

political affairs

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT



March 1986

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Daily Worker

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY, PROGRESS, PEACE AND PROSPERITY
NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1938

1924

PEOPLE'S WORLD

VOICE OF THE WORKER OVER 40 YEARS
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1985 Vol. 49, No. 45

1938

Peace activists tell Reagan
owns displace millions

page 2

1968

DAILY WORLD

CONTINUING THE DAILY WORKER, FOUNDED 1924

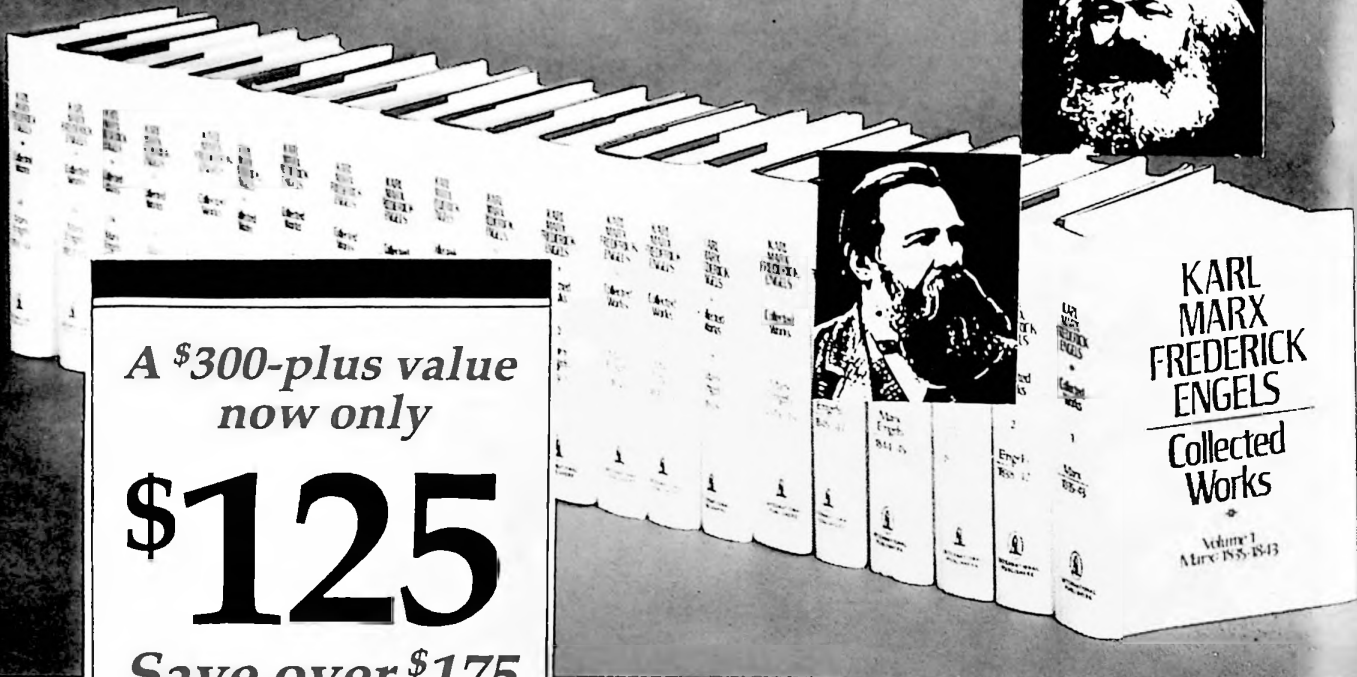
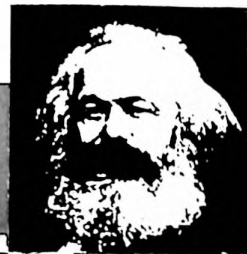
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Political Affairs (ISSN 0032 3128) is published monthly by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc. at 235 West 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011, ☎ (212) 989-4994, to whom all orders, subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be addressed. Subscription rates: \$10 for one year (individuals); \$15 for one year (Institutions); \$5 for six months; foreign subscriptions, including Canada, \$11 for one year; single issues, \$1. Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, NY. Postmaster: Send changes of address to Political Affairs, 235 W. 23rd St., New York, NY 10011.

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The Summit as Process and Promise & New Directions for Labor

GUS HALL

This is a historic moment. Our nation is officially observing—and our people are celebrating—the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. This great people's leader has finally been granted his rightful place in American history.

But it is more than a birthday celebration, more than a tribute to the life and legacy of Dr. King. It reflects increasing acceptance of an idea whose time has come: putting an end to 300 years of racist oppression.

This has a special meaning for our Party. It is a struggle we have taken part in throughout our history. The unity of Black and white, of our multiracial, multinational working class, is our special contribution to the struggle—one which we are honored to share with Dr. King, who made deep and lasting contributions to the cause of unity between labor and civil rights.

This day has special meaning for us because we have a special relationship with the civil rights movement and the legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. We had the same dreams of putting an end to racism and poverty, an end to U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression. In thought and action, we were linked with Dr. King in the struggle for a better, more just and peaceful world.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s legacy has special meaning for our class, the working class, because both class exploitation and exploitation based on race are rooted deep in the bowels of monopoly capitalism. These roots draw together the working-class and civil rights movements.

So on this 57th birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., as our country officially and legally recognizes the profound significance of this national hero's life and work, we Communists re-

dedicate our Party's full energies and efforts to the fulfillment of Martin Luther King's and the people's dreams.

THE SUMMIT IN A CORRECT HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

TTo avoid overestimating or underestimating the meaning of the summit and to get an idea of its true significance, we must put the summit and the summit process in a correct historical framework.

The summit was a coming together of two spokesmen for two opposing forces moving in opposite directions—socialism and capitalism. It reflected the clash of two classes, two societies. This will continue. It is a basic frame of reference. One society, one social system, pursues policies of peace and anti-imperialism; the other pursues policies of corporate profits, war, aggression and nuclear superiority.

The summit took place after eight years of extreme big lie anti-Communism, in a cold war atmosphere. Putting it into this framework, the summit was an important, positive event—a setback for the ultra-Right and anti-Sovieteers. The summit developments and the continuing process of negotiations and contacts will continue to change the political and ideological climate for the better.

For a balanced view, we have to keep in mind what the summit did and did not accomplish.

It did not put an end to the nuclear arms race or to Star Wars. Star Wars mania, the policy of building first-strike nuclear superiority, profits and corruption were the main obstacles to the summit. They remain the main obstacles to fulfillment of the summit promise. The military production conglomerates and the Pentagon

Excerpted from the report of Gus Hall to a meeting of the Central Committee and National Council of the CPUSA, June 18, 1986. For the complete text, write: CPUSA, 235 W. 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011.

view the summit promise as a threat to their trillion dollar profit swindle.

THE SUMMIT IS A FIRST STEP that has within it the potential of slowing down and ending the nuclear arms race.

It was a first step in normalizing diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between our two countries.

It was an important first step in cracking the cold war ice and changing the fanatical anti-Soviet climate.

The summit makes it easier to fight for compliance with the Salt II and ABM treaties.

The summit, and the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on testing, make it easier to mobilize sentiment and build pressure to end U.S. testing.

The joint U.S.-USSR statement adopted at the summit can be the basis for an overall mobilization for ending the arms race. It can be an effective instrument in the struggle against the war policies of the Reagan Administration.

And now there is the new Soviet peace bomb. The Soviet Union has extended its moratorium on all nuclear testing for another three months. To make this action even more binding, the Soviets have proposed a sweeping plan for yearly reductions in nuclear weapons, to be completed in 15 years. This means that all nuclear weapons could be eliminated by the year 2000.

This presents a new challenge to the Reagan Administration and to the world. The challenge for the peace forces, and to all people's movements, is how to take advantage of this moment to end the nuclear arms race.

IN THE STRUGGLE TO REALIZE THE SUMMIT PROMISE it is necessary to keep an eye on the antisummit forces. We must be alert to the provocations, and the forces behind them. For example, the rush to test the antisatellite missile (ASAT) before the summit was a violation of the ABM treaty. The rush to deploy more Pershing missiles in West Germany and the decision to push the production of new chemical weapons were provocations. Weinberger's antisummit letter to

President Reagan before the summit was a provocation. And just days before the summit, the battleship Iowa, armed with long range Pershing nuclear missiles, was moved into the Baltic area.

The ultra-Right and the nuclear fanatics are concerned about any improvement in the international and domestic climate. It's difficult to push for war in a climate of peace. They are conducting a fierce ideological campaign. Their line is: "The summit brought no results. Nothing has changed. We will get a few more ballet dancers, but that's all." Some liberals have adopted the same line. A new angle is emerging, following the line of the *New York Times*. In general, they don't attack the overall achievements of the summit process—but they keep picking on specific falsehoods, in an attempt to undermine the new post-summit climate. Examples include the *New York Times* articles claiming the Soviets dropped toy-shaped bombs in Afghanistan and Weinberger's charges of Soviet treaty violations.

Among the most active antisummiters are some Zionist forces, especially the fascist Jewish Defense League (JDL). They have been and are very active, not only in the ideological arena but in direct provocations. The JDL is an active terrorist group, responsible for bombing headquarters of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and Boston, and for the murder of Alex Odeh in Los Angeles. They are actively using the issue of Soviet Jews as a diversion from the summit process and are already planning mass demonstrations when Mikhail Gorbachev visits the U.S. this year.

THE SUMMIT ACCOMPLISHMENTS HAVE AFFECTED the overall political and ideological climate, and how people view the Soviet Union and socialism in general. Among the more positive results are:

- Normalization of diplomatic, governmental and people-to-people relationships.
- Agreement on extensive cultural, scientific, educational and technological cooperation and exchanges that will involve thousands of

people.

- An academic agreement that set up over 100 joint working commissions in many fields—economics, history, public opinion, language, culture—and many kinds of exhibits and exchanges. Writers are now setting up joint projects. Medical projects dealing with cancer, heart research, and many other health fields are being organized.

- Trade unions are already setting dates for exchange delegations.

- There is an explosion in tourist applications to the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of American and Soviet people are going to visit each other's countries.

Almost all the steps toward normalization were retreats for the Reaganites. The summit and the continuing process are a reinstatement of government policies and agreements the Reaganites had cut off, and some agreements the Carter Administration had cut off.

These steps do not eliminate anti-Sovietism, but they have made a dent. Reagan will have much more difficulty making an "evil empire" speech the American people will believe.

The people are taking this new rhetoric seriously. Their high expectations can become a powerful force if they are focused on the struggle for the realization of the summit promise. Eighty per cent of the people expect progress on ending the nuclear arms race. People overwhelmingly expect agreement on Star Wars, an end to testing, and continued U.S. compliance with the ABM and SALT II treaties.

The new climate will continue to thaw. This process creates a new basis, a new framework, for mass actions.

AS A RESULT OF THE SUMMIT THERE ARE NEW SPLITS in ruling-class circles between those hungry for trade and profits and those who want to continue cold war policies. Changes in leading political and monopoly circles are reflected in disagreements within the Reagan Administration.

Many in monopoly circles are rethinking the cold war policy. They remain anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. What has changed is their estimate of the balance of world forces. There is

now some realism based on their estimate of the lack of success of the eight-year cold war policy. Some changes in attitude are tactical, some are only changes in rhetoric. They are more concerned about world and U.S. public opinion. The closer we get to the 1986 elections, the more concerned they will become.

In the period ahead, the ultra-Right and extreme reactionaries will become more extreme and vocal. But they will find themselves more out of tune with the times and the people. As a result, their support base will narrow.

The splits in Congress will widen. Those who support the summit ideas and developments and oppose Star Wars, the military budget and policies of aggression will become bolder and win more mass support. Liberal and progressive forces who tend toward peace, détente, and cultural and scientific exchanges, as well as scientists and educators who are pro-peace and anti-Star Wars, will also become more vocal and active. The peace forces will shift further away from the "plague on both your houses," "two superpowers" position, as the Freeze convention did with the adoption of the slogan "The Soviets did it. Why not us?"

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GENERALLY POSITIVE about the results of the summit. They are responding more positively to improved American-Soviet relations than at any time since World War II. Our people are relieved. They feel the world has taken one step back from the brink.

The summit has resulted in increased contacts, mass media exposure of the Soviet Union, satellite Peacebridge TV programs and Citizen Summits. The people's positive attitudes will improve our ability to mobilize and struggle for peace in the post-summit period.

Americans welcome the prospect of normalizing relations. They understand this is a retreat from a long-standing cold war policy. There is growing awareness, especially in light of the recent Soviet actions, that the Reagan Administration is blocking nuclear disarmament, and that Star Wars is an aggressive step toward escalating the nuclear arms race into space. The

American people are now getting a better first-hand look at the Soviet Union, its leaders and people.

The resumption of the Geneva arms negotiations, and Summit II in September, when Mikhail Gorbachev will visit the United States, are important events around which to build peace actions.

THE NEW CLIMATE WILL TAKE SOME OF THE STEAM out of the AFL-CIO International Department and embolden the antiwar forces in the labor movement, who played an important role at the AFL-CIO convention.

The Soviet Union must receive equal treatment when it comes to tariffs. The U.S. must lift its "unfavored nation" policy and end all bans, boycotts, sanctions and the breaking of contracts. The U.S. must end all discriminatory credit restrictions.

The struggle for trade and jobs must include the demand that the Reagan Administration end all policies that discriminate against the Soviet Union. On this question, in their own separate interests, the trade unions and corporations can work together.

The summit process frees workers from false concepts, false patriotism and chauvinist propaganda. It frees them to express their instinctive class feelings of international solidarity. Such feelings are always there, but they are often blunted by chauvinist propaganda.

Workers see the new climate in terms of jobs, trade, cultural exchanges and peace. They will see normalization of relations as opening the way to conversion from military to peacetime production.

The summit process and steps to end the nuclear arms race will strengthen the forces in the trade union movement who are campaigning to cut the military budget and for a nuclear freeze.

The new climate will free the working class to seek a more accurate picture of Soviet trade unions, the nature of Soviet working-class political power, and the quality of life in socialist countries.

WHAT THE SUMMIT DID NOT ELIMINATE

The summit did not eliminate the class struggle. It did not change the nature of monopoly capitalism.

- It did not eliminate the need to struggle against racism.

- It did not end U.S. policies of aggression in Central America.

- It did not put an end to U.S. support for racism in South Africa.

- It did not stop U.S. support for Israel's expansionism and its oppression of the Palestinian people.

The struggle against the Reagan anti-working-class offensive must not abate. There can be no lessening of the struggles against racism, anti-Semitism, inequality, unemployment, poverty, homelessness, hunger, and against all the Reaganite antipeople programs.

The summit certainly did not remove the need for a strong peace movement. It did not do away with the need to struggle for peace and against U.S. policies of nuclear superiority, of aggression in Central and Latin America, in Asia and Africa.

