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Report to the National Committee and National Council

Communist Party, USA

By Gus Hall
National Chairman

August 4, 1990
New York City

Report to
the National
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Communist Party, U.S.A.

By Gus Hall
National Chairman

August 1, 1950
New York City

Introduction

I want to express deep appreciation once again to the clubs and comrades who added to the collective effort by sending in their thoughts and ideas. It always adds to the richness of the report. A collective report is one in which all the contributions of comrades that took the time and effort to send them in, leadership and membership, are read, assimilated and are taken into consideration in the final report. It is always interesting that comrades who are most critical and concerned about collectivity and democracy never send in anything. And some materials came in, but too late.

We begin our meeting in the wake of one of the most momentous, unforgettable, once-in-a-lifetime events. There are not too many events that make history. However, the visit of Nelson Mandela to our country was clearly one of them.

His visit stirred up and brought out the very best — the moral, humanistic, anti-imperialist and anti-racist sentiments of our people.

Mandela's tour provided an opportunity for the expression of such sentiments. It was a memorable tribute to Mandela, the man, and a tribute and expression of support for the struggle for a democratic, non-racial South Africa. It was a blow against racism everywhere. And it set a new level, worldwide, in the struggle against the racist apartheid regime. In our country, it promoted Black-white-Brown-labor unity. We owe Nelson Mandela our deep gratitude and appreciation for his contribution to our struggles.

I believe we can all agree that these are out of the ordinary and difficult times and that we are navigating in some uncharted waters. Events are taking unexpected twists and turns. And in many ways, the characterization in Thomas Paine's writings of "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" is also appropriate.

In moments such as this there is always the twin danger of either digging in our heels and doggedly refusing to deal with what is new, or, on the other hand, allowing ourselves to panic and deal with the new not only by ignoring the past, but by discrediting, berating and invalidating everything in the past. We should try to avoid both of these dangers.

At moments like this it is important to remain true to our scientific approach of seeing the dialectical relationship between the past and the present. There are many sides to the new developments we have to deal

with. But possibly the most basic is the raging ideological cold war, based on a fundamental challenge: that the essences of evil in the world — socialism, communism and Marxism-Leninism — are dead, forever. For the hundredth time they are being buried alive.

It is only a seeming contradiction that at the same time as this ideological war against socialism and Marxism-Leninism is raging there is, simultaneously, a decline in anti-Sovietism.

Of course we also have to ask: if socialism is proclaimed dead why then does the ruling class feel compelled to continue and even accelerate the ideological war against it?

One aspect of this is that socialism is not dead and the ruling class knows it. Another is that as the public image of an open, democratic, peace-loving Soviet Union continues to grow, the attacks on Soviet policies no longer wash, so they have switched to a concentrated attack on socialism as a social system.

The new theories of the extinction of socialism and communism ring true only when the setbacks and negative developments are divorced from the inevitable direction of history and from the science and laws governing the progression of human society.

The overall progressive direction of history is full of twists and turns, ebbs and flows, setbacks and advances. But this uneven road does not basically re-set or reverse the course of history. The emergence and development of socialism and communism is not an exception to this rule.

The negative developments in the socialist countries do not sustain the false proposition that the socialist system and Marxism-Leninism are dead. Nor do they sustain the idea that the setbacks have changed the course of history. These events do not change the fact that socialism is an inevitable stage in the forward march of human society. Or that it is the inherent flaws, crises and contradictions in capitalist society that make it inevitable that socialism will have to replace it.

As Comrade Henry Winston said in the Foreword to *Beacon for Our Times*, "The objective laws of social development do not change with the political winds or windbags of the moment."

Secondly, there is nothing in current events that in any way eliminates the special role that the laws of social and economic development have assigned to the

molders of history, the class struggle and the working class. The working class has not disappeared. So long as there is exploitation and oppression, so long as there is a ruling class standing in irrevocable opposition to the interests of the working class, the class struggle will not wither away. It remains the primary factor determining the course of events, including the inevitability of socialism.

Thirdly, the intrinsic nature of capitalism, including its imperialist essence, has not changed. Class exploitation, racism, chauvinism, inequality, corruption, greed, economic and military aggression, hunger, homelessness, poverty, and lack of medical care remain the lot of hundreds of millions, who are the direct victims of capitalism. That has not changed.

Imperialism has not changed. Proof: U.S. policy and action around the world, in Panama, Grenada, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Liberia, El Salvador. The motivating factors behind Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the massive transfer of military forces by the Bush Administration to Saudi Arabia are oil, corporate profits, private riches by the oil sheikdoms. The rights and the interests of the people are not a factor.

Because of imperialism ten million children die of hunger every year. 200,000 die each week; 28,500 each day. In the time it will take to read this report, 240 children will die from hunger.

The occupation, enslavement and killing of the people of Palestine by the armed forces of Israel has not changed.

The imperialist interest-payment noose around the necks of the developing Third World countries keeps getting tighter.

The Bush-Sununu team has not changed. Every bill passed by Congress that is of the slightest benefit to the people, Bush vetoes.

Socialism remains the only socio-political system that will or that can correct the multiple evils of capitalism. Capitalism, not socialism, is the sum and substance of evil in our world.

Communism, in theory and practice, is the main target, the centerpiece of the new ideological challenge. And, as usual, the challenge comes in many shades and directions.

There is the all-or-nothing idea that socialism is dead.

But there are also liberal variations that claim we are entering "the post-Marxian era." They are not referring to Marx's physical being, but are out to bury his body of thought, especially his theories of class struggle, the nature and role of classes, and especially the working class.

There were even statements made at the Soviet Party Congress that real socialism never existed.

In an interview after the Congress, Aleksandr

Yakovlev, a top "new thinking" theoretician, said, "We have never had socialism. What we had was departmental feudalism."

Is that not slander? We also have to reject another of Yakovlev's statements: "In fact, my criticism amounts to an apology for Marxism." And he continued: "Everybody says that Marx created a doctrine about man. He did not create such a doctrine and, I believe, did not even try to. He created a doctrine about class struggle, a brilliant doctrine, yet one which we need to renounce."

It is Yakovlev's anti-socialist, anti-workingclass doctrine that must be renounced.

There are also many interpretations of the events in Eastern Europe. And I believe we should also reject one of the statements made at the 28th Soviet Party Congress regarding the nature of East European socialism. About the events and changes, it was said:

"Soviet diplomacy did not and could not have set out to resist the liquidation of those imposed, alien and totalitarian regimes." We cannot accept such a description of East European socialist countries. The Communists of most of the Eastern European countries had deep roots, including in the struggle against fascism.

There are extensions of the "socialism is dead" theory in our country, such as those who say (not necessarily in public), that since socialism is dead there is no longer a need for a political party based on the dead theories of class struggle and the dead revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, or a party based on a society that crumbled with the Berlin Wall.

There are ideas like this on the left and some even in our Party. We should think about the meaning of the words of Comrade Henry Winston, when he said, "Now more than ever we need to build the Communist Party."

Developments and events in the socialist world do have an effect on our advocacy of U.S. socialism. It is clear that the idea that there are no models for socialism has a new and deeper meaning today. Of course there are many positive things happening in the socialist world, but for the moment existing socialism does not have the same power of attraction. There are more questions now.

The advocates of socialism, including our Party, should point out the positives in existing socialism. But we have to expose and reject the slanders and half truths. We have to deal with the negatives and even reject concepts like "The Yeltsin plan for the privatization of industry and banking in the Russian Republic." We have to explain that this would be a definitive step backward, toward capitalism. And we have to do more exposing the evils of capitalism.

I believe we have always tended to overestimate the influence of existing socialism on the American

people. While it has always been a positive influence, the fact is that people have been won to the idea of socialism not so much because of how it works in other countries, but because of how it will solve the problems they face in the United States.

It is in this direction that we must shift our advocacy of socialism as the best alternative, the best solution to the evils of capitalism in the United States.

We will build a socialist society based on the unique features, both positive and negative, of U.S. capitalism. Our recent pamphlet, "Socialism Made in the USA" is a good instrument for shifting our advocacy of socialism in a new direction.

Our confidence and optimism are sustained and fed by our science and our sense of history. We must not permit ourselves to be pulled into the non-Marxist or anti-Marxist undertow. Life is witness to the truth that socialism, communism and Marxism-Leninism are not dead. It is now an undeniable fact that socialism is going through serious turmoil, even chaos, and some societies have suffered serious setbacks. It is also true that the Communist Parties of the world were hit by the same storms.

The world movement will study these experiences for some time to come. Parties, both in the socialist and capitalist countries, will learn from and draw conclusions and lessons that will become part of a longer-range process of correction and renewal. We will do the same.

However, I believe the low point took place between one and two years ago. Restructuring and rebuilding is in process. All the Communist Parties in the socialist countries have been reorganized, some with new names. There are many signs of revival.

In Czechoslovakia, the four parties that called for outlawing the Socialist Party (formerly the Communist Party), including the Social Democratic Party, did not win one seat in the elections. The Czech and Slovak parties lost only one-third of their members. Most, if not all, of the Communist Parties in the capitalist world, including the third world countries, are in the process of being stabilized on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The rebuilding, the changes, the discussions and probing will go on for some time. Socialism will become more democratic. The theories of Marxism-Leninism will be enriched. And the struggle, including the class struggle, will continue. And socialism will be knocking on the doors of capitalism.

The world changes, even some capitalist countries are changing, but the Bush Administration remains the same. In spite of the Summit, the Bush Administration continues its ideological and economic warfare against the socialist world, including the USSR. The discrimination in trade and credits continues.

Basically, the trade agreements necessary to end

the complex of discrimination and embargoes that reduce U.S.-U.S.S.R trade to a trickle are mere scraps of paper at present.

Bush makes it clear that he has no intention of putting the treaty into effect, or of having Congress ratify parts of it that may need such ratification. His aims are clear: to keep the pressure on Moscow until power has been won by the Yeltsins and the other anti-Communists who dream of moving from socialism, through social democracy, to capitalism.

Bush worked hard at the Summit in Houston to prevent the other capitalist countries from dealing with the Soviet Union as an equal trade and business partner. The Bush Administration continues its policy of aggression against Cuba, with its threats and provocations, like TV Marti, and its pressure on the Soviet Union to cut its trade relations with Cuba.

The Bush Administration will never set to rest its anti-communism until socialism is transformed into capitalism in all the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. And that, of course, will never happen.

Therefore, we will have to contend with anti-communism, in all its new variations, forms and strategies, until we have an anti-monopoly government. This means we must continue to sharpen up our ideological and political weapons and especially, to master our science.

Ideological storms

It is almost inevitable that in such a stormy period as this there are also ideological storms. On my last visit to the GDR I delivered a lecture to the staff, cadre and top leadership of their Academy of Sciences.

I presented my paper during the third day of the riots and perhaps they influenced the assessment I made which was that the world movement is in the midst of turmoil in the field of theory and economics. And, as sure as we are sitting here, there will follow turmoil in the field of ideology. And this turbulent era will be closed with flare-ups in the already troubled field of philosophy.

Because of the revolution in communications, a theoretical and ideological flare-up in any part of the world quickly spreads to the rest of the world.

These ideological storms have affected our Party. These effects are both positive and negative.

Just as there are no models for socialism, there are also no ready-made ideological models. Based on our own unique reality, we must develop our own positions.

For example, there are those who would superimpose or mechanically transfer the situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to our situation, as solutions to our problems.

Some even say, "since they failed, we will fail, unless we embark on the same or a similar path as they

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have taken." They ignore the fact that the Soviets, including Gorbachev, have stated, "Perestroika is a solution to Soviet problems," and, "Perestroika is not for export."

This thinking not only fails to see the class struggle raging in our country, but also imposes the same conditions on our party as exist in parties that have been in power for 70 and 40 years.

Another example. We must assess whether the class struggle in the United States and the role of the U.S. working class continue to be the central factors in our capitalist society. As we know, some have declared the class struggle null and void.

It is clear that the concept of "universal human interests" is an important idea. But while the class struggle and the working class make a special contribution to universal, democratic and human values, the class struggle does not disappear, or merge into the struggle for universal interests. It is impossible to fight for universal human interests by ignoring the class struggle and without the unique role of the working class.

In a class society in which the capitalist class dominates, the class struggle cannot be submerged into overall human interests. Yet another example: the struggle against racism also makes a unique contribution to the struggle for universal values, democracy and human interests. But this does not negate or re-

place the necessity for a specific struggle against racism. The class struggle and the struggle against racism are not in contradiction to universal human interests.

Overall, universal human and workingclass interests versus corporate monopoly interests is the most basic of all contradictions.

Any blurring of this basic contradiction by pitting universal interests versus class interests gives the ruling class an edge in the class war and, in reality, disarms the working class.

No matter how classes and class relations may change, as long as there exists exploiters and exploited, there will always be class struggle between them. That is a scientific law.

This law, however, does not negate the all-class nature of the struggle for universal interests. Pitting one against the other, or attempting to submerge one into the other, usually stems from the inability to see or accept the progressive and leading role of the working class in the struggle for overall human interests, for extending democracy, for peace, etc.

The only way to understand this relationship is by seeing the dialectical unity between class struggle, workingclass interests and universal, all-class interests. The same cannot be said about universal human interests and the interests of the capitalist class.

The Socialist World and the World Communist Movement

Before taking up some of the developments in the socialist world, I want to quote from a letter I received just yesterday.

The letter is from Comrade Herman Axen, one of the most respected Communist leaders in the GDR, who is now under house arrest in Berlin. Many of you know him. If there ever was a hero in the struggle against Hitler fascism, it is Comrade Axen. By way of prisons, concentration camps, and partisan warfare, Comrade Axen has been there.

He writes, "You know about the tragedy. The reasons are a complicated knot of problems which as yet have not been solidly analyzed anywhere. Of course, the main sources of the end of the GDR belong to our home policy and to the Party. You will certainly have felt this during your last visit to Berlin. But such a strategic defeat of world socialism has not only national sources, but international ones as well.

"The catastrophe is great. The furthest point of retreat may not have been reached, but socialism as a system and a movement for the future of the peoples of the world will finally resist, overcome, consolidate itself and prove definitely its superiority.

"I have not lost my conviction nor my courage, neither during the fight against fascism, nor today. I lived and acted in my political and personal life as a Communist and so it will be to the end."

The dust kicked up by the storms of the past period are beginning to settle, clear patterns are beginning to emerge, political realignments are beginning to take shape, and the inevitable process of regrouping is taking place. In a few countries, like Poland and Hungary, the process of moving toward capitalism is still the main direction, although counterforces and discontent is slowing it down. In some cases, a turning point has been reached and the situation is already turning around.

Rather than review the objective process, I would like to indicate some of the clear patterns that are emerging and some estimates of how and why these processes took place. The process of exchanging ideas and materials between Communist Parties is now beginning to take place. This is very helpful and necessary.

Eastern Europe

As Comrade Axen said in his letter, "The reason for the tragedy are a complicated knot which has not

yet been solidly analyzed." The "complicated knot" will be untied bit by bit. One of the factors that is beginning to emerge is that in Eastern Europe, all of the parties, in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and the GDR, had lost their workingclass anchor.

This was particularly true in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. At no time during the chaos and turmoil did these parties appeal to the workers and farmers to defend their socialist system. At no time did the parties warn the people that a struggle for power was at stake. This contrasts to what happened in Bulgaria and Rumania where the parties called on the working people to defend workingclass power and socialism. The parties kept retreating and compromising, believing that was the way to restore order, and, later, to stem the counterrevolutionary tide.

In all the parties there was obviously an underestimation of the organized underground movement, an underestimation of the power of capitalist propaganda and the extent of subversive CIA activity. Just six months before the Polish elections, the Polish party was insisting it knew every counterrevolutionary element and that they could never seize power.

In an interview with the New York Times (7/21/90), Milos Jakes, the former General Secretary of the CP of Czechoslovakia said that he resigned during the events of November 1989 in order to give the Party a chance to dissociate itself from the past. But he said that the new Party leadership "not only dissociated themselves from things that happened, but also from socialist principles."

Despite the weaknesses and lack of a fighting Party program, the party in Czechoslovakia got 12% of the vote and the GDR party received 17% of the vote in national elections. And they increased their votes in the local elections and won the vote in three industrial cities. These elections took place in the wake of an unrelenting anti-communist campaign. And, in the case of Czechoslovakia, a call to make the party illegal.

In Hungary, the the Socialist Workers Party reconstituted itself and characterized itself as a Marxist party dedicated to a socialist Hungary, defending the gains of 40 years of socialism. In a letter to our Party, asking to maintain fraternal relations, they said: "The Hungarian Socialist Party has not ceased to exist, but lives and works." They stressed their internationalist ties and ties to the international labor movement. They see the base of the party in the working class,

especially in basic industry.

In Poland, the rail strike had special significance in that this was one of the strong Solidarity unions and its strike was against the Solidarity government. There is growing disillusion and anger with the Solidarity government, with a marked decline in living conditions and Lech Walesa's threats to go for the presidency and run the country "by decree and a strong fist." There are also constant demonstrations by farmers on demands around subsidies.

In Romania, the victory of the National Salvation Front in the elections was both a victory for democratic socialism and a tremendous defeat for the ultra-right, monarchist and neo-fascist forces. The Rumania working class played a decisive role in numerous demonstrations and strikes in support of socialism. The miners' militant defense of socialism foiled a coup attempt by the old Iron Guard and anti-communist forces.

