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U.S. Domination of The Capitalist World

By William Z. Foster

(The following is a condensed version of an article to appear in the December issue of Political Affairs).

Within the general scope of the present insane and ill-fated drive of American imperialism for world mastery there stands forth the important fact that during the post-World War II years the United States has succeeded in achieving a high degree of domination, or hegemony, over the capitalist world. This country has now reached a position where, arrogantly infringing upon the national independence of many other capitalist countries, it is able largely to dictate to them regarding major domestic and foreign policies. This is a situation unique in the history of world capitalism.

During the past there have been predominant single countries—thus England was the outstanding capitalist country all through the 18th and 19th centuries—and, from time to time, there have also been powerful alliances of capitalist states; but never before has any one country, or group of countries, achieved a position of such decisive control over the capitalist world as that now being exercised by the United States. To a certain extent, the United States shares this domination with Great Britain, as its junior partner.

The Basis of American Capitalist Hegemony

American capitalist world hegemony is vastly intensifying the most basic problems at present being faced by humanity—the menacing dangers of another world war and a regrowth of fascism. It is also, incidentally, placing before the Communist Party a complex of theoretical questions which urgently demand Marxist-Leninist analysis. Our Party since 1945 has been pointing out the drive of the Wall Street monopolists for world mastery, but for the first time, in its present convention resolution, it is taking

up concretely the vital problem of an established American hegemony over the shaky capitalist world, and what this implies.

Capitalist world domination by the United States is now being ever more boldly proclaimed by the spokesmen of Wall Street and their Social-Democratic stooges and other hangers-on. At the outset of their post-war drive for world conquest, warned by the evil effects upon Hitler of his raucous assertions of German imperialism's "right" and determination to rule the world, American imperialists contented themselves with vague, cunning, and hypocritical expressions about "our moral leadership of the world," "our responsibilities to mankind," and the like; but now, as United States control over the wobbly, ramshackle structure of capitalism has become more definite, they are making the eagle scream by expressing their imperialist ambitions more clearly. They are now letting the capitalists in all countries know unmistakably just who is their boss.

The hegemony of the United States over the rest of the capitalist world is based upon this country's vastly superior strength, in comparison with that of any other single capitalist nation or of any hostile grouping of capitalist powers now in sight. In this rise of the United States to capitalist supremacy, we have a clear-cut example of the working of Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism. The United States, controlled by finance capital, having become so preponderantly the most powerful capitalist country economically, therefore inevitably proceeds to set up its imperialist domination, politically and militarily, over the world capitalist system.

The main reasons for the present dominance of the United States over the rest of capitalism may be stated under three heads: a) The United States turns out about two-thirds of the industrial production of the capitalist world—

that is, twice as much as all the other capitalist nations combined, and its highly developed industries give it an immense advantage in the trade markets of the capitalist world; b) The United States likewise possesses overwhelmingly the largest sums of capital available for investment. In its vaults it holds about three-fourths of the gold reserves of the capitalist world. Since the end of the war (according to a recent report of the Senate-House Committee on Federal Expenditures) the United States has exported capital, for all purposes, to various foreign countries to the immense amount of \$42.5 billions. It has on its financial dole all the leading capitalist nations; c) The United States, on the basis of its economic preponderance, also possesses armed forces far stronger than those of any other capitalist power. Its air force and navy are much greater than those of all the capitalists combined, and so are its munitions industries. It has, too, an atom-bomb monopoly (so far as capitalism is concerned), and its military bases all over the world not only constitute a threat against the U.S.S.R., but they also serve conveniently to intimidate the capitalist world. Controlling this overweight of production and military strength, and in line with the inherent and fundamental imperialist drive of monopoly capitalism, the moguls of Wall Street are now undertaking to boss the capitalist nations of the world.

The Achievement of U. S. World Hegemony

The march of the United States to world capitalist hegemony, which began to get underway two generations ago, came to realization only during the aftermath of World War II. Lenin, in his great work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, shows that the dog-eat-dog struggle going on among the imperialist powers for the division of the world among themselves, is one of the basic aspects of imperialism. This struggle raged especially savagely dur-

ing the past 30 years. The United States has emerged as the outstanding victor, at least for the time being, in this murderous inter-imperialist struggle. It is now the cock of the capitalist walk, all of its principal imperialist rivals having either been wholly or partly ruined in warfare against one another, or having been destroyed outright at the hands of their revolutionary peoples.

Already by 1890, the United States had become the leading industrial nation in the world. In 1894 its total production amounted to \$9,498,000,000, as against \$4,262,000,000 for Great Britain, \$3,357,000,000 for Germany, and \$2,900,000,000 for France. There was no possibility for American hegemony at that time, however, since the United States confronted a world full of strong and growing imperialist rivals. Capitalist hegemony for any one capitalist power was still far off in the future.

The First World War gave a big stimulus to eventual world domination by the United States, in that while this country, far from the scene of hostilities, fattened on the conflict, the Russian bourgeois state was overthrown by revolution, Austria was disintegrated, and Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy were deeply injured by the war. The Second World War gave another, even greater push to American imperialist world ambitions. This war, by military devastation and revolution in Europe and Asia, shattered Germany, Italy and Japan, and gravely weakened Great Britain and France; whereas the United States, again safe from war damage, even more enormously expanded its industries and improved its relative imperialist position. In the post-World War II situation, consequently, the United States, with itself grown strong in war and its capitalist rivals weakened or destroyed, has been able to achieve the position of world capitalist boss.

(Foster then shows how U. S.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Write!

In the first pre-convention discussion bulletin, containing the Draft Resolution, Comrade Gus Hall called upon the Party membership to participate in the discussion, to evaluate the work of our Party in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, to freely express their views and experiences. We repeat this again.