The key issue in the presummit period was the Soviet peace initiatives. The Soviet Union went as far as it could without jeopardizing its own security. These moves touched the heart of the mass peace sentiment in our country.

The change in mass thought patterns was reflected in the Freeze movement slogan, "The Soviets did it. Why not us?" This idea was expressed weeks before the Freeze convention, but the convention adopted it officially. The 1,200,000 signatures were collected on the peace petition on the same basis: "The Soviets did it. Why not us?"

What happened in Geneva with the peace petitions was a serious setback because the presentation could have been a very important, even historic event. Reagan refused to accept the signatures and Gorbachev agreed to. However, in a sense this event was turned into its opposite. It diverted attention from the demand

to end the nuclear arms race to the phony issue of Soviet Jews.

The presentation was turned into a diversionary, anti-Soviet event. Whatever the intention, it gave relief to Reagan. It was a betrayal of the trust of those who signed the petitions. What makes it even worse is that this act was performed by liberals.

The struggle for the summit process is on. The real challenge now is to turn the people's expectations into actions and initiatives for peace.

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR THE CLASS STRUGGLE

It is of primary importance, when making assessments of specific political developments, to have a clear perspective of the framework in which the developments take place. This concept is related to the moment when quantity becomes transformed into a different quality.

In politics and economics—as in nature—there is a continuing process of quantitative changes taking place. It is only after some piling up, some accumulation, that a new quality makes its appearance. When it does, it then becomes the new framework, the prism through which we must make our observations and assessments. The new quality then becomes a new frame of reference.

Not seeing the new frame of reference is like trying to study sub-atomic particles with an old fashioned magnifying glass.

Thus, the task of this meeting is to pinpoint the areas where a new quality has made its appearance, and, from that vantage point, to assess the developments.

What are the areas where a new quality is making its appearance?

In world relationships, it is the summit and the summit promise.

In the area of war and peace, it is the growing resistance to the policies of U.S. first-strike nuclear superiority and Star Wars mania.

In the struggle against reactionary, racist,

fascist dictatorships, it is the new level of struggle in South Africa, Namibia, the Philippines and Central America.

In the field of economics, it is the continuing drag on industrial production, the huge debts, the megamerger mania and total corruption at all levels of the military-industrial complex.

In the class struggle, it is the new level and direction that emerged at the AFL-CIO convention last September and the militant strike struggles.

We must examine all developments, make our plans and blend them with the new qualitative points of reference.

This meeting of the Central Committee has the task of probing some new developments in the area of the class struggle.

SINCE OUR LAST MEETING IN JUNE 1985, some important class battles have taken place—on the picket lines, at the negotiating table, on the shop floor and assembly line.

An example of the activity and militancy is in Chicago where, besides the *Chicago Tribune* strike, on any given day in October there were 20 strikes in progress.

The strikes by Wheeling-Pittsburgh steelworkers, A.T. Massey coal miners, Bath Iron workers, Watsonville cannery workers, Chrysler autoworkers, United Airlines pilots, Morrel and Hormel meatpackers, Pratt & Whitney aerospace workers, and the three-year-old strike by the Phelps Dodge copper miners in Morenci, Arizona, were all pattern-setting.

Each of these strikes took head-on a basic antilabor, Reagan-corporate policy such as concessions, Chapter 11, two-tier wage structure, contracting out and unionbusting.

Many of these were strikes to save the union, the shop steward system, health care, against speedup and the elimination of established health and safety regulations and work rules.

And the corporate-Reagan antilabor unionbusting drive goes on. They keep coming up with new unionbusting tactics. At the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota, it is the old "smash-

the-picket-line-and-run-in-scabs." So far they have failed.

The monopolies have been able to do away with industrywide bargaining. The steelworkers, the non-ferrous metal and American Can workers all face the coming negotiations one corporation at a time.

The attitude of American Can Corporation is typical. The company recently threatened, "either the union agrees to a \$4.50-per-hour cut or we will sell 5 of our 21 plants and close 5 more and leave the union with half of its membership to deal with."

Given the new mood of militancy and fight-back this approach will never wash.

Independent political action and the labor political action committees (PACS) played an important role in the '84 presidential elections.

Trade union leadership participation on picket lines at the South African embassy, missions and consulates, as well as the longshore boycott of South African ships, marked a new level in working-class solidarity. As John Sweeney, international president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), said: "It is just as much union business to support working people and trade unionists in South Africa as it is union business to support working people and trade unionists in south Alabama."

The struggles of South African labor and the widespread support from American labor came together in a new level of antiracist, anti-apartheid positions at the AFL-CIO convention.

Twenty-two international unions joined forces with the nuclear freeze movement and 26 internationals took a stand against U.S. policies in Central America. As a result, U. S. aggression in Central America became a key foreign policy issue at the convention.

ALL THESE ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS REFLECT changes taking place in the thought patterns and mood of the rank and file. This changing thought process has been going on for some time.

All these actions were working-class responses to the structural crisis and to the Reagan-corporate antilabor offensive.

Anger and frustration have been building against concession policies of some union leadership.

Rank-and-file militancy has been growing in the face of the ten-year decline in real wages.

A new generation of leaders has emerged in locals and central labor bodies. More militant rank-and-file leaders are being elected, as was the case in the New York teachers' union.

Interwoven with all this is the growth of a Left trend and Left forces, on both rank-and-file and leadership.

Some advances in the struggle against racism have been achieved, expressed in closer working relations between the trade unions and leaders of Afro-American organizations. The fires of the class struggle in South Africa, in Central America, and at home have further deepened the class consciousness and international class solidarity of our multiracial, multinational working class.

Since the convention, the AFL-CIO has put out a very fine pamphlet marking the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., "Labor Honors an American Hero."

There is growing concern about the growth of the non-union sector of the work force and the decline of the work force in the organized sector of the basic industries.

Thus, when we speak about the decline in trade union membership we have to note the big layoffs in the organized industrial sector. We have to be very careful not to fall into the trap that the trade unions are in a total membership crisis. Of course there is a decline. But it is basically associated with the demise of the organized basic industries.

THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION HAD A NEW TONE. There was a new sense of militancy. The focus was sharply antimonopoly, antimultinational corporation.

Class collaborationist sentiment was on the defensive.

Anti-Reagan sentiment, especially on domestic issues, was strong and militant.

Anti-apartheid expressions were sharp, based on the activities of the past months.

Anti-imperialist sentiment was sharp, especially in regard to Central America and South Africa.

A new antiracist position emerged and went even further than expected. On affirmative action, it addressed the problem of changing seniority rules to ensure affirmative action.

The convention expressed an even higher level of political independence and political action, especially aimed at the '86 congressional elections.

Some of the new tone was already reflected in the Officers' Report, which as a rule is the most conservative, even reactionary. This time it expressed the pressures of the rank and file, central labor bodies and some internationals.

The changing labor scene made its appearance earlier in books like *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Unions*, about the contributions of our Party in the organization of the United Automobile Workers, and in the remarks of William Winpisinger at the National Lawyers Guild convention:

It is rather amusing to note how most labor historians choose to ignore what was probably the real impetus to form the CIO and to pass much of FDR's New Deal. The major impetus was the formation of unemployment committees and councils in practically every major city in the U.S. during the 1920s and the early 1930s. Spearheading those local drives to organize the unemployed and educate them toward egalitarianism and socialism, invariably were local Communist Party organizers . . . who survived the Red Scare and smashing of the Socialists in the '20s. Many of them were intellectual-activists, like John Reed. Others were just street-smart and mule-tough veterans of union organizing drives.

ON FOREIGN POLICY, THE CONVENTION POSITIONS, in general, were better than before. For example, the convention welcomed the summit and the call for a mutual reduction in arms. It endorsed the concept of a nuclear freeze and the easing of tensions between the U.S. and USSR. This is a setback for the union anti-Sovietees.

The UAW introduced a resolution calling for ratification of SALT II.

The Officers' Report called for a cut in the

military budget. The last Executive Council meeting talked about this, but the convention endorsed it.

Benjamin Hooks got a standing ovation when he called for a cutoff of the trillion dollar Star Wars budget.

After a bitter battle, the convention rejected the proposition in the Officers' Report and voted for a compromise resolution calling for a political solution in Nicaragua and El Salvador. This was an unprecedented action.

This was the first debate on foreign policy since the debate on the post-World War II Marshall Plan.

There is a contradiction in AFL-CIO policy toward Central America. On the one hand is the new convention resolution. But, there is also in place support for the old American Institute for Free Labor Development which, in the name of the AFL-CIO, operates as an arm of the CIA and the State Department.

This outfit has over 200 full-time CIA operatives in 22 countries. Their main function is to train counterrevolutionary cadre. Their main tactic is to split the ranks of labor. Rightwing social democrats have been a leading force in the operations from the beginning. We must do more to expose these kinds of forces.

THE UAW AND THE AFL-CIO INDUSTRIAL UNION Department introduced a series of powerful resolutions on the economy, all based on cutting the military budget and conversion to peacetime production.

The Officers' Report condemned the KKK, Nazi Party and the John Birch Society. This is a big step away from its cold war positions of placing both the Nazis and the Communists in the same bag.

The convention took a strong position in defense of Social Security, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), for regulating banks and for environmental protection.

It came out against Reagan's tax policies and the recently passed Gramm-Rudman-Hollings "budget-balancing" bill.

It came out against the corporate merger

mania.

The convention demanded that "corporate misconduct . . . be brought under control."

It called for "putting labor, farmers and consumers on the Federal Reserve Board."

It made a strong commitment to organizing the unorganized.

It endorsed the concept of "associate membership" to protect the laid-off and long-term unemployed union members. This was seen as a form to preserve the membership of millions who have lost their jobs because of plant closings as well as those who voted for a union in shops where the vote was lost.

The convention made plans to expand political independence and for more political action. It proposed labor PACS in congressional districts to work on specific seats in the '86 congressional elections.

There were resolutions on relations between "labor and others, such as community, civil rights and farmers' and women's organizations."

The convention agreed that "the trade union movement has to recognize the strategic importance of women workers." It stated, "Women are the most significant change in the work force in 40 years."

The convention took a good position on the farm crisis and called for a farmer-labor alliance.

The convention took strong stands against hazards to the environment like chemicals, waste dumps and pesticides and stated its determination to protect the work place and communities from corporate contamination.

There was a sharp resolution against the ultra-Right. The trade union movement has been the most vocal and active force against the ultra-Right for years.

The convention endorsed measures that would force corporations to go through strict procedures before they are permitted to shut down a plant.

The convention agreed to fight "the export of jobs to countries where the basic rights of labor are violated."

On almost every question, the convention took a step forward or turned the corner. The remarks, statements and speeches on the whole were more militant and class conscious.

The challenge is to use these developments to help initiate and build actions in local areas.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PARTY'S POSITION on many questions was obvious in the deliberations, the debates, speeches and resolutions. The status and influence of the Party is growing and is greatly enhanced by our new Draft Trade Union Program.

There is growing desire by trade union leaders to meet with Communists. There is less Red-baiting and anti-Communism. The lack of anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism in the convention was a rejection of the Officers' Report.

Some of the new quality was expressed by Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers Union, who said:

U.S. foreign policy aims to make the world safe for corporate profiteering. It backs any dictator of any stripe who will maintain a "good business climate" by keeping wages down and keeping workers from organizing.

Totally out of step with the mood in the convention, the international section of the Officers' Report was CIA-dictated. All the more important was the resolution on El Salvador and Nicaragua that was passed, which rejected that section of the Officers' Report.

This resolution became key long before the convention itself. The 26 unions who supported and advocated it were challenged by the Shanker-Kirkland forces before and at the convention.

As a writer in the January issue of the *Nation* magazine wrote, "The consensus behind the traditional Meany-Lovestone-Brown foreign policy is clearly breaking up."

The resolution that was passed is a compromise. But its basic premise is good. It now becomes a handle to work within the trade union movement for further advances. □

1986 Elections: Change the Balance in Congress

JAMES STEELE

The 1986 congressional elections provide the people's forces with an opportunity to elect Senate and House majorities committed to keeping the promise of Geneva—to halt the arms race and remove the Star Wars obstacle to disarmament agreements. At the same time, changing the political composition of Congress by ousting several Right-wing henchmen of the military industrial complex can advance the overall struggle against Reaganism.

The elections have the potential for a breakthrough because it will be possible to draw the class and social forces of the all-people's front into a common struggle for common objectives. The task of the Communist Party is to help develop united legislative and electoral action, targeted on two objectives:

- to inflict a net loss of four Republican senators, wiping out their Senate majority, and
- to change the political balance in Congress, wresting the political and ideological initiative from the forces of Reaganism and changing government policies in a direction more responsive to the people's needs.

Ending Republican control of the Senate would change the political equation not only in Congress, but in the entire country. It would undermine the Administration's ideological and policy leverage. The pressure on President Reagan to negotiate and make concessions would increase. The leverage of the people's forces would increase.

Of the 34 Senate seats to be contested, 22 are presently held by Republicans, 12 by Democrats. Seven incumbents will not run for reelection—4 Republicans and 3 Democrats.

While the number of Reaganites who must be defeated to change the balance in Congress is small, to defeat them will require a tremendous level of mobilization. The very process of strug-

gling for such united action will strengthen the capacity of the people's forces to blunt the Reaganite-corporate-Pentagon offensive. It will lay the basis for a people's offensive to reverse Reaganism in foreign and domestic policy.

The struggle to end Republican control of the Senate and shift the political balance in the Congress is the best context for making a breakthrough in electing trade union, working-class, Afro-American and other minority, and women candidates.

Defeating Reaganism requires candidates who challenge Reaganism. One of the chief dilemmas is the limited extent to which the Democratic Party leadership is willing to back a clear alternative. But many Senate candidates will come from the ranks of the House. In spite of the Democratic leadership, several—particularly those receiving enthusiastic and independent support from labor—will be liberal or progressive, generally with consistent anti-Reagan positions on peace issues and solid voting records on labor and civil rights questions.

In many instances, such candidates will vacate seats in which Black or other oppressed national minority voters make up significant percentages of the voting age population. This opens new opportunities for trade union, Afro-American, other racially and nationally oppressed, and women candidates.

The Reaganites Are Vulnerable

If past patterns hold, relatively few votes in strategic districts can tip the overall balance. Many incumbent Republican senators won by narrow margins in 1980. This is particularly true of first-term incumbents who rode Reagan's coattails to victory.

The fact of Republican control of the White House and domination of Congress for more than half a decade leaves Republicans in an extremely vulnerable position. Now it is their

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party that has been in office. They have accumulated long voting records. Voters are in a position to judge their records as well as their rhetoric.

In a non-Presidential election year, the focus will be on regional, state and congressional district problems. This will lead to severe difficulties for Reaganites in areas adversely affected by specific Administration policies. The going will be especially tough in states where the structural crisis and farm crisis are centered.

