build a Marxist-Leninist youth organization). How can we deal with youth issues better within the Party? How can we recruit more "older" comrades? How can "older comrades" integrate questions dealing with the problems of youth into their work?

* * *

PARTY APPROACH TO YOUTH, PART 3

By Jay Schaffner
Chicago, Ill.

Our Draft Theses states: "There is a widespread lack of understanding within the Party of the necessity of a special organization for youth and a tendency to look upon it (YWLL) as merely an adjunct to the Party." Later in the Theses is the following statement: "Helping to build the YWLL must become an actual fact, a prime responsibility of the Party as a whole." These two fundamental questions have to be discussed and clarified as a result of our pre-Convention discussion and the 20th Convention. As a background to these questions, I would like to discuss certain aspects of Party-League relations here in Illinois.

It is absolutely essential that Party youth be assigned to the League to insure its stability and leadership, especially at the present time. But what does that actually mean? Party youth are members of clubs along with other Party members and should have the same responsibilities as older comrades. While the day-to-day work of Party youth will be discussed in the League, they are still subject to the same type of organizational discipline and checkup as all comrades. We have to end the double standard with regard to Party youth. Now that we have a Marxist-Leninist youth organization as a training ground for youth, we have to raise the standards of youth recruitment into the Party. Youth should not be rushed through the League into the Party but should be able to find a home in the League and after a period of time (not wanting to be mechanical and set time limits), recruited.

In ending this double standard with regard to youth one of the problems is paternalism. "Whatever the youth do, it's all right; it's better than their not doing anything." This has to be stopped. We want to be criticized when we goof, not just given a blank check. This paternalism is one thing, but with regard to Black youth it is actually a form of chauvinism. Party youth have to begin to feel responsible to their Party clubs for their work in the League (or lack of work) and those comrades that are in the section leadership of

the League have to feel responsible to the District Committee and Board for their work. But this is also a two-way street. The clubs and district bodies have to also feel responsible politically, ideologically and organizationally for the functioning of a Marxist-Leninist youth organization.

This problem is closely related to another one. The Party at the present has and in the future will have tremendous tasks and responsibilities, tasks and responsibilities that a vanguard, revolutionary Party has to fulfill. This is especially hard on a small Party such as ours. This produces what I shall call the "cadre problem." Where is the Party going to get its cadre to fill these needs that literally grow every day, at a time when the bulk of the Party membership is getting older? I think there are two ways--one is to recruit people from our mass work who will become our new cadre, hopefully in the age bracket 35-50, that will help close the age gap in the Party. The other is much easier, that is to look at the League and see what non-Party comrades there are and to recruit them saying they are ready for the Party and then in a sense give them Party assignments. There is a little twist to this angle and that is to "respect the organizational independence of the League, so we won't recruit, we'll just give non-Party League members Party assignments." I personally prefer the first way of recruiting, but let's discuss the League response to the second way of recruiting. As Party members, we are all for the largest Party possible, but our response (Party youth in the League) was to hamper and resent the recruiting of youth into the Party for fear of drying up the League. We became too inward and really weren't involved in mass struggles so that we could recruit new members.

Now we have to address ourselves to the problems of the League's orientation, the orientation of the Party in the youth movement. We have to probe as to why the League functioned like a Party? I would like to put forth a few ideas on this phenomenon.

Without a clear and consistent role on the part of the vanguard organization, the Party, the Marxist-Leninist youth organization stepped in to fill the void and attempted to function as a vanguard organization for the entire class, and while not doing so consciously, the League ignored the youth question and the special struggles of youth.

We have to grapple with the problem where the youth question comes easy for most youth in America, but relatively hard for youth once they join the Party or even the League.

Along with the League's over-orientation on cadre work there is a problem that has "afflicted" Party youth for a period of time and that is cliquishness to the point of excluding any new people.

The League's undertaking of the vanguard role that the Party should be fulfilling in a sense expresses a lack of confidence that our Party at the present time can actually play a vanguard revolutionary role. This concept both conscious and unconscious has to be fought by Party youth. Our Party is the vanguard, revolutionary

Marxist-Leninist Party in America. The Party youth have to fight this concept ideologically but it will surely help when non-Party youth learn about some of the activities of older comrades but also see them in struggle. This tendency has been "aided" by older comrades who have given up the fight for Party organizational forms and by older comrades who seek to totally rely on the young members of the League as the "foot soldiers and leaflet brigade of the Party."