From the beginning the Bulgarian Party has led the changes in that country. The newly named Bulgarian Socialist Party won over 50% of the vote. There is an intense struggle against the neo-fascist and nationalist forces. The Party has self-critically dealt with and reversed its position on the Turkish minority, which lays the basis for national unity in building socialism. In July, in Sofia, there was an anti-fascist rally of over 150,000. Recently, over 500,000 people attended the cremation of Georgi Dimitrov's body.

It is no accident that U.S. imperialism has targeted Bulgaria, Rumania and Cuba for intense attacks because of their defense of socialism.

The Party of Democratic Socialism, with over 700,000 members in the GDR, is the largest political party in both the GDR and West Germany. The process and the fact of unification are causing great strains and stresses on as it the workingclass worries about unemployment, the closing of large enterprises, rent, food and taxes, education, abortion rights and many other issues that will intensify the class struggle in a unified Germany.

The social democrats, especially in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, are playing an increasingly insidious role in relation to socialism and the Communist Parties. In the GDR, they have pushed through a decision that unification will take place on October 3. The GDR will vote the same time as the FRG, in an all-German election and, therefore, will come under the FRG election law, which mandates that for a Party to be represented in Parliament it must receive 5% of the vote nationally, as opposed to 3% in the GDR. This means the Party of Democratic Socialism runs the grave risk of not getting 5%, when figured into all-German elections. For sure, the smaller parties in the GDR such as Democratic Forum, which are pro-socialist, will not get the 5%. This will be a real setback to socialism and

democracy. The setbacks and losses in the East European countries prove all the more forcefully that there is no model of socialism.

Such setbacks did not occur in Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Korea, China or Mongolia. Though there are great difficulties in these countries, the changes are taking place within the framework of socialism, based on the concrete conditions in each country. This proves the correctness of placing the emphasis in our Party on socialism, USA as the solution to the crisis of capitalism, USA.

The Soviet Union

Although the serious crisis confronted by both the country and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is yet to be overcome, the 28th Congress demonstrated beyond doubt that it is basically a healthy party of 18 million strong, with deep roots among all multinational sectors of the Soviet Union and deep roots in socialism.

With all the debate, discussion and differences, the Congress rejected a return to capitalism but instead made it clear that perestroika and socialism are indivisible. Reducing the Congress to a struggle between so-called "conservative" and pro-perestroika forces is essentially an attempt by the western mass media to distort what actually took place. The real issue fought out at the Congress was a debate on what happened and what is taking place in the USSR today and how to correct and go forward.

The debate was centered around an estimate of seven decades of Soviet history, the question of a "regulated market economy," the character and role of the Party, the estimate and character of the Soviet state and the events in Eastern Europe. It is clear the last word has not been said on many of these questions.

The US and western press labeled the decisions of the Congress as "a mandate for Gorbachev to go forward on the path of perestroika." But this mandate, never seriously in doubt, was coupled with sharp criticism and profound concern of the Soviet people as to how and where perestroika is going.

The Congress expressed all the deep concerns of the people: the introduction of a regulated market economy, that this would threaten their socialist gains, lead to mass unemployment and inflation. These concerns are real because the Soviet people see that this is what is happening in Eastern Europe and even elements of capitalism emerging in the Baltic Republics. These concerns were expressed in extensive debates on the estimate of the history of Soviet socialism, the Party, its history and role today and the role of the workingclass, including in the Congress.

Some forces argued that perhaps it was necessary in the beginning stages of perestroika to criticize the

party, but that it was now necessary to put an end to making the Party a whipping post. They argued that it has become a smokescreen behind which a conscious effort is being made to undermine and push the Party off to the sidelines of Soviet life. This is the aim behind the demand for a distribution of the Party's assets, the effort to remove Party organizations from the workplaces, army and government bodies, and a demand for a trial of the Party.

There was much sharp criticism of the Party for failure to vigorously defend the Party in the face of such attacks. The very appearance of anti-communist forces and activity proves that these attacks are encouraging the emergence of anti-communism, something the Soviet people have never had to contend with before. In fact, the Congress found it necessary to adopt a special resolution on the need to combat the attacks upon Communists and the Party itself in Eastern Europe, as well as the USSR. For the same reasons it found it necessary to call for the defense of Lenin and his teachings in the land of Lenin.

The question of the role of the working class was very forcefully raised at the Congress. It was pointed out that one of the serious mistakes made by Party leaders in respect to perestroika was that they permitted an underestimation of the role of the working-class. It was the intellectuals, writers, economists and lawyers who came to the fore. Being more articulate and aggressive they were permitted to dominate the TV, the pages of leading newspapers and magazines, the proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the Moscow, Leningrad and Russian Federation Soviets.

In fact, there was a sharp decline in the composition of workers and farmers in the Soviets and Party congresses, including the CPSU Congress. This was most vividly expressed in the fact that they had to be "invited." This is more than a matter of numerical decline. It reflected the class stratification developing in Soviet society in the rise of cooperatives, private businesses, partnerships, entrepreneurs engaged in joint ventures with foreign firms and the formation of similar businesses in the fields of science, arts and culture.

Another factor which contributed to this underestimation is the concept of Soviet society as an "all peoples society," with nothing but harmonious interests. It seems it was this theory that dulled the Party's class consciousness.

To this must be added the long absence of class struggle. In addition, an incorrect interpretation by some of the concept of the predominance of universal over class values played a real role in this underestimation. The appearance of concepts that would renounce Marx's theory of the class struggle, concepts which regard democracy not only as classless but looks to bourgeois democracy for "lessons" in democ-

racy, the disappearance of any mentioning of imperialism and a weakening of the spirit of internationalism, while at the same time virulent nationalism is rampaging in various areas of the USSR — I believe are some of the reasons for the serious underestimation of the role of the working class.

One of the outstanding achievements of the 28th Congress is that it jolted the Party leadership into realization of these serious weaknesses. This was immediately reflected in the sizable increase in the worker composition of the Central Committee. The Congress was a call to action, particularly demonstrated in Gorbachev's concluding speech.

When the Congress ended, the differences still existed but the Party was consolidated. There was no serious split. No mass exodus. When Yeltsin, Popov and Sobchak were unable to split the Party from within, they walked out, essentially alone. The profound concern over the crisis in the Party and country had been forcefully registered, the mandate made clear: perestroika and socialism are indivisible. This, in itself, was a significant achievement.

Communist Parties in the capitalist world

Speaking about parties in the capitalist countries, certainly, the most exciting recent development in the capitalist world is the unbanning of the Communist Party of South Africa, its openly recognized position in relation to the ANC, the defense and recognition of the Party's role by Nelson Mandela in his U.S. tour, and its coming out rally in Johannesburg on July 29th where Joe Slovo shared the platform with Mandela at a rally of 50,000.

There are many positive developments in the parties in the capitalist countries where the parties have grown and are leading major struggles, in South Africa, France, Portugal, Israel, Colombia, El Salvador. But in virtually all parties there are challenges to the workingclass line and there are problems of factionalism. In some, there are serious problems of liquidationism. What appears as a pattern is a certain loss of confidence in socialism and moving away from the working class. But in most there is a struggle taking place, with the healthy forces emerging and consolidating. It is now clear that there was and still is a process of mechanically superimposing the conditions of socialist countries and parties onto the capitalist conditions and parties which are not in positions of power.

In essence, the debate is not between democratic reformers and old thinkers, but a struggle between those who abandoned Marxist-Leninist positions, who actively work for liquidating the party, and those who continue fighting for the political, organizational and ideological integrity and identity of the Communist Party.

The liquidationists have launched attacks on the history of the movement and parties, on the concept of democratic centralism, the ideas of socialism and communism, the role of the working class and the validity of Marxism-Leninism. And they seek to change the program and essence of the parties in their image. This process has occurred in several countries.

In a number of parties there is a strong push for the dissolution of the Party into "left formations," "broad left fronts," etc. The main line, with variations, is a move toward social democracy, abandoning democratic socialism, a shift away from the working class and a reliance on other sectors, and universal human interests vs. class interests. In most of these parties there is a struggle taking place, with the Marxist-Leninist forces regrouping and renewing themselves.

In France, Marchais said NO to the question of changing the name of the party: "No, because communism, the negation in every way of the misdeeds of capitalism, is the foundation of the party's activity; because Communists in France, from Babeuf to the Paris Commune constitutes a powerful stream of our people, to which we are linked and to which we are giving life today..."

In Italy, in June, there was a meeting of Italian Communists, including elected officials, to stop the "dissolution of the Party" and to achieve this through a concrete program of struggle on the critical issues facing the Italian working class.

In Portugal, at the 13th Congress of the CP in May, the Thesis of the Congress, in response to the push from some other parties, rejected the transformation of communist parties into parties leaning toward social democracy, their dissolution within left fronts, and demands for integration into the Socialist International. The Party reaffirmed its class character and condemned the institutionalization of organized factions, which were carrying on a non-stop struggle to gain control of the Party's leadership.

In Bolivia, the party expelled a number of leading

people for factional activity, including meetings with other political groups to form a new party. The Central American Parties together issued a joint statement on the need for common struggle against imperialism, a statement reaffirming the class struggle.

In Colombia, a factional grouping within the Party, who falsely accused the Party of being "an enemy of perestroika and for "Stalinist socialism," who were secretly working to organize a new social-democratic movement, were expelled and removed from leadership.

In West Germany, after a period of almost total paralysis, that started before the turmoil, the Party has consolidated itself and is developing a program of action in relation to unification. Clearly, the setbacks, losses, turmoil and dissension in the world communist movement is not over. However, from the evidence amassed over the past months, it is also clear that the parties are regrouping and fighting back, mistakes and weaknesses being corrected, corners are being turned and turning points are taking place.

In all this turmoil and turbulence, it is the indomitable stabilizing power of Marxism-Leninism that is finally taking hold and steering the healthy forces of socialism and communism back onto the path of class struggle and socialism. The lesson: as long as Communists hold onto the science of Marxism-Leninism no event, no development or upheaval will throw us off course.

It seems that one of the negative effects of the turmoil is a decline of the spirit of working class internationalism.

Leaders, parties and movements have become so involved in their internal problems that there is no time, energy or resources for a neighbor's problems. Exchange of ideas and thoughts are at an all time low point. Among other problems, the lack of exchange and a sense of internationalism makes it more difficult to draw the lessons from the setbacks. The reestablishment of international relations between parties is a very important challenge.

The Economic Scene — Movements & Issues of the 90s

Developments around the world, including in the socialist world, are important and interesting, and of course of great concern for all partisans of socialism. But our main focus must be on the fast-developing crises breaking out all around us, in our world.

We will be judged primarily not by what we say about world developments, but what we say and do about the accelerating problems our people face here at home.

Yes, we are internationalists. But our first responsibility, our primary allegiance, and greatest attention must be concentrated on the developments in our own country and their impact on our own people. This is where our creative energies must be focused on a priority basis.

At this meeting we should get reports on how and how deeply we have translated into life the main areas of struggle we agreed upon at our last National Committee meeting. In each state/district, each club, how did we become involved in the struggles and movements for national health care, for housing, education, conversion and the fight for the 1990 Civil Rights Act. The fact is that if we have not been involved in these struggles our focus is off center. If that is the case, we should ask, "How come?"

In the national center some departments and commissions are involved, and some are sitting on the sidelines, turned inward. Cynical remarks about "show and tell" are a cover-up for doing nothing.

The "Quiet Depression"

While the cyclical economic crisis has not yet broken out, the "quiet depression" I wrote about two years ago has continued to deepen. It is based on longer range factors and therefore takes into consideration the long-term steady deterioration.

The overall decay and corruption of capitalism continues. As the economy sinks, as people see the great shift in wealth from the poor to the rich, as the corruption in high places, like the S&L scandal remains in the headlines, more and more Americans become disillusioned and distrustful of the government and therefore more anti-corporate and anti-monopoly.

The roots of the "quiet depression" are in the long-range factors. Within the last ten years the workers' share of the products they produce fell from 30% to 25%. This is the source of the highest profits and corporate salaries in history.

The years of economic stagnation and "quiet depression" have been years of staggering social polarization, years of zooming super profits and wealth on the one hand and rapidly spreading poverty, declines in real wages, a steady rise in homelessness and hunger, eroding social and health services on the other.

It is an ironic twist that the infamous Donald Trump real estate interest fiasco is now cast in the same mold as the federal government's budgets. Trump has to deal with interest payments on a \$3 billion dollar debt. And the federal government has to deal with interest payments on a \$3 trillion dollar debt, that grows at the rate of \$170 billion a year. The corporate Trumps and the government agencies borrow and spend and the hole gets deeper and deeper.

The American public, according to the latest Gallup Poll, now cites the federal budget deficit as frequently as illegal drugs, which dominated the public's agenda for more than a year, as one of the most important problems confronting the country. The public increasingly views the deficit as a factor in lowering their living standards, especially because the Administration uses it to cut programs and increase taxes.

The economic screws tighten

The economic screws are tightening on the working class and people, especially in the major areas that to a great degree determine the quality of life for most American families.

Especially in the past few months, the bad economic news has been spread all over the front pages of the New York Times, in headlines like "Data Verify Economy's Malaise: 16 states in or near a recession," and "In New England, Hardest Recession in U.S. Takes Hold," and "Home Builders See Recession and Blame the Savings Crisis."

Let's look behind the headlines for a moment to see what they mean in terms of a shift in wealth and the quality of life. The shift in income from the poorest 60 million to the richest 5 million has been \$150 billion per year for the past 15 years. The richest 5 million have a combined income of one trillion. The bottom 60 million's share is \$250 billion. In per capita income the richest have 50 times the income of the poorest.

Gross corporate profits last year were \$1 trillion

500 billion. This means a windfall for corporate executives who get an average of \$250,000 a year. The average annual family income of the richest 1% is \$404,566, plus benefits, expense accounts, bonuses and million dollar pensions, 50% higher than the Japanese and 90% higher than British and German executives.

And because of the lopsided, loophole tax laws, corporate America pays a measly 22% of the total taxes, while working America carries the biggest burden, 52%.

On the working class side of the ledger, workers got an average of 1% and 2% wage increases for 1989, with the cost of living rising at 8% a year, which means a net loss of about 7%. Real wages are on a slow, steady decline. Average incomes for those working is \$20,000-\$32,000, with Black families earning 60% of white families' wages, the biggest gap since the 60's.

The average family income of the poorest 10% of Americans fell 10.5% between 1977 and 1987, while the average family income of the wealthiest 1% rose 74.2%. At the same time, health insurance benefits were being cut, pension funds were being invaded, taxes and prices were rising. Welfare and social services are being slashed and workers are under tremendous pressure to make even more concessions "to make America competitive."

Full-time women workers earn 65% of men's wages. And 43% of women workers are in jobs paying below poverty wages.

Over the past 15 years the real wages of young male workers has declined 25%, more for female workers. And among African-American male workers, it's 50% and for African-American female workers even more. The rise of sweat shops illegally hiring child labor, under working conditions as severe as the 30's, makes the situation for young working America even worse. Twenty percent of all children grow up in poverty; 39% of the millions in poverty are under 18; 45% of African American and 40% of Hispanic children live in poverty.

With the real poverty level for a family of four at \$20,000, sixty million Americans are now living in poverty. Fifteen million are unemployed. Every week 300,000 people are filing new unemployment claims.

These figures prove that there has been a drastic and extensive erosion in the overall quality of life, and especially for African-American and other nationally oppressed, women and youth.

An understanding of the impact of this marked decline should determine our focus, our tactics and our program of struggle for the '90s.

And what is the government's response: Blame the "federal deficit." Their recipe is: cut the deficit by raising taxes on working people and cutting social

programs and services.

Reading Democrat Dan Rostenkowski's lips, Bush renounced his "no new taxes" campaign promise. Now the New York Times warns, "It wouldn't take much to throw the stagnant economy into recession," and spells out a recipe for a mix of "taxes and cuts" all on the backs of the people. The remedy, they say, is "a 5% excise tax on gasoline and higher 'sin' taxes on alcohol and tobacco."

Taking their cue from the President and his congressional cohorts, states and cities have already begun putting this recipe into the frying pan, with new state and city taxes. New federal, state and local taxes will most likely make this the year of the biggest tax ripoff in U.S. history. Anti-tax movements are springing up across New Jersey and other states as they pass new tax laws.

The results of the Reagan-Bush "revolution" are still taking their toll on the people. And there is no end in sight under the Bush Administration.

Tom Wicker, in a NY Times column, tore into the Bush Administration's recent report announcing a decision against any major new programs or strategy to combat poverty. Wicker writes, "Earlier this month, Bush's Domestic Policy Council decided that Bush should embark on no new programs or strategies to reduce poverty in America. Instead, a White House official remarked jovially, the Administration would 'keep playing with the same old toys. But let's paint them a little shinier.' "

With over 20 million suffering from hunger, one out of every 12, 39% of them children under 18, there are charitable groups springing up all over the country, collecting leftovers from restaurants, bakeries, supermarkets and airlines to supplement the meagre pork, rice and beans that the government wants to "paint a little shinier." Such donors are immune from liability if people get sick or die from contaminated food under a "good samaritan" law enacted by all the states in 1981. Companies complain that they have no "financial incentive" to donate leftover food "because the IRS does not allow tax deductions for such donations, which it considers to be one step from the garbage pail."