There will be no coattail effect of a victorious presidential candidate. On the contrary, the lame-duck syndrome and an overall decline of the Reagan presidency will have a profound impact. Many Republicans are trying to distance themselves from the Administration. But they will not be able to run on anti-incumbent themes, as they did in 1980.

Labor/Afro-American Alliance Decisive

Analysis of the social composition of the electorate in states in which strong possibilities exist for defeating Reaganite candidates reveals that the trade union, Afro-American, peace and farm vote, objectively speaking, constitutes the basis for victory. At the core of a winning combination is the labor movement and the Afro-American community. They can have a catalytic effect on all other forces. Numerically, they exceed the margin of victory in many districts. Together they can amplify the broad peace vote.

Among each of these constituencies, including peace forces, farmers, women and senior citizens, key mass organizations have singled out the 1986 elections as the centerpiece in the struggle against Reaganite and ultra-Right policy. Many of them have built up quite a history of joint work on legislation, elections and mass demonstrations. If they combine efforts in the same races, there is no question that they could be the difference.

Consider Alabama, a key state in a region that may be the key to the whole election. In 1980, Senator Jeremiah Denton, whom it is no exaggeration to call fascist-minded, won by 33,000 votes. There are nearly 644,000 potential Black voters in that state, 272,000 of them still

unregistered. There are also nearly 88,000 trade unionists (many of them Afro-American). It is safe to say that the unions are that state's largest Black-white organizations. Because of this they can be a tremendous force for Black-white unity against Denton.

Unity of voters in trade union families with Black voters, who constitute nearly one-fourth of the state's voting age population, could seal Denton's fate. Labor and the Afro-American community, the trade union movement and the forces of the Rainbow Coalition, have the will, resources, mobilizational capacity and mutual interest to assure the defeat of one of the most antilabor, racist, antidemocratic, prowar members of the Senate.

Changing the composition of Congress means much more than exchanging Republicans for Democrats. Underlying such a change will be a shift in the political balance against the ultra-Right, antilabor, militarist forces, toward those forces—broadly speaking—willing to pursue an anti-Reagan course in foreign and domestic policy.

The report of the Executive Council to the 16th AFL-CIO convention put matters this way: "If the progressive forces are to regain the political initiative, it will be in 1986 and it will be at the expense of the right-wing movement which has been the engine driving the GOP toward its recent electoral successes."

There are ultra-Right incumbent senators, in addition to Alabama, in New York, Florida, Georgia, Oklahoma, Idaho, the Dakotas, Washington, and New Hampshire. There are Right-wing challengers in Ohio, California, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Colorado and Vermont.

Most of the 16 first-term incumbent GOP senators ultra-Right. The AFL-CIO estimates that at least 7 are direct creations of the so-called New Right movement. Under these circumstances, in most cases a Democratic candidate will be the form with which to challenge these Reaganites; united action of the people's forces pushing those candidates to consistent anti-Reagan positions will be the content of independent action.

Qualitative Contribution Of Communists

When the numbers are close and the stakes are high, the significance of the contribution of each participant in the struggle qualitatively increases, as does the role of united action among them. The active participation of every club and member our Party could add up to precisely this kind of indispensable, qualitative contribution.

By concentrating on the most decisive election campaigns; by paying consistent attention to the elections at every level of the Party structure; by taking care of business in the industrial areas, and taking special steps to assist in the South, *we can help make the difference in this election.*

It is not rhetoric to say that the Communist Party can be among those making a decisive contribution. Our Party can because of its unique, Marxist-Leninist, class understanding. Our Party can because of its emphasis on broadening and consolidating the unity of the all-people's front. Our Party can because of our antimonopoly concepts. Our Party can because of its appreciation of and commitment to helping consolidate the new trends in the trade union movement, especially labor's political independence.

Our Party can because it consists of a growing number of talented, resolute people who, better than any other political force, understand the relationship between this election and the struggle to prevent nuclear war, stop U.S. imperialist aggression, consolidate the advance of the labor movement, intensify the fight against racism, and defend the socio-economic well-being the workers and farmers.

Our Party will be able to make the difference only if it achieves an unprecedented mobilization of its ranks for electoral and legislative action, only if there are maximum Party initiatives to practically and ideologically influence the trade unions, peace forces, Afro-American community and other progressive and democratic movements to exert their maximum capacity for electoral action.

Unity, clarity and joint action of the broad forces of the all-people's front are the key to shifting the political balance in Congress. There

should be no illusions about the difficulty of bringing this about. But there also should be no underestimation of the potential for doing this.

Likewise, the potential of the class enemy to create problems and difficulties in the ranks of the people's forces should not be underestimated. All kinds of provocations and destabilization campaigns against people's unity are already in train. New ones will constantly surface.

Difficulties also arise from the very process of building unity. This is inevitable with diverse social and political forces. While these forces have accumulated a great deal of experience working together in coalitions for major national actions and demonstrations, especially on the state and congressional district levels it still will be necessary to consistently show the various forces how to cooperate and coordinate on a day-to-day basis. A particularly knotty problem is for middle class elements and some liberal forces to work with and accept the leadership of the labor movement. But more and more, labor will not settle for less than its rightful role in the leadership of the forces of social progress.

We also have to help raise the struggle against racist influences, especially where tendencies exist to ignore Black voters or take the Black vote for granted. Life shows that Black voters will not accept being taken for granted. The most frequent result of these tendencies is a low voter turnout. Low turnout by any section of the people's forces is beneficial only to the Right.

It is necessary to develop the struggle for equality in a new way. Emphasis on economic equality and affirmative action should be closely connected with pressure for enforcement of voting rights laws. This has unusual importance for defeating Reaganite Senate candidates in the South. Black voters are a major segment of the voting age population in Alabama (23 per cent), Florida (11 per cent), Georgia (25 per cent), Louisiana (27 per cent), Maryland (21 per cent) and North Carolina (20 per cent). The desire to disfranchise Afro-American voters in the South largely explains the efforts of the Justice Department to undermine the Voting Rights Act.

The lessons of provocations before, during and since the Geneva summit must be applied in the electoral context. Anti-Soviet and anti-summit forces, especially Zionist circles, would like to make anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism election issues. Attempts will be made to "lean on" liberal politicians in the hopes of moving them to Right-wing positions on U.S.-Soviet relations and the military buildup. Caving in to anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism or conducting a campaign on the basis of proving one isn't "soft on Communism," will deflate and demobilize the broad peace vote, help Reaganite incumbents and ultra-Right challengers—and them alone.

Mass Mobilization Now Under Way

There is already significant mass mobilization of the basic sectors of the all people's front. Virtually all major national labor and people's organizations see the elections as key to advancing the struggle against Reaganism.

The congressional elections are the priority of the AFL-CIO and most of its affiliates. Labor apparently will concentrate in 10 or 11 states and about 50 congressional districts.

On the national, state and local levels, labor continues to develop its political independence, boldly moving ahead in setting up political action committees. In a new initiative, the AFL-CIO has established legislative action committees in 37 congressional districts, involving over 4,000 trade union members from more than 400 local unions. These forms deserve the most energetic support of Communist and Left trade unionists.

The Reagan Administration's attacks on social programs have galvanized many peace, tax reform, budget and senior organizations to develop legislative programs, appoint legislative directors, and be active in elections. All this can be brought to bear in the 1986 congressional races.

The senior citizens' movement, for instance, representing the most consistently active bloc of voters, has greatly increased its organization and mobilization. Seniors will be a potent force in the '86 elections. In several states

the seniors represent the margin of victory or defeat.

The Council for a Livable World, an environmental and peace group, has endorsed several Democratic Senate candidates—Rep. Bob Edgar in Pennsylvania, Rep. Tom Daschle in South Dakota, Lt. Gov. Harriet Wood in Missouri, and incumbent Senator Frank Leahy of Vermont.

The nuclear freeze movement and SANE are mobilizing their members and supporters in about 17 states, including California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, North Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin and Idaho. In terms of voter registration and participation, the freeze movement is out to exceed what it did with Freeze Voter '84.

A recent conference of the National Caucus of Black State Legislators made the congressional elections a top priority. Most other major Afro-American organizations are following suit.

A wide range of labor, peace, civil rights and liberal organizations have targeted specific incumbents for defeat. Considerable funds have also been raised for this purpose. Taking local affiliates and chapters into account, there are a vast number of mass organizations and forces among whom it is possible to develop joint action, coordinate resources, and synchronize plans in the elections. This is especially true at the grassroots level. The door is wide open to full participation in coalitions, independent political action formations, particularly trade union political action, and legislative action committees.

Critical Races

A consensus estimate has developed of which Senate Republicans are most vulnerable. Most often mentioned are:

James Abdnor of South Dakota will be challenged by Rep. Daschle.

Paula Hawkins of Florida, will be opposed by Gov. Bob Graham.

Matt Mattingly of Georgia, with Wyche Fowler the likely Democratic nominee.

Jeremiah Denton of Alabama will apparently be challenged by conservative Democratic

Representative Richard Shelby.

Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania will face Rep. Edgar, if Edgar is able to overcome conservative Democrat Don Bailey's challenge for the nomination. Edgar has strong backing from labor and peace forces.

Robert Kasten of Wisconsin is likely to be paired against Ed Garvey, former assistant attorney general and executive director of the National Football League Players Association. The state labor federation has given Garvey a pre-primary endorsement.

Steven Symms of Idaho will face Gov. John Evans.

There are another 5 or 6 contests in which one could say a solid basis exists for defeating Republican candidates. Of the seats in which GOP incumbents will not run, *Democratic prospects are strong in Maryland* where either Rep. Mary Mikulski or Rep. Michael Barnes will likely get the Democratic nomination, and in *Missouri* where Lt. Gov. Harriet Wood has a lock on the Democratic nomination. Mikulski or Barnes, like Wood, who has a trade union background, will get strong support from labor and peace forces.

Other states where the Republican candidates are less vulnerable, but vulnerable nevertheless, include North Carolina, Oklahoma, Colorado and perhaps North Dakota.

Incumbents appear vulnerable in only a few of the 12 Democratic seats that will be contested. These include Cranston in California, Leahy in Vermont, and perhaps Glenn in Ohio—all of whom have been targeted by the ultra-Right.

While the main challenge is the Senate races, this does not lessen the importance of the congressional contests. The perspective should be to make inroads into as many Republican-held seats as possible. Several of the most ardent supporters of the most horrendous of Reagan's policies can be picked off if the challenger, backed by a broad-based movement, projects an alternative and actively campaigns on that basis.

This calls for Party district and club concentration and initiative to influence the selection of candidates, the drafting of platforms, the con-

duct of primary and general election campaigns and getting out the vote. It may be that in a given Party district we only have the capacity to target one or two Right-wing Representatives. But one or two victories would be a big plus nationally.

Influencing Candidates And Campaigns

It is hard to find instances in which a viable challenger to a Republican will not be a Democrat. With few exceptions, recently the Democratic Party has shown a brilliance for fielding candidates who alienate the mass base for victory and campaign poorly. The move toward the Right by many liberal forces in the Democratic Party leadership is a factor in this, and heavily detracts from prospects for defeating Reaganite candidates.

All of which underlines the growing importance of political independence. Independent forms are necessary to influence candidates and policies, and to register, educate and mobilize voters. Citywide, congressional district or statewide legislative and political action conferences of grassroots forces could be an effective means of influencing candidates. Candidates' nights and voters' forums could play a similar role.

However, any forces which in practice reject working with forces in the Democratic Party in the name of independence will find themselves without real influence. On the contrary, in this election it is especially necessary to combine the tactic of working with forces in the two-party system with tactics of developing political independence.

Careful thought should be given to developing a dialogue with candidates and incumbents. This applies also to the more progressive ones because they have access to and influence on a wide spectrum of other candidates and elected officials. If their politics waffle it will close an important avenue through which to influence less progressive candidates.

Communist action and initiative are indispensable. We must be an important factor for unity in the nitty-gritty organizational work as well as on the policy level. But to play this kind

of qualitative role we have to position ourselves among the broad Left, progressive, liberal and Center forces involved in the electoral struggles. We have to be active participants in coalitions, in grassroots mobilizational work. Wherever and however masses are trying to do battle on the electoral and legislative fronts we must be with them.

While striving to work on the broadest level possible, to interact and influence the broad flow of the election struggles, we must not be sidetracked from developing and projecting the independent role of the Communist Party. It is not possible to influence the broad streams without the Communist current. Our ideas will help the mass surge flow more widely and deeply.

Our contribution is needed most in building unity and promoting clarity. As Gus Hall said, "It means clarifying the issues, keeping the focus on defeating the Reagnite candidates, avoiding diversion and division, and above all promoting cooperation between the labor movement and other sectors of the all-people's front."

The launching of the new national newspaper, the *People's Daily World*, is of exceptional importance in the '86 elections. The new publication can become the organ of the movements and struggles aimed at changing the political composition of the Congress. Every day it can inform tens of thousands of concerned citizens and activists on all levels of the various mass movements what is happening and what new problems or tasks are emerging on the electoral and legislative scene.

The New Communist Electoral Tactic

The extremely complicated nature of the election can easily generate pressure to forego our new electoral tactic of building Communist-Left or Left-progressive electoral formations, and for not running Communist candidates. This, of course, is not what is being implied by the leadership of the Party in calling for total mobilization for the congressional elections.

On the contrary, the prerequisites for applying our new electoral tactic and for an in-

crease in the number of Communist candidates are present in the new framework. Given the limitations of the Democratic Party—limitations which are evident to growing numbers of people, this year's electoral struggles will further ripen conditions for independent political-electoral formations in the general direction of an antimonopoly people's party. Conditions are ripening for practical steps to build Communist-Left or Left-progressive electoral formations. Though the situation in the congressional races may dictate focusing the new tactic on state, county and municipal offices, building the Communist-Left and/or Left-progressive electoral coalitions is indispensable to cultivate the soil for broader independent or third party formations.

The proposal of a shift in electoral tactics by the June 1985 meeting of the Central Committee and National Council of our Party emerged out of a very specific objective situation and a precise estimate of the decline of Reaganism.

Comrade Hall made the decline of Reaganism his starting point in discussing the development of political independence. On this basis, he outlined the crucial need for initiatives by broad forces in the all-people's front, and especially by the Left, to accelerate the struggle against Reaganism. The tasks defined in this connection, including the proposed tactical shift, focus on generating greater Left initiative as a means of promoting political independence. Not political independence in general, but political independence *related to broadening and consolidating the all-people's front against Reaganism*. This means Left initiative to politically and ideologically strengthen the anti-monopoly sectors of the all-people's front. Left initiative to intensify the struggle for peace, jobs, equality. Without greater Left initiative, the anti-Reagan movement as a whole will have greater difficulty meeting the new challenges that arise.

Every tactical shift is an adjustment or response to new developments. In Communist tactics there is always an element of preparation for the future, when what is new more fully develops. There is always an element of putting ourselves in position to respond when the new

framework fully crystalizes.

