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HOW TO FIGHT AND ACCOMPLISH THE  
GREAT AIM OF ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES

# Party Organizer

VOL. XIV, No. 4, 5, 6 • JULY 1980

CC/NC  
SPECIAL  
REPORT

Henry Winston

# ON THE PARTY CLUB

REPORT TO THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE/NATIONAL COUNCIL  
MEETING

June 1980

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I N . . . T H I S . . . I S S U E

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IN THE FACE OF A RULING CLASS OFFENSIVE WITH RESPECT TO PLANT CLOSINGS AND A WHOLE WIDE RANGE OF ECONOMIC QUESTIONS; IN THE FACE OF A STRIDENT RIGHT WING POLITICAL OFFENSIVE, WHAT IS OUR PARTY'S RESPONSE?

THE ANSWER OF THE JUNE CC/NC MEETING TO THIS QUESTION? THE PARTY BEGINS BY PREPARING ITSELF, PREPARING TO RESIST AND TO TURN BACK THE RULING CLASS OFFENSIVES, PREPARING TO HELP WIN NEW VICTORIES FOR THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT, THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, THE ANTI-MONOPOLY MOVEMENT, THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

COMRADE WINSTON'S REPORT GIVES A PROFOUND EXPOSITION OF THE PROCESS OF THE PARTY'S PREPARATION THAT RESTS ON THE VERY NATURE OF THE PARTY AS AN ORGANIZATION, ON ITS POLITICS, ON ITS IDEOLOGY AND ON ITS SCIENTIFIC METHOD. HE ADDRESSES A SERIES OF VERY SPECIFIC AND CONCRETE PROBLEMS THE PARTY FACES IN THE FIGHT TO PREPARE FOR THE STRUGGLES AHEAD.

WINSTON'S REPORT IS PRESENTED IN FULL IN THIS ISSUE OF THE PARTY ORGANIZER. OTHER REPORTS AND THE DISCUSSION WILL BE PRESENTED IN FUTURE ISSUES.

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IT IS ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE IN THIS ISSUE TO HONOR THE PIONEERING CONTRIBUTIONS OF COMRADE HOSEA HUDSON.

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OUTLINE OF COMRADE WINSTON'S REPORT

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THE PARTY CLUB

MOBILIZING THE PARTY FOR INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

	PAGE
1. HOW LEADERSHIP SPEAKS TO THE PARTY	6
2. THE FOCUS OF THIS MEETING	7
3. HOSEA HUDSON AND BIRMINGHAM	7
4. VICTORIES OF THE POLICY OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION	8
5. MOBILIZING THE WHOLE PARTY	8
6. THREE CONCRETE PROBLEMS FOR CENTRAL FOCUS IN THIS MEETING	9
7. WHY THE PARTY EXISTS	9
8. PROBLEMS OF SHOP CLUBS	11
(1) LEARN FROM THE WORKERS	12
(2) AVOID THE STYLE OF A MONOLOGUE	13
(3) A BASIC MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF THE PARTY'S POLICY OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION	14
9. ON OUR COMMUNITY CLUBS	16
10. A CONCEPT OF EDUCATIONAL WORK TO EQUIP US FOR STRUGGLE	17
11. OUR PRESS, LITERATURE, CLUB TREASURIES AND LEAFLETS	18
12. THE NEED FOR A CLUB PLAN OF WORK	19
13. INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION: WHY SO SLOW?	20
14. TO PROTECT AND DEFEND THE WORKERS' LIVELIHOOD	20
15. BUILDING THE PARTY: WHAT DOES IT MEAN?	22
16. THE DECISIVE CHARACTER OF THE PARTY CLUB	22
17. THE PARTY MUST BE SEEN BY THE MASSES	23
18. THE PARTY CLUB: THE UNITY OF ACTION WITH OUR SCIENCE	23
19. INTENSIFY THE FIGHT TO MASTER THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM	24
20. TO HELP MASSES FIND THE ANSWERS THEY ARE SEARCHING FOR	25
21. DIMITROV'S SIX ELEMENTS OF CADRE POLICY	26
22. A BRILLIANT YOUNG COMMUNIST--HIS PATH TO THE PARTY	28

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## MOBILIZING THE PARTY

### DEFINITION

" .... WHEN COMRADE HALL PUT THE QUESTION OF MOBILIZING THE PARTY, HE WAS NOT TALKING ABOUT GIMMICKS, STUNTS AND DEMONSTRATIVE ACTIONS OF THE FEW. HE WAS POINTING A FINGER AT THE NECESSITY OF FINDING THE GUARANTEES, THE NECESSITY OF ADOPTING STYLES OF WORK IN WHICH NOT JUST THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE STATE BOARD DISCUSS AND SATISFY THEMSELVES WITH THE CORRECTNESS OF THE REPORT, NOR THAT JUST A FEW SELECTED ACTIVISTS DISCUSS AND DECIDE THAT IT IS CORRECT, NOR JUST A SITUATION IN WHICH DISCUSSIONS TAKE PLACE IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS AND COMMITTEES. WHAT IS NEEDED IN ORDER TO MOBILIZE THE PARTY IS THAT SUCH DISCUSSIONS BECOME ALL-PERVASIVE IN THE CLUBS AS WELL.

"LET ME FRANKLY ASK: IS THIS THE PRACTICE EVERYWHERE OF THE LEADERSHIP? DO WE TAKE THE DISCUSSION INTO THIS BASIC AND PRIMARY ORGANIZATION? I BELIEVE THAT EVEN A CURSORY STUDY WOULD INDICATE THAT THIS IS NOT THE SITUATION. THESE DISCUSSIONS, THESE CONCLUSIONS FROM THE DISCUSSIONS, COME TO THE CLUBS PRIMARILY IN THE FORM OF TASKS GIVEN TO THE CLUB PRESIDENT OR TO THE CLUBS AS A WHOLE, COMPLETELY DEVOID OF THE REASONING, OF THE WHYS OF THE CONCLUSIONS. WHEN THIS HAPPENS--AS IT IS HAPPENING--IT DEMONSTRATES A VERY LIMITED, INCOMPLETE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IT MEANS TO FIGHT FOR THE MILLIONS. IT FAILS TO DEMONSTRATE WHAT IT MEANS TO MOBILIZE THE PARTY. MOBILIZING THE PARTY MEANS MOBILIZING THE WHOLE PARTY; IT DOES NOT MEAN MOBILIZING A SELECT FEW.

"I THINK THAT EXPERIENCES IN THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS INDICATE THAT OUR PARTY IS NOW PREPARED TO TAKE THIS STEP, TO UNDERSTAND WHAT MOBILIZING THE PARTY MEANS AND WHAT IT MEANS WHEN WE TALK ABOUT THE WHOLE PARTY. WE ARE SAYING THAT WHAT IN ESSENCE MOBILIZING THE PARTY MEANS, IS THAT FROM THE BEGINNING THE PARTY MUST BE A BODY WHICH PREPARES ITSELF. WHAT DOES PREPARATION MEAN? IT MEANS THAT WE HELP TO INTRODUCE--FIRST OF ALL--IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL CLARITY. AND ON THIS BASIS WE INTRODUCE PLANNING AROUND A SINGLE FOCUS."

---SEE PAGE 8.

W I L L I A M   L .   P A T T E R S O N

AN OUTSTANDING LEADER! A GREAT FIGHTER!

AUGUST 29, 1890 - MARCH 5, 1980

BEFORE COMMENTING ON THE MOST PROFOUND REPORT OF OUR GENERAL SECRETARY, COMRADE GUS HALL, I WISH TO INFORM THIS JOINT SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL THAT SINCE THE 22ND CONVENTION OF OUR PARTY WE HAVE LOST ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING LEADERS OF OUR CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WHO WAS AT THE SAME TIME AN OUTSTANDING LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS.