That's capitalism for you!

As the crises take hold, are we responding? Are we organizing and/or joining in the existing community movements of the homeless, the housing movement, the fight for free, quality health care? Are we responding fast enough to the increase in racist violence and the sharpening racist edge of the economic crises?

Are we on the ground floor of the October 3rd, "Health Care Action Day," just announced by the AFL-CIO's National Jobs With Justice Coalition?

We should hear about our contributions to these struggles at this meeting. Yes, let us "show and tell."

The new backroad route to profits

To add to the hundreds of billions in direct profits, monopoly capital, in collusion with the government, has forged a new backroads system for plunder of the people. Through this backroads system, trillions are transferred from the poor to the rich.

The S&L swindle

The Savings and Loan swindle is but one of the new backroad routes to grab off more billions. On the S&L route at least \$500 billion, a half trillion dollars, will be passed from the people to the filthy rich. The S&L scandal is just one of the stops on this new backroad to profits.

The S&L bailout is the fruit of an unprecedented "experiment" in capitalist deregulation, the greed of profiteering predators and a corruption saturated government. Deregulation of the nation's savings and loan industry, which was ostensibly established to make it possible for ordinary families to buy homes, has been transformed by Carter, Reagan and Bush into a trillion dollar federally insured gambling casino, where unscrupulous millionaire insiders become sure winners, with a government-guaranteed license to steal. And the only sure losers are the U.S. taxpayers. It has turned into the largest transfer of wealth in the history of our country — from the working people to the rich. The Bush bailout is inching over \$500 billion and will cost every U.S. citizen at least \$3,000.

As new scams hit the headlines day after day, more and more Americans are becoming enraged. Already, demonstrations have taken place in Chicago and other cities. Protest letter campaigns are being organized around the country. Are we part of this? Are we mobilizing existing forces and initiating "Stop the S&L sellout" movements around the country?

The S&L ripoff is a two-tier robbery. The banks go bankrupt because the rich who run and own them steal billions. One example is the President's son who gave away billions to his closest business buddies. Of course Ned took \$200 million for himself. And then on TV, when asked about his dirty deals, with a sheepish look on his face, he bragged "It was a sweet deal."

Now for the second tier of the robbery. A typical example: An old, close friend of Bush's bought fifteen of the bankrupt S&L banks, with billions in assets, with \$1,000 of his own money. How was he able to pull this off? Because another old business buddy of Bush's made all the arrangements with all the right connections and now clams up and takes the fifth amendment.

This second tier looting goes on day after day. And the debt the people have to pay keeps going up. The filthy rich, especially the Republican rich, are also

simply stealing \$10 billion from HUD funds that were earmarked for housing the homeless. The rich Republicans get richer and the homeless will remain homeless.

And to top it all off, the government is guaranteeing the stolen loot in the bank accounts of the thieves. This is how it goes. There is currently four trillion in all banks in the U.S. By law only one-half should be insured. In practice, the government guarantees to pay all of it, should a bank fail. This means the rich, who have huge, multiple accounts, well over \$100,000 each, get it all back. Of the S&L bailout cost of \$500 billion, \$250 billion is the total the government does not have to pay by law, but does because they can't stand to see the rich lose a penny. Of the \$3,000 each ordinary taxpayer will have to pay, \$1,500 of it is because of this government guarantee giveaway.

The only solution to this mess is to nationalize all the banks, round up the crooks and make the rich pay the half trillion dollars.

The initial backroad robbery was crafted by Reagan, with his billions in tax gifts to the rich. Since then, trillions of the people's money has been siphoned off and more is on the way down the backroad route.

The new taxes, the \$500 billion payback debt on the S&L's, the interest payments on the \$3 trillion government debt, the millions stolen from HUD, and billions more are all going back to the class that committed the robberies in the first place. And the Bush-Sununu plan is to turn over whatever money winds up in the "peace dividend" also to the same highway robbers.

The wave of mergers, takeovers and leveraged buyouts are also connected to the backroad system and to the new level of exploitation and profiteering. The Reagan-Bush era has sharply accelerated the privatization and monopolization of U.S. industry and banking.

For example, the junk bond king Michael Milken drew a \$500 million salary. The crooks who put together the Reynolds-Nabisco takeover took a \$5-billion "finders fee." And of course the result was a jump in the price of cookies.

There is no end to the gory stories of corporate gangsters who operate in and around the Reagan-Bush Administrations.

The latest is the one about Alan Greenspan, the Federal Reserve Board Chairman, who is the main man manipulating federal monies. It turns out that he used to be a full-time consultant to William Keating, the most notorious of the S&L racketeers. Greenspan was a full-time consultant and a key link in the Keating heist.

The billions stolen by way of this new backroad route are monies that are being taken out of funds for

health care, housing, education, child care and the environment.

The trillion dollar robbery by way of this new backroad route adds to the declining living standards. The people pay for it in taxes, lower wages, shabbier neighborhoods, schools and hospitals.

It is clear that the Bush-corporate plan for the workers in the 90's era is more layoffs, more permanent unemployment, more wage cuts.

Typical is the GM case. GM has laid off 13% of its production workers. And the rate of layoffs will increase. But in its year-end statement GM boasted "We paid out \$2 billion to our stockholders." GM chairman, Roger Smith is retiring in luxury with a pension of \$600,000, which was doubled to \$1,200,000 as a bonus for upping GM profits.

Victims of double jeopardy

All working people are victims of this rapacious ruling class, but some 60 million African-American, Hispanic, American Indian and Asian Americans are the victims of double jeopardy because racism and discrimination is heaped on top of the exploitation.

The median family incomes remain: white families, \$34,000; Hispanic families \$22,000, African-Americans, \$13,666. 58% of Puerto Rican families live below the poverty level.

Poverty rates are 3 to 4 times higher than the general poverty rate for African Americans and at least twice as high for Hispanic families.

To this we have to add the pressures of racist violence and the segregation and threat of re-segregation of desegregated schools and neighborhoods.

The pattern of the new wave of layoffs is also clearly racist. The new layoffs are in older plants and plants in the bigger cities.

Each year the number of African-American high school graduates who cannot find jobs increases. One quarter of African-American men are in jail or on probation, more than the number of African-American men in college. The criminalization concept is the racist theory that rationalizes this genocidal pattern.

Tens of millions of our people are trapped in the inner cities of poverty and slums, where the quality of life is below the crisis level and the decline is the sharpest, where unemployment reaches 80%, where everything costs more, where the infant mortality is higher than in Bangladesh, where Bush's so-called thousand points of light does not penetrate.

What is needed is emergency action, emergency programs to bail out the inner cities, not the banks. What is needed is an inner-city bail out tax on all corporations and banks. What is needed is a massive transfer of funds from the rich to massive reconstruction projects, housing construction, street repairs, new schools, hospitals and child care centers. What is

needed is for all forces to join in a struggle that will blast the government on all levels out of their racist, do-nothing ways. What is needed is some "new thinking," new kinds of action programs. What is needed is new initiative by Communists — for movement and struggle.

The farm and rural crisis

To the crises in the cities and urban areas, we have to add the deterioration of life on the farms and in rural areas.

Especially in the South and areas like Appalachia, poverty is increasing at an alarming rate. Life is becoming increasingly more primitive, with families living in ramshackle cabins, without heat, hot water or the simplest amenities of life.

In fact, family farmers continue to rapidly disappear. Government subsidies supposedly meant to aid the family farm, in real life primarily benefit large agribusiness. Price controls which force agribusiness to pay farmers parity prices for products is the central demand of a wide, loose coalition of rural groups. This is as legitimate as workers' demands for wage increases. We should be actively involved with such groups.

Whether there is an economic crisis or not all signs indicate that without struggle the 1990's will be years of higher unemployment, higher taxes, higher rents and prices, higher homelessness and poverty, higher instances of racist violence, higher medical costs, higher tuition costs.

Without a struggle there will be cuts in wages, pension payments, funds for education, child care and farm subsidies, and cuts in environmental cleanup. Without a struggle, there will be only minimum cuts in military spending, and mainly in the production of some outdated military weapons. Without a struggle, these are only some of the areas where the Republicans and Democrats in Congress will agree to cuts.

Without a struggle, the tax increases will be on the people, as the new taxes in the cities and states already show.

It is around these issues we should draft a specific program of struggle for the 90's. We should not only draft a program, but also a specific plan for a campaign that includes the building of broad united front forms, but also a Party campaign with advanced positions.

The program should include concrete measures for a national health care service, a national housing rights act, a program to put affirmative action programs on track, concrete programs for conversion. Our program must include specific proposals in the struggle for women's equality and a Party program for youth.

The women's movement has hundreds of organizations. The National Organization for Women (NOW), the largest and most influential, has selected abortion and electoral rights as its main issues. The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) organizes and fights for the rights of women on the job and off, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has selected racism as its main focus, even as it continues to fight for world peace. However, Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) focuses on the struggle against racism as the path to workingclass unity, with its major campaign concentration on affirmative action. Its recent convention was a highly successful effort to establish new approaches and long-range plans.

Since there will be a report on the youth movement, the YCL and Party youth work I will not discuss these questions here.

Because of the role of the banks and especially the S&L scandal, we should now raise the demand to nationalize and democratize all the banks, fire all bank presidents and boards, set a maximum wage for all corporate executives and a standard minimum prison sentence of 50 years without parole for the crooks who were part of the S&L swindle. Illegalize all buy-outs with junk bonds.

Some of the slogans should be:

- * Bail out communities, not banks!
- * Stop the Bush bailout. Nationalize the banks!
- * Free, quality health care for all!
- * The right to abortion is a human right!
- * End racism and racist violence! Now!
- * Pass the 1990 Civil Rights Act!
- * Tax profits, not people!
- * Education is a right, not a privilege!
- * Tax the corporations. House the homeless! Feed the hungry!

- * Conversion and the peace dividend = more jobs!
- * End government corruption now!
- * Elect working people to Congress in 1990!
- * Save the Supreme Court!

These are the demands Americans are ready to fight for. They are issues people can be mobilized and activated around. And many are winnable. Our program for the 1990s should be focused on reversing the 15 year decline in the quality of life.

As we have heard, Iraq has invaded Kuwait, and the U.S. has invaded Saudi Arabia. No matter how Bush and the mass media try to sugarcoat these actions, the simple truth is that both are related to oil profits of the rich.

It's too early to say what all the effects of this will be, but some initial thoughts include the following:

The price of all oil products will increase, including gas, oil and heating oil;

The military budget will not be cut, in fact it will be increased;

The entitlement programs will be cut; corporate profits will increase;

There will be more unity between the Republicans and Democrats, and their politics will move to the right;

The struggle for peace and for the withdrawal of all troops from foreign bases will increase;

What effect all of this will have on the economy is not yet clear. It will most likely bring on a boom for some industries, and a crisis for others. Pumping hundreds of billions of military dollars into the economy will give it a boost. The federal deficit and the interest payments on the deficit will grow faster.

It may postpone the cyclical crisis, but the factors fueling the "quiet depression" will continue digging the hole.

The Class Struggle and the Trade Union Movement

The declining standard of living and overall quality of life are fueling the fires of mass struggles. Up to this point the decline has been a slow chipping away process. That is now changing.

The number of states in economic depression, now 16, will grow. Plant closings and layoffs will accelerate. Concessions and closings will take their toll. The new tax increases will chip away at family incomes. Declining real wages and a higher cost of living are further eroding the quality of life.

As the situation deteriorates monopoly capital is sharpening its weapons to take advantage of the negative pressures on the working class. Increasingly, they will take a no-compromise, hard class line. They have long range plans to destroy unions, one at a time.

Increasingly, the corporations will accept class collaboration, but only on the condition that workers make all the concessions. Class collaboration will become even more one-sided. As the economy ebbs the corporate demands for concessions will increase.

The right wing packed, reactionary federal courts, especially the Supreme Court, can be expected to hand down decisions that are more openly and totally anti-working class, racist, anti-choice and anti-women. With the new Bush Supreme Court appointee, the working class, the victims of racism and inequality can expect six to four votes against their interests to become the rule.

While not equally so, the decline in the quality of life will affect all sectors of the working class. But the effects will be felt first at the lower wage levels, by the racially oppressed, low paid, non-union and women workers.

In auto, racist corporate policies have resulted in fewer African-American workers employed by the Big Three now than was the case ten years ago. The corporate policy of relocating plants to rural areas that are "union free" makes them inaccessible to Black and other workers who are union-minded. Where Black workers have been hired in newly opened industrial plants their numbers are 60% fewer than in older plants. Not only the big industrial plants, but also increasingly the supplier facilities, are moving to rural areas and the suburbs.

When you add up all the negatives imposed on the working class the only conclusion you can come to is that the struggles in general and the class struggle

in particular will sharpen.

For the trade union movement, the question that emerges in an ever sharper way is whether to accept the downward mobility or to mount a fightback.

However, there are some basic prerequisites for a winning fightback strategy.

Workers cannot win with policies based on class collaboration and concessions in order to make U.S. products more competitive. Workers cannot win with quality of worklife circles and team concepts. Acceptance of these concepts by the trade unions can only lead to a further decline in the quality of life. However, increasingly, workers are rejecting these concepts.

But a fightback requires a higher level of unity. And a higher level of unity requires a struggle against that which disunites. More than any other, the influence of racism divides the working class. Thus, the struggle for unity necessitates a struggle against all the concrete manifestations of racism.

Because of the ravages of the structural crisis and the special impact of the overall economic crises, African-American, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican workers are without any job security. In greater numbers they are at the top of the layoff lists. More than others, they are without unemployment benefits or medical insurance. They are the long-term unemployed — they are the economically forgotten.

This question has a special significance now that we face a deeper decline in the economic situation. The problems relating to fewer jobs, elimination of job classifications and the threat of plant closings add a new dimension to the struggle against racism.

During periods of expansion when there is hiring going on, it is easier to work out affirmative action programs for hiring and even for advancement — not so during a decline.

Therefore, during periods of decline it is necessary to come up with more basic arguments that spell out the longer-range benefits of class unity. New kinds of demands are necessary.

The struggle must be directed towards making new demands on the corporations — for shorter hours, no layoffs, for affirmative action programs. They must be interwoven with demands for government-sponsored programs for retraining at union wages, for extension of unemployment benefits from paycheck to paycheck. It is necessary to work out a

more all-inclusive program against the effects of racism. Such a program can be the basis of class unity.

The October Party conference on African-American equality can go a long way toward developing such a program.

There are some very positive and encouraging developments in the building of unity coalitions and alliances. The recent Rainbow conference in Atlanta was symbolic of these new developments. It was a gathering of Rainbow leaders and many trade union leaders.

The Jesse Jackson-Jack Sheinkman southern tour before the conference set the stage. The themes of the tour were "Unity. Organize the unorganized and register the unregistered."

The southern tour and the conference brought together two key issues: the class issue and the issue of racism. This was the nature of the conference.

The labor movement and the movement for African-American equality have been the creative power behind many election victories and the defeat of Bork. They are the backbone of the broad coalitions that are emerging in the struggle for national health care, economic conversion, civil rights and political independence.

What we are seeing is the emergence of the unity of the main forces — labor, African-American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking peoples and the women's movement — in the emerging broad-based, democratic, anti-monopoly coalitions. What is now needed is more coalition-building on a local scale. This is now possible and necessary.

The struggle for women's equality and the women's movement are also emerging as a very important section of all these struggles and are an important factor in the growing democratic, anti-monopoly coalitions.

The coming together of the two key forces, labor and the African-American people, is of great importance for both short and long range developments. It is the key to victories for both. It's clear that the struggles in both the class struggle and trade union movement will continue. And the people's movements and struggles will continue.

The coming together of the two key forces — labor and the African-American people — on issues both agree on will create a new force, but will also add new strength to both movements.

The trade union movement

Since our last meeting some changes have taken place in the trade union movement. The very top has moved to the right on many issues. Those closest to Kirkland are also closer to Bush. Kirkland's theme that labor must be "realistic," in reality means to do

nothing. To be "realistic" means not to organize any pressure for the new bills such as the 1990 Civil Rights Act, anti-scab legislation, a bill mandating family and medical leave for working parents and health care reform, and to do nothing about organizing the unorganized. It is a realistic nothing.

Although there are more efforts to organize the unorganized, it is mainly individual unions like the UAW in the South, and U.E. in Erie, Pennsylvania, and the organizations of hospital, government and white collar workers, who are setting the example.

Women workers, who make up 50% of the work force, continue to be a growing, significant factor in all the struggles of labor, including the struggles against the continuing discrimination of women workers. They are a big section of the unorganized and a majority in the growing service industries.

The militant sentiment and support for more left positions also continues to grow. Many in the middle layers of union leadership show a growing disgust with Kirkland's no-struggle policies. And, as the class struggle sharpens, Kirkland's class collaborationist policies will come into even sharper contradiction with the new economic problems and the growing militant sentiments.

While the left sentiment continues to grow, the organized forms for it do not keep up. There are many discussions taking place among left forces, even on the leadership level, including with Communists. And there is general agreement on programs around which broad left forms could be initiated.

But there is fear and hesitation to take any concrete steps. There are doubts whether the grass roots will stand up and support such steps. And there is fear of retaliation by the Kirkland forces and the Bush Administration.