Tactics in general serve the purpose of moving masses into action. But some tactics, are especially geared to facilitate more rapid development of masses already in motion—in this case, in the direction of political independence. Those districts that do not apply the new electoral tactic, and in as broad a way as possible in 1986 will not have the required relations with broad Left and progressive currents to channel the political independence that will inevitably result from the '86 electoral struggles.

We Communists always have in mind the content of the forms we are active in. We always have in mind building our Party, and reaching our ultimate objective—socialism. This is true of our electoral work as well. The long-term perspective is to build up a Communist electoral constituency, to elect Communists to public office. Likewise, the objective of the new electoral tactic, as Gus Hall stated quite clearly, is to elect Left candidates—including members of our Party, to public office. The tactical shift is aimed at making it easier for non-Party Left and progressive forces to work with us to influence the electoral process and to eventually elect Left candidates to public office.

The Leverage of Legislative Struggle

The struggles in the Congress over the next nine months will be an integral part of the election campaign. The legislative arena will be one of the broadest public forums for exerting mass pressure on the White House, the Democratic and Republican Parties and the candidates.

In effect, the November election will be fought all year long in the committees and on the floor of the House and Senate. The legislative battles in Congress and in state legislatures and city councils will help set the tone, define or refine the issues, attract the public's interest in the congressional elections.

The legislative struggles will result in decisions on many basic questions which the voters will either endorse or repudiate on election day. As elections approach, the legislative front will

be an increasingly effective avenue for taking advantage of splits between many Republican incumbents and the President, and of differences within the Administration and the monopoly ruling class. It will be possible for public opinion and mass action to catch many in the crossfire of competing and conflicting class interests.

Because it is an election year, the potential for defeating reactionary legislation and for enactment of legislation that in some measure responds to the people's needs will also increase.

Several acts institutionalizing Reaganism without Reagan will come before the second session of Congress. The Senate will take up the tax revision bill. Congress and the Administration must begin to implement the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings "balanced budget at the expense of balanced lives" bill. Funding for Star Wars and other first-strike weapons systems will be considered. Funding for the contras in Nicaragua and the UNITA bandits in Angola will be debated.

The same for the Administration's proposal to sell federal assets and services. Initiative will be taken to reintroduce and pass a new civil rights act that corrects to Supreme Court decision in the Grove City College case and the Reagan Justice Department's position against affirmative action programs.

These and other questions will be considered against the backdrop of the crisis conditions facing more and more workers and farmers, against the backdrop of the historic new Soviet peace proposals, against the backdrop of a growing peace movement pressuring for the promise of Geneva to be kept, against a backdrop of unprecedented mobilization of the trade union movement and other people's organizations for the congressional elections.

This is a situation ripe for beginning to launch a people's legislative, electoral, political action counteroffensive, mobilize a congressional majority to reverse Reaganism, and oppose the Administration's most reactionary and dangerous, promonopoly, antidemocratic, aggressive policies. □

The First National Daily Working-Class Newspaper

MICHAEL ZAGARELL

On May 1, 1986, the working class of our country will, for the first time, produce a national, daily newspaper.

For decades progressive forces dreamed of such a paper. Early in the 1950s the labor movement attempted it.

Until now the dream could not be fulfilled.

But on May 1, the hundredth anniversary of the historic Haymarket protest, the *People's Daily World* will roll off the presses on both coasts simultaneously for distribution to points all across the country.

Like the Haymarket struggle, the new paper will be both a creation of the U.S. working class and a contribution to the world struggle for peace, working-class internationalism and the self-determination of peoples.

Like the birth of May Day, the birth of the *People's Daily World* is the culmination of hard-fought struggles. It is a required reaction to new objective conditions.

One hundred years ago the working class faced difficult problems and responded with new forms of struggles and militant demands, such as the shorter workweek.

Today the working class is faced with problems infinitely more complex.

The danger of nuclear war, the rise of powerful transnational corporations, runaway shops, the new corporate drive against affirmative action, multinational union busting, are all compelling an increasing number of working people to look more deeply for solutions.

As a result, larger numbers of people are discussing and acting on concepts that are more radical than anything they have ever considered before—concepts like complete disarmament, nationalization of basic industry, anti-imperialist solidarity, international trade union cooper-

ation, and nationalization of trade and banking.

In the 1984 elections, over 150,000 people voted for Communist candidates, despite the fact that there were many areas in which local candidates did not run.

This is an example of how the new stage of the general crisis, like an engine, is pushing larger numbers of people to seek deeper answers, including considering the programs and proposals of our Party.

The objective need for this new paper is as much a natural outgrowth of the class struggle today as was May Day in 1886.

Nineteen eighty-six is an important year because it is the anniversary of a great working-class struggle. It is also a year in which great working-class struggles will unfold.

This year, powerful contract struggles will be waged in industries covering close to five million workers. Most likely, these workers will not have a single daily paper on their side in these battles other than the one we are creating.

In 1986 one of the most important elections in our nation's history will take place: elections that could turn back the Right-wing offensive and sharply reduce the danger of world war.

The second summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will take place. And, as the latest Soviet offer for complete nuclear disarmament before the year 2000 indicates, it will be anything but routine. During these talks there will be peace meetings, demonstrations and other forms of action that will involve millions. There will also be Right-wing provocations.

Nineteen eighty-six is a historic anniversary for the working class and a year that the working class can make history—if we respond to the moment. Responding to the moment means being prepared to speak out more effectively and to more people.

Michael Zagarell is editor of the *Daily World*. Based on a report to the Central Committee, CPUSA, January 1986.

To influence these events the working class of our country will need the most effective newspaper possible.

Some people probably think of the *People's Daily World* as a copy of the *Daily World*, only on a national scale—or a copy of the *People's World*, only on a daily basis.

But if we thought either of these things we would be making a big mistake. It would mean passing by all the new possibilities created by this special moment. What we need now is a new paper with radical changes to match the radically new period we are now facing.

In a period when vivid images play a critical role in propaganda, pictures and graphics have to be radically improved. Newspapers are changing, becoming more colorful, and our paper must be designed for color, preferably two colors on page one.

In a period when critical events can be transmitted to over 100 nations in just minutes, the shaping of mass ideas is measured in hours, not days. In this situation, response time is more important than just years ago when the *DW* and *PW* were first born. The old concept that we are not racing a deadline must be seriously examined.

In a period when television can bring the events to the readers in seconds, a paper must strive to become expert in giving meaning and depth to those events in easy-to-read articles.

The new paper should base itself on the same Marxist concepts that guided its predecessors, but should at the same time develop a style that comes out of this moment.

It should put much more emphasis on investigative reporting and dig into problems, showing their real class meaning.

In addition we want to add one more page of Spanish, raising the number to four in each weekend edition, to begin with.

In a period when working people are looking for both news and analysis, the paper should be a school for its readers, taking them from introductory classes all the way to the highest levels of class understanding. This means the paper should have various types of

articles aimed at different readers—new readers, older readers, readers interested in the immediate struggles and those looking for more basic ideology.

This is why we are examining such features for the new paper as regular columns by Party leaders; a question-and-answer page which will feature ideological and factual questions put by readers and answered by experts; columns by regular and guest writers, and a special interview page that will regularly present discussions with mass leaders from the labor, civil rights, peace and other people's movements.

From the moment of its birth, the *People's Daily World* should be a paper of mass action, of exposé and struggle. The paper should launch a campaign for peace agreements from the upcoming summit between Reagan and Gorbachev. It should broaden the campaign in defense of affirmative action, which is under attack by the Administration and the monopolies. It should pick specific plants threatened with closure and fight to keep them open.

The special Illinois edition should be used, for example, to unmask the racist campaign being built-up in the '86 and '87 elections.

The new paper should be a paper with ties to shops and communities across the country. Its volunteer correspondents should form a national network of working-class journalists, who will keep the entire readership informed of new mass developments and trends in their cities and communities. To assist this development we are discussing the possibility of building a coast-to-coast network using small, inexpensive computers that will be able to communicate with our main computers in New York and San Francisco. Stories will be written, edited and transmitted across the country in a fraction of the time it once took—and at any time of the day or night.

The new paper should make the Party its reference point, reporting on the activities of the Party and the YCL with drama and excitement. At the same time, it should fight to reflect the thinking of the broadest sections of people. In short, we need to develop a totally new style of journalism, one suited to this moment.

One of the most important new features we are discussing is the introduction of several state editions.

A modern paper in our country can be a truly national paper. But it can also be a more local paper.

Through the use of new technology, the new paper can, for example, produce special weekly state editions for Illinois, California and New York. For each state, the paper will appear with a special front page and special material. For the rest of the country the paper will appear as a national paper, providing space for local news as well.

We believe this proposal solves many problems at once. It allows us to tailor the content of different editions to different districts, freeing the national edition for more articles from the other districts, easing the problem of competition for space. It emphasizes three states, but improves local coverage in the weekend edition for everyone.

By developing state editions we can do many dramatic things. For example, coverage of communities of special importance to the country, like Harlem, South Side Chicago and Southwest Los Angeles, can be expanded. We will also be able to develop industrial concentration more concretely, eliminating contradictions between national headlines and struggles of local concern.

State editions for California, New York and Illinois will be a powerful aid to building circulation in these three states, which are key in providing the numbers of readers necessary to make this a viable project.

These three editions will also make an important political point—the paper is truly national, stretching from New York, through the industrial Midwest, to California.

By building a base in these areas, we will open up the possibility of printing the paper in Illinois in the future, and getting the paper on a daily basis to the entire Midwest.

While a great deal of new thinking is going on about the content of the *People's Daily World*, it is important to add that no group of

editors—no matter how much they meet—can develop this kind of paper by themselves.

A new working-class paper can no more be created and given to workers than can a mass organization of struggle. A paper, like a movement, is the coming together of many mass experiences. It grows out of the struggle, combining the rules of journalism and the laws of Marxism with the experiences of our class at a specific moment in history.

To build a truly new kind of paper, in the coming months we will have to organize a nationwide discussion in the pages of the *DW* and *PW* and in conferences across the country on the content: what is needed and how to get it.

Readers must feel that it is their paper, because there is no other way to make it a truly working-class paper.

The struggle for a new approach to content for the new paper will naturally help the fight for the widest readership. The collective producing the paper has a responsibility to fight for the very best product possible.

But the content, no matter how modern, can not by itself build the circulation of this paper. Without the widest readership, it is very difficult to develop the best content.

Circulation and content are closely connected. The wider the readership, the better the chances of enlisting more and better contributors. Only a wider readership can make the concept of state editions feasible.

The first edition of the new paper will appear on May Day. We should give it the reception it deserves, planning a significantly larger circulation for that special edition.

Our goals for this year are 10,000 readers daily and 100,000 weekend readers.

Are these goals obtainable? Yes, but only with an all-out effort; only by making the press more central to the Party's work.

In 1984, the *Daily World*, produced over 10 weekend editions with a circulation of over 100,000, not counting the *People's World*. Some of these editions had runs of over 150,000. Experience shows what is possible, although there are many differences between that and what we

want to do now.

This year we are projecting a *stable* 100,000 readers on a *regular* weekly basis. Obviously that is a lot harder.

Last year the effort was limited to areas east of the Rockies. This year the effort includes the entire country. This year the campaign is not only for a wider readership, but for a new paper, which can fire a much larger number of people to join the drive.

In the past we built readership without state editions. This year we will have more local coverage and we are proposing three state editions. The three states combined make up three quarters of the circulation goals.

Last year we built circulation with only partial steps toward establishing an adequate circulation apparatus. This year we aim to set up printing facilities on the West Coast and improve deliveries around the country.

While we are aiming to build weekend circulation to the greatest size possible, we are also aiming to increase the daily circulation.

The timing of the appearance of the new paper could not be better—it will complement approaching mass struggles.

When the new paper rolls off the press, it should be met across the country with celebrations and greetings—parties that bring together readers, political leaders of various types, Communist leaders and staff members of the paper to mark the occasion.

The November affair honoring *People's World* editor Carl Bloice in California brought together sponsors that included congress-people, mayors and various people's leaders. Yet this meeting also featured as a speaker Comrade Henry Winston. This kind of an event is an indication of what is possible—if we reject the routine approach.

The appearance of the first edition of this paper will be an important event for the whole working class. How we respond to circulating the paper will tell a lot about how important we think it is. We will put out a great deal of promotional literature in the coming months, but no piece of material that can be more convincing than the first edition of the paper.

Therefore, there should be a special circulation drive for this first edition. We should not only circulate the paper in the quantities projected, but do it in a way that is enjoyable—hold house parties, show slides or videos—and then go out together. Then return to eat and share experiences.

Our job is not only get the paper out, but to involve more people, and to do so in a way that makes them want to do it again.

We have to revolutionize our method of promotion. In the era of the information revolution, new methods of advertising are being developed every day. We have to learn these and become good at them—and not all of them take a great deal of money.

Phone solicitation for subscribers has become a science in our country. Why shouldn't we concentrate on specific communities and combine introductory free offers with well organized, professional phone solicitation? Why shouldn't we also offer more gifts and special offers for new readers, or credit card buying for new subscribers? In the past years we have mastered many new methods of doing things. Why not in promotion as well?

For several years we have been experimenting with the problem of a building a mass circulation apparatus. While we have made important headway, the truth is that to reach the new goals we have to do a lot more.

In New York we have to upgrade the methods of getting papers to newsstands.

In California we have to build a new system of daily distribution.

In Illinois, as in other places, we have to develop a method of getting over 15,000 papers to the circulators each weekend, and from there to the readers.

These problems must be solved concretely—in the districts. And they must be solved now, not on May 1. The day the paper first appears is too late.

We are projecting a daily circulation of 10,000 the first year. This is a very modest figure, considering our present daily circulation. To a great extent this reflects the fact that de-

spite the new production methods we are using, we are still not able to deliver to most cities in bulk on a daily basis. We rely on the post office for delivery of subs. And despite the fact that the postmaster general has just been removed, we don't expect the delays in postal deliveries to be solved for us without a fight.

A very able person has been found to organize the information on postal nondeliveries. We can and will proceed with our case against the Post Office. More activity and protest can be expected on this front.

Another problem we have is our slowness to process new subscriptions. While this should not be confused with the problem of nondelivery by the Post Office, slowness to process subs in an all-out circulation drive is intolerable.

In the last month important steps to improve our subscription mailing system have been taken. We have now gone over to a new computer system, which can process names far more quickly. New and very capable personnel have been added to the paper to work on the processing of subs. Solving any problems that remain in this area of circulation must be made a high priority.

Building nationwide daily readership has its problems, but they can and must be solved.

In cities like Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Jersey City, Washington, D.C. and points in Connecticut, we must make a serious examination of the possibilities for daily newsstand and rack distributions.