COMRADE WILLIAM L. PATTERSON WAS ABOVE ALL A COMMUNIST, A BRILLIANT FIGHTER AGAINST ANTI-COMMUNISM IN GENERAL AND ANTI-SOVIETISM IN PARTICULAR. HE WAS AN ARDENT FIGHTER FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS, A TIRELESS FIGHTER FOR SOCIALISM. THE SCIENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM WAS HIS GUIDE. IT HELPED TO MAKE HIM ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE LEADERS IN THE FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR HIS PEOPLE, AND FOR ALL PEOPLE RACIALLY AND NATIONALLY OPPRESSED.

I ASK YOU TO STAND FOR A MOMENT WITH ME IN HONOR OF THIS GREAT FIGHTER.

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G O O D   A N D   W E L F A R E

A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING FIGHTERS, MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ARE NOT WITH US IN THIS MEETING. EACH HAS MADE--AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE--IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STRUGGLE OF OUR CLASS AND OF OUR PEOPLE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THEIR IMPROVING HEALTH.

COMRADE BILL TAYLOR is receiving some of the best care that the medical profession can provide, following a most serious operation. COMRADE JACK KLING is recuperating from an operation, he has a pacemaker and requires a change in tempo. His experience, politics and theoretical development will be available both to the Illinois district and the Party nationally. COMRADES MILDRED EDELMAN, ELSIE DICKERSON, AGNES WILLIS, MICKIE LIMA are all having health problems which have kept them away from this meeting.

GREETINGS IN THE NAME OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAVE BEEN SENT TO ALL OF THESE COMRADES. The essence of our discussions and deliberations will be transmitted to them.

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# Henry Winston

# ON THE

# PARTY CLUB

## REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE/ NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

June 1980

COMRADES, THE REPORT OF COMRADE HALL WAS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW TO SPEAK TO THE PARTY--AND THROUGH THE PARTY TO THE WORKING CLASS AS A WHOLE, AND TO ALL RACIALLY AND NATIONALLY OPPRESSED PEOPLE--EMPHASIZING THE NECESSITY OF QUICKENING THE PACE, FIRST OF ALL OF THE PARTY, TO PLAY ITS PROPER ROLE IN CONDITIONS IN WHICH MASSES ARE CONFRONTED WITH DEVELOPMENTS REQUIRING BASIC ANSWERS, REQUIRING SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF STRUGGLE ON THE ROAD AHEAD. COMRADE HALL'S REPORT WAS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW TO DEEPEN THE LINE ESTABLISHED AT OUR 22ND NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THE FACT IS: WE SHOULD NEVER FORGET; WE SHOULD ALWAYS REFER TO THE 22ND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF OUR PARTY. WE ARE HERE FOR THE PURPOSE OF FIGHTING TO DEEPEN AND EXTEND THE STRUGGLE TO REALIZE THE DECISIONS OF THAT CONVENTION.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO REALIZE THE CONTENT OF COMRADE HALL'S REPORT, AND THE DIRECTION GIVEN BY IT, EXCEPT ON THE BASIS OF APPLYING IN PRACTICE A POLICY OF CONCENTRATION. TO CONSIDER THE ANALYSIS CONTAINED IN HIS REPORT AS BEING ONE THING, AND INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION ANOTHER, IS TO MISS THE ESSENCE OF THE REPORT.

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HOSEA HUDSON

ORGANIZING STEELWORKERS AND THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN ALABAMA

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The importance of industrial concentration can be illustrated by the presence of people in this room. Among us, for example, is Hosea Hudson, who is 82 years old and who lived in Birmingham, Alabama, during the thirties.

When the first resolution on the Negro question selected Birmingham as a concentration district because it was a key city in that it was the most highly developed industrial area in the South, Hosea decided that the resolution had special application to that area, because the great mass of workers, Black and white, were unorganized and there was especially severe special oppression of Black workers under conditions of jim crow law, segregation and discrimination.

Hosea understood that to change the kind of barbarity then existing, made necessary giving leadership in the fight to organize the unorganized--and to link that fight with the struggle for democracy in general and Black equality in particular. He fully understood that the Birmingham area which was ruled by "King Cotton," was a sort of hinterland for the Wall Street absentee owners in this area of the Black Belt.

How to fight and accomplish the great aim of all democratic forces in Alabama was inconceivable without the building of the Communist Party. Hosea, the Communist, helped to build a strong Communist Party.

Thus side by side with the fight to organize the unorganized there developed a right-to-vote movement, forged under conditions in which Black folk were denied the ballot, and then every strategem was used by the ruling class in its effort to prevent them from using the ballot.

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" THE POLICY OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION WON VICTORIES ALL OVER THIS LAND, BRINGING INTO BEING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES ON A CLASS STRUGGLE BASIS. COMMUNISTS PLAYED A LEADING ROLE. WORKERS APPLAUDED THIS LEADING ROLE BY ELECTING COMMUNISTS TO LEADERSHIP AT MANY LEVELS..."

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But the labor union was organized. Hosea Hudson was one of its founders in Birmingham. And Hosea Hudson was a part of that great democratic movement that began with the right-to-vote movement, that had against it the white primaries, the poll taxes, the grandfather clauses and all kinds of jim crow laws. In spite of these obstacles the policy of concentration--which also included an approach to the middle strata--developed to a point and in such a way that the movement was embraced by all democratic forces, forces with varying degrees of understanding of the complex environment in which they lived. The movement developed the kind of leadership that has now resulted in the election of a Black mayor in the city of Birmingham.

Just think about it; only yesterday there was Bull Connor, the electric pods, the jailings, the dogs, etc. But today--at this moment--Hosea is here with us wearing a key to the city around his neck, a key given to him by the Mayor of Birmingham!

### VICTORIES OF THE POLICY OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

The policy of industrial concentration won victories all over this land, bringing into being the organization of the mass production industries on a class struggle basis. Communists played a leading role. Workers applauded this leading role by electing Communists to leadership at many levels: in the steel, auto, longshore, maritime, electrical and packinghouse industries; in the organization of the farmers and the sharecroppers and in the organization of many, many more sections of the working class.

Now at a time when the ruling circles have taken the offensive all down the line--in their plant closings, layoffs, compulsory overtime and in their attacks upon communities everywhere, expressed in the form of wage-cutting, higher taxes and higher prices--all of this must make us think deeply about Comrade Hall's report. What he was saying was this: whether you are in the shops, the mines or the mills; whether you are in the project houses or the communities at large; or whether you are on the campus, the question of industrial concentration must become the beginning and the end of the work of the Party on all levels. Correctly conceived, concentration means in essence the building of the Communist Party with the Party fighting to give greater leadership and practical help to the Left-Center forces in order to reclaim and restore class struggle trade unionism.

### MOBILIZING THE WHOLE PARTY BY TAKING THE DISCUSSION TO THE BASIC AND PRIMARY ORGANIZATION

Therefore when Comrade Hall put the question of mobilizing the Party, he was not talking about gimmicks, stunts and demonstrative actions of the few. He was pointing a finger at the necessity of finding the guarantees, the necessity of adopting styles of work in which not just the Central Committee and the National Council discuss the report, in which not just the State Committee and the State Board discuss and satisfy themselves with the correctness of the report, nor that just a few selected



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activists discuss and decide and determine that it is correct, nor just a situation in which discussions take place in the various departments and committees. What is needed in order to mobilize the Party is that such discussions become all-pervasive in the clubs as well.

Let me frankly ask: is this the practice everywhere of the leadership? Do we take the discussion into this basic and primary organization? I believe that even a cursory study would indicate that is not the situation. These discussions, these conclusions from discussions come to the clubs primarily in the form of tasks given to the club president or to the clubs as a whole, completely devoid of the reasoning, of the why's, of the conclusions. When this is happening--as it is happening--it demonstrates a very limited, incomplete understanding of what it means to fight for the millions. It fails to demonstrate what it means to mobilize the Party. Mobilizing the Party means mobilizing the Party; it does not mean mobilizing a select few.