Send in your articles on any phase of the Party's activity. Send in your opinions on any section of the Resolution. Send in your amendments, points of emphasis, or omissions. Evaluate the work of your club, your section, or state organization in the light of the resolution.

Articles intended for publication must be received by the Pre-Convention Discussion Committee, addressed to Henry Winston, 35 E. 12 St., New York 3, N. Y., no later than on each Monday of every week. To assure that all articles will be published, we urge that you keep them to a maximum of 1,000 words.

The New York Electoral Policy

By S. W. Gerson

N.Y. C.P. Legislative Chairman

To discuss the electoral policy of the New York Communists one must first ask: What was the basic electoral policy of the New York party since its 1948?

Speaking in general terms, that policy was—and is—the creation on the electoral field of a broad democratic people's coalition that will help block fascism and war.

In New York that policy had—and has—a specific form. It means the building of a broad third party, the American Labor Party; the flexible application of a policy of electoral coalition with democratic forces within the two major parties on partial programs; and the independent participation of the Communist Party within this united movement.

What were the conditions under which the Communists of New York sought to develop this policy?

While not differing essentially from the situation in other states, the New York electoral problems have some distinctive features. There is, similar to the situation elsewhere, persecution, slander and intimidation directed at the

peace forces, especially at the Communists and the third party forces. But beyond that, there are two other important factors: first, the efforts, legal and extra-legal, to isolate the third party forces and prevent them from making effective contact with progressive forces within the two old parties; and secondly, the existence of a well-organized, well-financed, social-democratic-led fake third party, the Liberal Party.

Take the first of these. The Legislature in 1947 passed the Wilson-Pakula law which bars third party candidates from entering major party primaries except by permission of the party bosses. Along with this law the major party bosses ruled (egged on by the Liberal Party leaders) that no major party candidate, with rare exceptions, could accept an ALP endorsement.

Thus at one stroke the traditional form of electoral alliance was blocked. The balance-of-power role of the ALP was substantially curtailed. Progressives within the two old parties, who were not prepared to break with their old party allegiances, had to forego support from the ALP and were thus weakened within their

own organizations.

By thus legally setting up barriers against electoral contact between the ALP and certain progressives within the old parties, and by vesting increased power in the hands of the old-line bosses, the possibility for ganging-up against progressive public officials (Leo Isacson in 1948, Ben Davis in 1949 and Vito Marcantonio in 1950) was facilitated.

These new methods of restricting the democratic franchise of the people reflect, of course, the increasing Wall Street drive towards imperialist war abroad and the police state at home. The conscious use of the Liberal Party leadership to tie independent-thinking masses to the war chariot, is another expression of that same drive to war and reaction.

But these objective factors, important though they be, do not fully explain weaknesses in the progressive camp on the electoral field.

Some of these weaknesses, in my opinion, are the following:

1. A certain narrowness in concept, policy and approach in regard to the ALP. The ALP was conceived as a broad, united front, anti-fascist, anti-war, anti-monop-

oly party. In practice its position was frequently equated with that of a more advanced party, the Communist Party. Example: the Korea question. The ALP reflected a certain hesitation at first in tackling the issue, and when it did, it did not hammer home sufficiently its broad position of mediation in the spirit of the Nehru proposals.

Examples could be multiplied. While in 1949 the ALP correctly did not oppose Herbert Lehman for U. S. Senator, it did oppose, for instance, liberal Republican Stanley Isaacs for City Council. In 1950, when events made it necessary to oppose Lehman, it made the mistake of pitting against him Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and thus aggravating the problem of Negro-Jewish unity. It had an ambiguous position on Rep. Adam C. Powell, a leading figure in the Negro people's movement.

2—An ignoring, in practice, of masses who follow the two old parties. While conceding in words that hundreds of thousands of progressive workers, farmers and small business and professional people, Negro and white, express themselves within the two old parties, little was done in these two years to help organize progressive

sentiment within the two old parties. There has not been, to my knowledge, one effective primary fight waged by the progressives within the two old parties since the passage of the Wilson-Pakula law.

3—An almost total abandonment of consistent legislative and political activity in Left-led trade unions. This was particularly marked in the 1950 Fall campaign where the sole political activity in these unions was—and that insufficient—for Rep. Vito Marcantonio. The situation is not a new one and was aggravated considerably by an almost exclusive preoccupation with economic problems in the period of the expulsions by the CIO bureaucracy.

This situation was coupled with a sectarian hesitation to work in PAC committees of CIO unions as well as in political committees set up by AFL unions.

4—A certain regression in the fight for Negro rights. This reflected itself in a tendency to substitute symbols, candidates and statements for the concrete fight for Negro rights. The ALP fought well for the principle of Negro candidacies and helped force the

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Struggle Against Liquidationism

By MIKE DAVIDOW, Ohio

The Draft Resolution correctly places the struggle against liquidationism as the central task in the fight for our Party organization. However, it is my opinion that while correctly sounding the battle cry for sharp political struggle against this penetration of enemy ideology within our own ranks, it places both the issue and the tasks in a one-sided manner.

It sees liquidationism primarily from the "left." It glosses over the seeds of liquidationism planted in our Party by that bourgeois-gardener Browder, fertilized and nourished by both the influences of the objective conditions, as well as our subjective succumbing to these influences. These were conditions under which American monopoly capital was able to infect and confuse the people and the working class with powerful bourgeois illusions, and corrupt the trade union leadership and sections of the higher-paid strata of labor on the basis of its blood-sucking war-profitteering. These seeds of liquidationism sprouted into full bloom with the open dissolution of the Party, and its replacement by the amorphous Communist Political Association.