When we developed the High Tech Fund Drive, we said it was a step toward a national paper and state editions. Both of those goals are now about to be realized. We should now add that their realization will make it possible in the future to have daily delivery of bulk amounts of the paper to major cities across the country—*but it will only be possible if we complete this drive successfully.*

While we are developing many new ideas and concepts in the campaign for the new paper, one concept has not changed. Computers may aid in layout of the paper. Computers may aid in the transmission of the paper across the

country. But so far, we know of no computer that will circulate the paper door to door and at the shop gates. This job still takes human power.

The experiences with newsstand and mail circulation indicate that routes and mass distributions in communities and at shop gates are going to remain the key method of circulation for the coming period—especially with the weekly edition.

To succeed, more people need to be involved in the circulation of the paper.

Two types of experience of these past years have to be developed. In Harlem young people have been earning money as distributors of the paper. As a result the circulation of the paper has increased radically. Any concept that this is somehow "unpolitical" because it involves people trying to earn money is certainly wrong. Our paper has to rely mainly on people who build it out of conviction. But there is no inherent contradiction between circulating the paper to earn money and the conviction that it fights for a better life for working people.

The second project we have to develop is the Truth Brigades projected by Gus Hall.

We have discussed this before, but to develop a mass circulation, we must put it into practice. Truth Brigades would enlist the widest number of people to circulate the paper with us in communities and at shop gates. They would transform press distribution into a pleasant, educational experience, and not a "duty." They would excite and inspire supporters to build this paper.

It is difficult to understand how in many districts we maintain offices, but we do not offer retirees and other volunteers coffee and special educational programs before and after going out with the paper. In many ways solving such problems is the heart of the challenge in this drive for a mass circulation.

The responsibility of the paper for developing special materials for Brigade members is long past due. Membership cards, letters of appreciation, special educational material, free lifetime subscriptions and other forms of recognition must be organized.

Above all, someone must be put in charge of this work, in the districts and nationally.

The new paper will be impossible without fulfilling the half-million-dollar fund drive.

Our goal was to have completed 10 per cent of the drive by this meeting.

We have achieved that goal, but not all areas have accomplished it. And, as you know, 10 per cent is a long way from completion.

The job here, like the entire effort, is to be bold. A plan of work has been prepared with many ideas and proposals for activity. Let me add just a few.

When the first edition of the paper appears it should be greeted by thousands of working people across the country. And those greetings should list tens of thousands of dollars in contributions. To those giving large contributions, we should give a framed copy of the first paper, signed by the staff and Party leadership. This will some day be a collector's item.

Many people will want to make large donations, and we need them. But we also need thousands of small donations. To make it easier to contribute, we have produced a special coupon book that can be sold in shops and communities across the country.

We urge the organization of welcoming events across the country. We hope they will be as broad as possible, and will help raise many tens of thousands of dollars. Several years ago in New York we launched the *DW* fund drive with an affair that collected over \$25,000. The welcoming events for this paper can, if planned properly, raise more than that.

We are also inviting groups of readers to tour the paper in New York City and San Francisco to see the high-tech equipment and learn how the new paper will be produced.

Special certificates and other materials are being prepared for this part of the drive by a fund drive committee. In each area we need local fund drive committees.

It is imperative to prepare now to meet the deadlines along the way on time, and to finish the drive on time. We must re-establish the concept that finishing this drive is a matter of work-

ing-class honor. Without doing so, the entire plan for the new paper is jeopardized.

We have to involve the largest possible number of people in this campaign. But the key to doing this is total mobilization of the Party.

The paper we are projecting has its roots in the objective conditions that confront our class today. But it would be wrong to conclude that it could be born without the full mobilization of the Party.

We are not the first to consider this kind of a paper. But we are the first to do it. This is because of the nature and history of the Party.

We stress the importance of ideological struggle. Our history is filled with the traditions of weekend mobilizations for the working-class press.

This paper is another example of the coming together of the mass spontaneous movement and our Party. The rise of the mass movement is important, but without our Party it can not meet its full potential.

At the heart of our activities should be the fight to guarantee that every single club of the Party commit itself to circulating *on a long term basis* a bundle of the paper. Full implementation of the concept of the responsibility of Party members to build the working-class press, which is written into our Constitution, is long overdue.

Closely related to this is the fight to guarantee that each club has a circulation director, and that each district has press director.

And at the earliest possible date we must guarantee that the national center also has a national press director.

Mobilizing the Party is the key to making this drive a success. To guarantee this concept is fully applied, we have to be ready to discuss some ideological questions.

For example, some comrades wonder if it is really worth it to invest so much energy and cadre in this kind of effort. They ask if it isn't better to concentrate our mass educational efforts on more personal forms of communication—discussion groups, leafletting, etc. Some people may question whether we shouldn't just

stick with the papers that already exist.

We need to develop more face-to-face forms of mass education—but even a short look at television or the capitalist press shows that we have to develop more extensive ways of speaking to other working people.

We are living in the days of the high tech revolution, when information flows in mass quantities over far distances and in short times. Studies show that, today, newspapers and other forms of media play a far more central role in influencing thinking than before.

Technology is changing many things, including the way people learn. To influence people, we must change also. *The working class will not have confidence in a Party that claims to fight for the future but only uses tools of the past.*

The public now spends more than 1,200 million hours, daily, watching TV, listening to radio, reading newspapers and books or watching movies each year. All other forms of free activity combined amounted to only 900 million hours.

What does this mean? It means that in any given shop or community, individual experiences and conclusions are more and more being filtered through the broader experiences given to people by the press and media.

Individual discussion is important, but it can never be a match for the constant, many-sided and professional propaganda of the mass media. For that we need the most professional and multisided mass education, which can only be done by a collective organized through a newspaper.

Some people wonder if we shouldn't limit ourselves to concentrating on getting our views into the commercial mass media.

This is very important. We have to do more of it and in a better way. But if we limited ourselves to speaking to masses through the bourgeois media, we would allow the owners of those outlets to regulate our speech—and the working class should never allow that.

We have to do more to speak through the capitalist press, but unless this is combined with an all-out drive to build the working-class press,

we will fall short of that work. By itself, speaking through the capitalist media can not build an organizational relationship with the masses.

We will have gone a considerable distance towards our goal of building a truly daily paper in every major city across the country if this campaign is fully realized.

When we do that, we will have built the most influential mass educational apparatus in the progressive movement today. It will affect every single struggle, every movement we participate in. It will lay the basis for adding tens of thousands of new members to the Party and ten times that to the mass movements. When we sit down with officials to demand food programs and jobs, this apparatus will make our demands more powerful.

When we participate in electoral coalitions, this movement will make each independent voter more powerful.

Through a national daily paper, experiences of one part of our class and Party become common experiences for all. This means a more united class, and a more united, more agile, more powerful Communist Party.

The new paper will be an organizer of its readers, an inspirer of the most advanced forces in the working class who together can move a much broader circle of progressives in struggle.

If we see the Party only as an organization that provides good workers for reform movements, then it is clear that we don't need to speak to masses in our own way, nor do we have to build an organized mass relationship to those moving toward Marxism.

But if we see the Party's vanguard role in the sharpening working-class struggles, the need for its ideological and organizational contribution to enable these movements to meet their full potential, then this area of work must become a higher priority for us.

May Day 1986 will be a special May Day. It will be an centenary, but even more, a chance for our Party and our class to contribute something new to the world working-class struggle.

Let us go and make this contribution in the best way we know how! Let us make it a success that will overflow our fondest goals! □

Building on the Traditions Of Working-Class Journalism

CARL BLOICE

Today, throughout the country people are studying the report approved by the January meeting of the Central Committee of the CPUSA. Communist and non-Communists, trade unionists and activists in every important social and political movement in the country today are considering what our Party has described as a rapidly changing situation, nationally and internationally. This is done in the context of what General Secretary Gus Hall characterized as "fresh winds of change."

In his report, Hall spoke of "the new framework, the prism through which we must make our observations and assessments."

As was pointed out in the Central Committee report, of primary importance in our deliberations at each level of the Party and in the mass movements today must be the new conditions for the struggle for peace created by the recent summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. While the first round of summit talks did not produce an agreement on arms reduction or an end to the nuclear arms race, it did result in agreements which can be expected to lessen international tensions and set the stage for new advances in the effort to prevent the militarization of space, for a ban on nuclear testing and for a reduction of nuclear weapons stockpiles.

As noted in the recently-issued Party assessments of the summit results, the post-summit atmosphere also sets the stage for new advances by our Party. In this connection it was stated: "We have to look at the creation of our new national working-class daily, which comes at this opportune moment. We should link the summit with the coming of the new paper."

What has been said about the importance of the projected new newspaper in relation to the summit and the struggle for peace can also be

said about other important areas of mass struggle.

As indicated by the recent wave of militant "no concessions" strikes across the country and the deliberations of the recent AFL-CIO national convention, deep, far-reaching and historically significant changes are underway in the U.S. trade union movement. This can be seen in the growing manifestations of unity within the multiracial, multinational working class and the programmatic unity between the labor movement and the struggle for Black equality. It can also be seen in the meaningful departure within unions and labor bodies from many of the cold war policies of the past, especially as regards Central America and the growing support for the South African anti-apartheid struggle.

In light of the quickening pace of change in the working class and the organized labor movement, the new newspaper takes on still greater importance. It is crucial that we relate these changes to the new paper.

At the same time, threats to the nation and the people and the peace of the world remain. The military industrial complex, operating under the banner of Reaganism, continues to try to maintain a stranglehold on the country politically in order to push through its plans for the further militarization of the country at the expense of the working class and people. The racist and reactionary forces it has spawned continue efforts to turn back the clock on civil rights gains and impose McCarthyite limitations on civil liberties.

Clearly, the new newspaper will have an important role to play in forging unity and advancing the struggle against racism, anti-Semitism, and male supremacy and for the rights and social advancement of Black, Chicano/Mexicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian and Middle Eastern people.

The present situation poses the necessity

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for our Party to step up its work and raise our efforts to a new level. Mass patterns of thought and action are in flux. This demands shifts in the way we go about speaking to masses and influencing the direction of advanced forces. A critical aspect of this is our approach to the working-class press.

What is required in this period is an expanded and improved working-class press.

It is in this light that we must view and greet the recent decision by the editorial leaderships of the *Daily World* and *People's World* to combine operations to produce a new, truly national, daily newspaper.

As described, the new newspaper will combine the best traditions, and draw upon the historic contributions, of both papers. It will be a vehicle through which to reach an ever larger audience. It will influence thinking and developments in the country on a daily basis and report and reflect upon the path ahead in the struggle for peace, against racism and reaction and for working-class unity in the movement for social advance.

The new newspaper will allow the Party to address directly the issues, strategies and tactics of the resurgent trade union movement. It will provide a forum through which the Left and progressive forces in labor can speak and exchange ideas and experiences. It will serve as a vehicle for forging Left-Center unity in the struggle to organize the unorganized, defeat the monopoly antilabor offensive now underway, defend and extend affirmative action programs and mobilize the working class in the struggle for peaceful coexistence and in support of the worldwide struggle for national liberation.

The new paper will consistently present and elaborate the views and activities of the Communist Party. At the same time it is intended as a voice and tribune for the wider progressive movement. Key importance must be attached to its relationship with broader forces and their involvement in its development, publication, circulation and use.

The new newspaper will be printed simul-

taneously in New York and San Francisco. It will utilize some of the most advanced telecommunications and printing technologies available. This was made possible largely by the success of the recent "High Tech" special fund drive. This will make the new publication one of only a handful of daily newspapers with continentwide scope. Thus, it will constitute an important advance for the working class in an era of increasing corporate monopolization and centralization of the nation's media.

It is the conclusion of the editorial leaderships of the *Daily World* and *People's World* that the personnel of the new paper shall be guided by the principle of working-class professionalism. They are pledged to strive consistently to develop and improve a style of journalism and a level of technical competence which will result in clear writing, vigorous investigative reporting and exposure, and attractive presentation.

Included in the projections for the new newspaper are improved coverage of working-class struggles and trade union activities at the local and national levels. This is to be coordinated with the work of the Party at concentration points and will entail a considerable and dramatic increase in circulation over the two papers' current combined total.

Plans are also being made by the staffs of the two papers to step up coverage of developments and activities in areas of major Black and Chicano population, such as Harlem, South Central Los Angeles, Chicago and East Los Angeles. These efforts are slated to be coordinated with major efforts to build up maximum circulation for the new newspaper in these areas.

Included in the plans for the new newspaper are mass appeal features such as expanded sports coverage, coast-to-coast entertainment coverage, puzzles, recipes, recreational features, health, etc.

With the launching of the *People's Daily World* we will write a new page in working-class journalism, building on the best of our historic tradition. □

The Destructive Design of The Color Purple

JAMES E. JACKSON

Fame and fortune have come to Alice Walker. Her third novel, *The Color Purple*, is the red carpet on which she has made her ascent to the heights of the Hollywood hills, found the pot of gold at her rainbow's terminus.

The transposition of Walker's book into Steven Spielberg's film produced a joint enterprise for super-hype sales action that has already rolled in 40 million dollars at the box office and a total of more than a million copies of the book.

The book and the film, in all basic aspects, are in complete sync. What was inscribed in print is dutifully emblazoned on the screen.

The question naturally arises, What is being sold here for such a rich return? And the corollary, what is the buyer receiving?

The author strives to etch in acid the pain and humiliation of abused Black women and brand in the minds of her audience the criminal male supremacists—who are all Black men. Indeed, in the book and the film, Black men are depicted as bestial violators of female humanity, venomous predators who rape and commit incest upon their own children.

While Alice Walker is a profoundly talented writer, *Freedomways* reviewer, Maryemma Graham, comments (Vol. 23, No. 4, 1983),

the "beauty" of its literary merit is not matched by the "truth" of its content. One cannot uphold the cause of half of humanity, of securing women from victimization by male domination, abuse and outrages, by depicting the other half of the people, the male half, as savage cannibals.

Professor Graham remarks again that

While there is no denying that male supremacy and sexist oppression pervades our society, an analysis that identifies men as the sole source of female

oppression and proposes that mere personality change in individuals is the remedy is misguided. Gender oppression cannot be separated from racial and economic oppression that Black people experience and that Black women face in a very special way.

Walker's view of the source of Black women's oppression has turned her book and the film upon which it is based into a monstrously grotesque representation of the reality of Black men in the life of the Black family and the history of the Afro-American people in this American nation.

What a shameful piece of irony was fashioned by the fact that the film *The Color Purple* had its premier in the very month that a national holiday was designated for the martyred Black leader—the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.! This movie is packing 'em in during Black History Month, which features the heroes of the long and bloody struggle of Afro-Americans for freedom from slavery and an end to discrimination and racism—the month which honors the glorious abolitionist Frederick Douglass, the great scholar Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Mary Church Terrell, Paul Robeson, Henry Winston and many other role-model personalities from the true life history of the Afro-American people.