It may be that the left forces on the leadership level will not be able to overcome this gap between sentiment and action without more left forms on the grass-roots level. In any case, we need to put more emphasis on organizing left forms on the grass roots level.

The organization of the left and other more advanced forces is an absolute necessity. Without it the class struggle will be watered down. Only the left can take on class collaboration. Only the left can take initiative in struggle. Only the left can give leadership in the long, drawn out strikes — including the organization of solidarity help and actions.

Only the left can explain the class nature of exploitation. And the relationship between exploitation based on class and exploitation based on racism.

Only the left can give political leadership showing the relationship between the picket line and the ballot box.

Only the left, including the Communists, can inject the concept of class consciousness; the left is a

necessary ingredient for class victories.

A number of articles and letters came in on the trade union question. Many discussed the question from the viewpoint of formulas and structure.

For example, on whether we should use the term "left-center," or "center-left." Whether we should use the term "broad left forms" or just "left forms." And some come pretty close to advocating dual unionism. Some boldly add the word "revolutionary." Others argue that there are no new positive developments in the class struggle, or the trade union movement.

One of the problems is that there are differences as to what the left sentiment is. Is it growing, or declining.

The new developments are more varied and diverse. There are increasing numbers of trade unions on a national level whose leadership is in basic disagreement with Kirkland's right wing positions. And there are increasing numbers of left-led locals.

And the response of the broad left forces is not the same on all issues. On some more advanced positions the support narrows down. On other issues, the support broadens out. Our tactics must be developed to bridge this gap as much as possible.

In determining tactics for real life situations it is more important to know what issues and on what level workers will respond. If you narrow the concept of the left to a more limited left, then there is a need for the concept of a bigger center position.

I don't think we need to spend so much of our time and energy on exact formulations. It is not always scientific to pinpoint exactly because life itself is much more fluid. Life does not lend itself to cut and dried divisions.

I think the concepts we deal with in one way or another take in most of the workers who disagree with the positions of the right. Broad left-center forms are adequate for this moment. But if comrades think it

is necessary, let's draft a new trade union program and organize a discussion like we did for the fresh winds document.

One of the new questions that layoffs and plant closings bring into sharp focus is the struggle to convert plants and whole industries to peacetime production. Without conversion there are major cities that will face literal extinction.

The demilitarization of our economy will be a slow, painful process. And the corporations are doing everything they can to make it a profitable process, and to force the workers to suffer the pain. Building coalitions for conversion is a very necessary part of fightback tactics. Here again left initiatives are necessary.

Speaking about tactics, there is growing support for a massive labor-initiated March on Washington. October 3rd has been announced by the Jobs With Justice Coalition as a day of citywide and worksite demonstrations all over the country for health care reform.

And, in a letter to Lane Kirkland on June 22nd, Wilson J. Hubbell, President of the International Woodworkers of America, called on the AFL-CIO to "sanction a one day general strike in support of legislation to prohibit the permanent replacement of economic strikers."

As we did in the past, we can and should begin now to plan our contribution to the October 3rd initiative, to give it our full, active support. A massive march on Washington can have a positive effect on the struggles on all issues.

We can and we should be more of a factor in struggles that are ongoing. We can and we should be more of an initiating factor where there are no movements and struggle. Most initiatives start on a one-to-one basis. Let us all be the initial "one."

The Electoral Scene — 1990

Since our last National Committee meeting there are more signs that the support for the two party system continues to erode and the percentage of the electorate who register and vote continues to decline. This decline in voter participation is clearly related to the role of political independence. One election after another proves that the two old parties cannot attract old or new voters, cannot convince them either to vote or to register without the help and fresh ideas of the forces of independent electoral politics.

The victories of David Dinkins, Maynard Jackson, Norm Rice, John Daniels, Carrie Saxon Perry (Mayor of Hartford), Jackie Stump, Mike White (Mayor of Cleveland), the re-elections of Mayor Coleman Young and Mayor Tom Bradley, and the election of the first African-American elected governor of Virginia, Doug Wilder, with a 20% African-American population, as well as the election of hundreds of other state and city progressive and labor candidates are not victories resulting from the work of the Democratic Party machines.

The two old parties are increasingly out of step with the people. They are firmly in step with monopoly capital. If further proof was necessary, it came this week.

Almost to a man and woman, both the Republicans and Democrats lined up behind Bush's policy of military aggression in the Middle East. Bush's military action cut off the Arab countries' efforts to settle the Iraq invasion peacefully.

In a poll three days after the invasion, 44% of women and 34% of men voted that Bush "was too quick to send in the military." But Congress showed no such hesitations — most in Congress already say this is not the time to cut the military budget.

Political independence has become a determining factor in the election of African-American, women, liberal-progressive and labor candidates. Most of the voter registration is being done by independent forces. On the grass roots level the party machines are less and less a factor. Their main role is on election day. They are ballot box machines.

Every public opinion poll shows that the numbers who think of themselves as politically independent are increasing. A study done in 1988 revealed that while 40% of African-Americans considered themselves to be "strong" Democrats, another 49% go from "not so strong" to "independent." Among whites,

12% said they are "strong" Democrats, but some 44% go from "not so strong" Democrats to "independent." A more recent survey would show this process moving even further in the same direction.

The sentiment and support for political independence grows and the formations of political independence are also growing. Besides numerous ad hoc committees there are, to give only a partial listing, Peace & Freedom Party — California; Statehood Party — D.C.; Liberty Unity Party — Vermont; Consumer Party — Phila.; Harold Washington Party — Chicago; Independent Progressive Line — Chicago; Unity Party — New York City; People for Change — Connecticut; Legislative Electoral Action Project (LEAP) — Connecticut; Save Our Neighborhoods — Connecticut.

We also have to include the growing advocacy and calls for a third party by people like Dave Dellinger, Bernie Sanders, Ron Daniels, William Winpisinger, Trumka, Tony Mazzochi (OCAW), Eleanor Smeal of NOW and Ralph Nader. They are actively exploring the viability of a new party movement.

Because the political independence forces are in various stages, at different levels of formation, and because they all have the element of spontaneity we should maintain a flexible relationship and attitude to these movements. One of the important tactical questions is how to maintain some working relationship between the independent-minded forces who work more within the Democratic Party and those who have chosen the independent path, outside the two parties. This can best be achieved by organizing struggles around important issues that both support. This has been our Party's policy for over 30 years.

There is a wide range of variation in the forces of political independence, outside and within the Democratic Party. They differ from city to city. And not all of the movements under the label of political independence are positive. Some play games with political independence.

The forces around the Rainbow and Jesse Jackson influence those inside and outside the Democratic Party. But they are an important factor within the Democratic Party. As with all the forces of political independence, including labor, within the Democratic Party, their strength rests in their influence among the forces outside the Democratic Party. This adds to the role played by the Rainbow Coalition. It serves as a

link between the two main forces of political independence.

There are similar situations in the labor movement, between the forces of political independence, who work within the Democratic Party and those who have given up on the Democratic Party. The measure of the influence of the labor forces in the Democratic Party is gauged by what troops they have and lead outside of the Democratic Party. When related to the decline in the quality of life, it seems clear that the need for political independence outside of the two parties becomes greater. The basic class nature of the two old parties of capitalism will come into sharper focus. As it did this week regarding Bush's military actions.

Just as a trade union leader needs the pressure of an organized grass roots base in dealing with the corporations, the forces of political independence within the Democratic Party need the pressure of the organized independent forces outside the Democratic Party. Around these questions, there are still some continuing differences in our ranks. On the question: is it possible for the independent forces, trade unions, African-American and other progressive forces to take over the Democratic Party and transform it into an anti-monopoly people's party — this is a critical concept because if one is convinced that such a transformation is possible then you will not see the need for the building of political independence outside of the two old parties, or the necessity of advocating a third party. You will tend to put all your political eggs into one basket.

Further, we should pose the additional question: is there anything in the way elected Democrats generally have voted in the Congress, Senate or state houses that gives any reason to think that the party that got them elected can be re-shaped into a party that would serve a different class than it does now?

Whatever differences there are between Democrats and Republicans, the push for the Democrats to behave differently does not come from within the Democratic Party structure. This pressure comes from the forces of political independence — mainly on the outside.

The way to break out of the two party "trap" is through political independence in a thousand forms. In the present situation it is obvious that political independence is growing in two areas — within the Democratic Party and outside the two party system. The question is how to unite these two forces, inside the Democratic party and outside. We have to deal with both. Our main focus has to be on all the ways we can help promote political independence.

It is also clear that while many forces are factors, the main forces for independence are the working class and the African-American people, Mexican

Americans, Puerto Ricans and other minorities. However, in the development of political independence, the African-American people have emerged as the central force both within independent forces and within the Democratic Party. Therefore, the issues they face are important in relation to political independence.

While the sentiment and activity for political independence continues to grow, and while there is increasing unity at the top, there are also some critical weaknesses in this process. For example, on the issue of taxes. There is no basic difference between the Democrats and Republicans. The Reagan-Bush policy of tax breaks for the rich is not challenged by the Democrats, especially on who to tax. If anything, the Democrats and especially Rostenkowski and his supporters are more anti-working class. Rostenkowski's policy is to tax the poor.

Most of the tax increases are on the people, like Florio's 1% increase in the New Jersey sales tax. The so-called "sin" taxes are on the people. The inequality of taxes keeps getting more lopsided. Today, the top 1% of American families earn more than the bottom 40%, and the tax changes of the 1980's have fanned the fire of inequality. Since 1980, the federal tax burden on the top earners has fallen by 14%, while the burden on those at the bottom has risen by 27%. There is a strong, growing sentiment against tax increases.

Before we can be critical of others we have to honestly say we are NOT that much involved either.

Because taxes are a factor in the standard of living, and because the struggle over taxes is related to the struggle between the corporations and the workers, it seems that the tax issue is very much a trade union issue. Our electoral work has been too limited to work around the ballot box.

Another issue for struggle is the reapportionment and census issue. The outcome of this issue can determine the outcome of some important races and has special significance for the election of labor, African-American, and Hispanic candidates. The lack of struggle also surfaces as a weakness within the forces of political independence. What they do is very important but it is limited to top level unity and to electoral activity. And much of it is limited to ad hoc support for selected candidates.

It seems to me our emphasis should be on how to extend political independence activities past election day. For example, do we know what the precinct committeemen do after election day. Very little. The Democratic machine is not a structure for struggle after the elections. Therefore, where the pressure will come from after election day is an important question. Year-round political independence is the answer. The elected officials should be made aware that the forces who helped elect them do not go into hibernation

right after the electoral victory.

As more and more candidates get elected with the support of political independence, continuing grass roots independent political activity will become more important. We must help find not only the issues, but the organizational forms that are appropriate for year-round grass roots activity.

Communist candidates

As far as I know at this point there are only six Communist candidates in the upcoming elections. There are two Communist candidates in Massachusetts, two in Southern California, one in Ohio and one in Illinois. These districts and their candidates deserve a lot of credit because they are running at a time when some in the Party leadership do not appreciate the importance of running Communist candidates. Therefore the Communist candidates are upholding the banner of the Party's image as an electoral party. We owe them a "vote" of thanks.

Some of these comrades are taking on the difficult job of running a campaign even where some in these districts are passive or even opposed to their candidacy. We need to take a fresh look at our approach to Communist candidates and mount an educational campaign in the Party on why Communists should run for public office.

I believe the resistance in the Party is related to a more basic weakness, to influences of liquidationism. Also, I believe this weakness reflects the pressures to turn the Party inward. Electoral activity is an effective method of outreach.

Feeding this weakness is the fact that we in the national leadership did not do nearly enough to encourage comrades to run. The six comrades and their states/districts have a right to ask all of us to support and utilize their campaigns to initiate debates on issues, to encourage independence and to inject the Party's advanced ideas, including the advocacy of socialism.

Writing about his campaign, one of the comrades in Massachusetts writes, "We look on the campaign as the material development of twenty years of coalition building in this community." And he adds, "The ac-

tive membership of the campaign committee includes independent Republicans, progressive Democrats, a small handful of Party members and the broader left."

It seems to me we must also target some races in the coming elections. We should target such races and the electing of the six communist candidates and many other labor, African-American, nationally oppressed and women candidates, and defeating Jesse Helms, the candidate of the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital. Another major challenge is to defeat the KKK candidate for Congress from Louisiana, David Duke.

The national significance of especially these two races involves defeating two of the most reactionary fascist-like candidates. Our special role should be to help mobilize the left and the trade unions on a national scale. We should help to give this organized forms such as special committees in trade union locals.

The AFL-CIO has targeted 500 legislative seats for the purpose of defeating right wingers and electing pro-labor, anti-racist candidates in 1990. These seats were also selected with an eye toward the process of re-districting. They have also selected priority races in the Senate. These priority campaigns can be the basis for electoral coalitions and unity because many of the same seats have been selected by African-Americans and their organizations.

Another potential struggle heating up is the Bush nomination of a Supreme Court Justice to replace William Brennan. There are some, especially vulnerable Senators up for re-election, who can be pressured to challenge Bush's right wing nominee, David Souter, who would most likely tip the balance in the Supreme Court. I think we can assume that the new appointee will tip the scales further to the right on issues like affirmative action, abortion rights, and on the whole Reagan-Bush agenda. It is clear everything points to the fact that electoral-legislative work is now more important than ever and that it must be related to mass activities, especially at the grassroots.

We have to reorganize the Party's work in the electoral-legislative field.

The Party

It does not matter so much what we call it, but the simple truth is that our Party is going through some tough and troublesome times.

Since the last meeting of the National Committee, the internal problems have become sharper. In fact, I think we have to talk about them and deal with them on a different level and in a different way than we did at the last meeting.

But first I want to talk about what the Party has been doing. It is important to take note of the Party's involvement in movements and struggles, and this in spite of the difficulties and problems.

Our Party is NOT dead, nor is it dying, as some are whispering outside Party channels. In a number of areas and in many states and districts the Party has been and is deeply immersed in movements and struggles.

In the past period, the Party has made significant contributions in many strike struggles. This includes work around the long Pittston coal miners strike, the Eastern strike, the Circuit-wise strike in Connecticut, the Greyhound Bus strike, the paperworkers in New England, the newspaper strikes, the teachers strikes, in hospital struggles and in efforts to organize the unorganized.

Our Party has played an outstanding role in mobilizing solidarity for these striking workers from other union locals and central labor bodies, as well as organizing broad rallies, raising money and collecting food for the strikers and their families. The Party has been a factor in organizing public support for the strikes. These activities have greatly enhanced the status and influence of our Party in many important trade union circles and among rank and file workers.

In almost all these struggles, the People's Daily World was used as the main instrument of strike solidarity and support. In many cases, the PDW became the militant advocate and fighting voice of the strikers. The committee of the Pittston strikers gave the PDW an award for its contributions.

This is a very important achievement in the successful Pittston struggle, where miners took subs and are still being influenced by our paper. In fact, one district completed their fund drive with a \$250 dollar contribution from a group of retired coal miners.

The Party has also been involved in some important election campaigns, such as the electoral races in New York City, New Haven, Hartford, Seattle, Penn-

sylvania, Ohio, Michigan and California and many more races in which progressives, labor and especially African-American candidates were running.

In many areas, the Party has been active in initiating groups, coalitions and organizing united front actions in response to the intensified racist violence around the country, in Brooklyn and Queens, New York; Teaneck, New Jersey; Peekskill, New York; Cleveland and Dayton, Chicago, Gary, and Pittsburgh.

Our young comrades have been very active in initiating and giving leadership in a number of college and university struggles against racism and racist violence, like Tucson, Arizona; Ames, Iowa; Amherst, Massachusetts; Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island; and in New York City.

Many in the Party are involved, including on a leadership level, in the broad movement for a federally funded health care system. We should begin discussion on "The Communist Party's Program to Meet the Health Care Crisis." It was drafted by Party activists and will be out in brochure form very shortly.

Comrades in one club in Florida report important victories in preventing the privatization of a hospital and on a key environmental issue.

Not enough, but increasing numbers of Communists are working in the environmental movements. You will receive at this meeting a draft of the Party's program on the environment for party-wide discussion. After the discussion and seeking input from other left activists, we will finalize it, print it and use it in our mass work.

It is an important achievement for our Party to now have a Party program on these two major issues. They can become tools for Party activists, for mass agitation, for influencing public officials, union circles and community-based activists. They are written so that the polemics are separate from the Party's advanced program, which can easily be made into leaflets and short, popular pamphlets by the clubs and districts.

And, of course, most comrades who work in industry are active in their union locals and in their shops. In the last period our work has improved in this area. We have active Party commissions in auto, steel, teachers and hospital and health care. We need commissions in electrical, teamsters, mining, long-shore, farming, etc.

Our members are activists and leaders in the struggle for women's equality, especially in organizations like the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), and the National Organization for Women (NOW).

We are a recognized force in the struggle for equal, civil and human rights, especially through the leadership and activities of the National Alliance Against Racial and Political Repression (NAARPR), which recently held a successful national conference in May, bringing together 500 activists and leaders from 18 states.

While not coordinated nationally, which continues to be a serious weakness, our senior comrades are active in the powerful senior citizens movements on local and state levels.