Our Party rejected this bourgeois abortion and restored, in the main, the Marxist-Leninist character of our Party. But the roots were deeper. We saw the damage done by the disappearance of shop clubs and restored them. We saw the crippling effects of loose, mass clubs, and reorganized them into smaller units. What we failed to see and, in my opinion, still do not properly appreciate, is that Browder's liquidationism not only did serious damage to the organizational form but above all to the content. Browderism watered down the concept of Party membership to fit its political objective of peace with monopoly capitalism. For such an objective there was no need for a Leninist party nor for the Leninist concept of membership. Hence, looseness not compactness, the easy-going ways of petty-bourgeois individualism, rather than a Party founded upon Communist principles of discipline. This reflected itself in loose re-emitting, the diluting of responsibilities of Party membership, the lowering of the high calling of Communist membership.

Wherein lies our serious error? The seed of it is contained in the correct admission in the draft resolution of "our failure to fight for

correct standards of Party membership in the past." I would only add, that it still holds for the present. There is all too little concern with evaluating this failure, tracing its political roots, and directing an intensive political fight to uprooting it. Instead, all the fire is directed against the "mechanically high" standards for "ideal" membership.

What is completely lost sight of, is that liquidationism can and does express itself not only from the left, in terms of what is characterized as "mechanical standards" of "ideal" membership, but from the right, in the weakening and elimination of Leninist standards of Party membership. It is in this sense that liquidationism has been present and unchallenged in our Party.

We have very clear standards of Party membership. There is nothing "artificial" about them. They are contained in our Party constitution. Article III, Section 2, of our Constitution says: "... Any person eligible for membership according to Section 1, who accepts the aims, principles and program of the Party as determined by its constitution and conventions, who holds membership in and attends club meetings, who is active on behalf of the Party, who reads the Party press and literature and pays dues regularly, shall be considered a member." We should ask the question are these standards applicable to our Party?

I raise this question, because, while it would appear to be answered very simply in the affirmative, in actual practice it has been all too often negated. If there is disagreement with the application of these standards of Party membership, it should be openly discussed and our Constitution amended. If there is something peculiar and particular to the American scene that warrants either no application or a very loose application, then let's examine it. The essence of this theory is that the present loose application of Party standards corresponds to the level of development of the American working-class and that to apply it more strictly, or even to just apply it, is a mechanical application of Leninist principles and organization that would result in liquidating our Party, in particular among the working class and Negro people.

That there is no real clarity on this question is revealed in the recent distortions and excesses, as

well as in the long existence of extreme looseness. Everyone will agree that the vanguard of the working-class must and does reflect the level of development of the working-class. And it is clear that our Party is not, and cannot be, as steered and disciplined as some of the other Parties whose experiences are far richer. Certainly, the bolshevizing of a Party is a long and hard process of struggle of both the Party and its working-class.

What are the facts? The facts are that in the main our Party is divided into two main categories, what we describe as active and inactive members. Now, there is nothing wrong in having various gradations of activity in our Party. We would truly be attempting to make ours an "elite" Party were we to insist upon maximum standards for all. Is it asking for an "elite" Party to insist upon the minimum requirements of membership? Is it "artificial standards" to insist upon dues payment rather than to register members year in and year out on just their nominal agreement, as has been the case? Is it "ideal" standards to insist upon members actually belonging to "one of the organizations of the Party" as stated in our Constitution, to attend meetings and participate in the formulation of Party policy?

Why then is the main stress placed upon the danger of liquidation from a "mechanical" application of standards, when in actual fact, it has been the liquidation of the Leninist concept of Party membership that contributed most toward loosening the ties of Party membership. Certainly, our Party should correct mechanical application of standards based upon a wrong and premature estimation. But that should not lead us to lose sight of the fact that over a period of years that has not been our main danger, that has not been characteristic of our Party.

What is it that we must see? To be a Communist requires a certain level of understanding, indicating an acceptance of the Party's program and readiness to work to carry it out. Does it mean one has to be a Marxist? Of course not. One of the prime functions of the Party is to develop its members into Marxists. But the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class and is therefore composed of its best elements. Just as it is necessary not to overestimate the requirements of Party membership, so is it necessary not to underestimate it. Our main problem has been primarily one of underestimation.

How does a member show a readiness to accept Party member-

ship? Certainly, the first act is joining it. But that is where we seem to think it ends. Of course, in the present period, the very act of joining must in itself be viewed in a qualitatively different light. It is acceptance of responsibilities of membership that is the final and real test of membership for all. It is the duty, and one of the chief tasks of Party leadership, to train and educate Party membership to accepting, carrying out, and increasing their responsibilities to the Party. It is here we have largely fallen down. We have placed the task of holding our Party members in contradiction to their proper training and schooling.

The issue has been posed that the problem raises not so much the question of Leninist concept of membership as it does the Leninist concept of leadership. It raises both. They are inseparable. Our leaders do not live in an atmosphere separate from that of our membership. This loose state of affairs could not but affect and influence them, their thinking, their habits, their method of work. It has had a similar effect upon our activists.

The question is raised, "Where is the role of leadership?" Is this not a cover-up for the weaknesses of leadership? Unquestionably, poor leadership, wrong methods of work, lack of struggle, lack of education have and do greatly contribute to this condition. Unquestionably a one-sided stress upon this problem alone is evidence of a cover-up of the weaknesses of leadership, and I certainly do not exclude myself from the responsibility for either of these errors. But placing all the fire on the role of leadership without examining the question under discussion has prevented us from fully dealing with this fundamental problem. It has left unanswered these questions: Why is this problem of Party membership a national one and not just determined by good or bad leadership? Why has this persisted for the past few years despite all our hammering on registration, dues, etc.? What should be done? No mechanical decree will solve this question.

The first and most important thing is to clearly hammer out our unified understanding of the concept of Party membership under present conditions in our country. Only then will it be possible to proceed to the next stage, the fight to carry it out within the Party, to train our members in the spirit of Communist membership, in the acceptance of its responsibilities. The specific responsibilities of leadership are to understand, accept and fight to bring it about.