The Color Purple stands in brazen contrast to this month of celebration of Black cultural and social achievement and goal setting.

What has emerged from the Walker-Spielberg collaboration is the grossest slander of a people, whose men and women have fought side by side to create, defend and advance the opportunities and well being of the nuclear family, against merciless, oppressor ruling classes, first of slavemasters, then plantation overlords and now capitalist exploiters and landlords. Black men and Black women endured pain and weathered abuse. They overcame dreadful

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handicaps imposed by a racist capitalist social system that brought Black folk from Africa in chains and used them as chattel slaves. Then, after freedom, it ghettoized them in a capitalist cauldron of segregated oppression.

Neither in Alice Walker's book nor in Steven Spielberg's film is there any reference to the terrible fate of women under the conditions of chattel slavery in the United States. Slave breeding was a function of slavery and Black women had no rights of their person that any slaver was obliged to respect. This bestial practice was carried on to supply the market with human work machines, and white slaveholding fathers sold their offspring from slave women as commodities in the market.

By its outrages against Black women, slavery foredoomed the human rights of white women, the security of the family and decent, equal bonding between the sexes. The special abuses of Black women, rooted in the white supremacy system of racism and working-class oppression, did not end with the abolition of slavery. The struggle against this repression remains an ongoing part of the struggle for democratic advance and human dignity.

From the book and film one would not gather that lynch terror pervaded the South and cast its deadly shadow over the lives of every Black family in America. It was a rare and heroic exception when white persons broke through the code and stood up to defend the rights of Black people in the timeframe of *The Color Purple*. Black men and Black women, together, were the main force in defending the lives and liberty of Black women. This historic truth, which Alice Walker knows well, was conspicuously omitted from her story, purporting to be the truth about Black women.

The journalist R.B. Jones, in an article which appeared in the *Afro-American* (Jan. 11, 1986), entitled "*The Color Purple: Pretty Poison*," points out:

Not once in the movie, does any Black man even mention the social tension they lived with or the racism they faced. All these men are shown doing is

physically abusing their women with occasionally respites for eating and drinking.

Otherwise they are portrayed as nonentities or cowards, Jones notes.

In an article in *MS* magazine (Jan. 1986), Alice Walker holds that "Celie [the central character in her book and the film] reveals what has been done to her by a racist and sexist system . . . that her oppressors persist even today in trying to keep her down." But *who* are the oppressors? What are the distinguishing features of the "system of the oppression"? Because she refuses to put and answer this question, Walker's "womanish" quest deepens the wounds of equally oppressed Black men, diverts the focus from the true oppressor class enemy to the other partner of its victims.

New York magazine's movie review by David Denby (Jan. 13, 1986) wrote that

The brutal scenes may mislead some people into thinking that they are getting the real thing, the true grit, but actually *The Color Purple* is unauthentic and unconvincing . . ."

Whatever else it is, *The Color Purple* is a hate letter to Black men. In this bizarre caricature of Black life, the men's thoughtlessness and cruelty are turned only on women.

"This is a very dangerous film," opined Leroy Clark, a law professor at Catholic University in an interview with a *Washington Post* writer. "It is a lie to history . . . it reinforces the notion of Black men as beasts."

The Color Purple, to cite Loyle Hairston's felicitous phrase, will not "wrinkle the brow" of the establishment. Hairston, in a discerning essay, "Alice in the Mainstream" (*Freedomways*, Vol. 24, No.3.) writes that

What must be most attractive to the establishment about certain recent Afro-American works is that they project Black people and Black life in such a non-threatening way. No sharp insights, no penetrating ideas that illuminate what the real world is made of, no serious challenges to the status quo, no wave-making. Thus have these Afro-American writers who are eager to achieve literary and financial success in

the mainstream had to leave behind the rich tradition of social commentary which informs the best literature this and other societies have produced.

The Color Purple was promoted in an unprecedented way. No Black writer in history has ever been the object of such a royal promotion. Millions and millions were invested in the enterprise and the monetary returns have been richly rewarding. But there is a politics to this lavishly financed enterprise. It is an element in a vast ideological offensive to diminish and destabilize a powerful strategic component of the social and class forces opposing monopoly capitalism's reign.

Victory in the struggle for the freedom and equality of Afro-American people can come to pass only through breaking the power of the monopolist class who dominate the economic wealth and control the political power of the nation. This is not a task that can be realized through the efforts of Black Americans alone; it requires the strategic combination of the united power of the working class and its allies of the middle strata *in strongly bonded alliance* with the popular mass of the Afro-American people. The film and book are prime combat weapons in the ideological struggle which the ruling class wages against the unity and fighting fitness of its class foes. It is a high-tech play of the culture card in the ongoing divide-and-rule maneuver of the lords of privilege against the progressive thrust of their irreconcilable foes.

Alice Walker chose to set aside social responsibility, for the nonce, in this writing and film project. She worked up a money-making formula that would appeal to the paperback best-seller market with shocking effects and prurient sensation. She would produce a work that plays within the system and serves the strategic concerns of the establishment. It would be a safe product, non-threatening to the power elite of government and industry either at home or abroad (especially in respect to rambunctious Africa and wild card Latin America); a work that would invite ruling

circle patronage and promotion as a deluxe ideological tool to hammer the heads of restless natives.

"Ms. Walker's victory is a pyrrhic one," wrote Herb Boyd in the *Amsterdam News* (Jan. 4, 1986), "for what does it matter if you gain the world, only to lose your soul?" "Soul," as in that other Black writer, W.E.B. DuBois' classic, *The Souls of Black Folk*.

Alice Walker came on the literary scene with a brilliant first novel that was truly deserving of the highest recognition and widespread sales. It was *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* (1970). The powers that be in the publishing establishment left it to collect dust on the shelves, and all were culturally the poorer for it. The first life of Grange was a hard one; only the power of his will and mighty determination carried him to the realization of his vision of deliverance from the microcosm of misery and insignificance into which he was born. With stern discipline and unrelenting ardor he burst out of his cocoon of want and deprivation and attained a plateau of success that was good to measure against what had been. But it was lonely and unsatisfying on that height. So he left his second life and returned to the challenge of aiding his folk, battling, while hoping for a transformation of the turf of his first world. This negation of the negation was Grange Copeland's third life. It was the glory phase of his life on the earth. In spending it with responsibility to his people, he gained a permanence in human social progress.

My wish would be that the creator of the unforgettable Grange Copeland will have a life beyond the *The Color Purple*. We will be looking and hoping "to see you in the morning."



The Color Purple is a specific mass ideological challenge to our class, our Party and our people.

If you use the dollar sign for spelling out success, you can say Alice Walker is a big success. But if you thoughtfully analyze the political consequences of the image and message sent forth by this work, you can not fail to conclude

that this success, even for the author, is a Pyrrhic victory. More significantly, it ill-serves the cause of the Afro-American people. It opposes the historically determined goals of the working class, and of the Afro-American people, a substantive part of that working class, whose equality goal is strategically bonded to it in a common destiny, objectively allied in a common cause.

From chattel slavery to today's continuing struggle for equality of human rights, the steadfast freedom struggle of Afro-American people has been an epic theme and powerful energy source in the democratic developments and the political/social life, the history, of this American nation.

Alice Walker, in *The Color Purple*, has applied her well-crafted talent to fashioning an exquisite slop-pail, and having filled it with her own retchings, poured it on the noble head of a battered but proudly unbowed people. The message to the multiple millions who read the book or see the film is that Black people are dirt. Their men are savage monsters. The people live on a pigpen level of culture. The relations between the sexes is on the level of barnyard fowl.

This book invokes a curse on life and struggle. It hails a people's alienation and barren end to development. It philosophizes that life, the struggle for its fulfillment, is a feckless pursuit. There is no reward for the struggle. Let there be one final barren ecstasy and ring down the curtain on it all. The world is too much with us, purple people! Such is the symbolism in Celie's restoration and redemption through her relation with Shug.

The Color Purple is the betrayal of the faith and epic life-struggle of a people long years in the land of the pharaohs. During the timeframe of the book's scenario in Georgia, in the Deep South, more than 241 Black men were lynched, and this was done with selectivity and deliberation to terrorize and intimidate the whole people.

Alice Walker did more than sell her book to Spielberg and Hollywood for a million or more. She sold her soul, and scribbled four-letter

words over the faces of our glorious brothers and sisters who have come to this day from a long march over a blood-streaked and rocky road to take their deserving place in the first ranks of the peoples in struggle for an end to the power of the robber class, the breeders of human misery, of exploitation and racism.

What D.W. Griffith did to Black people with his film *The Birth of a Nation*, in the first decades of this century (1915), Steven Spielberg has repeated in the closing penultimate decade of the century. He has produced a film in which the humanity, the essential human dignity of a whole people is slandered and smeared. He employed all of the state-of-the-art camera work and directoral flourishes for which he is famous.

The film follows faithfully the lurid scenes of monstrous conduct, complete with incestuous relations. The males among the characters are just savage and vicious junkyard dogs. This work is designed to foster feelings of white superiority, to surface racist prejudices and portray Black people as impossible alliance partners and class brothers. There is not the faintest hint in the film, as there was not in the book on which it is based, that people live in a community encased in a class-structured social system, which rewards the rich with the wealth created from the labor of the exploited and the impoverished; that the rich are empowered to exercise social control and political power, while the workers of town and country are held down as social pariahs, without any substance of political power.

The film *Birth of a Nation* rationalized and justified the whole jim-crow system by depicting Afro-American people as a most villainous breed of animals—thieves, cutthroats, rapists, ever-thirsting for the blood of white people. It argued the necessity for the Ku Klux Klan and for the punitively enforced racist segregation laws of the South. This godfather of the racist films about Black villainy began its run some 70 years ago, and is still being shown all over the world, dubbed the historic first of the epic films. Its essence is a celebration of white supremacy, the rationale for the repression and segregation of Blacks by any means at hand.

The novel that D.W. Griffith's infamous racist film was based on was written by the most unconscionable devotee of the slaveholders' confederacy, Thomas Dixon, who wrote *The Klansmen*. The twentieth century began with this Ku Kluxer author supplying the text for D.W. Griffith—"film innovator of genius"—to desecrate the people's dignity and heap hatred and scorn upon Black people to the point of justifying lynchings. This century, already approaching its end, offers the spectacle of an exceptionally talented writer, Alice Walker, herself an Afro-American, supplying the novel for a film, *The Color Purple*, whose psycho/political effect, and indeed function, adds to the burdens of Black people. It refuels the torch of racial prejudice. It is a kaleidoscopic rationalization and brief for caging these animals, segregating them behind the pale—you can't be free with them loose!

D.W. Griffith made the case for the KKK and for lynching as the instruments for control by terror of creatures without the capability of reason. Alice Walker's book *The Color Purple*, and the Spielberg film are weapons added to the arsenal of the perpetrators of apartheid abroad and racist oppression of Black people everywhere in America.

Talent brings with it social obligation. Every artist knows this as an elementary truth. Paul Robeson said it magnificently; the great DuBois dedicated his life to it; Sterling Brown, Langston Hughes, Margaret Walker, are among the long roster of those who added enduring contributions to American culture and literature from the ethnic and racial background of Black Americans. It is not forgivable to ignore this obligation. If one has fame, one must ask toward what end, in the service of what class, toward what destiny? □

The Poverty Index

Two Decades of Neglect of the Poor

ALFRED J. KUTZIK

The Census Bureau recently reported that in 1984 the number of Americans in poverty was 33.7 million or 14.4 per cent of the population. This was hailed by the Reagan Administration as a vindication of its policies, since it was down from the 35.3 million or 15.2 per cent the bureau had categorized as poor in 1983. Understandably, Administration spokesmen did not refer to the fact that the Census Bureau had earlier noted that the 1983 poverty rate was the highest since 1965 and that the number of poor had increased by six million between 1980 and 1983. However, others pointed out that the 1984 poverty rate was higher than any year from 1970 to 1980 and that, while the 1984 rate for Afro-Americans had dropped from 35.7 to 33.8, the rate for Afro-American children under six had risen to 51.1 per cent from 49.4 per cent. And the rate for Hispanics of all ages had increased from 28.1 per cent to 28.4 per cent. In human terms this means that in 1984 as in 1983 one of every eight or nine whites, one of every four Hispanics, one of every three Afro-Americans and one of every two Afro-American children were in poverty.

Shocking as these statistics are, they greatly underestimate the extent of poverty. For they equate the poor with those whose incomes fall below the federal government's arbitrary poverty line. Actually, those below this poverty line are a relatively small portion of poor people in the U.S., i.e., of those who do not have enough food, clothing, shelter, health care, etc. to live in health and decency.

Although it is treated like a part of the Constitution, if not the Bible, the official poverty line was created in 1963 for the politicians and bureaucrats who needed a guideline by which to wage the Johnson Administration's so-called

War on Poverty. That year the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) and the Social Security Administration (SSA) developed income criteria to separate those entitled from those not entitled to benefits from the federal "anti-poverty programs." Both relied upon the Department of Agriculture (DOA) calculation of the lowest possible cost of three meals a day for a typical family of two adults and two children. DOA determined it to be exactly \$2.736. The CEA multiplied this by 365 days to get an annual figure of \$998.64 and multiplied this by three on the assumption that families spend two-thirds of their income on non-food items. The final figure of \$2,995.92 was rounded off to \$3,000, which became the CEA target budget for 1963.

Later that year, using the same meals' cost calculation and the same assumption that it constituted one-third of a family's budget, but taking into account the high cost of urban living, the SSA arrived at a "poverty index" of \$3,130 for a non-farm family of four. (Further references to poverty lines, indexes, etc. relate to such four-member families.) It is this poverty index which, adjusted for inflation, has since defined who is poor in the U.S. The same amount and kind of food that cost \$998.64 in 1963 cost \$1,513.33 in 1973, which multiplied by three resulted in a poverty index for that year of \$4,540. Adjusting for inflation of food prices during the following decade brought the poverty index to \$10,609 in 1984.

What is so wrong about a poverty index based on the DOA's scientifically calculated minimal meal costs and studies of family expenditures? It is, first of all, that DOA's original figure of \$2.736 per day for three meals for a family of four did not provide adequate nutrition according to the department's own admission. The DOA had been calculating a more expensive "low cost food plan" annually since the 1930s that was used by welfare agencies as a

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guideline for food allotments for needy families, although the DOA admitted that "only about 10 per cent of persons spending that amount or less actually were able to get a nutritionally adequate diet."² However, this longstanding, already inadequate, low cost food plan was now discarded in favor of a new "economy food plan," designated by DOA for "temporary emergency use.