Through steady and consistent work, comrades in Philadelphia have built a mass organization of seniors which is active on many key economic issues, and which has, through grassroots organizing and lobbying, won significant victories for seniors, including free mass transit, prescription maximums and discounted utility charges. They write that "the strength of this organization is its labor base; its stand against racism and in defense of the most impoverished."

We have some comrades active in the housing movements, especially in big cities like New York and Chicago. The National Housing Now Coalition has called for local actions to be held nationwide on October 7th, the anniversary of last year's march for the homeless in Washington. Our comrades are involved in local organizations that will participate in these actions.

Again, although uncoordinated on a national scale, some of our members are active in farm movements. In the relatively new area of economic conversion, more and more comrades are initiating and joining in the movements. A nationally convened discussion to draft a Party program on conversion brought together comrades in this field. A club educational based on a report to the National Board was sent to the Party clubs for discussion and use in their work.

The Winston Enrollment Campaign

The Party building drive, named for Comrade Henry Winston, turned into more than a recruiting drive. It was a testing ground for our ideas and assessments. The results, from incomplete data around the country is 292 new recruits, Party and League.

The Party recruited 182, with five districts that have not yet reported. The most successful states are Connecticut, Ohio, Rhode Island, Eastern Pennsylvania, Florida, Southern California, Northern California, Illinois and New York. From the available data, 22% are African-American and Hispanic.

The YCL has recruited over 100 youth in each of the past three years, including 110 in the Winston Enrollment Campaign, 25% of whom are African-American and other nationally oppressed youth. They organized 7 new clubs and 4 new organizing committees, with a 50% increase in the circulation of Dynamic. The composition of the new members, is perhaps the most exciting and impressive aspect of the Party and YCL recruiting. It is in answer to those who insist that the Party cannot recruit African Americans.

The setbacks, losses and turmoil in the socialist world obviously did have a negative impact on the numbers who joined. Some states sat it out to wait for answers to questions and problems in Eastern Europe and some said we simply could not recruit in this period. Another negative effect was that some of our leading comrades, who never agreed with the drive from the beginning, did nothing except predict it would be a flop. This obviously made it more difficult to energize, enthuse and mobilize the whole Party. But more important are the positive results that in spite of all this 292 people joined.

Of course not all the negatives are related to world developments. We have our own weaknesses which were reflected in the Party building drive.

The clubs

We still have some sectarian rubber bands to the past. But there is also a rather basic weakness that is becoming an obstacle to organizing and mobilizing the party.

In too many cases, even where we do good work, the clubs are still being bypassed. Less effort is put into solving problems and answering questions that clubs and comrades have. The clubs are not involved in citywide and statewide activities. They are not being brought into the formulation of policies and tactics. In fact, in too many cases they are not being asked much about anything — except to pass out the PDW and work on the Fund Drive.

In most of the bigger cities, where there are more than one club, we have no structure for involving the clubs. For some reason there is a resistance to holding regional or citywide meetings of the club chairs. And when they are called, club chair meetings often turn out to be largely checkup meetings, without political content.

We need to remind ourselves that the club chairs are the only leaders directly elected by the membership. They are, after all, the closest to the grass roots of the people and the Party — in terms of thought patterns, as well as organizationally. This is obviously the biggest gap between the top and the grass roots of our Party. Not to involve the clubs and especially the club chairs results in and maintains a bureaucratic style.

Also, within the structure of democratic centralism, we have to examine how we enhance the democratic aspect by widening the parameters in which clubs can operate and take initiative without feeling the need to gain the approval of higher bodies. We have to adopt structures and a style of work that involves club chairs.

Then there is a related problem. On a national scale, we have worked on expanding the channels through which an exchange of ideas can take place, including the PDW, Political Affairs, Party Builder, State and District Bulletins, pre-convention bulletins and now the new discussion organ, Dialogue. These are all necessary and good.

But the problem is that these avenues are useful for comrades who write. My guess is that this means about 10% of our Party. Most of our members, especially workers, do not write. This lack of workingclass input also affects the nature of all the written materials. To involve our workingclass comrades in our deliberations is a first class challenge.

So to give the great majority an opportunity to take part in exchanges of opinion and to share their views we have to place greater emphasis on organizing systems of forums, debates, reports, seminars and membership meetings with open mikes. These are forms that have to be implemented mainly by the states and by clubs. But there is also much we can do nationally to establish and organize such ongoing forms of expression. Such forms should be the main content of our educational work.

Let's organize open-mike membership meetings — where the speaker mainly responds to questions and comments from the floor.

Unity & disunity

Comrades, in past meetings we were always able to say that our Party generally is united. There have always been some differences in the Party, even sharp ones, and even on some basic questions. But the Party remained united. It tackled the differences collectively, within the Party structure.

Unfortunately, we cannot say that now. Already at the last National Committee meeting it was obvious that the Party faced problems of disunity. I hate to say it, but the problems have gotten worse. Factionalism has emerged as a threat to Party unity.

I have given this a lot of agonizing thought and I have to tell you that if we continue on the present course, factionalism will split the Party.

And, yes, it has the potential of setting it back for a long period. The fact is that it is already doing some serious damage to the work of our Party.

Let me say honestly that it has reached a point where no individual leading comrade or leadership collective can put an end to it. There is only one body

that can. And that body is this one. Only you, the National Committee and National Council, with the support of the membership, can call a halt to it.

You have the ability, the responsibility and the power to say enough is enough. You and the membership have the prerogative to say, "We will not deal with problems, weaknesses and personalities outside the Party structure." In a very basic sense, comrades, the Party's unity and preservation are in your hands.

History, including the history of our Party, is proof positive that there is no good reason for factional methods. Factionalism has never solved anything. There is not a problem I can think about that cannot be solved through collective Party methods.

The fact that every Party in the world has been forced to deal with factionalism within the past year would indicate that the negative, objective developments in the socialist world have negatively affected parties around the world.

Some in these parties used factionalism as a cover for projecting their doubts and questions about socialism and the role of communist parties. In some parties the factional situation developed into schemes to take over the leadership. Most of those attempts have been defeated in most, if not all, of the parties.

Some of the same comrades who are involved in factionalism keep asking, "Tell us, what is factionalism?" In most cases — not all — they are not asking out of ignorance. Factionalism always has its roots in dealing with questions about the Party outside the Party structure.

Because most factional activity is one-to-one, in whispers and gossip, there are no checks on what is said as to how much is the truth, half-truths and outright falsehoods.

In essence, factionalism deals with differences without the input or influence of any collective.

As factionalism develops, it increasingly uses methods like whispering, rumors, lies and slander, because such lies and slander would be challenged within the party's collectives. In factional channels, everything and anything goes.

We know from our Party's own history that factionalism builds its own loyalties, factional loyalties that supercede loyalty to Party collectives and to the class struggle. Some even say that calls for mass work are not where it's at today, that the struggle is now inside the Party. No, comrades, for us to permit the Party to become an arena for factional struggles is to accept the Party's destruction.

Factionalism develops its own structures. A case in point is the flood of personal statements and documents that are mailed, usually to factional friends first, but also to some mailing lists.

I have refused to answer or dignify some of the papers floating around that are clearly anti-Party —

that are based on total falsehoods, slanders and misrepresentations. Truth and honesty is the first to go when factionalism takes over. It is my firm conviction that some of the private communications are not factional. The enemy has adapted these for its own use. We should not forget that during the Cointelpro program, the FBI used it extensively.

It is not difficult to argue that this method is in violation of a basic precept of democratic centralism and collective methods of work. It cuts the process of democratic centralism out of consideration. It negates the collective process. It promotes the slow breakdown of democracy within our Party. In fact, it is more in keeping with anarchism — each for him or herself, and the collective be damned.

The argument that factionalism, including personal statements, are utilized because the Party channels are not open is a misstatement of fact.

We have weaknesses, but the Party and its organs are open to all members for the expression of honest differences in matters of policy, assessment and tactics. But there are some agreed-upon limitations. Some facetiously call this "censorship." But there are necessary and legitimate limitations that we established long ago and I know you would agree with.

For example, the Party should not publish open slander, falsehoods, advocacy of racism in any form, attacks on socialism, promotion of fascist ideas, concepts of male supremacy or any kind of chauvinism or other anti-workingclass concepts, or personal attacks.

I think these are necessary and legitimate limitations. If anyone wants to change these guidelines, please make a motion, and let's vote. But to call these limitations censorship is slander. There are no limitations in the discussion on democratic centralism.

As I said earlier, the differences in our Party do not necessarily give rise to factionalism. Differences can be discussed without factionalism.

No one is against more discussions. There are no questions that cannot be discussed. And as I proposed earlier we have to do more to organize such discussions. And I have a proposal later in this section that I think would greatly add to expanding our discussions.

No one is for ruling out or ignoring differences or the discussion of differences. Such discussions go on every day at most meetings on one question or another. We can do more in providing avenues for more discussion on any question. Discussions and differences are a part of our Party's life. This is not factionalism.

The avenues for honest criticism are not closed in our Party. But a debate is a two-sided process. When comrades do not agree with you, they should not be called names and villified. Slander must not take the

place of give and take when discussing questions.

But I have to tell you comrades, that some discussions sink to such levels, even in the highest body. Communists must adopt the attitude that the collective may not agree with you no matter how good you think your ideas are. Communist collectives don't necessarily jump when any of us say jump.

But the other side of the equation is that in most cases differences are the basis of factionalism. The reasoning is that if one cannot win his or her position in an open exchange within the Party structure, then take it into factional, underground channels, outside the Party.

One result of factionalism is that criticism and self-criticism is the first victim. Comrades who have honest questions and criticisms hesitate to express them for fear of playing into the hands of those who are factional. I have to admit, I am affected by this. The fact is we have largely lost the art of self-criticism.

Factionalism always has a political base. It builds on legitimate problems and weaknesses. But they are never dealt with from the viewpoint of finding solutions to the problems and weaknesses. It deals with negatives not from the viewpoint of resolving problems, but from the angle of using them. The fact that there are differences is not the problem.

The problem is how we deal with them. The Party way is to discuss them out, from the viewpoint of finding solutions and correcting weaknesses. The factional way is to use the differences to create more divisions. There is nothing positive about factionalism. We cannot correct the weaknesses of the Party through factionalism. It only makes them worse.

The last National Committee meeting passed a motion that the next NC meeting should be in June.

After a discussion the National Board set the date, June 23-24. We sent out the notices to all the members of the NC.

About two weeks later the dates for the Mandela visit were announced — that he would arrive in New York on the 20th, stay in New York 20-22, then go to Boston on the 23rd and arrive in D.C. on the 24th. It was obvious many of our leading comrades would be involved in the preparation and organization for this historic tour.

So we faced a problem. At the next meeting of the National Board I said I just could not see us meeting on that weekend. How would it look, that millions would be greeting Nelson Mandela and we, the Communist leaders, would proceed with business as usual.

I suggested that we propose to the National Committee that we postpone our meeting. We first thought we could call the meeting for the first weekend in July. But that date was the weekend of the CPSU Congress. Also it was still a question whether the CC of

the CPSU would invite a delegation from parties in the capitalist world. Only a week later did we receive the message that no parties would be invited.

We then polled the members of the NC. The vote of the NC members was overwhelmingly in agreement with the proposal for the change to August 4-5.

After the Mandela visit and the response it became clear that for us to have met while Mandela was in this country would have been a serious mistake.

The change created many problems. Most members of the National Board had to scramble to change their vacations. It was understandable that many comrades were upset, but they understood there was no other choice.

However, some comrades turned the question into an attack on the Party leadership. They said the leadership used the Mandela visit as an excuse to postpone the meeting, that it was just another example of bureaucracy in the leadership. They turned a legitimate problem and issue into a questioning of the motives of the National Board.

The phones were abuzz in an attempt to get comrades to vote against the proposal, not on the basis of arguing for a choice of dates, that it was alright to hold the meeting in June, but on the basis that it would be a vote against the bureaucrats, and for Party democracy.

There are some questions that emerge in periods like this that puzzle me. I hear this repeated over and over: "We do not have all the answers. We do not have a monopoly on the truth." This puzzles me because I have never in my life ever heard anyone in the Party say that we do. I don't believe anyone thinks in those terms. So why repeat it?

It may be a way of saying that we really have NO answers. It is a way of raising doubts and questions about the answers we DO have.

Whatever answers or solutions we do have we should put them out there, as widely as possible. Life and the people will determine who has the right answers.

Another puzzling statement that one hears over and over is that we are overly optimistic, that we put too much emphasis on the positive side of things. It is strange that this would bother anyone.

Maybe some of us do. And I agree that if the emphasis on the positives is not based on reality it could be a problem.

The struggle over positives and negatives is a part of the class struggle. There is a whole massive network that emphasizes and lies about the negatives of the working class and people's struggles. The forces who focus on the positives face an unequal competition.

The ruling class emphasizes the negatives to discourage the people and the working class; we use the

positives to encourage the people in a struggle where they still are the underdogs.

Somehow I feel that if we say we really do not have any answers and solutions, and we can only offer negatives, then we are saying to people, "We really do not have much to offer about the future, but join our ranks anyway." In that case I am afraid we would really be dead in the water.

You can only build negatively on negatives. I believe we should seek out whatever positives there are in a given development, including small embryonic positives, and build on them.

We cannot present a program for the present or future on negatives. No one will respond to that. This does not mean we do not take note of the negative aspects. We do. People who read our material know we do. But that is not where we place the emphasis.

For example, when the Vietnam War was raging there were many peace forces, even in our own ranks, who said the Vietnamese could not win. But our Party never wavered, not for a moment.

When Nelson Mandela was jailed, at different points during the 27 years many said he would never be free. But our Party never gave up the fight to free political prisoners, not in South Africa or any other country.

During the McCarthy period some in the Party advocated dispersal of the Party. But we never gave up the fight in the mass movements or for the Party.

When Bork was nominated, our Party said, "Never," and we were one of the first to initiate the anti-Bork movement.

In these struggles, and many more, it was the optimism and confidence in our Party and in our class and people that made it possible for us not only to be active in these movements, but to initiate, lead and infuse these struggles with optimism, strength and confidence.

The Party's optimism is not abstract optimism. It is a grounded-in-reality optimism. It is based on our emphasis on seeking for and bringing out the positive aspects of every struggle, every development, and then encouraging others to see them and to build on them. It is one of our greatest strengths.

Lenin said, "every struggle, even struggles that are not won, are victories." That's optimism.

One of the most dangerous and factional aspects of the current situation in the Party is the fact that some comrades, including leading comrades, based on their assessment of events in Eastern Europe, are focused on one main goal: to remove the present leadership of the Party.

There are resolutions from a couple of clubs — usually a result of a divided vote — that call for a special convention to replace the present leadership of the Party. Some comrades are spending most of their

time and energy working on this effort.

First, let me say we were elected by the last convention and it is our responsibility to carry out the democratic will of that convention. We should not overthrow ourselves in the name of "democracy." Let the democratic process in the Party proceed to the next convention.

We need a process of honest discussion on the issues. To really meet the challenge of the times, we need an ideological discussion to bring the Party together, a process of unifying the party, not a process of disunity focused on who is to be in the leadership. Nothing could be more subjective, divisive and destructive to our Party than this factional mentality. I think it should be rejected. A healthy discussion on politics, ideology and the Party should be the basis for a united convention and the selection of a united leadership to take our Party forward in the 1990's.

As one gets older it is easier to be more objective about matters, including about oneself. I believe that some who focus on the leadership question see a change as a way of changing and getting rid of the policies based on the class struggle and the working class. These policies have bothered some comrades for a long time.

I've said this before: don't waste your time or the time of the Party conjuring up all kinds of stories about why Gus Hall is the obstacle or the cause of all our problems.

Let me say again, I have no subjective problems about what role I will play in the Party. I will accept whatever the Party's leading collective decides. However, my only request is honesty and truth. Don't even inadvertently join the 50-year-old campaign of lies and slander led by the FBI. Use the Party's files, not the FBI's files.

Let me give you just some of the most recent slanders which are floating around: Gus Hall has a hit list of leading Black comrades — this was said at a meeting. Gus says the New York District of the Party's run by the FBI — this was said at a club meeting. Gus said that two FBI agents were recently exposed in the top leadership of our Party — this is in a letter written by a member of the National Committee. Gus Hall is insane. Gus Hall is the Pope of the CPUSA.

These are just the latest slanders. That there is not one iota of truth in any of the slander does not bother some who, for factional reasons, spread them. I'm sure there are many more that do not reach my desk.

Look, comrades, you, the National Committee, have the right and, in fact, the duty, if you feel it necessary, to change my assignment at this meeting. Believe me I will not be angry or subjective.

There are many important basic questions that we must discuss, honestly discuss. The factional atmosphere tends to destroy the possibility of holding such

honest discussions. In a factional atmosphere what comrades say doesn't matter. Motives are questioned. Trust and comradeship is trampled on. It is an atmosphere of "Only those in my group can do right, and those in the other group can only do wrong."

The focus is on taking over the leadership, not winning Party unity. The focus is on personalities and groupings, not politics and ideology. Party unity as a concept is cynically disregarded, dismissed, denigrated and cast aside.

There are enough weaknesses to go around. We all have them. But I, for one, would like for us to conduct honest discussions on the critical questions before our Party so as to bring our Party closer together.

Take the class question and the role of the basic industrial workers. Their ranks have diminished, especially among African-American and Latino workers, due to the structural crisis.