NEW YORK ELECTORAL POLICY

(Continued from Page 1)

major parties to make some important nominations. It set the pace by naming the distinguished Negro leader, Dr. DuBois, for U. S. Senate. But it clearly has not as yet recognized the breadth and depth of the Negro liberation movement.

Obviously, the Communists, who form only a part of the third party coalition, are not exclusively responsible for the weaknesses in the progressive electoral movement. But as the most advanced section of that coalition we self-critically examine our own weaknesses and the weaknesses of the entire third party movement and take the initiative to correct them.

It was in that spirit that the New York party in its statement (Daily Worker, Nov. 15, 1950) analyzing the elections advanced a series of propositions to help overcome these weaknesses.

Pointing out that the post-election situation opens up the possibility "for increased independent political action, both by building third party action and within the two major parties," the party statement said that the ALP, if it is to become a major force, must "further develop along with its independent policy, a conscious coalition

policy, a policy of unity in struggle with a variety of forms, electoral and otherwise. It must help to unite in common activity those who follow the Liberal Party and militant workers who still follow the two old parties."

To achieve this unity there must be systematic exposure of the bearers of the "lesser evil" doctrine in the labor movement—an exposure not by propaganda alone but primarily around conscious, united struggle around the needs of the people; a radically new approach to 365-days-a-year legislative activity in progressive-led unions, as well as in CIO and AFL unions; a broader coalition policy in the growing national liberation movement of the Negro people; and special measures to counter the old party gang-up technique on progressives.

The New York party is confident that on the basis of detailed self-critical examination of its policies and that of its allies, it can make an effective contribution to meeting what the national committee's draft resolution points out is the supreme need of the hour—the creation of a united democratic peoples coalition to block fascism and prevent the outbreak of World War III.

THE DANGER OF AND THE FIGHT

By James Ford

I am confining myself to a discussion of Section I of the resolution, "The Growing Danger of War and the Fight for Peace." I am in agreement with the general line of the Resolution. But I believe that certain formulations on the question of war and the slogan "war is not inevitable," are inadequate. It reads:

"The frenzied imperialist drive toward war and fascism has entered a new stage. This new stage began with U. S. imperialist armed intervention in Korea, and is now passing over to threats to invade China. It represents the going over from propaganda and preparations for war to aggressions against other nations."

We are not just faced with "the imperialist drive toward war" nor merely "armed aggressions against other nations." We are in a situation where U. S. imperialism is waging undeclared war against the North Korean Peoples Government. It is a criminal reactionary slave-driver's war. The immediate world politics of U. S. imperialism (in the colonial sphere) being what it is, that is, to wage colonial war to suppress the national liberation struggles of colonial peoples and to enslave them—the North Korean People's Republic was forced to wage a just war for national liberation and the independence of the country.

The U. S. A. launched the war on North Korea through mobilizing the United Nations behind the adventure. It dominates the UN and has its sanction to put down, with armed force, the struggles of colonial peoples for self-determination and national independence anywhere in the world. And because of this, the U. S. war on North Korea is fraught with serious danger to world peace.

In the colonies there are a billion people who have no rights which white nations are bound to respect. They have no direct voice or exercise no real democratic control in the UN. Millions of colored and black folk are disfranchised and "represented" in the UN by white nations and their flunkies. And above all, there is the insulting treatment of China which has thrown off imperialist rule. China was not invited to the UN to discuss certain of its sovereign rights infringed upon by the U.S.A. (the question of Formosa, closely associated with its war on North Korea, on the basis of equality and in keeping with its dignity, but was "summoned" as though it were a country of colonial slaves.

Atlantic Pact countries, whose "colonial possessions" are coveted by the U. S. A., are unable to act independently or speak freely. If they do speak, they support U. S. imperialist armed aggression against colonial peoples. Thus U. S. imperialism's war on North Korea, supported and abetted by the UN, is in fact directed against half of the people of the world—the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The numerical strength of the colonial peoples, however, does not focus attention on the central issue. The central question with respect to imperialist-colonialism is: how (based on the foundation charter of the UN) to assure self-determination for colonial peoples and world peace which alone can prevent aggression and war? Unless colonial peoples possess an equal voice in the UN there can be no peace for anyone, nor will the old imperialist solution guarantee peace. If the UN organizes itself on the basis of half of the world being enslaved, it is to court disaster. The role of the Soviet Union is vital to solution of this question. But the U. S. A. is trying to isolate the Soviet Union,

100% DUES PAYMENT

The pre-convention discussion has begun. Throughout the country our members are engaged in a discussion of the Draft Resolution. In connection with the preparations for the convention, it becomes necessary to re-state a simple but decisive procedure which tests the organizational stability of our Party. **DUES MUST BE COLLECTED!**

The collection of dues is not only a test of our organization, but a test of the political understanding of the role of our Party; a reflection of whether or not the leadership on all levels fights for the Marxist-Leninist concept of Party membership and organization. The regular payment of dues, as our Constitution emphasizes, is one of the first elementary conditions of Party membership. It is not enough to repeat this principle. It is necessary to zealously fight for it.

Therefore, we must view the present status of dues payments in a most critical light. It is far from satisfactory. A change for the better is in order. The opportunity to do so exists now precisely because we have entered the pre-convention period, a period which always brings about a heightened participation of our membership. Furthermore, this is at the same time a period of the registration of our membership, a period of reorganization, when we are duty-bound to reach EVERY member.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon every leading comrade to ask the question: What am I doing to effect 100 percent dues payment? And to answer this, by taking the necessary steps to see that every member is visited during the next three weeks, and brought into good standing. Every member, a member in good standing, should be the slogan in every club, section and state.