The SSA expert given the task of developing a poverty index in 1963 prepared two indexes: one based on the economy food plan, which allowed 70¢ a person for food a day, and another based on the low cost food plan which allowed 88¢. The Council of Economic Advisors and the Office of Economic Opportunity, that headed up the "War on Poverty," unhesitatingly chose the index based on the economy plan.³ This removed from the category of the poor that substantial portion of the population with income below the low cost plan index but above the economy plan index. If the long-accepted low cost plan had been used to calculate the poverty index in 1963 the number of those considered poor would have been over 50 million rather than the 35.4 million so categorized.⁴ And each year since, millions more people than the Census Bureau has reported would have been included among the poor, bringing their number in 1984 from 33.7 to about 50 million.

But even if the poverty index were based on the low cost food plan, it would still greatly understate the actual number of poor. Since the low cost food plan does not provide adequate nutrition it not only underestimates the amount of money needed for food to keep a family out of poverty, but the amount of money needed for other expenditures which the index arrives at by doubling food costs. In fact, a poverty index formulated in this way would understate the number of poor even if it were based on the much higher cost of nutritionally adequate meals. For establishing the poverty line by multiplying family food expenditure by three is no longer valid (if it ever was). While DOA studies in 1955 found that on the average families spent about one-third of their income on food and two-thirds on other things, these proportions have

been changing. According to the DOA's Bureau of Labor Statistics, during the period 1963-1983 food prices rose 221 per cent but the price of public transportation rose 306 per cent, health care 314 per cent, gas and electricity 332 per cent and fuel oil and coal 625 per cent.⁵

Other critics of the poverty index have pointed out that since 1963 the income of families it has categorized as poor "has dropped further behind median family income." This criticism brings out that, irrespective of the adequacy of its food allocation and the different rates of inflation of its non-food components, the level of the poverty index should have been raised periodically during the past two decades in light of improvements in the standard of living, since this standard largely determines the norms of health and decency, i.e., determines what the poverty line is at any given time.

A number of policy analysts agree that what comes closest to being the actual U.S. poverty level is the "low standard city workers family budget" of the Department of Labor (DOL).⁶ Based on studies of current total family expenditures, this budget was issued annually with adjustments for inflation from 1967 to 1981. The DOL had been issuing a considerably higher "modest but adequate" urban workers' family budget since the mid-1940s. The "low standard" one was developed by DOL in the mid-1960s in response to the Johnson Administration's request "for a budget of a lower standard that would be more appropriate for planning, administering and evaluating public assistance and income maintenance programs."⁷ This budget, which the DOL held "to approximate the standards frequently considered appropriate as goals for assistance and maintenance programs"¹⁰ was over 80 per cent higher than the SSA's poverty index. For example, in 1974, when the poverty index was \$5,038, the low standard city workers family budget was \$9,198. That this approximated the actual poverty level is evidenced by the results of a national Gallup Poll taken about this time (January 1975) that asked: "What is the smallest amount of money a family of four (husband, wife and two children) needs each week to get along in this commu-

nity?" The response from a cross-section of the population in rural and urban areas averaged \$161 a week or \$8,372 a year. Again in 1982, when the poverty index was \$9,860, a Gallup Poll found "Americans judged that a family of four needed \$15,400 just to make ends meet."

If, instead of the 1984 poverty index of \$10,609, that year's low standard city workers' family budget of about \$18,500 had been used to establish the poverty line, the number of poor would be about 100 million, a poverty rate of over 40 per cent. This approximates the actual extent of poverty in the U.S. Rectifying its gross statistical understatement by the poverty index is required to identify the tens of millions of neglected, largely working poor and to get government to provide them with the school meals, financial and other assistance they are need of but are denied on grounds of not being "truly needy" since their incomes are above the official poverty line. And to provide adequate assistance to the tens of millions with incomes below it who receive or should be receiving grants and services that in combination (e.g., AFDC plus foodstamps plus Medicaid) do not bring them up even to this sub-subsistence level.

A prerequisite to doing so is the removal of a principal ideological obstacle that has prevented more adequate welfare measures and more accurate poverty measurements from being adopted. This is the belief that the American public is anti-welfare and does want not more of its tax money used to help those presently designated as poor, much less the two to three times that number who actually are. This misperception was expressed last November in the Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on the economy pleading for "a more reasonable" level of welfare: "One reason we do not have a humane welfare system is our punitive attitude to the poor. Americans have a tendency to blame poverty on laziness, to stigmatize welfare recipients, etc." However, that same month an exit poll found that 40 per cent of the electorate did not want cuts in welfare programs, 40 per cent wanted them liberalized and only 15 per cent wanted them reduced. Was this the result of bias in the questionnaire or the questioners?

No, despite the well-nigh universal belief, the mountains of print and torrents of rhetoric to the contrary, well-designed scientific studies have invariably found that the great majority of Americans are pro-welfare and have a sympathetic attitude toward the poor.

This was most widely noted in 1977 when a national poll was undertaken for the *New York Times* and CBS News to provide them with background information for reporting on the Carter Administration's welfare reform proposal. Like all such polls before and after, this one found that most Americans were against anything connected with the term "welfare." When asked, "Do you approve of most government-sponsored welfare programs?" 58 per cent answered, "No," while 54 per cent felt that "most people could get along without it if they tried."

Aha! A majority of the American public is anti-welfare! Right? Wrong!—if one goes beyond this superficial response, as the survey did. When asked whether they supported specific welfare programs, 82 per cent approved of the government using their taxes "to pay for health care for poor people" (i.e., Medicaid), 81 per cent approved of the government's "helping poor people buy food for their families at cheaper prices" (i.e., food stamps) and 81 per cent approved of the government's "providing financial assistance for children raised in low income homes where one parent is missing" (i.e., AFDC). Only 13 per cent disapproved of these programs while approval cut across rich and poor, conservatives and liberals, Republicans, Democrats and others.

In analyzing what the survey called the "seeming contradiction" of "an American public that is deeply antagonistic to the concept of public welfare yet strongly supports what welfare programs do," the *Times* reporter concluded that,

The very word "welfare" raised a kind of social red flag. But once the word is set aside, Americans display a deep compassion for those who are destitute and helpless.

More than compassion, they display will-

ingness to have their tax dollars support welfare programs, including the three largest, most expensive and most denigrated ones.

Of course, one poll does not make a welfare summer. But there have been many such polls and several comprehensive studies with similar findings and conclusions.

The most thorough studies were carried out in the early seventies by a research institute at the University of California at Los Angeles.¹¹ In 1971 it undertook an in-depth interview study of attitudes toward welfare in Los Angeles and San Francisco. What differentiated this from other studies of the subject is that it provided respondents with printed and oral information on the welfare programs they were extensively interviewed about. The findings closely paralleled those of the *New York Times*-CBS poll in disclosing overwhelming support for every welfare program on the books. In addition, 79 per cent of respondents, cutting across socioeconomic, ethnic and political lines, thought that "welfare should be a tax-supported relief program" for all "in need of assistance" and that "a decent level of living should be provided" those assisted. Of particular relevance here, 75 per cent thought that the working poor should receive public assistance. As with the *Times*-CBS poll, substantial support for welfare programs not labelled as such was found among respondents of all strata, including those of middle and upper income, although at a lower rate than those of lower income. These findings and the general conclusion that "support for public welfare . . . far outweighed opposition" surprised the researchers. This study was replicated (with funding and oversight from NIMH) in six states ranging from Arizona to Maine—with similar findings.

The findings and conclusions presented above may surprise or dismay others, but they are accepted as commonplace by social scientists familiar with research in this field. So much so that some have developed conceptualizations to describe the anti-"welfare" labels and pro-welfare orientation of the majority of Americans. Seymour Lipset has aptly defined the latter as the "ideological conservatives" and "ope-

rational liberals." In light of the foregoing, the position that the American people are opposed to adequate provision for the poor through tax-based programs is untenable. And so is the related position of policy analysts like Jules Berman who, while recognizing that "the [official] poverty level includes only the very poor," argues against setting a higher poverty level on grounds that it would "not [be] acceptable to the general public." The truth of the matter is that, if informed of how the poverty index has resulted in neglect of the poor, the public would no longer accept it.

If the public were informed of how it has been deceived about the extent of poverty by every administration, Democratic and Republican, for the past two decades, many would be prepared to question not only the political system which perpetrated this deception but the economic system which had failed to provide a very large and increasing part of the population a healthy, decent level of living. □

Notes

- 1 Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," *Social Security Bulletin*, January 1965, pp. 10-11; *Food Consumption and Dietary Levels of Older Households in Rochester, New York* by C. LeBovit and D.A. Baker, U.S. Department of Agriculture Home Economics Report No. 25, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964.
- 2 Orshansky, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- 3 Mollie Orshansky, "How Poverty is Measured," *Monthly Labor Review*, February 1969, p. 38.
- 4 Mollie Orshansky, *op. cit.*, note 1, p. 4.
- 5 *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1984*, p. 493. (Dollars have been converted into percentages.—A.J.K.)
- 6 *Welfare Reform: Issues, Objectives and Approaches* by John J. Korbel, *et al.*, paper of the Congressional Budget Office, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977, p. 107.
- 7 For the effect of the standard of living on absolute standards of poverty, see *The Economics of Poverty* by Bradley R. Schiller, Prentice-Hall, 1973, p. 10.
- 8 Korbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 and 107.
- 9 Phyllis Groom, "A New City Worker's Family Budget," *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1967.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 11 Conducted by a team of researchers at the School of Social Work headed by Genevieve Carter and reported by Evelyn Ogren, "Public Opinions About Public Welfare," *Social Work*, Vol. 18, No. 1, January 1973; published reports submitted to NIMH.
- 12 *Significant Developments in Social Policy* by Jules Berman, College and University Press, 1975, p. 11.

Soviet Foreign Policy: Aims and Directions

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

The tasks underlying the country's economic and social development also determine the CPSU's strategy on the world scene. Its main aim is crystal clear—to ensure to the Soviet people the possibility of working under conditions of enduring peace and freedom. Such, in essence, is the Party's primary program requirement of our foreign policy. To fulfill it in the present situation means, above all, to terminate the material preparations for a nuclear war.

After having weighed all the aspects of the situation that has taken shape, the CPSU has put forward a coherent program for the total abolition of weapons of mass destruction before the end of this century, a program that is historic in terms of its dimensions and significance. Its realization would open for humankind a fundamentally new period of development and the opportunity to concentrate entirely on constructive labor.

As you know, we have addressed proposals not only through the traditional channels but also directly to world public opinion, to the peoples. The time has come to have a thorough understanding of the harsh realities of our day: nuclear weapons harbor a hurricane with the potential of sweeping the human race from the face of the earth. Our address further underscores the open, honest, Leninist character of the CPSU's foreign policy strategy.

Socialism unconditionally rejects war as a means of settling state-to-state political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes. Our ideal is a world without weapons and violence, a world in which each people freely chooses its path of development, its way of life. This is an expression of the humanism of Communist ideology, of its moral values. That is why for the future as well the *struggle against the nuclear menace, against the arms race for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace* remains the fundamental direction of the Party's activities on the international scene.

There is no alternative to this policy. This is all the more true in periods of tension in international

affairs. I would say that never in the decades since the war has the situation in the world been so explosive, and consequently complex and uncongenial as in the first half of the 1980s. The Right-wing group that came to power in the USA and its main NATO fellow-travellers made a steep turn from detente to a policy of military force. They have adopted doctrines that reject good-neighborly relations and cooperation as a principle of world development, as a political philosophy of international relations. The Administration in Washington remained deaf to our calls for an end to the arms race and an improvement of the situation.

Perhaps it may not be worth churning up the past? Especially today when in Soviet-U.S. relations there seem to be signs of a change for the better, and realistic trends are beginning to resurface in the actions and attitudes of the leadership of some NATO nations. We feel that it is worthwhile, for the drastic frosting of the international climate in the first half of the 1980s was a further reminder that nothing comes of itself: peace has to be fought for, and this has to be a persevering and meaningful fight. We have to look for, find, and use even the smallest opportunity in order—while this is still possible—to halt the trend towards an escalation of the threat of war. Appreciating this, the Central Committee of the CPSU at its April plenary meeting once again analyzed the character and dimensions of the nuclear threat and defined the practical steps that could lead to an improvement of the situation. We were guided by the following considerations of principle.

First • The character of present-day weaponry leaves no country with any hope of safeguarding itself solely with military and technical means—for example, by building up even the most powerful defense. To ensure security is increasingly seen as a political problem, and it can only be resolved by political means. In order to progress along the road of disarmament what is needed is, above all, the will. Security can not be built endlessly on fear of retaliation, in other words, on the doctrines of "containment" or "deterrence." Apart from the absurdity and amorality of a situation in which the

Excerpted from Report of the Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary, Feb. 25, 1986.

whole world becomes a nuclear hostage, these doctrines encourage an arms race that may sooner or later go out of control.

Second • In the context of the relations between the USSR and the USA, security can only be mutual, and if we take international relations as a whole, it can only be universal. The highest wisdom is not in caring exclusively for oneself, especially to the detriment of the other side. It is vital that all should feel equally secure, for the fears and anxieties of the nuclear age generate uncertainty in politics and concrete actions. It is becoming extremely important to take the critical significance of the time factor into account. The appearance of new systems of weapons of mass destruction steadily shortens time and narrows down the possibilities for adopting political decisions on questions of war and peace in crisis situations.

Third • The USA, its military-industrial machine, remains the locomotive of militarism, for thus far it has no intention of slowing down. This has to be taken into consideration, of course. But we are well aware that the interests and aims of the military-industrial complex are not at all the same as the interests and aims of the American people, as the actual national interests of that great country.

Naturally, the world is much larger than the USA and its occupation bases on foreign soil. And in world politics one can not confine oneself to relations with any single, even a very important, country. As we know from experience, this only fosters the arrogance of strength. Needless to say, we attach considerable significance to the state and character of the relations between the Soviet Union and the USA. Our countries have quite a few points of coincidence, and there is the objective need to live in peace with each other, to cooperate on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, and there is no other basis.

Fourth • The world is in a process of swift changes, and it is not within anybody's power to maintain a perpetual status quo in it. It consists of many score of countries, each having interests that are perfectly legitimate. All without exception face a task of fundamental significance: without being blind to social, political, and ideological differences, all have to master the science and art of restraint and circumspection on the international scene, to live in a civilized manner; in other words, under conditions of civil international intercourse and cooperation. But to give this cooperation wide

scope there has to be an all-embracing system of international economic security that would in equal measure protect every nation against discrimination, sanctions and other attributes of imperialist, neocolonialist policy. Alongside disarmament such a system can become a dependable pillar of international security generally.

In short, the modern world has become much too small and fragile for wars and a policy of force. It can not be saved and preserved if the thinking and actions built up over the centuries on the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts are not shed once and for all, irrevocably.