Some comrades are asking: does this mean that our concept of industrial concentration is "old hat," particularly in light of the growing numbers of service workers in the work force? Some have said our party's labor policy is disregarding or not paying enough attention to service workers, in order to cling to our outdated concept of the leading role of industrial workers.

Is the leading role of the industrial workers outdated? Let's discuss this. I believe that basic industrial workers remain a critical and decisive part of the U.S. working class. The biggest capitalist profits are still based on surplus value. And, in our economy, the greatest surplus value is created in basic industry, in steel, auto, electrical, machine building, etc., at the point of production.

There are still 20 million industrial workers in the work force, 25% of whom are organized into powerful unions that can effect this economy and politically move this country. They remain multiracial, with African American and Latin workers occupying key leadership positions in some of these unions, even though there have been big losses in membership.

Today, organizing the unorganized in basic industry is critical to enhancing the role of industrial workers. No Communist Party can ignore the leading role of basic industrial workers.

Having said this, it is also true that service sector workers are more important today than ever. They are in some of the most progressive and militant unions. Many left-wing unionists can be found in the service sector.

We must upgrade our understanding and policies in this area. Our Party's greatest trade union growth has been in the service sector, which shows we have not been ignoring them. On the contrary, in some districts service sector workers receive the greatest amount of attention from our leading comrades.

I think we can and must have an honest discussion on this vital question. I don't think we should throw out the leading role of the working class and industrial workers in order to give greater emphasis to the growing service sector. It's not necessary to do that.

We can remain positive toward the new trends in the working class and trade union movement in general. Increased attempts by racist elements to influence white workers should not surprise any comrade, nor should it derail our concept of growing anti-racism. It is because of growing Black-white unity, growing anti-racism among white workers, that prompts the Ku Klux Klan to step up its dirty work.

We should have an organized discussion on this, without personality assassination and gross distortions of legitimate positions. A struggle to hold such a vital discussion means rejecting the factional approach, and accepting Party unity as the goal.

African-American equality

We must also discuss the struggle for African-American equality. That struggle occupies a decisive place in the democratization of our struggle.

Both the pre-conference meetings and discussions, among Party and non-Party forces, and the October National Conference on Equality In The 1990's itself will give us an unprecedented opportunity to explore, probe and discuss. These discussions will be continued into the pre-convention period, in which the material from the conference, as well as ongoing experiences, will be incorporated. This will give us a rich body of material from which to craft a substantial resolution for the convention.

Lately there have been some important shifts in the thinking of U.S. working people. In response to apartheid and stepped up acts of racism, there is a growing anti-racism. Its development must not be ignored or played down. It is such fertile, progressive ground that has sprouted the Wilder, Dinkins, Rice and Gantt victories, to name a few.

It is what is bringing about a new level of African-American labor unity, as seen in the Rainbow Coalition. It has revolutionary potential. It is sparking this new democratic upsurge in our country.

We are not at the mountain top in the struggle against racism. Deep problems remain. But developments show that great progress is being made and greater progress can be made.

The concept of the anti-racist majority was first mentioned by Comrade Winston to spur on the confidence and intensity of the fight against racism. The substance of the concept is not that racism is eliminated, but that the great majority of Americans, including 80 million African-American, Hispanic and all nationally oppressed peoples, consider themselves non-

or anti-racist. The elections and the response to Nelson Mandela are only two recent examples.

Some comrades are now rejecting the concept on the basis that it calls for a retreat in the struggle against racism because it suggests that the battle has been won. This is not the meaning, the content of the concept. An honest discussion suggests that we avoid such distortions and discuss the concept on its face, for what it was intended to speak to. Not the end of racism, but the new growth of anti-racism on a new level.

Comrades, let's discuss this not on the basis that some comrades are for fighting racism and others are not, but rather on the merits of what it says: racism is a virulent persistent force in our country that holds back progress because even though its roots are in the ruling class it has infected working people also.

Today, more and more working people can be won away from racist ideas and actions. What are the best ways to do this? You comrades should know that we have comrades who worked in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, after the murder of Yusef Hawkins and were able to help build an anti-racist committee among the residents of that volatile community. Same in Teaneck, New Jersey. Similarly, against segregated housing in Yonkers, New York and other areas.

These were not left-wing folks who built this effort. Nor were they looking for left-wing white workers to organize. They organized ordinary white working people, based on their own level of humanism, sense of justice and fair play — and, yes, self interest! How they did it must become the property of the whole Party. However, if the factional atmosphere prevails we will never get to such rich, heroic experiences because we will be drowning in a sea of "us against them" recriminations. And we will truly be letting ourselves down, as well as our class and nationally oppressed people, in the struggle against racism. Let's not let that happen. Let Party unity govern our efforts.

It is not possible to make a report on the Party without discussing some of the ideological influences on the Party. The human mind, even the mind of a Communist, is not able completely to block out the penetration of ideological currents that surround us daily. Some of them seep in. The challenge is not only to reject the penetration, but to eject that which does seep in.

The defeats and setbacks in the socialist world are having their ideological impact on our Party.

There is more questioning of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, of our theory, ideology and philosophy — on such concepts as whether socialism is inevitable.

In the work of our professionals and intellectuals there are some expressions of the idea that the class

struggle is of secondary importance and that the role of the working class has somehow diminished. There are anti-workingclass sentiments even in the Party. The influence of male supremacy is also one of those influences that grows if there is not a consistent struggle against it.

There are many instances that are subtle. But we have to say honestly that many are not that subtle, even in top leadership circles. The struggle against male supremacy needs some new thinking and actions.

These are important questions. But during the last months the National Board has been dealing with questions of the influence of racism in the Party, the question of racist seepage in our ranks.

I think everyone agrees that this is an ongoing problem. There are some differences on how to fight it: whether to deal with the specific instances of insensitivity or more with the attitudes. I believe both have to be dealt with.

There are some basic guidelines in the struggle against racism and racist influences. Such as: the struggle against the influences of racism on all levels, including in the Party, must be an ongoing, everyday struggle. That is necessary in general and as a principle.

But this inner-Party struggle is also necessary for the new members who come into the Party influenced by racism. Without struggle the seepage of racism cannot be stopped. The struggle, or the taking up of specific instances cannot be put off for another day. However, the struggle in the ideological arena against racism will be most effective if it is joined with mass action and mass movements.

I believe it is also true that to the extent that we are insensitive to the influence of racism in the Party, to the same extent we are not as effective on the issues and struggles in life.

And, to the extent that we are involved in the mass struggles against racism we will be sensitive to the influences of racism in the Party. In a sense, there is an analogy with sending rockets into space. If there are leaks or seepage, they will not blast off.

In the party, influences and expressions of chauvinism are more indirect and subtle. They are more of an unconscious influence. They often take the form of not being aware, of wrong attitudes and of insensitivity as an influence of racist ideology. These influences often appear as silence, as not acting or speaking up or as passivity, rather than overt acts.

If there are racists in the Party, of course they should be expelled.

Yes, we must truthfully discuss what our weaknesses are without covering up, in order to correct them and advance to a higher level of struggle. But we must do so without distortions or denouncing the

Party.

Any idea that the Party is hopelessly mired in influences of racism and thus will not grow is also a misconception. There is no evidence for such pessimistic conclusions in the history or in the present status of the Party in the struggle against racism.

Racism and chauvinism are closely related. Chauvinistic attitudes expressed against Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indians and the millions of other nationally oppressed are related to racism, but they are based on specific and unique slanders, lies and caricature distortions of each nationality. The chauvinist attitudes expressed run from insensitivity to chauvinist humor, to more open expressions. When attitudes of male supremacy and national chauvinism overlap the behavior becomes even more reprehensible. To the extent that we do not struggle against such influences, they become acceptable.

The work of the enemy

Finally, permit me to raise one more difficult question about Party unity. It is a most difficult question because it can be misunderstood, misinterpreted and misused. But because it is a problem, no matter how difficult we have to talk about it. The question is the role and work of the enemy, especially the FBI, but also some outfits that have a policy of sending people into the Party whose assignment is to work to disrupt, divide and destroy the Party from within. There is a new level of this kind of activity in the Party.

The city of Chicago has just re-established a department of the police for the purpose of spying on left militant organizations, including the Party.

Another, very recent. I'm sure you all read the story that the Moscow Circus would be appearing in Johannesburg South Africa. We were all set to write a statement and send a delegation to the Soviet Mission to protest. However, we learned directly from the Tass news agency the story is a total provocation. It is simply a lie.

On the work of enemy agents, first it is important to say that the provocative statements by the FBI that they have hundreds of agents in the Party is a total, unmitigated lie. Such statements are meant to create divisions in the Party and to frighten people away from joining the Party.

On the other hand, we would be naive not to assume that most likely there are some enemy agents. We can assume this because this has been FBI policy certainly from the days of McCarthyism. And of course the Department of Justice has openly declared that this is their policy in relation to our Party.

Not long ago we received some information that a new attack was formulated based on the concept that: The Communist Parties in Eastern Europe have been

destroyed, now they will focus on the CPUSA.

From what we know and from what we can assume their assignment in the Party is to create as much disruption, provocation and turmoil as they can. They use whatever openings there are. They pick up on weaknesses and build on them. They exaggerate the negatives and downgrade the positives. They exacerbate the differences. They pit club against state, state against national, comrade against comrade. They spread slander and falsehoods about individual Communists.

The present problem has become more difficult for us because the factional situation has made the work of the agents easier. Factional methods create a convenient cover for them. It is now more difficult to separate those who operate on an extremely factional basis for political reasons, from the work of an FBI agent who is consciously out to destroy the Party.

It is also more difficult to separate the agents because they work to create an immune system for themselves. And they have spread the word that "every time someone criticizes the Party they are called enemy agents." This of course, is also a falsehood. No one has been called an F.B.I. agent.

When I raise these questions, some comrades ask, 'Why should we take your word for it?' It seems to me that if one knows anything about the nature of the class struggle, and if one knows anything about the role of the FBI, you do not need anyone's words to know that this is a problem. It is a problem in the trade unions, in the peace organizations, in all left organizations.

At best, it is naive to think that the FBI, CIA, Department of Justice and U.S. government are looking to reform communism. They want a world free of socialist countries, of communist parties and national liberation movements. Their reaction to Eastern Europe was to use it to unleash a vicious offensive on every Party in the world.

Their ideological offensive is that communist parties in capitalist countries are irrelevant because they do not have a life independent of the socialist countries, and since socialism has failed these parties will also collapse.

This challenge also comes from the right, center and left. If new evidence is needed of the work of enemy agents in leading bodies much has been revealed during the recent turmoil. We know, from newspaper reports and our own information, that both the Socialist Unity Party and the Communist Party of West Germany had enemy agents in their leading bodies. Some have been exposed.

And some of the severest criticisms of these Parties was actually the work of these enemy agents in the leadership. Enemy agents in the leading bodies of the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe were able to

play a destructive role in the chaos and used the turmoil to do their dirty work.

Another fact is that Nelson Mandela was turned over by an agent in the leading body of the Communist Party of South Africa, based on information supplied by the CIA. Another fact is that possibly as many as 100,000 Communists were slaughtered because of a CIA agent in the top circles of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who operated under the flag of being the most Maoist of the Maoists.

However, the new level of activity of enemy agents should not be viewed with unnecessary alarm or panic.

There is no need to go on a hunt for agents. I think Lenin's attitude about and approach to such matters is still valid. He had to deal with Czarist agents in the leading bodies of the Bolshevik Party. His approach was to have such high standards of behavior and high levels of activity by the members of the Party that the enemy's work would be very difficult. In such a Party atmosphere an agent has to do good work to meet the high standards, or be exposed.

Let me say, as I have said before, that this should not in any way inhibit anyone from criticizing or conducting our business in a normal, Communist fashion.

These are difficult questions. Some say to raise these kinds of questions creates an atmosphere of suspicion. There is that danger. But what is the alternative? To remain silent? To let the agents work without worrying or concern?

As you can see, it is difficult to raise and discuss this, but I don't know any other way of saying what needed to be said. I believe in a period like this the Party needs a word of caution.

Proposals

I have given much thought to the question: What can we do to stop the deterioration of Party unity? This has been uppermost in my thoughts for some time.

I believe there are times when in the interest of Party unity we have to deal with differences differently. I believe this is one of those times.

That is, when we cannot agree on some matters we should not push the matter to a sharp point. We should not always insist on putting the disagreement to a vote. We can continue to work and to discuss out the differences.

That is why at the last National Committee meeting I did not insist that my report needed to be voted on and that the discussions on the issues would go on. Of course some spread the word that I did not put the report to a vote because it would have been defeated.

So I want to propose a three point approach to

deal with areas of differences.

1) That we all agree to put an end to dealing with all questions in a factional way.

2) That we adopt the approach of working for a consensus and not push things to a vote, especially if we think further experience and discussion will resolve the issue, and

3) That we set up panels now on every issue where there are differences, panels that will organize a party-wide discussions, as we are now doing on democratic centralism and the Party program. Such discussions can be an important educational process. And, that the panels report their findings and conclusions to the next meeting of the National Committee.

I suggest panels on: The trade union question; The struggle against racism; Electoral policy; The class struggle and the concept of centrality; Factionalism, democratic centralism and democracy; Developments in the Socialist world. And others question comrades may want to add. Let the democratic process in our Party proceed unhindered by factionalism. Let us all become less self-centered and more self-critical.

We have a difficult road ahead and tremendous mass tasks before us. Factionalism destroys the Party's fighting capacity. Party unity is a prerequisite for effective Party mass work. Let us solve all problems and resolve all differences the Party way. And, let unity be our goal!

I would like to end this section by reading you a resolution sent to this meeting by the Indiana party: 'Resolution on Unity for the National Committee & National Council Meeting:

"Unity is the main weapon of the working class in the face of the onslaught of capitalist ideology, and outright assault on the living and working standards of the working men and women in the United States. We in Indiana are small in numbers, and although we have not been solicited with any so-called factional material, the State Committee of the Communist Party of Indiana calls on all members of the CPUSA to deliberate all questions with the need for unity uppermost in mind.... The unity of the Party is an absolute must in order to lead the working class, because the class

demands unity."

Our next convention

And, finally, some thoughts and proposals about preparations for the 25th National Convention of our Party.

I don't believe there is any reason for calling a special or extraordinary convention. I don't think such a convention would be helpful in our struggle for greater Party unity. In fact, I honestly believe it would move us in a wrong direction.

It would cut short the period for a pre-convention discussion at a moment when there is great need to talk through so many questions. We changed the time of our Convention from five year to four year intervals — so we meet close to the presidential elections — and so we can consider whether to run Communist candidates for President and Vice-President.

Therefore, I propose the following outlook:

1) That we set up the panels to lead the discussion on all of the questions where there are differences or where a more concrete and comprehensive analysis needs to be made.

2) That the committees and discussions on the new Party program and the committee and discussion on democratic centralism finish their work.

3) That the committees on the Party program and democratic centralism as well as the panels on questions, report to the meeting of the National Committee to be called for January of 1991.

4) That the January meeting, in addition to getting the reports, begin the process of preparing for the National Convention to take place in August of 1991.

5) That resolutions be drafted in January-February, and then a 6-month pre-convention discussion be organized.

6) That we set up a Convention planning committee.

With this schedule and outlook I believe we can look forward to a united convention, a convention that can set the Party on the path of heightened mass work and Party growth, a united Party that will be prepared to meet the great challenges of the 90's.

Summary

(August 5, 1990)

Comrades, let me begin my summary remarks with a tribute to Lou Weinstock, whom everyone knows for his lifetime contributions and work. All one need mention is unemployment insurance, and most everyone knows that Lou's name is associated with that great workingclass victory.

Lou has asked to be released from this body and his other assignments because of ill health. Reluctantly, of course, we agree to release Lou on the condition that he continue sending us his ideas. Also I would like to extend an invitation to Lou to attend our Party's 25th National Convention.

Secondly, let me make an apology to the members of the National Council. I am afraid at this joint meeting, the Council members were, in reality, visitors. Because if you cannot vote and do not get to speak, then you are visitors and observers. Because of the agenda, its length and the points that are constitutionally under the responsibility of the National Committee, the National Council members did not get a chance to really participate. That is wrong.

In future planning, we must guarantee that it does not happen again. We must make sure the Council will have a voice in Party affairs, in spite of the fact that the National Committee is the body elected by the Convention to lead the Party. However, within this Convention mandate, there is clearly room for the Council to make its contribution.

In general, this has been an important meeting of the leadership of our Party. The great majority responded to the theme of building Party unity. Most of the discussion was constructive. I believe we can build on the positives.

The comrades who spoke about their involvement in mass work and Party building made important contributions to our meeting. They set an example for the whole Party. By example, they proved that people do respond to tactics of struggle. We should all study the Connecticut experience of concentration in a working class neighborhood. The coming together of mass work, circulation of the PDW and Party building is an example that such work pays off — in recruiting new members.

There were many good examples of involvement in struggle and movements. And while there were many examples of the Party taking initiatives, the fact is that the lack of organized initiative still remains a weakness in the Party.

We make correct assessments but we don't follow through with concrete steps. As a rule, the initial steps are small — a one to one exchange, a leaflet, a letter to the local paper, a telephone call, a mailing of literature, use of the PDW, the calling of a meeting.