The position for the whole Party and especially for Party youth, is that the Party is primary, that the open and not-open, but consistent role of the Party is essential for the growth, development and "stability" of the YWLL. Party youth are therefore the open expression of the Party within the League and they have to be held to their Party assignment.

There is no contradiction for Party youth, between Party work and League work when it is seen in the context of youth work and the youth question as it relates to the overall struggles of the Party and the Party program. The work of the League and the Party should overlap only in the sense that goals are the same. The Party is the vanguard leadership force for the whole working class and people, including the youth. The League has the responsibility for winning this generation to be an ally of the working class and to socialism. The League is not a vanguard force and we have to fight "youth vanguardism" as it crops up. Only when the League attempts to be a vanguard force does there become a contradiction between "League work and Party work."

There are a couple of concepts that I would like to touch on that have to do with how the Party organization can give leadership to the League organization.

There should be an organized way for the Party leadership to meet with the League leadership to discuss political matters of concern to both organizations, an avenue also through which the Party organization could give political and ideological leadership to the League organization.

I think that we have to see in the relatively near future the realization of the concept that there is a parallel League branch to every Party club. But until we reach that stage I think that the parallel Party form that has to take the responsibility for the ideological, political and organizational functioning of the League is the Party Section Committee. There should be a Party youth who is assigned to youth work on the Section Committee, if for no other reason as a form of communication. The Section organizer should take steps to work with and develop the Chairman of the respective League branch, even if it is a non-Party person, if we accept the principle of fraternal organizations and the League recognizes that it is not a vanguard organization.

I want to mention a few other things which I would term ideological questions that have affected the level of the youth upsurge. One is the problem of widespread cynicism as a mass phenomenon on the part of youth, which in part has led to a dropping out of struggle of previously political youth. Whether it is based on a lack of

confidence in the people and the working class' ability to make social change or on early illusions as to the quickness of the revolution, we have to deal with the results--a turn to drugs, abstinence from struggle, moving to rural commune life, mysticism, a belief in the occult and the supernatural, a growth in the "Jesus freak" movement, and for a section of those in struggle, there has been a turn to total reformism and liberalism and resurrection of social-democratic currents.

I think that the thread that has to run through the pre-Convention discussion on the youth question is as follows: The thrust that the Party has to make in building the youth movement in this country and the building of a Marxist-Leninist youth organization. We have to remember that our youth policy cannot be implemented without the role of the Party.

* * *

ON WOMEN'S EQUALITY

from a comrade in the Tennessee District

The section in the Draft Theses on the women's movement indicates that effort is under way within the Party to deal more concretely with the special oppression and the special needs of women. In my opinion, discussion on this question is acutely needed.

The Party has distinguished itself historically for the leadership that Black and white Communist women have given in struggles for ending national oppression, racism, discrimination, war, and the particular ills which working and poor women confront. The leadership given by Black women within our Party is particularly striking; the struggle around Angela Davis is one example of both the leadership being given by Black women, and of our commitment to supporting that leadership.

This said, however, it must also be said that our analysis and program for dealing with the particular and special oppression that women face day to day, as women, is decidedly lacking. It is difficult to put forward to others concrete explanations of how the Party fights this special exploitation of women, how it fights male supremacist ideology, and how it deals with male supremacist notions and practice and the special problems of women within our own ranks. Neither has the question of leadership been totally solved. As the Women's Commission points out, typically this leadership at the higher levels of Party bodies is male dominated. It is time, I think, that we have thorough discussion of why this situation exists. It is time for some self-criticism and analysis on why our Party

has not done more, concretely, to take up the struggle for women's rights.

THE WOMAN QUESTION -- AND WOMEN -- IN THE BACKGROUND

In reading Party journals, the question of women's liberation, and women themselves, are in the background. While many people in movements for change are debating the ramifications of the woman question, and while women are forging a movement to gain full rights, our journals are nearly silent on the question.