It should, of course, be remembered, that the size of each state delegation to the national convention will be determined by the number of paid-up members, on the basis of one delegate for every 200. For a maximum delegation—100 percent dues payments!

HENRY WINSTON
Organizational Secretary.

WORLD WAR FOR PEACE

A Critical Evaluation of White Chauvinist Errors

By the Los Angeles
County Board

The County Board has recently carried on a series of discussions around some phases of the struggle for Negro rights and against white chauvinism as a preliminary step in a serious critical and self-critical examination of the work of the Party and the Party leadership at all levels in the present pre-convention discussion period.

It is the opinion of the County Board that the proper atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism of the work of the board and its officers has not been guaranteed in the past period. As a result, the poisonous ideology of white chauvinism affected the work and relationships of the County Board, and contributed to the lack of a sustained struggle in the entire county for Negro rights and against white chauvinism. The following conclusions were drawn in these preliminary discussions:

1. Theoretical differences developed in the board based upon the relationship of the struggle against nationalism to the struggle against white chauvinism. While the board stated that white chauvinism was the source of nationalism and was the main danger, in practice the officers of the Party tended to equate the two dangers, resulting in the emphasis being placed in certain cases against nationalism, rather than centering the fire on white chauvinism. The board in critically examining this phase of its work concluded that while in our daily activity there must be a war on two fronts—against white supremacy and against nationalism—this must always be based on the recognition that the struggle against white chauvinism by the Party as a whole, and by the white Communists in particular, is the essential prerequisite for the Party's struggle against nationalism. Negro nationalism arises as a form of defense against white chauvinism. Unless our white comrades struggle consistently against the insidious ideology of white supremacy which surrounds and affects them, our Negro comrades will be unable to fulfill their responsibility of leading the struggle against Negro nationalism.

2. The lack of theoretical clarity in the County Board on the national question contributed to a one-sided struggle against white supremacy in the county. As a result, the political struggles for Negro rights were sporadic and diminishing, and the struggle against white chauvinism became one of organizational action primarily: that is, disciplinary action not always accompanied by the struggle for clarity. Comrade Pettis Perry places this question most sharply when, after emphasizing the need for ideological

clarity on the national question and the need for sustained and aggressive mass struggles for the rights of the Negro people, he said: "Having sufficiently tried the first two with the necessary success in the struggle against white chauvinism, then, and only then, should the organizational weapon (disciplinary action) be applied—and once applied, should itself be made the basis of the sharpest ideological struggle—by making every organizational step a part of the ideological struggle, by putting it at the disposal of the movement, by explaining what happened, including what the specific act was, the role of the leadership in overcoming this, etc."

3. These political weaknesses found expression in the relationship of the other members of the County Board with Comrade Bill Taylor. During the course of the 18 months that Comrade Taylor has been in Los Angeles, his work has been critically examined three times by the members of the board. In spite of the fact that some of the criticisms which were raised in relation to his work applied equally to the work of other members of the board, at no time was the work of the other comrades reviewed. Regardless of the validity of any aspect of the criticism of Comrade Taylor's work, the lack of proper criticism and self-criticism of the entire board meant that the only Negro member of the board was singled out for special criticism. This must be characterized as white chauvinism.

In the course of the examinations of Comrade Taylor's work, the criticisms of him expressed by other Negro comrades were used in such a way as to create the appearance of pitting one Negro comrade against another. Criticism and self-criticism of Negro comrades in any particular Party body today must take place in the atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism of the entire Party body. To single out the Negro comrades for special criticism or to omit all criticism of Negro comrades within such a proper atmosphere are equally destructive of the growth and development of the comrades.

The County Board, in recognizing this penetration of white supremacy, was specific in its self-criticism of a motion adopted by the board in the midst of the sharp discussions centering around Comrade Taylor's work. This motion, which requested the State and National Committee to release Comrade Taylor and give him an assignment elsewhere, in the first place concealed the white chauvinism in the board, and, in the second place, was an abdication of the responsibility of the County Board in providing leadership in the fight against white chauvinism.

4. The health of our Party can only be guaranteed by the effective utilization of criticism and self-criticism, in a constant struggle against the influence of enemy ideology. Where there are inadequate or sporadic approaches to the utilization of honest criticism and self-criticism, there can be no sustained struggle against the penetration of enemy ideology. The full utilization of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism requires not only an examination of collective responsibility. Comrade Healey, in examining her responsibility in this situation, was self-critical in regard to three aspects of the problem:

a) When some of the leading Negro comrades expressed criticism of Comrade Taylor, their criticism was used by her as an all-around authoritative analysis of his work. In any other field of Party work, the opinions of any group of comrades would be subjected to the usual collective, rounded analysis. What was present in this case was the desire to hide behind the criticisms of the Negro comrades, because it could not be said that the Negro comrades were guilty of white chauvinism in criticizing another Negro comrade. This tended to conceal the atmosphere of white chauvinism, and further tended to widen the gap between the Negro comrades.

b) As chairman of the county, Comrade Healey had a special responsibility for guaranteeing the work of the county staff, which could only be carried through fully if the work of the board was performed in the framework of check-up on each comrade's responsibilities. By not insisting that criticism of other leading comrades be handled within the County Board, while permitting the criticism of Comrade Taylor to represent the only criticism of the work of any board member, the leadership of the board was diminished, and the subtle manifestations of white chauvinism went unchecked.

c) In the 67th A. D. election campaign, Comrade Healey never found it necessary to lead the campaign against white chauvinism which was present in serious proportions. When, however, nationalist tendencies developed as a result of white chauvinism, Comrade Healey personally took on this question. In effect, the fight was placed backward, making nationalism the main danger. As a result, the white chauvinism became obscured and was not seriously challenged, thereby intensifying all Party problems in that area.