All local initiatives should include some local issues. Every meeting of the National Board, of State Committees or State Boards, of all Commissions, every club meeting should have at least one action-oriented point on the agenda.

A word about Party finances. I think Comrade Taylor's report was very good, even better than the draft presented to the National Board. Also, Comrade Barry's report on the People's Daily World was good. I don't want to take anything away from them. However, I believe that there's a feeling in the meeting that the problem of finances is on the way or has been solved, that we are out of the woods. Any idea that we have resolved the financial problems does not fit with reality. We have to make many more decisions on cuts and plans for raising money. We must move now into a countrywide campaign to seek advance gifts and wills. Only then will we get a handle on these questions.

It is true, we have established the Funds into which people entrust their money. But only a part of the interest on these funds is available to us. We have been treating this interest as untouchable. The committee has been determined to build up these Funds as the backbone for stabilizing our financial situation. But, as you heard, because of the dire emergency, we have decided, with your agreement, to take \$400,000 from the interest and apply \$200,000 for the Party and \$200,000 for the People's Daily World. But what does this do? It cuts \$400,000 that would otherwise go into the buildup of the Funds for the future stability of the Party. At the rate of using \$400,000 a year, the accrued interest would be gone in a very short time. Then what?

We do not speak about this very often. The finances of the Party basically rest on the trust people place in the leadership of the Party. Those comrades who work on this consistently know this is the case. And it has been a long, slow process of building up this trust from the low point of 30 years ago. The build-up of the Funds is the result of total trust in the leadership. All we can give people who place their trust in us is a guarantee that we will safeguard their

money. This is all we can give people, in exchange for their confidence.

It is obvious the enemy will work to destroy this trust. For whatever reasons, attempts to destroy that trust becomes anti-Party. Let me quote from one such attempt:

"What happens if the Party, through its National Convention, National Board or Political Board disagree with the directors of the Funds on the management and use of the Funds? There is potential (remote I hope) for disaster, namely that the Funds directors could attempt to dictate to the party how the Funds' assets are spent, or, even worse, that they could abscond with the Funds' assets."

This is a provocation that seeks to destroy the trust that we have worked so hard to earn.

There is another document floating around that in a more snide way does the same thing. If we ignore these, we will lose the trust we have earned.

Just a word on why the change from a daily to a weekly PDW, and why it happened the way it did. For some three or more years, in meeting after meeting of the National Board, I have been warning that we are headed for a crisis and that we must do something about it. But these warnings were ignored. At the last National Committee meeting I raised it again. But I thought we could hold off a crisis for a while.

Almost within days after the National Committee meeting, events took place that created an immediate crisis. By wire, we got the news that a big overseas bundle would be cut immediately. And almost simultaneously a big contributor, who's contribution was scheduled to come in the next week, died. This changed the picture immediately. So the crisis that had been around the corner became a crisis around our neck. The day of reckoning was at hand. Either we had to move immediately or we would be in imminent danger of losing the paper.

Under these circumstances we wrote the first letter to the members of the National Committee and to the clubs. It was too abrupt. And it is understandable why it was not received well by the Party. When the second letter went out, it explained things better. Of course, we cannot say everything or as clearly as we would like to in the mail. I do not want to defend that which was wrong. But it is important for you to know the facts and the process. It was unavoidable. It should not have become a factional issue.

Also, I think we should reject any idea that the PDW is somehow some kind of a "transitional" paper. This moves in the direction of liquidating the paper. This reminds me too much of a time when our Party talked about building "one big socialist party," and that "in the interim we would remain a Communist Party." It is also a part of some ideas that the PDW should not remain a paper closely related to the Com-

munist Party.

One more thing on the paper: I think at this meeting, we should have received reports on the circulation in the districts. It would be good to know what the circulation is in each city. That would tell us how we are working, how the leadership sees the paper.

Regarding the extended remarks by Comrade Charlene Mitchell. There are a number of questions Comrade Mitchell raises that should be talked about.

But there are also a number of questions on which I have a different viewpoint. First, regarding the preparations of the report for this meeting, Comrade Charlene said, "The report presented today by Comrade Hall has not received any collective discussion with the exception of the electoral work."

Some six weeks ago, I presented to a joint meeting of the National Board and Secretariat the outline and the framework for the report, which included the subjects and the main focuses. There was a discussion and an agreement that the main focus should be on domestic affairs. Later there was a discussion on the electoral section and a separate discussion on the proposals for the National Convention.

The letter that was sent to members of the National Committee and the National Council and all of the clubs also outlined the main questions.

Eight members of the National Board turned in their thoughts on specific questions.

The response of the clubs and club leaders was good — which I believe is a very important feature of our broader collective leadership. The report is also a reflection of the ongoing discussions that take place year round in the National Board.

Comrade Mitchell continues, "Yet the majority of the Board agreed that the report would be presented as a collective report." Not so — the majority of the Board accepted my proposal that I introduce the report just as I have done above.

"We act as if all the positions taken by the Board and all assessments whether by update tape, radio speeches or newspaper interviews enjoy complete unanimity," she said.

I don't know what "We act as if there is complete unanimity" means. On the statement "many differences are not even presented in the meetings of the Board," I don't know how to deal with differences that are not presented.

I do not think the atmosphere in the meetings of the Board inhibited anyone. Regarding the article, "The World We Preserve Must Be Livable," Comrade Mitchell states it was "an article written for the World Marxist Review, without any discussion by our National Committee."

The article was read in full and discussed by the National Board. The basic essence of the article appears in many reports and articles.

And further, Comrade Charlene states, "While this article did not openly attack glasnost or perestroika, its weight was clearly on the side of the danger rather than the positives." The fact is that perestroika and glasnost were not the subject of that article. The article deals with the question of the relationship between what is referred to as "universal human interests or values," and the struggle for a better life — the class struggle, the struggles against imperialism and for national liberation.

About the meeting of Party comrades during the time of the lawyers' convention, "without Hall having any discussion with comrades who attended the meeting:" not so. The important question is that it was at that meeting where the statement was made that "Gus Hall has a hit list of leading Black comrades." Not my remarks, but the remarks about the "hit list" is "slander and name calling."

On the question of "New Directions," Comrade Charlene says, "we have not had a major discussion about New Directions." However, I recall at least two discussions in the National Board, one based on a report by the PDW reporter Pat Fry and Michigan State Organizer Steve Noffke, another based on a report by Sam Webb. Another was within the context of a report on the UAW convention. On top of this, I went to Detroit to discuss tactics in relation to New Directions. There were differences in relation to estimates and tactics, but I think they have been essentially worked out through discussions. There are regular reports by the Labor Department on their meetings, as well as on movements, struggles, union conventions, negotiations, etc.

On changes in the working class and whether we are on top of this, I made the first speech on this at a world meeting in Moscow over four years ago. Since then, I have written two articles on the subject further developing our position on changes in the composition of the working class.

On Southern California, in response to the remark that "Comrades in Southern California continue to complain that the District Board and District Committee do not meet," Comrade Evelina said in her remarks, the District Committee met four times in the last six months, and the Board meets regularly. Also they had a membership meeting and revitalized seven commissions in the past three months.

Regarding the work of the Review Commission. Our Review Commission is a body elected by the National Convention. In its membership there are some of the finest, tested, honored leaders of our Party. They have the most difficult tasks, because, among other things, they have to deal with violations of Party standards. Do they make mistakes — yes, like the rest of us.

Should there be criticisms of their work? Of

course.

In her remarks yesterday, Comrade Mitchell said the Review Commission "is not a police apparatus within the Party to act as a silencer of comrades."

To say the least, those are not acceptable words while discussing an elected body of the Party

There are some who say we should abolish the concept of a Review Commission. I do not agree. We can make changes, but I believe the Party needs a body like the Review Commission.

Regarding, "Our Party will not be satisfied to come to our next Convention ready to ratify a pre-selected slate."

This is an important feature of democratic centralism. The main purpose of the traditional systems of elected leadership is to provide a sense of balance — to have representation from every state and district, to make sure that the Committees include workers, African Americans, Mexican Americans, other minorities, women, youth. Most delegates only know the comrades from their own districts.

The system works this way. The National Board sets up a committee that brings in a list of possible candidates for the National Committee. The state and district committees are asked to evaluate the work of the National Committee and National Council members from their districts. They are asked to send in their proposals for the new Committee.

The Convention elects a representative large Presiding Committee. There are special meetings of the delegates of each district to go over the whole list. The Presiding Committee then spends long hours discussing the lists.

The lists in the last Conventions have been longer than the size of the suggested Committees. The lists are then presented to the Convention with some words about who the listed comrades are and why they are recommended.

Then the floor is open for additional nominations — who are then added to the list. The voting takes place by a secret ballot.

Considering the challenge that the leading bodies should have democratic balance. I believe basically it is still the most democratic and necessary system. We can always find ways to improve on it.

Regarding the statement by Comrade Mitchell that the name "Joe Slovo raises eyebrows in our leadership." I see nothing wrong with discussing Joe Slovo's article. It's being discussed in the Communist Party of South Africa.

I make these remarks in the spirit of free, democratic exchanges between comrades. We can have, and we do have, differences even about facts. So let's talk them out.

There are some real weaknesses in the work of the National Board. The major weakness is that the dis-

cussions and decisions of the National Board remain largely in the Board room, and thus the Party does not get the essence of the discussions, conclusions and decisions. We have recognized and discussed this problem, but it remains to be solved. Although some conclusions appear in the People's Daily World and Political Affairs, this does not solve the problem.

Somehow we have to develop a more effective and faster means of communication. Perhaps we should establish a Fax system whereby the thinking of the Board would be sent to the districts after Board meetings. This would be a way of getting the leadership's thinking to the membership through the districts without the delay created by technical backlogs and at a minimum cost.

We have some rather serious differences on a number of questions. Many differences surfaced at this meeting. This is positive. At least we know what is at the bottom of some of the differences, what is involved and what is causing them. This is most helpful.

Many questions were raised about the influence of racism — about insensitivity to these influences in the ranks of the Party. These are serious questions. What is the answer — how do we overcome these weaknesses?

It seems to me there is only one answer — we must struggle.

The struggle over ideological questions, the struggle against the penetration of enemy class influences is always difficult. But there is no alternative to struggle. We must plan and organize the discussions — so they are constructive.

I think our deliberations during this meeting will be helpful to the panels that will take up the differences. And I think we should move to set them up

right away. The National Board, with the input of the districts, should work to establish them as soon as possible. There will be the problem of quick communication, but perhaps the idea of setting up a FAX system will solve this. At any rate, we will have to solve that problem. The panels will be part of what we could call a pre-pre-convention discussion. This would involve the regional committees as well.

About this meeting. I believe in many ways this meeting has been a step in the right direction, in a good, positive direction.

I think most have accepted the idea that we must all work to mold a Party that is more united. I believe we have laid the basis to create an atmosphere of comradeship, friendship, an atmosphere in which we can discuss and work through our differences. This meeting sets the stage for better relationships, which are necessary to solve our problems. I do not think we can do it without creating a better atmosphere, an atmosphere in which we will question facts and not question "motives."

One more proposal. I would like to propose that the National Board, Organization Department, Trade Union Commission, African-American Equality Commission and the Education Commission organize and launch a special Party building drive based on recruiting workers — multi-racial, multi-national, male-female, young and older workers — into our Party and training them. Our Party seriously needs such a membership drive.

This can be an exciting, stimulating and productive period for our Party.

Comrade Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France said, "Let's give the Communist Party a second wind, a second chance."

I think we should adopt this for our party.

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EXCERPTS OF REPORT BY:

HENRY WINSTON ON

"TRIPLE CONCENTRATION IN HARLEM"

THIS SUBJECT MATTER IS OF EXTREME URGENCY FOR THE PARTY AS IT IS FOR THE MASS MOVEMENT AS WELL.

IN CONDITIONS IN THE U.S., NO GREATER ERROR CAN BE MADE THAN TO TRY TO SEVER THE CLASS ASPECTS OF MATTERS FROM THE RACE AND NATIONAL. TO DO SO WOULD BE A DISSERVICE TO EITHER AND TO WEAKEN THE TOTAL FIGHT AGAINST OUR CLASS ENEMY, MONOPOLY IN GENERAL AND THE MOST REACTIONARY SECTOR, THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN PARTICULAR.

THIS ENEMY CANNOT BE DEFEATED BY AFRO-AMERICANS ALONE, LABOR ALONE, THE PEACE MOVEMENT ALONE. MEANS HAVE TO BE FOUND TO UNITE THESE FORCES TO TROUNCE THIS ENEMY.

BEFORE THE PARTY IS THE TASK OF UNDERSTANDING ITSELF AND THE PRIMACY OF THE TASK OF BUILDING THE PARTY. THIS IS A PRECONDITION FOR MOVING TO EFFECT THOSE KIND OF ALLIANCES THAT CAN MOVE THE ALL PEOPLES FRONT DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE COUNTRY.

TO UNDERSTAND THE PARTY CORRECTLY IS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE FIGHT FOR ITS BUILDING IS FIRST OF ALL THE FIGHT TO DEVELOP THE BROADEST KIND OF UNITY OF STRUGGLE BEGINNING WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT ORGANIZED AND UN-ORGANIZED AS WELL.

IN THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF THE U.S. TODAY, WE ARE IN A PERIOD AROUND WHICH ANY PROGRESS OF A PERMANENT CHARACTER IS DEPENDENT ON THAT OF LABOR AND AFRO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE. NOT TO SEE THIS IS NOT TO SEE ANYTHING OF A PROGRESSIVE CHARACTER IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLY IN THE U.S. TODAY.

WE HAVE THE FORTUNATE EXPERIENCE OF BEING MEMBERS AND LEADERS OF THE ONLY FORCE IN THIS COUNTRY WHICH CAN AFFECT THE KIND OF CHANGE THAT CAN ADVANCE

THE CAUSE OF OUR CLASS AND OUR PEOPLE. THE PARTY IS THE ONLY INSTRUMENT THAT WE CAN USE TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS THAT CAN ADVANCE THE ANTI-MONOPOLY STRUGGLE. WE TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ALL OF THE INTERMEDIARY STEPS, WIDEN THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AND IN THE COURSE OF STRUGGLE BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY, RECRUIT INTO THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING PARTY BUILDING SINCE THE MILWAUKEE EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE. BUT WE NOTE THAT THERE IS A CONTRADICTION BETWEEN PARTY GROWTH AND THE MASSIVE MOVEMENT OF STRUGGLE AMONGST AFRO-AMERICANS. WE ARE CALLED UPON TO EXPLAIN THIS CONTRADICTION. THIS IS ALL THE MORE NECESSARY NOW BECAUSE OF A WHOLE SERIES OF EVENTS INCLUDING THE OVERALL DECLINE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH ARISES OUT OF THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS, REGULAR CYCLICAL CRISIS, INTRODUCTION OF NEW TECHNOLOGY. THIS DECLINE HITS SHARPEST AT BLACK WORKERS.

WHAT TO DO UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES LIKE THIS? WHAT PROGRAM ARE WE ADVANCING FOR OUR PARTY TO HELP OUR PARTY TO MEET THIS MOMENT? MUCH IS NEEDED ON THIS FRONT IN WHICH AREA BY AREA BLACK PEOPLE ARE FACING A SITUATION IN WHICH CONDITIONS ARE BEING CREATED TO TREAT THEM AS SOCIAL PARIAS WITHOUT ANY PERSPECTIVE OF ENTERING INDUSTRY OR HAVE A LIVELIHOOD. THIS TAKES PLACE, UNPRECEDENTED IN U.S. LIFE, BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IN WHICH THE PROPOSITION IS PUT - TAKE GOVERNMENT OUT OF THIS WHOLE BUSINESS LET PRIVATE INDUSTRY DO IT. REAGAN IS SAYING THAT THE ADVANCES MADE BY LABOR AND THE PEOPLE BY SWEAT AND BLOOD, JAILING AND MURDERS ON PICKET LINES SHOULD BE ERASED AND WE SHOULD RETURN TO THE DAYS PRECEDING THE "WAGNER ACT." THIS AFFECTS NOT ONLY THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATUS OF BLACK PEOPLE BUT IS REPRESENTS IN PERSPECTIVE THE CRUDEST FORM OF RACIST RULE IN THE U.S.

WHAT DOES "TRIPLE CONCENTRATION" MEAN? THIS IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY. THIS STRUGGLE IS A PRE-CONDITION FOR RAISING THE

LEVEL OF THE WHOLE CLASS TO ADVANCE.

THE QUESTION OF RACISM NEEDS CLARIFICATION, A CERTAIN UNDERSTANDING BY COMMUNISTS. THE CLASS ESSENCE OF RACISM IS TWO THINGS AT ONCE. FOR MONO-POLY RACISM REPRESENTS A UNITY FOR "EXPLOITATION AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION" FOR THE PURPOSE OF HIGHER AND HIGHER PROFITS. WHAT WOULD IT MEAN IF THE WORKING CLASS WOULD SHATTER THE ONENESS OF THE TWO? IT WOULD PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE OPPRESSOR.