For instance, in reading through Political Affairs from August 1970 through November 1971, one finds a total of 97 pieces written by men, and only 14 written by women; of 16 issues, only four contain one or more lead articles written by women. There is no theoretical discussion on the special oppression of women during this period until the March 1971 issue, which is devoted to the woman question. There is no follow-up discussion until the July and August issues, and there the debate stops. During the same period, one counts on the fingers of the hand the references to the woman question in Party Affairs, and there are no articles dealing with this as a special problem. The overwhelming majority of signed articles are written by men.

In pamphlets, journals and practical discussion, there seem to be many instances of omission concerning the struggle to end the special oppression of women. Omission of discussion and lack of participation by women seem to be part of a general failure to struggle with the question of male supremacist ideology and its effects. When the oppression of women is raised, it is almost solely in an economic sense. Even then, no program follows. Rarely does male supremacy, at the personal, institutional, or ideological level, come under systematic attack.

Clara Colon, in Enter Fighting: Today's Woman, pointed out (among other things) that the female body has been used by capitalism as a source of profit and that the mass media has propagandized the population with what some people describe as "sexist" ideas. The concept of "femininity," she explains, has been used similar to the wage differential to keep women "in their place." Many in the Party shrug this propaganda and ideology off as something that affects only "middle class" women. As a result, a lack of perception of the male supremacist character of our society shows up in small ways, such as the use of the word "brothers" when we mean all people, "workingmen" when we mean workers, "man's future," etc. There is seeming unawareness of the permeation of male supremacist ideology, even at the level of the language we use, in our society.

PROBLEMS OF APPROACH

The Theses states that "our attitude has (too often) been to ignore the women's liberation movement, labelling it feminist without distinguishing the trends within it." To this assessment could be added the additional statement that our attitude often seems insensitive or rigid, even sectarian. To some this conveys a lack of

partisanship with the cause of liberating women from the special oppression they have suffered in class society historically. While this has never been the case, the fact that we may appear to be unsympathetic to the many grievances of women, "middle class" as well as working class, is itself a criticism of our approach.

In Political Affairs (July, 1971) "Women's Liberation, A Class Approach," the discussion centers around statements made by bourgeois women such as Lucy Komisar, a writer for Saturday Review. Henry Winston, in assessing the current women's liberation movement, equates Komisar's views with that of the whole movement, and concludes that "all of the goals of women's liberation are seen as being won within the framework of the existing system." This is a basically negative--and inaccurate--assessment of the movement. The current women's movement, Clara Colon pointed out, arose in large part out of the civil rights and student movements, when women found that "even in the Movement, men consider that 'women's place' is where they can best serve the men." Many of these women see socialism as the answer to the problems of women, or at least a major part of that answer. While there will be disagreements about how to carry out struggle, this does not mean these women are bourgeois in orientation.

Even in dealing with the less class-conscious elements of the women's movement, we must understand that these women are not ruled out as a progressive force simply because, as Winston puts it, they have no "treatment of long-range objectives, involving a struggle leading towards the overthrow of capitalism." Many groups attacking discrimination and inequities are not trying to overthrow capitalism. Yet they do not seem to receive the same degree of criticism levelled at the women's movement here. This kind of approach to an extent obscures the fact that it is a progressive step when women at many levels of awareness and from varying class points of view begin to demand an end to discrimination and a change in treatment. We can certainly understand this without abandoning a working class viewpoint.

NEED FOR DISCUSSION AND PROGRAM

The Women's Commission has pointed out the need for more discussion and struggle around issues relating to women, and on the question of male supremacy. The Commission has emphasized the need for organizational forms, the need to develop programs implemented at the Club level, and the need for an atmosphere that allows women to realize full potential. A special school is being planned to aid in the development of leadership among women in the Party.

In addition, more literature of a factual nature is needed on women's movements and the position of women in other countries as well as in the U.S.; on the triple oppression of Black and minority women; and on the particular problems of working women. It is also important to be critical of how socialist countries are dealing with this question. An uncritical approach, at a time when people are looking for thorough answers, is not sufficient. In this respect, we need more self-critical examination on theoretical and practical questions, and on possible manifestations of male supremacy within our Party.