In the course of the discussions, because the conditions for proper criticism and self-criticism began to emerge in the board, Comrade Taylor was able to examine self-critically certain questions raised

relative to his work, such as the existence of a gap between Comrade Taylor and the other Negro comrades and the lack of proper political relationship with the Party in the Central Section and in Watts which, in the opinion of some comrades, resulted in a failure on his part to give political leadership to the Party organization and to participate in the responsibility for the development of Negro cadres. However, a more definite evaluation of Comrade Taylor as of all other members of the board will be part of the pre-convention discussion.

The board has set itself the following control tasks:

1. The board is to re-examine its entire work.

2. The county leadership to make plans for the deepening of the Party's understanding of the national question.

3. The board to take steps to strengthen the Negro Commission; Comrade Taylor to be chairman of the commission.

4. The board to map out one or two issues on a countywide scale for concentration in the struggle for Negro rights.

5. The board to carry through an examination of how our Negro comrades are integrated into the Party, and to examine the relationship between Negro and white comrades from top to bottom.

6. The discussion to be taken to the division organizers.

The State Committee, after a full report and discussion on the situation, passed an official motion of censure against the Los Angeles County Board, which was accepted by the County Board. Inasmuch as state officers were directly involved in the discussions for the last 18 months, the State Committee self-critically stated:

1. The State Committee permitted the slackening off of the struggle against white chauvinism throughout the state, failing to tie this struggle in to the development of all mass campaigns, thereby displaying a lack of consistent ideological leadership.

2. The State Committee permitted the struggle against bourgeois nationalist tendencies to divert and obscure the struggle against white chauvinism as the main danger.

The County Board extends to our National Committee its thanks for sending Comrade Pettis Perry here to assist us in this critical situation. It is the estimate of the County Board that Comrade Perry's profound contributions in these discussions made possible the Communist evaluation of the significance of the struggle, and thereby the criticism and self-criticism of the whole board in its responsibility for the status of the county's struggle for Negro rights and against white chauvinism.

A Cadre Policy Linked to Industrial Concentration

By GEORGE WATT

The Draft Resolution calls upon the whole Party to establish guarantees that a policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward. It calls for closer ties with our industrial workers, and a policy of training and promoting them. Only this "can in time bring about a radical change called for in the period in which we live . . ."

This must be our starting point if we are to develop a correct cadre policy. In my opinion there are three component parts that make up a cadre policy. The first, is guidance to the selection and election of our leadership. Second, is the training of this leadership. And third is the testing of the leaders in the day to day struggles.

1. SELECTION OF CADRES

Unquestionably, we face difficult problems of leadership to meet the new political tasks and the new

organizational forms. But these problems can be solved. We have a gold mine of forces among our shop workers. Shop workers, especially in basic industry, must be brought forward into all levels of Party leadership.

We have been saying this now for several years, since the reconstitution of our Party. Then why is there such a gap between our words and deeds? Why do we still select cadres in many instances on the basis of "availability," on the basis of superficial qualities (certain glibness and aggressiveness, etc.) while overlooking the fundamental, solid characteristics of our shop workers? It is because we do not yet understand the need for guaranteeing the basic working class core of our Party. If this were understood, we would overcome those obstacles that stand in the way of bringing shop workers, es-

pecially from basic industry, into the leadership of our Party. It is true that we will encounter difficulties in carrying out such a policy. In many cases it will mean new habits of work. In some of the larger districts, where there are a number of full-timers, it will mean reorganization of the work in such a way as to permit shop workers to function on the leading committees. But this must be done.

It is also no longer sufficient to call attention to the need for rapid and bold promotion of Negro comrades. This of course must be done more than ever. But, today, we must pay attention to, and promote rapidly, Negro shop workers, many of whom are to be found in basic industry. This is all the more possible because Negro workers played a leading and militant role in recent struggles. Here we have a tremendous reserve for Party leadership.

We must overcome the gap between the role played by women in the lower bodies of our Party and the almost complete absence of woman leadership in top leading committees. It is among working class women, especially Negro women, that we will find additional reserves for Party leadership on all levels.

To sum up this section, our cadre policy must be hitched to our concentration policy. We must rapidly overcome all obstacles that stand in the way of selecting and promoting shop workers from basic industry, Negro workers and women workers. This constitutes the first step toward a correct cadre policy.

2. TRAINING OF CADRES

Once we have made the proper selection of cadres for responsible work, we cannot adopt the "sink

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A Cadre Policy Linked to Industrial Concentration

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or swim" technique. It is our responsibility to train these comrades.

Most important is the ideological training. Here we must self-critically state that this receives the least attention from our Party leadership. There is still some underestimation of the need for formal schools and classes. We should learn from the experience of our brother Parties, not only in the Eastern Democracies, but also in the capitalist countries, and establish more schools, more classes. We also need a program to guide the self-study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, especially for our club organizers.

However, ideological training does not come from formal education alone. It comes from the day to day ideological work of the Party, from the constant battles against the penetration of enemy ideology into our ranks. Thus, by intensifying our strug-

gles against opportunism, against white chauvinism, against the imperialist ideologies advanced by Titoism, Browderism, and Trotskyism, we will train a whole generation of new cadres to safeguard the purity of our Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

Organization and tactical training of our new cadres will come from the participation of our comrades in mass work. Individual attention and patient teaching of our shop comrades is a most important method of training. But we must combine this with proper Communist methods of collective work. Our club organizers will develop best in an atmosphere of collective work and discussion. They will develop best in an atmosphere free from "commandism," from handed-down decisions, from bureaucratic methods of work. They will develop best in an atmosphere of healthy constructive criticism and self-criticism.

The ideological, political and

organizational training of our cadres must be an integral part of our cadre program.