I think that experiences in the past couple of years indicate that our Party is now prepared to take this step, to understand what mobilizing the Party means and what it means when we talk about the whole Party.

We are saying that what in essence mobilizing the Party means, is that from the beginning the Party must be a body which prepares itself. What does preparation mean? It means that we help to introduce--first of all--ideological and political clarity. And on this basis we introduce planning around a single focus.

### THREE PROBLEMS FOR CENTRAL FOCUS AND DISCUSSION

We deliberately selected three questions for discussion at this meeting of the Central Committee and the National Council. We decided to have the general report of Comrade Gus Hall given to the meeting. We deliberately decided not to have a general discussion of the report. We selected three concrete problems for central focus and discussion.

This was an effort to try to fully understand the report of Comrade Gus Hall. It was an effort to decide how to concretely execute that report in the election campaign, in the struggles against the economic crisis and the plant closings, and in the building of shop clubs.

So it is not accidental that this meeting takes this form of organization. Later we will draw lessons from this experience for we will be continually trying to find the most efficient forms which can help guarantee the political and organizational mobilization of the Party.

### WHY THE PARTY EXISTS

What is the election campaign? It certainly is not one thing and peace another. What are Gus Hall and Angela Davis talking about--over the radio and the TV, through the press and on platforms in one place or another--other than the questions of detente,

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" IS NOT THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN A FORUM THROUGH WHICH THE WHOLE FIGHT CAN DEVELOP, WITH A STRUGGLE AGAINST PLANT CLOSURES, AGAINST LAYOFFS AND FOR CONVERSION, AND AT THE SAME TIME CONFRONTING THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES OF THE CORPORATIONS AND OF GOVERNMENT, THE POLICIES OF RACISM?"

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military and political? The election campaign has no meaning without this.

We fight for the ballot. Why? As a thing in itself? Or is it not precisely an opportunity to reach people, to involve them in this general fight as part of the whole struggle against anti-Communist laws? The fight for peace is the best possible answer that can further the struggle against these kinds of laws. Is not the election campaign a forum through which the whole fight can develop, with a struggle against plant closures, against layoffs and for conversion, and at the same time confronting the whole problem of discriminatory policies of the corporations, of government, of racism?

This and this alone is why the Party exists--why it is mandatory--because these are the class forces that not only are to advance in the fight for reforms, but also will constitute the force that is going to bring socialism in our country.

Therefore it follows that when one says A one must also say B. One must recognize that the very life-blood of the Party is education, theoretical development, politics. This should be the essence of the Party club. Why? Because the Party club must become the basic organization in fact as well as in theory. The club must have living contact with organized masses in a defined community, and it must develop its work in a concentrated way on the basis of a plan.

What kind of education for a club can it be if the club does not have contact with the masses; if it does not have a relationship with masses in a shop or a community or on a campus? Without that relationship we would be discussing problems without the masses; planning without the masses.

How can we be a club of the Communist Party, accepting the report of Gus Hall, and at the same time be a club which does not accept as its first task knowing its own people, knowing the community, knowing the problems of that defined area in which it works, and with the people of that community, not for them, working out solutions to those problems?

Working out solutions correctly will demand two things of us at once: first, a principled position in struggle and secondly, the application of tactics to those forms of struggle in such a manner as to avoid both opportunism and left-sectarianism. To avoid them is to avoid two enemies which prevent the Party as an organization from

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reaching out and influencing the masses. This is why it is useful--in leadership--to discuss how we are helping clubs to understand the necessity of this kind of approach.

### SOME PROBLEMS OF OUR SHOP CLUBS

Now, comrades, let me speak about a few problems of our shop clubs.

It is usual that we accent the positive and draw lessons to correct weaknesses in our work. This morning I will violate that procedure. Simply for convenience sake I will be accenting weaknesses so that we can find collective answers to them, and by this route help to extend the many advances already made.

What you should understand is that I am trying to avoid placing any question which may give us a feeling of self-satisfaction. Rather we want an all out effort to correct wrong practices to the end of stepping up the pace of our work. So I will proceed.

The fight to improve the work of the Party in the shop clubs, the building of new ones--and especially the transformation of industrial clubs from their present transitional state into shop clubs--is the very heart of our policy of industrial concentration.

New problems arise now for comrades in the shops, for they too are affected by plant closings and the massive layoffs of workers. The conclusion from this must not mean any slackening in our policy of industrial concentration. This point is all the more important inasmuch as neither the Republican or Democratic parties--nor the class collaborationists--have any program to meet the problems of the economic crisis which expresses itself in this form. The same can be said for most of the developing coalitions or movements for independent political action; and the new political formations have as yet not developed a program on this point.

Gus and Angela Davis--our Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates respectively--do have an advanced program, a program which goes to the very essence

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" HOW CAN WE BE A CLUB OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ACCEPTING THE REPORT OF GUS HALL, AND AT THE SAME TIME BE A CLUB WHICH DOES NOT ACCEPT AS ITS FIRST TASK KNOWING ITS OWN PEOPLE, KNOWING THE COMMUNITY, KNOWING THE PROBLEMS OF THAT DEFINED AREA IN WHICH IT WORKS--AND WITH THE PEOPLE OF THAT COMMUNITY, NOT FOR THEM, WORKING OUT SOLUTIONS TO THOSE PROBLEMS? "

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of things. It is, in part, a program calling for a total reversal of the nuclear war foreign policy, and the transferring of many billions from the military budget for use by the Federal Government to inaugurate a massive program of conversion to start the wheels of industry rolling, so that billions can be used for the construction of new housing, the building of new schools and hospitals, the maximum development of mass transit and the creation of recreational facilities, especially playgrounds for children. It must be established as an absolute law that there will be guaranteed affirmative action for every program applying to Black and all racially and nationally oppressed people.

I listened to the opening remarks by Roscoe Proctor to our discussion yesterday about the economic crisis and the plant closings. Essentially what was being said was that to effect such a massive conversion program as our Party is projecting calls for the enactment of legislation providing for federal public ownership. In addition emphasis was given to the creation of a management board composed of workers and other anti-monopoly representatives, together with providing guarantees for full labor protection and wages, full and unconditional equality for the racially and nationally oppressed, and with the right to strike when other steps to keep plants open fail.

This is a program based on mass struggles of an anti-monopoly type. As can be seen, it is fundamentally different from a program of a labor leadership sitting on the board with a big monopoly.

It is very clear: the need for the Party assumes even greater urgency. The Party must show that there is a way. The workers in the shops, whatever their jobs, must unite with their brothers and sisters in the communities. The unions must unite with the churches, the lodges, the civil rights organizations, the PTA's, the social organizations, and the block associations. All democrats and progressives must fight in the urban communities, on the farms, on the campuses, and in all democratic institutions to win massive support for a program of national salvation.

#### LEARN FROM THE WORKERS

I was talking to a comrade the other day who told me about a discussion of comrades concerned with this complex problem. They correctly concluded that a qualitative change must be made in methods of work. They emphasized many areas, but one in particular was singled out: To outlaw that kind of stance which many regard as preaching to workers and not teaching them.

I believe that for us this is a part of the truth, but not the whole truth. What is the other part? To be able to teach and to do it effectively calls for a leadership possessing a knowledge which is not acquired by rote. What it does mean is that we must listen--and listen well--as a precondition for teaching. Why listen? Because we can learn from the workers, and then we are in a better position to teach. We ourselves can learn from the process.

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## HELP SOLVE THE CONCRETE PROBLEM.