In the Theses, it is stated that our "two-fold" fight on the ideological front regarding the woman question should be to inject working class analysis, and to educate on the centrality of fighting racism. While this is implied by some of the discussion in the Theses, I think we need to make it clear here that it is also our fight to wage ideological struggle on the issues of male supremacist beliefs and practices. Forms, program, literature, a more positive approach towards current issues and movements, and sharper struggle on questions of male supremacy are in my opinion overdue.

* * *

RESPONSE TO THE TENNESSEE COMRADE

By Sylvia Newcomb

Without commenting on the entire article and its main thrust, except to agree that the level of struggle against male supremacy is not yet adequate, one matter needs comment.

To state that Comrade Henry Winston "equates Komisar's views with that of the whole movement" is to misrepresent Comrade Winston entirely. He painstakingly points out: "I shall deal not with the women's liberation movement in its broadest sense. . . but primarily with the feminist trend within it . . . which is a dominant factor today." Further, he introduces Lucy Komisar as "one of the ideologists of the new feminism." Though she may not be a leader of that movement, her writing certainly represents a prevalent viewpoint within the feminist trend.

The Tennessee Comrade claims Comrade Winston is "negative" and "inaccurate" in his assessment of the women's struggle for equality when he quotes "All of the goals of women's liberation are seen as being won within the framework of the existing system." The completion of this quotation makes clear that it is an objective assessment of the feminist trend: "They do not strike at the social roots of discrimination against women, and of the special problems faced by working class women, Black and white. Therefore, the questions of poverty, racism, ignorance, disease and all the evils of capitalism are not faced." Though it may be true as the Tennessee Comrade claims that "many of these women see socialism as the answer," this is not evident in the objective demands they put forward which do not hit upon the class roots of discrimination against women.

It is difficult to understand how anyone could characterize our National Chairman's assessment of the women's movement as "negative" and imply that he "rules them out as a progressive force." Comrade

Winston points out in his article "There are many positive planks within that movement that must be supported. . ."

The comrade from Tennessee misses completely Comrade Winston's Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class essence of the demands of the feminist trend. Comrade Winston makes two main points: One is that the relationship of Black liberation and women's liberation must be correctly understood, that as important as women's liberation is, it cannot be put on a par with Black liberation. Here he makes the case for the centrality of Black liberation in relation to the central position of Black workers in the working class and industrial proletariat in particular.

Secondly, he points out that working class leadership of the women's movement is needed if it is to be successful, consistent, and meet the needs of the working class, Black, Brown, and white and Black women in general and not just those of the middle strata.

Finally, the comrade pleads that recognition of their "demands for better treatment" can be done without "abandoning a working class viewpoint." Comrade Winston in the polemic under review was dealing with the lack of class approach by the movement and the objectively racist nature of how they equate the two movements. Comrade Winston points out that, while we cannot expect such understanding nor recognition of the need for socialism (toward a full solution) from the spontaneous movement, these are concepts the Communists must help bring to the movement.

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Continued from p. 20

carbon copy of that type either, and we do have the makings for that type.

Also the last point I would like to make about the resolution is that I think a lot of progressive things did happen today because the resolution was worked on. A lot of progressive discussion did go down and a lot of things came about because of it. But I think we have to look at the resolution as objective evidence of where the Party is with the question and if we see vague points in the resolution then it is because the Party should work on more specific and clearer presentations on the question and should seek the kinds of tactics to bring about clearer presentations on where the Chicano movement is. I think we should look at the resolution as objective evidence of where we are with the question.

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LESSONS FROM THE PAST AND PROPOSALS FOR OUR PRESENT WORK IN THE SOUTH, PART 2

By Hosea Hudson

Regarding the whole question (Draft Theses, p. 48), of the people's coalition against monopoly and imperialist war, what do we want to do with this coalition? What is our purpose? What is our aim? What do we see that can be achieved in these coalitions? Here again it is my firm belief that we have to sit down and plan out in the South, not all over the South. We have to have concentration points. Conditions are more favorable in some areas. We don't need to build a southwide people's coalition. We have to begin these coalitions, as I see them, in the communities, in the cities, in the little towns, on the county level, but begin with the community. In the community we have at present various people's organizations. While we have such organizations it should be our endeavor to bring together the leaders of these existing organizations and try to form a leading committee in a block or in the given area of a community-- and begin to lay the basis to build this people's coalition around a program, a program that the people can see their interests in, with our main objective to raise the understanding of the masses to a high level in the community and raise the level of understanding of the masses of people, both Black and white, to the importance of united action. Here again I see a chain that binds the Black liberation movement and the rank-and-file of labor also binding together this united people's coalition.