RACISM IS ON ONE HAND A SPECIAL FIGHT TO DEPRESS THE POSITION OF BLACK WORKERS AND BLACK PEOPLE IN GENERAL, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND TO USE WHITE WORKERS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE EXPLOITER. YOU ARE NOT FIGHTING RACISM WHEN YOU ONLY SEE ONE ASPECT. YOU ARE FIGHTING RACISM ONLY WHEN YOU SEE THE DOUBLE ASPECT OF THIS PROBLEM. THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IS AT ONE TIME A STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS ON A CLASS BASIS - A UNITY WHICH IS POSSIBLE ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT YOU TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SPECIAL PROBLEM OF DENIAL OF BLACK WORKERS AND BLACK PEOPLE.

THERE IS A CERTAIN DIALECTICAL APPROACH. THE WHITE WORKERS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT TO THE DEGREE THAT HE ACCEPTS AND IS INFLUENCED BY RACISM, WHETHER IN THE REALM OF IDEOLOGY OR PRACTICE, SERVES NOT HIS CLASS INTEREST, NOR IS HE DOING A FAVOR TO BLACK WORKERS BY CHANGING THIS, THAT OR THE OTHER.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT HAS CLASS AIMS, CLASS OBJECTIVES WHICH ARE ATTAINABLE ONLY BY CLASS UNITY, EQUALITY. EQUALITY IS NOT HELPING SOME POOR BLACK OVER HERE. IT IS A FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE WHOLE CLASS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ANSWER TO INEQUALITY LIKEWISE IS A CONTRIBUTION NOT ONLY TO THE ADVANCE OF THE CAUSE OF BLACK LIBERATION, BUT TO THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF THE WHOLE.

MUCH IS AT STAKE. THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF CLASS VERSAS RACE OR RACE VERSAS CLASS OR CLASS VERSAS NATIONAL, IS CLEAR. IT IS ANSWERED BY . . .

MARXIST-LENINIST CLASS APPROACH TO ALL QUESTIONS. WITHOUT THIS UNDERSTANDING THERE IS A LOT OF RHETORIC BUT NOT YET THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY. IT HAS MEANING ONLY WHEN IT IS ANCHORED IN THE SPIRIT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

HAVE ALL QUESTIONS BEEN BATTLED OUT ON SENIORITY AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION? CAN THIS BE SAID? WE HAVE MUCH MORE TO DO. WE HAVE TO PUT AN END TO TRYING TO PUT YESTERDAYS SOLUTIONS TO TODAYS PROBLEMS.

IT DOESN'T TAKE MUCH ARGUMENT TO SAY THAT PRIVATE INDUSTRY CANNOT HANDLE THIS QUESTION. TO PUT THIS QUESTION MEANS GROWING SLUMS, EVICTIONS, DRUGS ETC. THE PROBLEM IS A CLASS ONE AND WE MUST SEE THAT THE ONLY WAY UNDER THESE CONDITIONS IS NOT PRIVATE INDUSTRY, BUT GOVERNMENTS RESPONSIBILITY TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS.

THE QUESTION WE ARE CAPABLE OF SOLVING IS THE QUESTION OF A GOVERNMENT PROGRAM OF AN ANTI-MONOPOLY TYPE. A STRONG ANTI-MONOPOLY PROGRAM IN WHICH BILLIONS CAN BE SPENT FOR SOCIAL NEEDS AND NOT FOR NUCLEAR WAR. FOR THE CLASS AND ESPECIALLY FOR BLACK PEOPLE THE SOLUTION IS TO BE FOUND IN WAYS OTHER THAN THE POLICIES OF REAGANISM. THE SOLUTION MUST BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE FIGHT AGAINST REAGANS POLICIES.

WE SHOULD SET UP A COMMISSION TO COME UP WITH THIS PROGRAM. THIS IS URGENT AND IMMEDIATE.

THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY MEANS FIRST OF ALL AN IDEOLOGICAL POLITICAL APPROACH TO SOLVING ALL QUESTIONS OF CONCERN. YOU CANNOT DEVELOP A "JOBS" PROGRAM WITHOUT DEFINING THE ENEMY, WHAT METHODS NEED TO BE DEVELOPED, WHICH FORCES ARE NECESSARY. THIS IS OUR ROLE.

WE ARE CALLED UPON TO DEVELOP A COMMON POLICY WHICH IS IDEOLOGICALLY BASED. IN WHICH WE ARE WORKING AMONG PEOPLE WHO ARE MORE THAN FRIENDLY TO US.

WHAT ONE HAS TO BE AWARE OF NOWDAYS, TO DEFEND THE PURITY OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND OUR PARTY IS THE FACT THAT THE ENEMY HAS ASSIGNED TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY ALL OF ITS AGENTS TO DISCREDIT THE PARTY.

THE APRIL 28TH ISSUE OF FRONTLINE (LINE OF MARCH) HAS AN EDITORIAL WHICH ANALYZES THE RAINBOW COALITION IN A WAY IN WHICH IT BECOMES CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT A FALSE CONCLUSION IS BEING DRAWN. IT RAISES THAT JESSE JACKSON IS REPRESENTING A TENDENCY THAT THE RAINBOW-COALITION MUST BECOME THE LEADER OF THE ANTI-MONOPOLY FIGHT AND THE ROLE OF LABOR HAS NO ROLE EXCEPT THAT IT FOLLOWS THE RAINBOW.

THIS IS DONE TO OFFSET AN ANALYSIS WHICH MUST COME FROM US - AN ANALYSIS THAT SEES THAT RAINBOW'S ORIENTATION IS TO THE ENLIGHTENED DEMOCRATS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. HOW TO RECOGNIZE WHAT IS GOOD AND WHAT IS LIMITED, IS NOT EXAMINED. THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION IS PLAYED DOWN.

WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BECOMES THE MECHANISM THRU WHICH EVERYTHING IS CHanneled IN THE MASS MOVEMENT, WHERE WILL FRONTLINE BE? WHERE WILL OUR PARTY BE.?

THERE IS A FIRST CLASS IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEM HERE. WE MUST BE ABLE TO ANSWER CLEARLY.

THE QUESTION IS HOW TO DEVELOP POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE THAT IS DEVELOPING FROM WITHIN, INDEPENDENCE THAT UNITES WITH OUTSIDE TENDENCIES OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND INDEPENDENCE WHICH BRINGS TOGETHER FORCES FROM WITHOUT, FINDING ALLIES EVERYWHERE. POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE IS MANY SIDED.

OPERATING ON THIS BASIS AND REINFORCED ON THIS BASIS, WE ARE UNBEATABLE.

SOME PEOPLE WON'T WANT TO DO THIS. SOME FOR OPPORTUNIST REASONS. BUT OUR PARTY HAS A SPECIAL TASK HERE.

WE ARE UNDERESTIMATING THE 1986 ELECTIONS AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. HOW CAN WE SEE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN 1988 WITHOUT NOVEMBER 1986? ARE WE IN THE STRUGGLE IDEOLOGICALLY? DO WE HAVE LITERATURE OUT THERE?

MASSSES IN MOTION PROVIDE THE BASIS NOT ONLY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST CADRE, BUT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MILITANT, PROGRESSIVE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LABOR CADRE, CONSCIOUS OF THEIR MISSION, CONSCIOUS OF THEIR AIM. THIS WILL ENABLE THE PARTY TO DEVELOP THE RIGHT KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WHICH WOULD ENABLE PARTY GROWTH AND WITH IT INCREASE THE GROWTH OF MASS ACTIVITIES IN ALL PEOPLES ORGANIZATIONS.

IN 1903 THE BOLSHEVIK TENDENCY TRIUMPHED. FIVE YEARS LATER LENIN WROTE AGAINST REFORMISM RIGHT AND LEFT. IN VOL. 15, PAGE 37&38 LENIN DEVELOPS POLEMICS AGAINST BERNSTEIN. HE WAS THE WORST POSSIBLE DEVIATOR OF THEM ALL. BERNSTEIN SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS THE MOVEMENT. "THE MOVEMENT MEANS EVERYTHING - THE FINAL AIM NOTHING." THE FINAL AIM OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM MEAN NOTHING. THIS WAS THE MAN FROM THE LEFT. HE HAD A LOT OF TALK OF ACTION, ACTION, ACTION. WHAT KIND OF ACTION? OUR ACTION MUST SEE OUR IDEOLOGY AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE ACTION ITSELF, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND GROWING IN THE COURSE OF IT ALL. ONLY THE PARTY WILL LEAD IN THAT DIRECTION.

HARLEM

I CAN SEE A STANDSTILL IN PARTY GROWTH IN HARLEM. WHY? WE DISTRIBUTE THOUSANDS OF PAPERS. BUT ARE THESE PAPERS USED TO DEVELOP HIGHER AND MORE CONCRETE FORMS OF STRUGGLE OR DO WE DISTRIBUTE THEM AS THINGS IN THEMSELVES?

LENIN'S POLEMIC HAS AS ITS END POINT THE DECISIVE CHARACTER OF BUILDING THE PARTY AND LENIN ALWAYS SPEAKS STRUGGLE, STRUGGLE, STRUGGLE. PARTY GROWTH IS SIMPLY NOT A QUESTION OF ANGELA DAVIS COMING TO MEETING. IF WE THINK OF BUILDING THE PARTY SOLELY ON THIS BASIS WE ARE LOST.

THERE IS NOT A COMMUNITY IN HARLEM OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN WHICH ON THE BASIS OF CONSISTENCY, PATIENCE, ORGANIZATION, REALISTIC PROGRAM IN WHICH PROGRESS CANNOT BE MADE.

BY TRIPLE CONCENTRATION WE ARE SAYING THAT THE NATIONAL, STATE AND HARLEM WILL AGREE ON A COMMON PROGRAM THAT WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT DISTRICT 65 (AUTO) HAS A LARGE PART OF ITS MEMBERSHIP IF NOT THE MAJORITY, LIVING IN HARLEM BUT WHO WORK DOWNTOWN. THEY GO TO THEIR UNIONS DOWNTOWN.

LOCAL 1199 HAS 7500 MEMBERS, HOSPITAL WORKERS; OF WHICH HALF OR THE MAJORITY ARE BLACK AND PUERTO-RICAN. THEY EARN THERE LIVELIHOOD DOWNTOWN BUT LIVE IN HARLEM. IF WE THINK IN TERMS OF NOT ONLY 420 BUT OTHER AFSCME LOCALS, THEY ALSO LIVE IN HARLEM.

ONE COULD TAKE TWA AS WELL. NO ONE COULD SAY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNION REPRESENTS THE COMPOSITION OF THE MEMBERSHIP. THIS MEMBERSHIP ALSO LIVES IN HARLEM. THIS CAN BE SAID FOR GARMENT AND THE WATERFRONT.

WHEN YOU SPEAK OF BLACK PEOPLE, YOU ARE SPEAKING OF AN IMPORTANT SECTOR OF THE WORKING CLASS. THESE SAME PEOPLE ARE MEMBERS OF CHURCH CHOIR, DEACON BOARDS, USHER BOARDS, TEACHERS OF BUTU'S. THEY ARE BAPTISTS, METHODISTS, ANGLICANS, CATHOLICS. THEIR IDEOLOGY IS BEING FORMED.

A POLICY OF TRIPLE CONCENTRATION HAS MEANING ONLY IF HARLEM IS UNDERSTOOD THIS WAY.

ONE OF OUR PROUD ACHIEVEMENTS WAS THE ROLE OF OUR PARTY IN ELECTING BEN DAVIS TO THE CITY COUNCIL. THIS WAS NOT A SMALL TASK. NO INDIVIDUAL, NO MATTER HOW BRILLIANT AND EVEN POPULAR, COULD EVER HAVE BEEN ELECTED WITHOUT THE GREATEST DEGREE OF PRACTICAL WORK -- ORGANIZATION BASED UPON THE IDEA OF SMASHING SEGREGATION AND JIM CROWISM. SO WHAT HAPPENED? FIRST WAS THE FIGHT TO WIN PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. COMMUNISTS DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THIS PARTICULAR FIGHT. SECOND, CLAYTON POWELL HAD HIGHER GOALS AND WENT ON TO ACHIEVE THEM, BUT HE SELECTED AS HIS RUNNING MATE BEN DAVIS.

BUT BEN DAVIS COULDN'T HAVE BEEN ELECTED AFTER THAT. IT WAS WHEN JOE BRODSKY A WHITE COMMUNIST WHO WAS ALREADY IN THE RACE FOR CITY COUNCIL, DECLINED TO RUN IN FAVOR OF BEN DAVIS, WHICH PUT THE WEIGHT OF THE WHOLE PARTY TO SUPPORT BEN DAVIS THAT THE BASIS WAS LAID FOR HIS ELECTION.

THESE WERE THE DAYS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, THE PEOPLES FRONT, A HIGH POINT IN THE ANTI WAR STRUGGLE BUT THE ELECTION OF BEN DAVIS WAS THE PARTY, THE PARTY AND THE UNIONS, MASONS, CHURCHES ETC. THIS WAS ONE OF THE BRIGHTEST POSSIBLE PERIODS.

THE PARTY AFFECTED HARLEM CONCENTRATION. CONCENTRATION WAS NOT CONCEIVED AS A HANDFUL OF COMMUNISTS IN HARLEM. THAT WOULD BE TOTALLY NOT UNDERSTANDING WHAT WAS REQUIRED THEN AND NOW.

THEREFORE, THE FIGHT WITHIN THE UNIONS FOR CORRECT POLICIES WILL REFLECT ITSELF CONCRETELY WHERE BLACK PEOPLE LIVE. NOT A SITUATION LIKE IN THE UNION, WHERE BLACK TEACHERS ARE HOSTILE TO AFT & SHANKER. TRADE UNIONISM MUST BECOME THE MEANS BY WHICH BLACK AND WHITE WITHIN THE UNION AND WITHIN THE COMMUNITY ARE FIGHTING FOR BLACK EQUALITY.

DOES THIS HAPPEN NOW? WHAT COULD HAPPEN IF THIS WERE STRUGGLED FOR? IT IS IDLE TO TALK ABOUT CLASS-UNITY WITHOUT RAISING CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS UNDERSTANDING.

WE HAVE THIS IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEM TO SOLVE. CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY A COMMON APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF HARLEM. THE PERSPECTIVE OF 150 BLACK COMMUNISTS IS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT COULD BE OVERFULFILLED IN A VERY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME IF WE PUT OUR SHOULDERS TO THE WHEEL IN ONE DIRECTION.

CERTAINLY AN INITIATION OF STRUGGLES CAN PUT AN END TO BICKERING, BACKBITING, WHICH ALWAYS EMERGES FROM NON MASS ACTIVITY, NON STRUGGLE. THIS DOESN'T HELP THE STRUGGLE AT ALL AND TO CONCEIVE OF UNITY WITHOUT THIS IS NOT TO SEE UNITY.

THEREFORE, IT IS ABSOLUTELY WRONG ONLY TO SEE NEGATIVES -- TO HAVE A PESSIMISTIC HOPELESS OUTLOOK TOWARDS EVENTS. IT WOULD BE WRONG TO JUST SIT AND WAIT. OUR ANSWER HAS TO BE THAT OF STRUGGLE FOR POLICY, STRUGGLE FOR ORGANIZATION AND PROPER ORGANIZATION OF OUR FORCES. WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT SMALL NUMBERS IS TEMPORARY. A PROPER APPROACH WITH PROPER ORGANIZATION OF OUR WORK CAN DOUBLE, TRIPLE, OR EVEN MORE, THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY.

WE HAVE TO PUT AN END TO THAT IN OUR AFFAIRS WE SEE FEW BLACK PEOPLE. WHAT IS REQUIRED IS NOT ONLY PROGRAM BUT OUTLINES FOR CLASSES ABOUT THE MAIN THINGS AND THE MAIN WAY OUT.

IT WOULD BE WRONG TO REGARD TRIPLE CONCENTRATION AS AN ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS ALONE IN WHICH THERE IS PERIODIC CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE 3 BODIES, BUT THE UNITY OF THE 3 BODIES IN ELABORATING A PROGRAM THAT CAN WIN. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, I THINK WE WILL NOT BE FOUND LACKING IN OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE GREAT SUCCESS.

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WORK I THINK WE WENT NOT BE GOOD JACKING IN OUR VISITING TO ACHIEVE GREAT
OF THE 2 BODIES IN STAGGERING A PROBABLY INSTANT MIN. IN THE THE 2 BODIES
ATONE IN WHICH THERE IS PERIODIC CONGRUATION BETWEEN THE 2 BODIES BUT THE ONLY
IT WOULD BE WISE TO MEASURE THE CONCENTRATION AS AN ORGANIZATION PROCESS
AND THE MAIN VAN OUT.

RECOVERED IS NOT ONLY PROBABLY BUT OUTLINES FOR CLASSES ABOUT THE MAIN THINGS
WE HAVE TO PUT IN THE TO THAT IN OUR VEHICLE WE SEE THE BLACK BODIES
DOUBTLESS, BUT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BODIES
IS TEMPORARY A BODIES APPROACH WITH A LARGE ORGANIZATION OF OUR OWN
PROPER ORGANIZATION OF OUR OWN. WE HAVE TO RECONSTRUCT THE BODIES
ANSWER HAS TO BE THAT OF STAGGERING FOR BODIES, STRIKING FOR ORGANIZATION
BODIES OUTLOOK TOWARDS THEMSELVES. IT WOULD BE WISE TO MEASURE THE BODIES
THE BODIES IT IS PROBABLY WISE TO MEASURE THE BODIES -- TO MEASURE THE BODIES

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