I was also talking to another worker who was faced with all kinds of problems in her shop. She welcomed as an opportunity the visits of comrades to her district and to her shop. Why? Because she had this host of problems she wanted to discuss with comrades--such problems as: \* Various trends among workers concerned with layoffs.

- \* How to answer the difficult problem that many workers saw the layoffs as being a result of competition between big cars and little cars, of competition between U.S. and Japanese workers, or of competition between U.S. and German workers, or as the fault of the OPEC countries in raising prices.
- \* How to answer workers with fears of taking action against layoffs lest they be next in line to be laid off.

Altogether this worker had a host of questions--in fact, everything but the workings of an economic system with the seventh recession since World War II. Above all there was the question of the increasing military budget.

Now unfortunately this comrade could not put these questions for discussion--the visitor was in a rush and had to make time; he could only spend a few hours in the city.

How then were these hours used? To explain what was happening on the world scene, the national scene and in the labor movement. Also, to explain what are some of the plans and projections for the coming period.

All of this was necessary and good; but what was not good was the failure to sit down and help in the solution of the concrete problem of building Left-Center unity in the shop. It is too obvious to dwell on the deficiencies of this kind of relationship. It is clear that the pace of building a rank and file movement, and simultaneously building the Party will be slowed by this style of work.

## AVOID THE STYLE OF A MONOLOGUE

I also talked to another comrade who has been active in his shop for a considerable period. He is knowledgeable about conditions in the shop. He is on a first name basis with many workers. He eats and talks to them at lunch hours. However, the leadership of his union does everything to pooh-pooh militant trade unionism.

This comrade can explain that the workers are in opposition to the union leadership approach to the company. Yet when asked how to explain the absence of a rank and file movement, or the absence of slowdowns against speedup, or the antiquated nature of a steward system which finds it impossible to process all the grievances of the workers, or the absence of action around affirmative action relative to promotion, hiring and layoffs--well, this becomes a difficult question.

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Perhaps the answer can be found in the fact that the acquired knowledge of this comrade has not become the property of all of these workers, and perhaps this state of affairs may be a form of criticism by the workers of this comrade who is with them and is on a first name basis. Maybe they detect in him a certain leftism of which they do not wish to be a part. This is even more so now when plants are closing and there are layoffs.

It is useful, when faced with a situation like this, to examine why that situation exists. Comrades who are involved should explore the question: Can it be related to my style of work? Is my relationship to the workers around me a monologue rather than a dialogue?

If we listened more we could learn more. We could hear what is on the minds of the workers. We could then act more wisely. We may conclude that it is necessary to adopt a line of policy based on less talk--and more anti-monopoly deeds. I believe that the pursuance of such a method will find that for Communists the watchword is modesty.

#### A BASIC MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF THE PARTY'S POLICY OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

There is another shop in steel where Communists are very active. With respect to this shop there are certain analyses made which somehow preclude a line of struggle to build a rank and file movement to fight company policy. This applies both to the development of struggle within the plant and to the development of broad mass movements involving a wide range of community forces to compel the city, state and federal governments to defend the jobs of workers.

The present concentration of attention to this plant seems to be a situation in which some individuals in the plant correctly criticize--and even expose--the steel barons and their policies. And yet at the same time there appears to be not only a failure to fight for the activization of a rank and file movement with Left-Center as its core within the plant, but also a rejection of a policy of unity in struggle between the workers in the plant, the union and the workers in the community.

Perhaps the essence of the reasoning that is responsible for this kind of a situation is a certain boasting which is put this way: "Steelworkers make more money than 95% of the industrial workers."

There is an admission that what the steelworker earns "is not enough to live on." But then this strange kind of reasoning--and I quote it in full--"A lot of people think that they have got to go and support those 'poor starving steelworkers'!" What is obvious here is a failure to see the necessity of unity between workers in the shop and coalitions in the community, unity to fight company exploitation with its back-breaking speedups, its layoffs, its general restriction of democracy and its persistent racism within the plant.

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There is no passion for the workers expressed here--for workers in the plant or for workers in general. Quite the contrary. This comrade parades a certain feeling of satisfaction that steelworkers earn more than other workers. And there is absolutely no hint about the racially and nationally oppressed minorities.

Further, we have the strange situation that although this comrade admits that the workers' wages are not enough to live on, there is no urgency placed on the need for mass struggle to curb the profit greed of the company. This comrade does not see the real relation between the wages of the worker and higher prices, higher rents, taxation, utility bills and other ways in which the corporations rob the working class.

These economic and social problems faced by the steelworkers are looked upon in a strictly petty bourgeois sense. The fact is that reduced to its essentials, the attitude as expressed in this particular situation is a reflection of an attitude to the working class as a whole.

To underscore this comrade's petty bourgeois outlook, there is an unbelievable formulation which puts the question this way: "It's not like farm workers..." (that is, the low wages of the farm workers - my emphasis - H.W.) "...steelworkers are important. Therefore we are concentrating our work on them. It is not because they need our charity more."

What is crystal clear is that this approach reflects a basic misunderstanding of the working class and the Communist Party's policy of industrial concentration. More than that, the specific problems of the social and national oppressed people within the class--say farm workers--are totally disregarded. Racism expressed in this form is simultaneously a sin against the class as a whole and against its national oppressed component as well.

How is it possible that a Communist can seriously assert that "farm work" is not important--or characterize the local, state and nationwide struggles of the farm workers as being some kind of a "charity" thing?

The concept of charity dates back to the period prior to the depression that began in 1929. What is overlooked in the approach and outlook we have been examining, is that the fight for the rights of the unemployed was closely connected with the fight to build unions in the mass production industries. What is overlooked is that the consequences, among many, of that united fight included the establishment of trade union organizations in the mass production industries, included winning the right to strike and further included the establishment of unemployment compensation and social security. Thus the result of these victories was to fix government responsibility on the one hand and on the other to restrict the philanthropy of the bourgeoisie, rejecting by magnificent united struggle the "charity" outlook with respect to the working class.

In the winning of those past victories, the key was mass struggles against the corporations then--mass struggles based on an anti-monopoly policy--and the key in today's world is mass struggles now, against the corporations and for a reversal of foreign and domestic policy, for a policy to serve the social needs of the people. This approach to mass struggle is the Alpha and Omega of the work of a shop club.

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## A FEW COMMENTS ON OUR COMMUNITY CLUBS

Now let me say some things about our community clubs. I will begin with my own situation as an example, to discuss the kinds of problems the community clubs face, and the kinds of responses that are needed if they are to fulfill their necessary role in relation to the urgent questions of this period.

I am a resident of one of the Mitchel-Lama Cooperatives. In this co-op there are some 1600 apartments, roughly 6400 people. Like me and my wife, most of the cooperators do not earn substantial wages. The fact is that by trade union standards for skilled workers, the wage level here lags considerably. And yet New York City has imposed a 40% rent increase on us. This action was so outrageous that it was decided to spread it out to make it appear less monstrous. Thus for the first year there was a 25% increase, for the second year a 5% increase over the already increased rent, and for the third year another cumulative increase of 10%.

The hardship is clear. Guidelines for organized workers delimits needed wage demands. The unemployed are hit hardest. The problems of the senior citizens are seriously aggravated. Men and women with larger families find themselves in more desperate straits.

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Now even before the spreaded increase is completed, the utilities who make it a habit to ask periodically for rate increases and routinely get them, are now also increasing the cost of gas and electricity. Add to this the increases in mortgage interests by the banks and real estate interests, and the increased taxation and higher costs in general for everything, the result is a heavy burden for the occupants. The Unholy Trinity--utilities, banks and real estate interests--get richer and richer at the expense of the working people.