In these areas what do we have? We have the working people. Many of the people in the community do not know anything about the problems of labor. They feel that is not their interest. Many of the workers don't know anything about unemployment because they have not been unemployed. Through these neighborhood united actions, there can be the process of education; and a role can be played in the councils, and the Negro liberation movement tying in with the whole question of people's coalition, bringing in poor whites into these coalition committees.

Here we can work out a program that will deal with all the problems that confront the people--the question of the youth, the question of the women, the question of labor, the question of unemployment, question of rights of the Negro people. And by so doing, as I see it, out of such a people's coalition around a militant program, the whole question of the voters movement, the Voters League, the Civic League, wherever we can be able to unite and join them together. When it comes to the question of the role of politics--the

election campaign we can go out and take a stand in these people's coalitions. The people can ask the candidates, what is your position on question one, two, three of this program? On the basis of that the people can be able not only to influence these candidates but involve many of these candidates in these areas in these coalitions and tie this whole program with the whole question of peace. It seems to me that this is one of the ways that we can tackle this problem of peace.

Take the question of the poor, rural landless would-be farmers. When I say "poor rural" I mean people who are still sitting in the backwoods, in the counties of the South. They are slowly starving, and slowly perishing away. What do we have today? First of all, we have to understand that we don't have the old South that we had back many years ago in the Roosevelt New Deal period. There were poor Negroes and whites who were able to buy a little tract of land and it was furnished by the Government. The Government furnished them with mules, cows, hogs and chickens. They started them off and let them buy land. And these same people today are settled in some parts of the South especially down in Louisiana. Way back in Louisiana they are living on this land, but the Federal government will not give them grants to farm it. They produce for their own use.

Many of these big mechanized farmers have gone down and taken bulldozers and torn down the forests and taken the digging machinery and pulled the roots up out of the ground and planted fields--thousands of acres of soy beans. This is out beyond Baton Rouge, in Louisiana. These poor farmers had to put their turkeys, their guineas, and their chickens in wire pens to keep them out of the soy beans. And many of them had to quit raising their chickens and their turkeys out on the farm because they weren't able to feed them.

So here again, what is our task? We have talked about the poor rural farmer, landless people. It seems to me that there is going to have to be in this program worked out and agreed upon by these rural people on the farm as well as the people in the neighborhood and towns the question of the rights for these poor would-be farmers to have a right to farm on that land, financed and supported by the Federal government and not the cotton South as it was in the thirties back in Roosevelt's time. It's not a cotton Black Belt, in many parts of the rural South. Therefore, we have to think in terms of holding talks among these rural, poor would-be farmers, Black and white. We have to spell out to them in detail the importance of what do they think is the product they would like to raise--cows, soybeans, hogs, cucumbers or whatever. But let's have a program worked out with these people playing a part and they will see it as their program and with our leadership to help them. Consider organizing people's cooperatives.

The Federal government pays the Eastlands of Mississippi and other big farmers in the various counties in the various states of the South to keep so many hundreds of acres of land lying idle and at the same time giving them the full rights to raise all the farm products that they want to raise, and they have all the market rights to sell their farm products. But the poor farmers and the would-be landless farmers can't get to market their farm products. In such a program

we have to put forward a demand for rights these rural poor have to a share of these markets, furnished by the Federal government. I remember I read it in the newspaper where the government was going to try to discourage all rural farmers from raising cattle that were not able to have more than ten heads of cattle. I said then that it was a drive against these little fellows to get them out of the market. So therefore, these are some of the things we have to understand of what we want to tackle when we talk about a united democratic people's coalition. These are the things that we have to get into such a program. These programs come out of conferences--maybe city conferences, state conferences, South-wide conference with elected delegates from the unions, communities, from the people's organizations to work out such programs.

When we talk about what we're going to do in the South at the 20th Convention it seems to me this is what we've got to see to tackle the problems of the South.