3. TESTING OF CADRES

The very sharpness of the attacks upon our Party places new tests to our leaders. The struggle for standards of membership requires even higher standards of Party leadership. We must constantly test and verify our leadership on all levels in the day-to-day battles. Our comrades must be helped and strengthened to meet these tests. There must be constant vigilance towards the first signs of weakening on the part of any comrades.

The ideological pounding of the enemy is increasing. Some comrades may weaken before these blows. They tend to capitulate to reactionary ideology. Sometimes the weakening of their fibre is shown in personal deterioration, loose morals, drinking, gambling, laziness. Sometimes the signs are pessimism, bitterness

and disgruntlement. The appearance of any of these symptoms must be immediately noted and comrades must be corrected wherever possible. If such tendencies have gone too far, such comrades must make way for new leaders.

Today, more than ever, we need leaders who give their full measure of devotion to the cause of the working class; who have full confidence in our final victory over the forces of reaction, who understand our Socialist theory and are able to impart our understanding to the masses.

Today more than ever, we need in leadership, those who grasp the spirit of working-class internationalism, not only in words but in deeds; who understand the Socialist peace policies of the Soviet Union, the leader of all the peace forces in the world.

Today, more than ever, we need a leadership free from any forms of white chauvinism, which actively struggles against all mani-

festations of white chauvinism. We need comrades who are free from bourgeois nationalism.

We need leaders who will lead by example; whose personal lives are stable; who will show courage in the face of enemy attacks; who constantly inspire our comrades with confidence in our ability to struggle.

We have such leaders who meet these qualifications.

Our approach to cadres cannot be static. We will not find ready-made or "born" cadres. We have to see our comrades, especially our shop workers, from the standpoint of their abilities, their possibilities for growth and development.

Only by a policy of combining proper selection of cadres, a program of training, and constant verification and testing of our leadership, can we assure a serious approach to the solution of the very pressing cadre problems which face our Party today.

U. S. Domination Of Capitalist World

(Continued from Page 1)

imperialism exercises its domination throughout the capitalist world—in Europe, Asia, Latin America, etc.; through the United Nations; enlisting the capitalist world for an early war against the Soviet Union. He also shows how U. S. imperialism strives for domination over the entire world, including the Socialist segment.

New Methods of Aggressive American Imperialism

The Wall Street monopolies, learning from the general decline of the decadent British empire and from the recent crushing defeat of militant German imperialism, have developed distinctive political techniques and tactics of their own for achieving world imperialist domination. To further the program of foreign aggression, some of the more important of these specifically American imperialist policies are as follows:

a) An elaborate pretense that the United States is opposed to colonialism and favors the national independence of the present colonial and semi-colonial lands; whereas, in actuality, however, the American drive is towards reducing all governments, especially those in the weaker countries, to the status of mere puppets under its imperial sway, permitting them to exercise hardly a shadow of independence.

b) The United States, while using the fascist slogan of an anti-Communist crusade, largely avoids the Hitler-Mussolini glorification of aggressive war and energetically cultivates an intensive propaganda to the effect that it is the great apostle of world peace and is standing on the defensive against a supposedly militant Soviet imperialism. Under slippery slogans of defense, it is building up a huge military force for aggressive war.

c) Avoiding the crassly anti-industrialization attitudes of Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Japan and other colonial powers; the United States, with its "Point 4" and otherwise, boasts that it is going to industrialize all the backward areas of the world. In reality, this country, on the contrary, follows far more drastically even than Great Britain, Germany, and other powers ever did, the imperialist policy of making itself into the great industrial center of the world, at the expense of the economies of all other countries.

d) The aggressive American imperialists also skillfully steer clear of Hitler's blatant propaganda of the inherent superiority of the so-called Aryan peoples, and are proclaiming themselves to be the champions of the equality of all peoples; although, in reality, they themselves are definitely white supremacists and are seeking to establish Anglo-Saxon cultural, as well as political, dominion over

the darker peoples of all the world.

In the sphere of domestic policy also, American monopoly capital has its own distinctive policies of aggression against this nation's democracy and well-being. As an indispensable part of its general war program for world conquest, Wall Street is definitely driving towards the establishment of fascism in this country (as many reactionary laws eloquently prove); but it is doing this under very different slogans than those used by Hitler's Nazis.

Among these reactionary trends are: a) There is none of the open glorification of autocratic rule by a chosen social elite, the rejection of parliamentary government as such, or the flagrant propagation of anti-Semitism as a political principle; but, on the contrary, the Wall Street magnates and their Truman Government are trying to pose as the great champions of democracy. These fascist-minded reactionaries—persecutors of the Negro people, union smashers, anti-Semites, and fascists at heart—like nothing better than hypocritically to assail the evils of what they call "totalitarianism." In the name of democracy, they are systematically stripping the American people of their traditional liberties. b) Instead of building up a new independent fascist party, as Hitler and Mussolini did, the American reactionaries, for their drive of war and conquest, find it quite convenient to utilize their traditional two-party system, although with many creakings, on a bipartisan basis. c) Instead of trying to wipe out the trade unions and to head towards a fascist "labor front" on the Hitler model, they are erecting rigid state controls over the unions (Taft-Hartley Act, McCarran Act, etc.) and they have by unparalleled corruption, brought about a thorough domestication of the Social-Democratic (American brand) leadership of the trade unions. d) In the name of free speech, they have also established an unprecedentedly reactionary control over the school system, the press, the radio, television, the movies, and all other means of public information and education.

This elaborate demagoguery of American imperialism, in its drive for world domination, is doubly menacing. Its cunning pretenses that Wall Street is the defender of world peace, the enemy of imperialism, and the champion of democracy, are very deceptive to great masses of the people, both here and abroad. It is a tragically dangerous political fact that today the great bulk of the American people, including huge masses of workers, are unaware that the United States is an imperialist power, in fact, the strongest and most aggressive of all imperialist states, and, especially, that it is definitely driving towards world

mastery on the basis of a war of conquest.