Three alternatives are given to the cooperators by the Board of Directors which has worked very hard to find a way out of this dilemma. They are as follows: 1. An additional 33% increase in rent; 2. An increase in equity; 3. A combination which would be in part an increase in rent and in equity. At a meeting of stockholders, faced only with these alternatives, the great majority voted on a one shot increase in equity, with the understanding that this sum, on the average of \$750 would be frozen and returnable when the cooperator moved. This is not and cannot be a satisfactory answer to this kind of problem. For instance: no one can say for certain that the same kind of situation may not arise next year. Can the same position be taken under such circumstances? Is it not necessary now to draw deeper lessons from all of this?

Unity of the people against the banks, real estate interests and utilities is required as the only way to advance their interests. Why not a moratorium on all debts, including taxes? The interests of the majority requires unity on the basis of a coalition



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that can demand that the city government act, that the state government act, and that the Federal Government act to place curbs on the profiteers. A united people can and must indict this kind of greed.

There is need for neighbor to neighbor talk about it and to find means of protesting this kind of policy. The public platforms, the churches, the schools, the lodges, Democratic clubs, Republican clubs, Communist clubs, organized and unorganized workers must become factors fighting for the higher good which can come about only by arousing public opinion to act in defense of the family, the home, the city, the state and the true interests of the people.

What is happening in my project is not an exception. You will find it in other Mitchel-Lama Co-ops, condominiums, apartment houses, private homes, hotels and anywhere people live.

THIS CONCEPT OF OUR EDUCATIONAL WORK  
WILL EQUIP US FOR STRUGGLE

These are the kinds of problems, the essence of which should be the basis for our educational work.

Our educational work must help instill confidence that the people can do something about their problems. It must develop the understanding that this "something" must be based on a concrete program and it must recognize that the fight to implement the program requires planning and struggle.

If we take this approach we are able to respond when people are desperately looking for an answer to a critical problem facing them.

Whether the problem is a rent increase at Mitchell-Lama Co-op or a different problem in another area, this concept of our educational work will help equip us for struggle, for effective mass organizing leading to growing victories.

In the case of the rent increase this approach will help us replace a vague "they" are going to put across a rent increase, with a much greater awareness of the Unholy Trinity: the banks, the utilities and the real estate interests. This is the direction to help clarify who the "they" is, who the real enemy is. This is the direction to help bring into being a popular grass roots movement which is objectively anti-bank, anti-utilities and anti-real estate. This is the way to give concrete meaning to the slogan which is the slogan of every club of the Communist Party:

"People Before Profits!"

I'm saying that there is nothing a club can do that should not be educational. The struggle to guarantee and bring into being club execs as regular functioning bodies, is in itself an educational process. It is part of the preparation of leadership in a given

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" A CLUB MUST SET AN EXAMPLE OF CHECKUP AND CONTROL--NOT SOLELY ON DUES, OR SOLIDARITY STAMPS, OR HOW MUCH MONEY FOR THE FUND DRIVE-- BUT RATHER ON THE BASIS MORE FUNDAMENTALLY OF THE MASS POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF EACH AND EVERY MEMBER OF THE CLUB IN A DEFINED AREA OF WORK."

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situation, a local situation; seeing that they are prepared; seeing that they are fighting to find solutions to questions, answers to questions, direction in the struggles. It is part and parcel of a struggle for not rotating co-chairmen, for permanence; a struggle to develop that kind of pride in the club in which club leadership is elected--not selected--on the basis of their performance in the defined area of work, including whether they display passion, emotion and concern for the people in their community and give active help to the struggles of the community.

A club must set an example of checkup and control--not solely on dues, or solidarity stamps, or how much money for the fund drive, but rather on the basis, more fundamentally, of the mass political activity of each and every member of the club in a defined area of work.

#### OUR PRESS

But also we have our press--the Daily World and the Peoples World--tremendous educational instruments which are at the same time organizers. They must be used in our work in the shops, the communities and on campus. The question for checkup and control is: Do we have the contacts? Do we have an organized basis to develop contacts to establish press routes? Naturally we want to know if the press is in the hands of every member and whether it is being used to organize political activity.

#### AND LITERATURE

Similar checkup questions apply to our literature. Press and literature continue to do political work when individual members are not around. Therefore it is a double

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" WE SHOULD HAVE AS AN UNDERTAKING THE FIGHT TO DEVELOP THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF SUCH CENTERS WHICH WILL BECOME GENERATING CENTERS FOR DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-MONOPOLY STRUGGLE. THIS IS THE CONCRETENESS OF WHAT WE TALK ABOUT, THE LOCAL COALITIONS WHICH MUST BE DEVELOPED IN THE SHOPS AND COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT THIS COUNTRY. "

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process of education involving first the preparation of our members to be able to talk and agitate; and second, using our press and literature to help develop friends all around us in the mass movement, who will help to defend and advance the role of the Party in the mass movement.

We should have as an undertaking the fight to develop thousands and thousands of such centers which will become generating centers for democratic, anti-monopoly struggle. This is the concreteness of what we talk about; the local coalitions which must be developed in the shops and communities throughout this country.

### CLUB TREASURIES

Now comrades, is it not true that we have to overcome the old liquidationist views that the clubs should not have club treasuries? The liquidationism is a hangover from the false concept that clubs do not need money--since they have no political role to play(!).

Imagine what kind of educational experience it is for clubs to be able to sit down and discuss a leaflet; the content of the leaflet; the audience to which the leaflet is addressed; the kind of a problem that the leaflet is dealing with; the question of how we will formulate this or that.

### AND LEAFLETS

We must face it; many of our clubs have not issued a leaflet for quite some time. I say this is the responsibility of all of us, not only the responsibility of the clubs. It is our task to study the leaflets and bulletins that are issued by clubs and to make suggestions for improvements as to how we speak to the masses. This we do not do. We need to solve the problem of how to develop outlines on how to speak to the masses based on Comrade Hall's report, that will be adapted to the concrete needs of the Party club.

### THE NEED FOR A CLUB PLAN OF WORK

Although problems vary from district to district, the essence of the problem facing the clubs is the same. A club can function properly only on the basis of planned work. The aim should be that a conscious policy of helping to guide the work of the club be established, based on the concepts of loyalty to the Party, devotion to the working class, devotion to the people and how best to fight to serve the interests of the people. This is a most important task. It requires close contact with the masses. It requires solving the problem of how to make it uniform, how to make it all-pervasive? This is what we must strive to do if we understand fully the report of Comrade Gus Hall.

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## INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION: WHY SO SLOW?

We have been talking quite a bit about industrial concentration. There has never been a meeting in which this question has not been put. Why are we moving so slowly? Why? I believe this is a situation which must be answered concretely. It will not be answered by the continuous mobilization of discussions on a regional and national scale. It will be possible to find answers only when we begin to examine each concrete situation and find concrete answers to the specific problem of a given shop.

Now, I listened quite attentively to James. I listened to him here. I listened to him at the Black seminar. I consider that his projections are very, very important from every standpoint because he sees the shop having specific internal problems, but not unconnected to the problems within the community in which the workers reside. We see the oneness of the two. Examining it closely we see that the whole concept of industrial concentration has been distorted.

Industrial concentration has been seen almost exclusively as a problem of selecting a shop and distribution of papers. That's not industrial concentration taken by itself. Is it a part of industrial concentration? Without question! Should there be shop distribution of papers? Without question! In fact, it should be increased and there should be greater regularity. But we are living under illusions if we consider this to be the sum total of industrial concentration, even though it is a most important aspect of industrial concentration.

Some people think that DW distribution is the primary form for reaching workers - hopefully if not today, tomorrow. This will help provide leadership related to the grievances of the workers within the plant, related to trying to get workers in the plants to begin organization, giving some hope that things can be done, things are being done; showing them that things can be achieved and things are being achieved. This is healthy. We must continue. But should shop gate distributions replace the building of routes in working class communities where these workers would have time to sit down and discuss in their homes? It should not. We learned this in Detroit in the building of the Cobo Hall Rally: You can get subscriptions and in this way you can reinforce work inside plants. The basis for recruiting is also enhanced by this process.