We speak about education. When we talk about education, what kind of education do we mean? Do we mean going to present school rooms--going back to college? No we don't mean that education. And yet it's important. But the basic question of this education is the question that we find a way to raise the understanding of the people on what the problems are and what they are confronted with from day to day. This can be accomplished through forums, discussion groups, inviting friends out to these meetings, Sunday afternoon meetings, night meetings, or whenever they might have them. Certain issues, certain questions are going to be discussed, whether it's unemployment, the question of trade unions or maybe a question of a strike, or a question about the war, or something pertaining to the Supreme Court--civil rights. These discussions are very important to create entrée to a broad section of the people, to prepare the people to see why it's important to unite with others. It includes putting out leaflets, local leaflets, run off by a mimeograph machine, and not waiting until they come in from the National Office but to respond to issues as they develop in the communities, and in the towns.

Every committee or organization we work with can contribute in this way. All people, one way or another, can be involved, if not connected directly but at least supporting on the sidelines and listening to the discussion like we used to have in the old depression days of the WPA. That was when the question of welfare was discussed, of unemployment and social insurance, unemployed and part-time workers, old age pension and government housing. In 1932-33 some said, "Well, you are fools. You can never have that." But these things came to pass and many of these people who said we would never be able to enjoy that old age pension, lived to enjoy it themselves before they died.

There is the question on page 65 of building our Party. Here we talk about racism, the Ku Klux Klan and the terrorist groups. We must recognize the fact that today we live in a rough period. We approach a period--a limited period of assassinations and I think in the South we have to look twice. We have to look in terms of building our Party on a legal basis and at the same time keeping our Party in some places semi-legal in the South, in order to protect our Party

structure and its leadership both legally and semi-legally.

Take the question of putting out leaflets, mimeographed leaflets, issuing leaflets in the name of the Party. It seems to me that is something we have not been doing on a local scale, in many sections. We have to come to grips and expose these ultra-rights, these redbaiters and these witch-hunters for what they are. We have to do like we did years ago when we met. The enemy would try to drive a wedge between the white and Black men and women. They told the whites they should not use the same toilets, talked about "We're getting a lot of criticism from the public about the Negro women and white women all using the same toilet facilities." And it was we Negroes in that Council who asked, what are these people of WPA locals, who are doing all this criticizing about how we're meeting, what are they doing to work with us about getting more projects here to help so people can go on the projects to get a job? Why are they finding fault? What are they doing about that? You go back and tell your critics that we don't listen to them until they come down and fight for jobs for the unemployed and fight for more projects on the WPA where we can get people jobs. Until we can get side-by-side to do that, don't be telling us how we can talk and meet together.

Today we have a whole lot of people criticizing the people going on welfare, how they are using the taxpayers' money. We are having to feed the babies. Where do our Party clubs come out and attack these elements with leaflets, explaining to the people their role in behalf of the welfare of our people? On behalf of the unemployed? We talk about the ultra-rights, the William Buckleys who are always criticizing and always on the TV. In our Party leaflets we have to find a way to put out these leaflets from the club level, from the section committee level, from the city level exposing these elements to the people and telling the people the meaning of what they say. The essence is against the people and for big business. This is the way of educating people.

We will be able to silence a lot of these critics if we come to the people with a down to earth program, if we raise their level of education. It's got to be done.

What was it that destroyed the Southern Conference for Human Welfare after all of these great white and Black leaders met in Birmingham from all over the South in 1938? What was it that destroyed that committee? I will say that one thing that destroyed it was that it did not come head on with the racists and with racism, with Jim Crowism as we called it in those days. Those great leaders of the South accepted that law and abided by it on the basis that it was the law. This was not exposed adequately through discussion and education.

We have to learn how to draft leaflets. What to say. Not to make them too long. Make them simple--with simple words--no big words that people cannot understand. All this, as I see it, is the question of education. And when we begin to tackle these questions and to move out in this fight then this is where we have to be legal and semi-legal, for we can't have everything public. Some might say,

why this is still a hangover from McCarthy days. Our greatest strength is working among the masses and that is our safety, too--not only in the South but in other sections of the country as a whole. The masses of America see us for what we are and what we try to do. We have to always be on guard to safeguard our Party organization, members and our leadership.