(Comrade Foster then raises and answers a number of new questions which this situation calls forth, such as, whether capitalism in the United States is fundamentally superior to the capitalism of other countries; whether the advance of the United States to world capitalist hegemony signifies a strengthening of world capitalism as a whole, etc.)

The Questions of Super-Imperialism

Does the achievement of world capitalist hegemony by the United States imply that world capitalism is overcoming its internal and external contradictions and is now arriving at the state of super-imperialism as envisaged a generation ago by Karl Kautsky, the renegade ideological leader of the Second International? This question closely related to the previous one, must also be given an emphatic negative answer. Far from curing the capitalist contradictions, the advent of American capitalist domination signifies a great sharpening of all these internal and external contradictions and a further intensification of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

Kautsky (and later Bukharin, with his theories of "organized capitalism," and still later the Wallaces and Browders, with their conceptions of "progressive capitalism"), foresaw a steady growth and consolidation of the capitalist system into an ever-advancing, frictionless, social order. This meant, in final analysis, so these theories implied, the liquidation of the class struggle, the doing away with imperialism, the abolition of war, and the elimination of Socialism as a social perspective.

Lenin, in polemizing against this general conception of Kautsky, pointed out that in capitalist society there is a double-phased development taking place. That is, whereas, on the one hand, there are consolidating tendencies within capitalism, on the other hand, there are even more powerful revolutionary tendencies, and the general working out of this process leads to the establishment of Socialism. Lenin said (in his introduction to Bukharin's book *Imperialism and World Economy*): "There is no doubt that the development is going in the direction of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and states, without exception. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such stress, with such a tempo, with such conflicts and convulsions—not only economic but also political, national, etc.—that before a single world trust will be reached, before the respective national finance capitals will have formed a world union of 'ultra-imperialism', imperialism will inevitably explode, capitalism

will turn into its opposite."

The present world situation, in which the conquest of world capitalist hegemony by the United States takes place, gives a graphic demonstration of the correctness of this analysis by Lenin. The two tendencies within capitalism which he noted—the tendency to organize and consolidate capitalism, and the tendency of the revolutionary forces to replace capitalism by Socialism—have now reached the point of political maturity where they are expressed by the two great camps into which the world is now divided—the camp of imperialism, fascism, and war, led by the United States, and the camp of democracy, peace, and Socialism, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union.

The imperialist world camp is going ahead organizing its forces economically, politically, and militarily through such means as the West European Union, the North Atlantic Pact, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations. At the same time, the forces of democracy and Socialism are growing and consolidating themselves. The latter's recent huge advance has been marked by an enormous increase in the strength of the Soviet Union, the foundation of the People's Democracies in Europe, the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the maturing of the national liberation revolution in Asia and its beginning in Africa, the growth of powerful Communist Parties in France, Italy, and various other countries, the vast post-war expansion of the world trade-union movement, etc. The center of world political strength has now passed to the side of the forces of democracy and Socialism.

The establishing of hegemony by the United States over world capitalism does not signify a consolidation and integration of that system. On the contrary, it is fundamentally the development of a destructive military capitalist alliance, formed for the reactionary and hopeless purpose of destroying ever growing world democracy and Socialism, which are increasingly eroding the very foundations from beneath ramshackle world capitalism. World capitalist hegemony of the United States occurs in a capitalist system that is incurably a prey to vast economic crises, wars and revolutions—in short, in a capitalist world that is rapidly exploding into its opposite, Socialism, as Lenin said it would.

On the Tasks Of Our Party

(Comrade Foster then deals with the destructive effects of U. S. world hegemony and how it intensifies capitalist contradictions; increases the resistance of the workers and other toiling masses throughout the entire world; the

inevitable destruction of world capitalism if a world war is precipitated, etc.)

Our Convention resolution clearly outlines the tasks of our Party in the general conditions in which we find ourselves—of the capitalist hegemony of United States imperialism, of Wall Street's reckless war drive for world domination, and of the ever increasing strength of the world forces of democracy and Socialism. There is no need, therefore, to recapitulate here these policies. Suffice it to say that in this period of sharpening national and international struggle, we must fight, with our united front allies, to make the people understand the warlike, imperialist character of American policy, to protect the living standards of the workers, to defend the democratic rights of the Negro people and the toilers generally, and to crush back the rising wave of fascism in our country.

The very center of all our struggles is the fight for peace; to prevent the monopolists and their Social-Democratic labor lieutenants from plunging the world into another, still more terrible war conflagration, in their desperate and ill-fated attempt to destroy Socialism, to save the capitalist system, and to make the Wall Street monopolists the masters of the whole world. Neither fascism nor war is inevitable—it all depends upon the degree of opposition that the working class is able to develop against these murderous trends of American monopoly capital. In building this people's anti-fascist, anti-war opposition, our Party faces its supreme task. . . .

The Communist Party, situated in the heart stronghold of world capitalism, is a veritable symbol of the revolt of the world's peoples against capitalist exploitation and oppression. It has a highly strategic role to play in the developing world struggle. Nor will it fail in its opportunities and responsibilities. The capitalists realize this fact—this is why they attack us with such ferocity. The present acute situation is a testing time for our Party; but it will emerge from this test stronger than ever. Armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, infused with unbounded confidence in the revolutionary potentialities of the American working class, and inspired by the knowledge that the forces of democracy and Socialism are irresistibly advancing upon the world scale, our Party will prove invincible under the persecution of the panicky, fear-driven capitalist class. The very blows that the capitalists are now raining upon us will serve to steel us, to give us those firm Leninist qualities so markedly possessed by all the Communist Parties that are now leading their peoples on to the establishment of Socialism.