### TO PROTECT AND DEFEND THE WORKERS' LIVELIHOOD

Workers - including Communists - raise a real question: There is fear—is there a justified basis for fear? Without doubt. At all times, but especially so when the workers are having to deal with plant closures and layoffs. We quite often distort the concept of the visibility of the Party.

Workers necessarily think in terms of their families and their jobs. Even Communists think in these terms, though many will not say so.

When we say that the workers are angry this does not mean that they are

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" I WARN AGAINST ANY CONCEPT THAT WOULD DENUDE OUR PARTY OF ITS RIGHTS OR ITS DUTIES TO FIGHT FOR THE NEEDS OF THE WORKERS AND THE PROCESSING OF GRIEVANCES, OR WOULD LEAVE A FEELING OF HOPELESSNESS THAT NOTHING CAN BE DONE BECAUSE OF CLASS COLLABORATIONISM-- AND DO IT ALL IN THE NAME OF PLANT CLOSINGS. NO - THAT'S NOT SERIOUS COMMUNIST BUSINESS! "

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therefore ready to join the Party. We must not underestimate the political potential of that anger. But let us understand that a Communist Party has an awesome responsibility to know its audience, to know the special conditions under which this audience earns its livelihood, and to identify with its desire to protect and defend that livelihood. We have to find ways of working, and we have to find methods of developing broad forms of activities in the shops which take into account the concrete, practical problems of grievances, and link them with the more general problems.

From this standpoint--in terms of this important consideration--I therefore warn against any concept that would denude our Party of its rights or its duties to fight for the needs of the workers, to fight for the processing of grievances. And further, I warn against any behavior on our part that could leave a feeling of hopelessness, a feeling that nothing can be done because of class collaborationism, and to do it all in the name of plant closings. No! That is not serious Communist business.

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NEW PROBLEMS ARISE NOW FOR THE  
COMRADES IN THE SHOPS, FOR THEY  
TOO ARE AFFECTED BY PLANT CLOSINGS  
AND THE MASSIVE LAYOFFS OF WORKERS

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We must be able to see the oneness of this problem and the heart of it is related to the general operation of the laws of capitalism. But more specifically because of the aggravation of the economic, social and political problems of the working class--and because of the foreign policy of the government in relation to the military budget--there are new possibilities of uniting the general question with this particular.

Therefore a shop club must take into account that we work under conditions of legality which require that we understand what the enemy is doing and why the enemy imposes conditions upon us which restrict our democratic rights. To defend democratic rights the club has the duty of finding ways and means of overcoming these anti-Communist practices of the companies, overcoming the role of the social democrats, of class collaborationism and of company stoolpigeons and spies.

" MASS WORK IS THE SURE, SOLID,  
PERMANENT WAY IN WHICH WE CAN  
BRING INTO THE PARTY THE BEST  
FIGHTERS . . . "

## BUILDING THE PARTY

Comrade Hall called for the building of the Party. To many this simply means a recruiting drive. Is this building the Party? Just recruiting into the Party is not yet building the Party. We can recruit and people come into the Party and out like water going through a sieve. This is not what we mean about building the Party. Building the Party means first of all the development of mass activities and recruiting from a mass base--mass work--not hit and miss recruiting but the ability to bring into the Party from where we are, where we are working, from our concentration.

Mass work is the sure, solid, permanent way in which we can bring into the Party the best fighters engaged in struggle, people who can extend the struggles, etc. This way recruiting; not the other way as being the determinant and first. Whenever we launch a recruiting drive it should be associated with mass struggles; it should not ever be presented as a thing in itself.

In order to fight to implement the line which would unite our organizational responsibilities and our educational responsibilities and not as two separate kinds of developments, we have organized the Org-Ed Dept.

We have to solve the problem of how to give concrete leadership and guidance first of all, to our industrial work, the work in the shop, and to carrying out of the program that has been laid here, the reports of Comrade Hall that I mentioned, of Comrade Proctor and of Comrade Si Gerson.

## THE DECISIVE CHARACTER OF THE PARTY CLUB

On this comrades, let me go further.

The main criteria determining how a leadership understands the policies of the Party, and fights for their implementation, will be determined by their recognition of the decisive character of the club.

The club is the basic and primary form of Party organization.

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The club--not just a few actives within it--must increasingly become that body through which the organized, collective thinking will at all times be able to understand domestic and world events in such a way as to apply them concretely in the defined area of club work, in a shop, a neighborhood, the campus. In short, in all fields of endeavor among the masses.

The club, just as every echelon of Party leadership, must not only be a recorder of the status of the exploited and racially and nationally oppressed people in the country at large, state, city and/or shop, community or campus. Above all, it must fight to draw the lessons from those conditions with a plan of action to initiate and help bring about socially necessary changes.

### THE PARTY MUST BE SEEN BY THE MASSES

That kind of struggle cannot be waged except that the Party as an organization becomes that force which in practice always advocates and fights for the maximum unity in struggle everywhere.

The Party has no interests separate and apart from that of the workers and all oppressed people.

The Party must always strive in defense of the interests of the workers and all racially and nationally oppressed people.

The Party must, on the basis of the concerns and needs of the masses, in those areas in which they work, select with them the issues on which the struggle can and must be developed.

The Party must be seen by the masses, who will respect it even more because, quite unlike politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties, who make speeches during elections only, the Communist Party, in its clubs, studies the problem, studies the solution, and prepares to participate daily, and share their thinking with all others and together helps arrive at common conclusions.

The educational content of the discussions is a fight for clarity in the club among its members, and simultaneously helps to contribute to the thinking of others in the mass movement.

### THE PARTY CLUB: THE UNITY OF ACTION WITH OUR SCIENCE

The Party club, therefore, is at one and the same time, an action-oriented organization which is guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Put another way, the role of the Party club is not limited to the development of

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agitation and propaḡanda. Nor is it an organization limited to action without the science of Marxism-Leninism. The club must at all times combine both aspects, for without it masses will fail to understand the line of march in which they will see the relationship between the immediate struggles and the struggle for Socialism.

It follows that the Party leadership must give its main attention to the task of learning from the club and the masses around the club, and to help provide assistance to the club in solving the many problems it is confronted with.

In short, the principle of democratic centralism, which is the cornerstone of our Party, is the indispensable ingredient to qualitatively and quantitatively improve the work of the Party, and thereby help to widen and deepen the mass movement of struggle.

Comrade Gus Hall has more than once spoken about this principle as being a "two way street."

#### INTENSIFY THE FIGHT TO MASTER THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The intensification of our fight to master this principle is emphasized by the needs of the moment in helping it develop Left-Center unity in the labor movement and coalition movements of various types around the issue of reversal of the nuclear madness of the Carter Doctrine directed by Brzezinski and the fight for detente, political and military, a reversal of the policies of state monopoly capitalism, now heaping the burdens of an economic crisis on the backs of the people, and for the adoption of governmental programs to meet the problems of plant closings, layoffs, compulsory overtime and "givebacks" from the organized workers of gains won through sweat and blood, and the immediate institution of a planned program to tackle unemployment based on conversion.

The immediate steps to establish guarantees by the Federal Government, in which the Congress, the Executive and the Judiciary will guarantee that every step be taken to put an end forthwith to racism in all areas of life--economic, political and social.

Increasingly many are denied high school, college and university education. Like adding salt to the wound, it is said that such training is possible by responding to the draft which is committed to warfare against the people who have achieved political independence from imperialism--who are striving for economic independence; against people struggling to achieve power and freedom from imperialism; against socialist lands which have ended class exploitation, racial and national oppression--and a force which will internally become anti-labor, a force in which the military will be used against strike struggles, etc. And there are those who demagogically talk



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about "our national interests" and "our vital interests."