This means the realization that it is no longer possible to win an arms race, or nuclear war for that matter. The continuation of this race on earth, let alone its spread to outer space, will accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and perfecting nuclear weapons. The situation in the world may become such that it will no longer depend upon the intelligence or will of political leaders. It may become captive to technology, to technocratic military logic. Consequently, not only nuclear war itself but also the preparations for it, in other words, the arms race, the *aspiration to win military superiority can, speaking in objective terms, bring no political gain to anybody.*

Further, this means understanding that the present level of the balance of the nuclear capabilities of the opposite sides is much too high. For the time being this ensures *equal danger* to each of them. But only for the time being. Continuation of the nuclear arms race will inevitably heighten this equal threat and may bring it to a point where even parity will cease to be a factor of military-political deterrence. Consequently, it is vital, in the first place, to dramatically reduce the level of military confrontation. In our age, genuine equal security is guaranteed not by an excessively high, but by the lowest level of strategic parity from which nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction must be totally excluded.

Lastly, this means realizing that in the present situation there is no alternative to cooperation and interaction between all countries. Thus, the objective—I emphasize, objective—conditions have taken shape in which confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed *only and exclusively in forms of peaceful competition and peaceful contest.*

For us peaceful coexistence is a political course which the USSR intends to go on following unswervingly. In ensuring the continuity of its foreign policy strategy, the CPSU will pursue a vigor-

ous international policy stemming from the realities of the world we live in. Of course, the problem of international security can not be resolved by one or two, even very intensive, peace offensives. Success can only be brought by consistent, methodical and persevering effort.

Continuity in foreign policy has nothing in common with a simple repetition of what has been done, especially in tackling the problems that have piled up. What is wanted is a high degree of accuracy in assessing one's own possibilities, restraint, and an eminently high sense of responsibility when decisions are made. What is wanted is firmness in upholding principles and postures, tactical flexibility, a readiness for mutually acceptable compromises, and an orientation on dialogue and mutual understanding rather than on confrontation.

As you know, we have made a series of unilateral steps—we put a moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, cut back the number of these missiles, and stopped all nuclear tests. In Moscow and abroad there have been talks with leaders and members of the governments of many countries. The Soviet-Indian, Soviet-French, and Soviet-U.S. summits were necessary and useful steps.

The Soviet Union has made energetic efforts to give a fresh impetus to the negotiations in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna, the purpose of which is to scale down the arms race and build up confidence between states. Negotiations are always a delicate and complex matter. Of cardinal importance here, is to lead up to a mutually acceptable balance of interests. To turn weapons of mass destruction into an object of political scheming is, to say the least, immoral, while in political terms this is irresponsible.

Lastly, concerning our statement of January 15 of this year. Taken as a whole, our program is essentially an alloy of the philosophy of shaping a safe world in the nuclear/space age with a platform of concrete actions. The Soviet Union offers approaching the problems of disarmament in their totality, for in terms of security they are linked with one another. I am not speaking of rigid linkages or attempts at "backing down" in one direction in order to erect barricades in another. What I am talking about is a plan of concrete actions strictly measured out in terms of time. The USSR intends to work perseveringly for its realization, regarding it as the *central direction of our foreign policy for the coming years*.

The *Soviet military doctrine* is also entirely in keeping with the letter and spirit of the initiatives we have put forward. Its orientation is unequivocally defensive. In the military sphere we intend to act in such a way as to give nobody grounds for fears, even imagined, about their security. But to an equal extent we and our allies want to be rid of the feeling that we are threatened. The USSR undertook the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and it will abide strictly by that obligation. But it is no secret that scenarios for a nuclear strike against us exist. We have no right to overlook this. The Soviet Union is a staunch adversary of nuclear war in any variant. Our country stands for removing weapons of mass destruction from use, for limiting the military potential to reasonable adequacy. But the character and level of this ceiling continues to be limited by the attitudes and actions of the USA and its bloc partners. Under these conditions we repeat again and again: *the Soviet Union lays no claim to more security, but it will not settle for less*.

I should like to draw attention to the problem of verification, to which we attach special significance. We have declared on several occasions that the USSR is open to verification, that we are interested in it as much as anybody else. All-embracing, strictest verification is perhaps the key element of the disarmament process. The essence of the matter, in our thinking, is that *there can be no disarmament without verification and that verification without disarmament makes no sense*.

There is yet another matter of principle. We have stated our attitude to Star Wars quite substantively. The USA has already drawn many of its allies into this program. There is the danger that things may become irreversible. Before it is too late, it is imperative to find a realistic solution *guaranteeing that the arms race does not spread to outer space*. The Star Wars program can not be permitted to be used as a stimulus for a further arms race or as a roadblock to radical disarmament. Tangible progress in what concerns a drastic reduction of nuclear capabilities can be of much help to surmount this obstacle. For that reason the Soviet Union is prepared to make a substantial step in that direction, to resolve the question of intermediate-range missiles in the European zone separately—without a direct link to problems related to strategic armaments and outer space.

The Soviet program has touched the hearts of millions of people, and among political leaders and public personalities interest in it continues to

grow. The times today are such that it is hard to brush it off. The attempts to sow doubt in the Soviet Union's constructive commitment to accelerate, to tackle this pressing problem of our day—the destruction of nuclear weapons—in practical terms are becoming less and less convincing. Nuclear disarmament should not be the exclusive domain of political leaders. The whole world is now pondering this, for it is a question of life itself.

But, also, it is necessary to take into account the reaction of the centers of power that hold in their hands the keys to the success or failure of disarmament. Of course, the U.S. ruling class, to be more exact its most egotistical groups linked to the military-industrial complex, have other aims that are clearly antipodal to ours. For them disarmament spells out a loss of profits and a political risk, for us it is a blessing in all respects—economically, politically and morally.

We know our principal opponents and have accumulated a complex and extensive experience in our relations and talks with them. The day before yesterday, we received President Reagan's reply to our statement of January 15. The U.S. side began to set forth its considerations in greater detail at the talks in Geneva. To be sure, we shall closely examine everything the U.S. side has to say on these matters. However, since the reply was received literally on the eve of the Congress, the U.S. Administration apparently expects, as we see it, our attitude to the U.S. stand to be made known to the world from this rostrum.

What I can say, right away, is that the President's letter does not give grounds for amending the assessment of the international situation as had been set forth in the report before the reply was received. It says that the elimination of nuclear arms is the goal all the nuclear powers should strive after. In his letter the President agrees in general with some of the Soviet proposals and intentions as regards the issues of disarmament and security. In other words, the reply seems to contain some reassuring opinions and theses.

However, these positive pronouncements are swamped by various reservations, "linkages" and "conditions" which, in fact, block the solution of radical problems of disarmament. Reduction in the strategic nuclear arsenals is made conditional on our consent (unilateral, by the way) to the Star Wars program and reductions in the Soviet conventional arms. Linked to this are also problems of

regional conflicts and bilateral relations. The elimination of nuclear arms in Europe is blocked by the references to the stand taken by Great Britain and France and the demand to weaken our defenses in the Eastern part of the country, with the U.S. military forces retained as they are. The refusal to stop nuclear tests is justified by arguments to the effect that nuclear weapons serve as a factor of "containment." This is in direct contradiction with the purpose reaffirmed in the letter—the need to destroy nuclear weapons. The reluctance of the USA and its ruling circles to embark on the path of nuclear disarmament manifests itself most clearly in the attitude to nuclear explosions the termination of which is the demand of the whole world.

To put it in a nutshell, it is hard to detect in the letter, we have just received, any serious preparedness of the U.S. Administration to get down to solving the cardinal problems involved in eliminating the nuclear threat. It looks as if some people in Washington and elsewhere, for that matter, have got used to living side by side with nuclear weapons, linking with them their plans in the international arena. However, whether they want it or not, the Western politicians will have to answer the question: are they prepared to part with nuclear weapons at all?

In accordance with an understanding reached in Geneva, there will be another meeting with the U.S. President. The significance that we attach to it is that it ought to produce practical results in key areas of limiting and reducing armaments. There are at least two matters on which an understanding could be reached: the cessation of nuclear tests and the abolition of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in the European zone. And then, as a matter of fact, if there is readiness to seek agreement, the question of the time of the meeting would be resolved by itself; we will accept any suggestion on this count. But there is no sense in holding empty talks. We shall not remain indifferent if the Soviet-U.S. dialogue that has started and inspired some not unfounded hopes of a possibility for changes for the better, is used to continue the arms race and the material preparations for war.

The Soviet Union is of a firm mind to justify the hopes of the peoples of our two countries and of the whole world who are expecting concrete steps, practical actions, and tangible agreements of the leaders of the USSR and the USA on how to block the arms race. We are prepared for this. □

For a World Without Weapons

GUS HALL

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, members of the Central Committee, dear delegates and guests:

It is a great honor and personal pleasure to bring you the greetings and congratulations of our Party on this history-making occasion—the 27th Congress of your Leninist Communist Party.

Your deliberations are of great significance to peoples and nations the world over. But they have a special meaning, a special importance to the people of the United States because what happens between our two countries in the present will largely determine whether there will be a future for humankind.

Your bold initiatives and concrete proposals have begun the thaw of the nuclear ice age. In place of the chilling dread of a nuclear winter, your unprecedented actions and projections are raising the possibilities and hopes for a green spring, in a world without weapons of nuclear annihilation.

Your step-by-step, fifteen-year plan for total elimination of all nuclear weapons has greatly raised the hopes and expectations for all of humanity.

Your unilateral moratoriums on all testing have created a better political climate. Your actions and proposals have cleared away the fog for those who have been confused and misled by the rhetoric of “plague on both your superpower houses.”

Your initiatives have wiped out the last of all the demagogic excuses for not putting an end to the madness of the nuclear arms race.

In the broad peace movement in the United States this confusion, rooted in cold war mythology, is being replaced by the slogan: “The Soviet Union announced a moratorium. Why not the United States?”

The improved climate and high expectations of the people are turning into new pressures on the Reagan Administration to move from the somewhat more peaceful rhetoric to concrete actions; to move from the words “nuclear war can not be won and must never be fought” to deeds, to specific steps toward meeting the Soviet Union halfway on the road to disarmament.

The new climate and the people’s rising ex-

pectations have emerged as major obstacles to the designs of the U.S. nuclear maniacs. They are responding with a campaign of provocations in an all-out ideological anti-Soviet counter offensive.

The illuminating and inspiring report by Comrade Gorbachev and this 27th Congress celebrates the building of advanced, full-scale socialism. However, while you are planning the acceleration of advanced, full-scale socialism, the world of U.S. capitalism is suffering from advanced, full-scale deterioration.

The deterioration is propelled by the trillion dollar military war budgets while the people-helping budgets are slashed to the bone.

The deterioration is present in the two trillion dollar federal government debt that grows by two hundred billion dollars a year.

The deterioration is present in the eight trillion dollar total debt on which the banks collect a trillion dollars a year in interest.

The deterioration is present in the 33 million of our people who live below the poverty level.

The deterioration is present in the 5 million homeless and hungry who live on the streets, in the one out of four children suffering from hunger and malnutrition.

The deterioration is present in the corporate-government-sponsored racism.

The deterioration is present in the ten-year decline in real wages and the overall quality of life.

It is present in the unprecedented total corruption in all corporate-government dealings.

It is present in the fusion of huge corporate galaxies and monstrous military corporations that operate like corrupt reactionary satellites to the Pentagon.

The summit process is a painful one-step forward and a half-step backward process for U.S. monopoly capital.

On the one hand, public opinion in the United States is forcing the Reagan Administration to soften its anti-Soviet rhetoric.

On the other hand, the Reagan Administration is resisting any positive moves that would produce more far-reaching, long-lasting results culminating in a disarmament treaty. It is a dilemma that is creating conflict in the Reagan Administration.

Concerning overall foreign policy, although

Speech to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, by Gus Hall, general secretary, CPUUSA, Feb. 28, 1986.

there are differences, not even the rhetoric has changed. On South Africa, Central America, the Mideast and the Caribbean, the U.S. imperialist policy of intervention and aggression continues.

In big business circles, in the Reagan Administration and the U.S. Congress there is Summit fear, Summit confusion and Summit contradictions.

Most, including our scientists, agree that the so-called "Star Wars non-nuclear shield" is an illusion.

Common sense argument goes: If it works there is no need for the rush to build new generations of nuclear weapons. If it will not work why spend a trillion dollars building it.

Corporate logic argues: whether it works or not, it means billions of dollars for greedy, corrupt corporate profits.

Star Wars is a shield, but not for nuclear defense. It is a cover up for research for sophisticated new offensive nuclear weapons in outer space.

For some 40 years the Pentagon has tried and failed to achieve military nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union—on land, sea and in the air. Now, through a total militarization and trillion dollar star wars program, the military-monopolies and the Pentagon expect to gain first strike nuclear superiority by way of nuclearization of outer space.

The Reagan Administration's rhetoric is about political settlements of regional conflicts. But policy and practice continues to be to increase arms and funds for the cut throat counterrevolutionary forces against Nicaragua, Angola, El Salvador, Kampuchea, Namibia, Afghanistan and Ethiopia.

The same kind of peace rhetoric continues on the Mideast. But the U.S. Naval ships and bombers blockade and prowl along the coast of Libya, as they do along the coasts of Nicaragua and Cuba.

There is the rhetoric about fighting terrorism, but the official policy is state terrorism, including air piracy. The stated policy is to drop bombs and terrorize all in the name of anti-terrorism.

The state-sponsored terrorism is covered up with a new military lexicon like "new globalism," "preventive blows" and the "defense of sixteen naval choke points."

The ugly truth is that the United States-Israeli-sponsored state terrorism—the so-called "reven-

tive blows"—has resulted in the murder of hundreds of thousands, including eleven thousand citizens of Nicaragua.

But in many parts of the world the United States-armed-and-funded military dictatorships are falling apart. The Reagan Administration is facing a dilemma because there is growing a broad, democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorship people's upsurge.

The Reagan Administration is trying hard to divert the people's democratic upsurge in the Philippines, in Haiti, in South Africa and Namibia before these struggles reach a qualitatively new revolutionary level.

Our struggles in the United States are molded by the fact that the hub of world reaction, the main base of the operations for first strike nuclear superiority. The master key for the Pershing and cruise missiles, the launch pads for the nuclear laser weapons in space, the support base for the policies of military and economic aggression, the ideological bastion of racism and fascism are all gathered at the command headquarters based in Washington and Wall Street.

But the struggles are also molded by the rising tide of militant working class strikes that take on the Reagan-corporate, anti-labor, racist offensive.

Comrade Gorbachev, most Americans, especially the peace majority, are looking forward with great anticipation and high hopes to your coming visit to our land.

They expect the process of normalization of relations between our countries to continue.

They expect the Reagan Administration to join in ending all nuclear testing.

They expect the Reagan Administration to meet you halfway through concrete steps to end the nuclear arms race.

As they say: It takes two to tango. So it takes two to end all nuclear testing; two to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

May the Summit process continue and bear fruit!

May the thaw of the nuclear ice age bring springs and summers of a world at peace—a world in which the land, sea, air and outer space will be a nuclear-free zone for all humanity. □



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