I'd like to say that I don't want to be a prophet because I can see danger signs ahead that can become problems for the South. We see the role of Maoists that has already started. We have got to understand that we have in this country a lot of young Blacks who admire Mao Tze Tung and his Party and to my thinking we have to think in terms of having a lot of education among the Black people in this country and white as well, but particularly among the Blacks because there is a segment of Blacks who feel that Mao and his outfit are right and the Soviet leadership is wrong. Therefore when we talk about ideological struggle of education it seems to me this is going to be one of the main tasks to be on our part among the masses--to raise the ideological understanding on these two communisms we have on the scene today--Mao's so-called communism, and that of building socialism on a world scale moving into communism. So therefore I think we have to be on guard on this question and when we speak about ideological levels of education and understanding we have to include this question as well, particularly in the South. We cannot allow the Black masses who are already splitting and grouping in different directions to get on a new level of petty bourgeois Black separatism. We can win if we set ourselves to build our Party.

In such a program of the democratic peoples coalition in the South, it seems to me that the time is at hand that the question must be put wherever racism and Jim Crowism are practiced, that this question of racism must become a local, a state and a federal crime. By law anyone who is found practicing racism or expressing racism will be put to trial. We have to place the Federal Government's responsibility for this whole policy of oppression against the Negro people and all other oppressed minority groups. It seems to me that the time is at hand for us to quit talking about racism, white chauvinism and Jim Crowism and put it in the proper place--and that is work and fight for bringing into being a local, a state and a federal law outlawing racism. It seems that this is in order for today. I'd like to hear some more discussions, some more people's thinking about it, because it is the federal government that is responsible. Candidates running today, and their parties must be made to say how they stand on racism and policies of oppression whether it be an old party or a new party. We have to insist that they express themselves on all these questions.

There is no better time to make a beginning than in this Program that is hoped to be worked out and agreed upon from the South at our 20th National Convention. Therefore, this is one point that should be seriously considered in such a people's coalition program--whether it be North or South.

I want to say that I have tried to bring out the best thinking that I could in all my experience of work in the South and I hope whatever I brought out can be of some help. Others can add their

criticism and thoughts so that we can make a real approach and turn our attention to work in the South. It must come if we expect to change conditions in this country. For a Better Life for All the People!

* * *

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrades,

During the just concluded New York State Convention a few thoughts came to my mind, which I wish to communicate to you.

Press: Experience of our club shows that results can be achieved by concentration on a housing project with consistent week-to-week canvassing, with regular crews organized in twos--one man, one woman--with proper record keeping for follow-up. When enough regular readers are achieved, organize reader's meeting within the project at regular intervals, monthly or bi-monthly.

Leaflets: There is a real need for the establishment of a leaflet committee on a state and/or national basis. To consists of writers, artists and technical help to turn out leaflets with good political content and pleasing appearance, ready to turn out quality jobs at a moment's notice. Appearance is important.

Discipline: Re-establishment of discipline, like we had thirty years ago, in inner Party life, attendance, dues etc. Failure to attend to be checked. This is not a bourgeois-liberal organization where one goes as one feels like it.

Education: The Marxist school is very good, but not enough. Education must be brought to broad membership, to those who would not or could not come to a central school. It must be on a club level, properly organized from the center, with guides and outlines to help educational directors.

Education should be tied to day-to-day activity and issues but also combined with basic Marxist-Leninist theory, the classics, especially Lenin's Left Wing Communism as rich source material for tactical problems.

Fractions: The system of fractions must be re-established for proper coordination and functioning in mass organizations. Our work suffered from the erroneous abandonment of this method of work.

Liberalism: There is much too much liberalism, permissiveness in our Party life, too much looseness for a proletarian organization.

Bureaucracy: Too much in the operation of the organization. It slows up functioning. We must find ways to cut through procedures, to simplify them and speed them up. Transfers take too long, for example.

We should raise the issue of the wage-system: the hourly wage should be abandoned and the weekly, monthly or annual wage system established that would be independent of the number of hours worked. This would automatically solve the problem of the effect of automation on wages.

Oscar, Queens

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