The saving of this generation from thermonuclear war and the creating of conditions in which they can develop their many-sided talents and use them to serve the people of the U.S., at the same time serves the "national and vital interests" of the labor and people's movement.

These propositions and many others have already been put more profoundly in the report of Comrade Gus Hall.

TO HELP   MASSES FIND THE ANSWERS

THEY ARE   SEARCHING FOR

I mention these simply to emphasize that the clubs must act as yeast in bread to help masses find the kind of answers they are searching for in these complicated and complex times.

In order to better achieve this aim, the club is immediately faced with very live problems in a living situation, consisting of people of different political persuasions, different religious denominations, different racial groups, different kinds of organizations, as well as independents. Many have temporarily withdrawn from activity because of disgust with and lack of confidence in politicians of different hues, class collaborationists, reformists and even apolitical workers.

Need I mention the surrogates who provide services for the banking, real estate and utilities in general, and not to speak about the role of stoolpigeons for the company, etc?

The building of grass roots is inconceivable without the indispensable role that Communists must and can play. We must be exemplary in helping masses find that which they seek.


It is this course and this kind of leadership which growing sections of the organized and unorganized masses will learn to respect. They will draw the right conclusions too. Many-like us-will see the need for a bigger Communist Party and they will honor us by becoming new Communists. They, having seen Communists face to face in joint struggle, will themselves ably help to refute the quarter-lies, the half-lies, the three-quarter lies, the whole lies that are deliberately spread by the greedy, bloodsucking, profit-mad capitalist class whose aim is to sever the ties of our Party with the people.

Let us fight harder to instill greater confidence in the masses, in the mass move-

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ment, but in the Party as well. It is along this way that we can win the fight to involve millions in a fighting movement. This is the way to build the Party.

 **DIMITROV'S 6 ELEMENTS**  
**OF CADRE POLICY**

Incumbent on leadership is the necessity of developing cadres. George Dimitrov put the question this way: "People, cadres, decide everything." But he also said that a correct policy toward cadre must embody six main elements. These elements are:

1. "Knowing one's people." To know people requires a systematic study of cadres. In this way the Party will be able to discover the talents of comrades, and they are legion. There are comrades who can write; they can prepare leaflets to bring ideas to masses in a popular way. There are artists in the clubs. There are excellent organizers who must be trained and developed. There are many with a variety of skills who must receive help and training. Ways must be found to provide means of continuing development in mass activities, and in schools. Knowing people will also help in discovering how best to provide education directed to helping to clarify comrades about Party policies, to give assistance in strengthening their development, help in overcoming weakness and show concretely how to avoid wrong tendencies of a left and right variety, and removing all obstacles that become retarding elements in all areas of Party work.

It follows that alien ideas in the environment of the present day can penetrate our ranks. How to help comrades combat these alien ideas which are anti-working class, anti-working class unity with its allies, bestial racism, imperialist chauvinism, such as anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism, anti-solidarity with the working class of other countries, now couched in language like: U.S. workers vs. Japanese workers; U.S. workers vs. German workers, and many, many more.

2. "Proper Promotion of Cadres." The point is emphasized that promotions should not be casual, but a normal function of the Party. Some of the main ingredients that should guide such promotions are:

- A. Avoid making promotions "exclusively on the basis of narrow Party considerations, without regard as to whether the comrade promoted has contact with the masses."
- B. The conclusion is that "Promotion should take place on the basis of the ability of various Party workers to discharge particular functions, and of their popularity among the masses."

 3. "The Ability to Use People to the Best Advantage." Dimitrov continuing:

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We must be able to ascertain and utilize the valuable qualities of every single active member." Further: "There are no ideal people; we must take them as they are and correct their weaknesses and shortcomings."

4. "Proper Distribution of Cadres." Emphasizing "First of all we must see to it that the main links of the movement are in the hands of capable people who have contact with the masses, who have sprung from the grass roots, who have initiative and are staunch."

5. "Systematic Assistance to Cadres." This implies that on the basis of collective decision, there be friendly checkup and control is undertaken in correction of shortcomings and errors. In addition, special emphasis is given to "concrete day to day guidance of cadres."

6. "Care for the Preservation of Cadres." The proper deployment of cadres to fields of work, taking into account the imposed restrictions on democracy by the forces of reaction, and to assign forces as needed in a given situation best able to continue the fight for a widening and deepening of the struggle to advance the cause of democracy.

Dimitrov emphasized four main criteria in selecting cadre. They are:

1. Absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, loyalty to the Party.
2. The closest possible contact with the masses.
3. The ability independently to find one's bearing in given circumstances.
4. Discipline and the ideological strengthening of the Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against the class enemy, as well as irreconcilable opposition to all deviations, i.e., Maoism, Trotskyism, bourgeois reformism, petty-bourgeois nationalism, etc.

It is clear that this kind of policy is the heart and soul of the Leninist style of work needed, first of all in the anti-monopoly struggle, through which the struggle for Socialism will be furthered.

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"THIS POLICY IS DETERMINED SOLELY BY A DESIRE TO BEST BE ABLE TO DEFEND THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE AGAINST STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM."

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There can be no doubt that masses will come to understand that the basis of this policy is determined solely by a desire to best be able to defend the fundamental

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interests, immediate and ultimate, of the working class and all oppressed people against state monopoly capitalism. They will immediately contrast this with the policies of the monopolists who are developing "trained seals" and apologists of the exploiters and oppressors, solely to maintain capitalism, and who enlist surrogates of the class collaborationist variety for this purpose.

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The next stage in our fight to implement the decisions of the 22nd National Convention was deeply enriched in the report to the CC and NC by Comrade Gus Hall.

The main conclusion to this is to quicken our pace along the line which calls for a qualitative change in the style of work.

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#### A BRILLIANT YOUNG COMMUNIST: HIS PATH TO THE PARTY

Let me conclude, Comrades.

I know of a brilliant young Communist. For a long period he was able to use his training and his skills in many areas, all of which was directed to the end of providing leadership to the working class and people. The fact is, he was sure of his feelings of being against capitalism, and most certainly in favor of Socialism. He worked for a living and as a consequence became a trade unionist. He was active on his job and made contributions to the struggles of the workers - and it was these workers who elected him shop steward. He learned that the Communist Party does the same thing.

He asked himself a question - If I'm doing the same thing, why should I join the Communist Party?

This conclusion of sameness was true, in part. He was an individual who fought for the rights of the workers while the Communist Party also fought for the rights of the workers, but did so on the basis of a collective discussion in a club. He was a defender of Socialism. So too was the Communist club, but the club as a collective was able to unite the immediate struggle with the fight for Socialism.

Later this comrade was to learn that collective guidance to him, was a necessity to improve the quality of his leadership. He therefore decided to join the Communist Party.

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There are thousands of workers like him, and before every club is the task of being prepared to be able to receive and learn from such workers and be in a position to give to them that which they seek; that is, collective guidance.

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" ... BEFORE EVERY CLUB IS THE TASK OF BEING ABLE TO RECEIVE AND TO LEARN FROM SUCH WORKERS--AND TO BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE THEM THAT WHICH THEY SEEK, THAT IS, COLLECTIVE GUIDANCE."

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The club should ever strive to be a center of educational enrichment of the collective as a whole and the individual in particular. This is the main function of the club. That is why business meetings should be business meetings and not be a part of every club meeting. Neither should club meetings be a series of announcements of a whole series of tasks. Nor should they always be meetings from which there is a continuous mobilization away from the defined area of work, but always some place downtown. The agenda of a club must always reflect the mood, the need, of a defined area of work; discuss it and lay out a planned course of action corresponding to the needs of the moment.

If there are deficiencies in the leadership of the club, the high regard which such workers as the one mentioned have for the Communist Party and its leadership will be lowered. The disappointment that follows can lead to frustration and cynicism. It is for this reason that the agenda at club meetings must be the result of prior and considered discussion and not made-on-the spot agendas. That is why it is a must struggle to establish functioning executive committees and annually elected club chairpersons. The club by this process contributes to the development of cadres, Communist and non-Communist as well.

I read a letter from Ishmael Flory, who is a member of "one of the best functioning clubs in Chicago." He lists many laudable achievements of the club. This includes "lively educationals and discussions of both theory and issues affecting the working class." After stating these many positive features of the club, Comrade Flory observes: "But we are not satisfied." The reason for this is most interesting: "Because we see that our club is still weak, in that our roots are not yet deep among the masses in the jurisdiction or area of our club; we are not certain that we are functioning well enough to be certain that our meetings can be open to our friends and sympathetic contacts and that they, along with our club members, can and will get the best education, the highest inspiration and stimulation to want urgently and fully to participate in the many tasks flowing from the class struggle, from the burning life and death issues affecting the mass and majority of the working class and of Afro-American, Mexican American, Puerto Rican American and other national or racial oppressed people."

This is a precise formulation of the mass tasks, not only of Ish's club, but of all Party clubs.

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The basic solution of the main weakness as indicated in this formulation is an indispensable necessity. We must act in such a way as to speed the solution in double-quick time. For us Gus Hall put it quite some time ago: "I'm convinced that this is the Achilles' Heel, the link we must now grab hold of. We've reached the point where we either must change the way the clubs function or not move forward very fast. It will be the roadblock to a mass Party."

So with these comments, I was given the task to place these questions to precede the discussion on the question of the problems of the clubs and for the comrades to speak frankly and freely and hopefully, in the discussion solutions will be given and not just the recording of this or that.

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"THE NEED FOR THE PARTY ASSUMES EVEN GREATER URGENCY. THE PARTY MUST SHOW THAT THERE IS A WAY. THE WORKERS IN THE SHOPS, WHATEVER THEIR JOBS, MUST UNITE WITH THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE COMMUNITIES. THE UNIONS MUST UNITE WITH THE CHURCHES, THE LODGES, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, THE PTA'S, THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE BLOCK ASSOCIATIONS. ALL DEMOCRATS AND PROGRESSIVES MUST FIGHT IN THE URBAN COMMUNITIES, ON THE FARMS, ON THE CAMPUSES AND IN ALL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS TO WIN MASSIVE SUPPORT FOR A PROGRAM OF NATIONAL SALVATION."

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P R O C L A M A T I O N

- WHEREAS, IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT AN OCCASION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "BLACK HISTORY MONTH" NOT PASS WITHOUT TRIBUTE TO THE MANY UNSUNG HEROES OF LOCAL HISTORY. ONE SUCH HERO IS HOSEA HUDSON; AND,
- WHEREAS, BORN IN WILKES COUNTY, GEORGIA IN 1893, HOSEA HUDSON MOVED HIS FAMILY TO BIRMINGHAM IN 1924 SEEKING WORK. HOSEA'S ACTIVITIES FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS SPANNED THE BREADTH OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. HUDSON WAS A BUILDER OF THE UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, HOLDING SUCH POSTS AS RECORDING SECRETARY OF LOCAL #1489, PRESIDENT OF LOCAL #2815, AND DELEGATE TO THE BIRMINGHAM INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL; AND,
- WHEREAS, MR. HUDSON HELPED INITIATE THE RIGHT TO VOTE CLUB IN 1938, WHICH CONDUCTED CLASSES AMONG BLACK PEOPLE TO HELP THEM SURMOUNT REGISTRATION OBSTACLES AT THE COURTHOUSE. NOT LIMITING HIS COMMITMENT TO BLACKS, HUDSON GAVE LEADERSHIP TO THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE, WHICH ORGANIZED POOR WHITES TO REGISTER AND VOTE. HUDSON'S ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL BELIEFS EARNED HIM THE ENMITY OF EUGENE "BULL" CONNOR, WHO WAS TO LATER GAIN NATIONAL INFAMY, AND WAS FORCED TO LEAVE BIRMINGHAM; AND
- WHEREAS, TODAY MR. HUDSON LIVES IN ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY AND IS ACTIVE IN HIS COMMUNITY WITH CITIZENS, YOUNG AND OLD, BLACK AND WHITE IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER LIFE; AND
- WHEREAS, THE LIFE OF HOSEA HUDSON HAS GENERATED TWO BOOKS: "BLACK WORKER IN THE SOUTH," PRINTED IN 1972; AND "THE NARRATIVE OF HOSEA HUDSON," RECENTLY PUBLISHED BY THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS; AND
- WHEREAS, ILLITERATE HALF OF HIS LIFE, BUT NOT UNLEARNED, HUDSON'S ODYSSEY IS PART AND PARCEL OF THE HEROIC, AND SOMETIMES BITTER, BIRMINGHAM STORY.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD ARRINGTON, JR., MAYOR OF THE CITY OF BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA DO HEREBY PROCLAIM FEBRUARY 26, 1980 AS

H O S E A   H U D S O N   D A Y

"...ONLY YESTERDAY THERE WAS BULL CONNER,  
THE ELECTRIC PODS, THE JAILINGS, THE  
DOGS --- TODAY HOSEA IS HERE WITH US,  
WEARING A KEY TO THE CITY...GIVEN TO HIM  
BY THE MAYOR OF BIRMINGHAM!" (SEE PAGE 7.)

## City of Birmingham Alabama

### PROCLAMATION

- WHEREAS, It is appropriate that an occasion of the significance of "Black History Month" not pass without tribute to the many unsung heroes of local history. One such hero is Hosea Hudson; and,
- WHEREAS, Born in Wilkes County, Georgia in 1898, Hosea Hudson moved his family to Birmingham in 1924 seeking work. Hosea's activities for more than 30 years spanned the breadth of the Afro-American struggle for democratic rights. Hudson was a builder of the United Steelworkers of America, holding such posts as recording secretary of Local #1489, President of Local #2815, and delegate to the Birmingham Industrial Council; and,
- WHEREAS, Mr. Hudson helped initiate the Right to Vote Club in 1938, which conducted classes among black people to help them surmount registration obstacles at the Courthouse. Not limiting his commitment to blacks, Hudson gave leadership to the Workers' Alliance, which organized poor whites to register and vote. Hudson's activities and political beliefs earned him the enmity of Judge "Bull" Connor, who was to later gain national infamy, and was forced to leave Birmingham; and,
- WHEREAS, Today Mr. Hudson lives in Atlantic City, New Jersey and is active in his community with citizens, young and old, Black and White in the common struggle for a better life; and,
- WHEREAS, The life of Hosea Hudson has generated two books: "Black Worker in the South," printed in 1972; and "The Narrative of Hosea Hudson," recently published by the Harvard University Press; and,
- WHEREAS, Illiterate over half of his life, but not unlearned, Hudson's odyssey is part and parcel of the heroic, and sometimes bitter, Birmingham story.
- NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD ARRINGTON, JR., Mayor of the City of Birmingham, Alabama do hereby proclaim February 26, 1980, as

HOSEA HUDSON DAY

in the City of Birmingham.



IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the City of Birmingham, Alabama to be affixed this the 24<sup>th</sup> day of February, 1980.

*Richard Arrington, Jr.*  
Mayor



Hosea Hudson with the key to the city of Birmingham, presented to him on February 26 by Mayor Richard Arrington. That day was declared Hosea Hudson Day for Birmingham.

"HOW TO FIGHT AND ACCOMPLISH THE GREAT AIM OF ALL  
DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN ALABAMA WAS INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT THE  
BUILDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. HOSEA, THE COMMUNIST, HELPED  
TO BUILD A STRONG COMMUNIST PARTY."