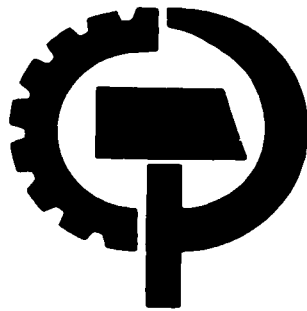


Build the Party— Build the Clubs

by Gus Hall, General Secretary
Communist Party, USA



**Main Report to the
Central Committee/National Council
June 1-3, 1985, New York City**

(Unedited—not for publication)

This is not a rounded report. It does not deal with everything. Many important questions had to be left out in order to focus on the clubs and to give the problems adequate attention.

Do not judge the importance of questions on the basis of whether they are included or excluded in this report.

What are included are questions that at the moment signal new trends and issues that relate to the work of the clubs.

Besides the reports from clubs, most of the questions in this report were discussed in the Political Bureau and Secretariat. The fact that many district organizers participated in these discussions greatly added to the richness and comprehensiveness of this report.

Thanks to all the clubs, comrades and Party leaders for their thinking and ideas.

Note: The following materials are in preparation: 1) an edition of the report for mass distribution; 2) a video for club educationals; and 3) an educational outline.

I. INTRODUCTION

Our deliberations today at this special Central Committee and National Council meeting will be on the developments and problems of today.

But, especially on this occasion, we must take note of the fact that the direction of human affairs, the balance of world forces, was set in motion 40 years ago when the world was saved from a catastrophic fate.

The world was saved from the fiendish, bloodthirsty bestial system of worldwide concentration camps and assembly line gas chambers, a capitalist system run amock.

The world was saved, but at a terrible price.

Many millions contributed to the victory over the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo, Murder, Inc. axis. And the world is today more aware that the decisive contribution was made by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and the socialist system rescued human society from a terrible fate unknown to humanity in all of history.

Recently we have seen that capitalist politicians throughout the world have a difficult time marking the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler fascism, a defeat that literally turned the world around.

The actions of Reagan and Kohl at Bitburg exemplify this capitalist dilemma. The ceremony at Bitburg was the closest thing to a tribute to Hitler.

Many capitalist politicians have mixed emotions about the victory celebrations. It is a moment when their capitalist class loyalty rears its ugly head and clashes head on with all that is human and progressive in civilization.

But the Reagans of the world have no such mixed feelings. After all, Hitler was their class brother; a class brother in exploitation for maximum corporate profits; a class brother in the ideology of racism, of superior and inferior peoples, in the ideology of anti-communism and anti-Semitism; their class brother in wars of aggression and imperialism.

Among the great majority of the world's peoples, the 40th anniversary is re-kindling the fires of anti-fascism, anti-imperialism and anti-racism. The people are re-studying, re-assessing and drawing new conclusions from the victory over fascism in the light of the nuclear danger.

In the U.S., the peace majority was repelled and angered by Reagan's attempt to sanitize the Nazi terror, to equate the criminals with the victims and to downplay the death and destruction wrought by the Nazi hordes.

This justified indignation will have the effect of strengthening and accelerating demands and actions for disarmament, for rejecting the big lie and, most importantly, for putting an end to the U.S. obstacles to serious

Geneva negotiations, for a peace treaty with our World War II ally.

Our Party must play a very special role, especially at the club and community level, in raising people's consciousness and understanding of especially the role of the heroic role of the Soviet Union in saving the world from Nazi domination.

This understanding can in turn raise public demands for a disarmament treaty with the Soviet Union as the only way to preserving peace and ending the nuclear arms race. This 40th anniversary opens new opportunities to expose the big lie of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The occasion of the 40th anniversary observations can serve as a platform for advancing and preserving peace.

MEETING FOCUS: THE CLUB

The focus of the last meeting of the Central Committee was mainly on the assessment of the presidential election and Fightback II. Events have generally proven the correctness of our assessment and the conclusions that we drew.

The focus of this meeting should be more on Fightback II, on application, on solutions, on tactics. And we should try to deal with all questions from the viewpoint of the Party club.

As we said at the Milwaukee Conference, the club is the Party. There is no Party without the clubs.

The club is where the political and tactical buck STOPS.

The club is where talk without action becomes empty rhetoric.

The club is where our policies must be translated into tactics, into action, into movements.

The club is where "the party's mass policy" must be translated into who, what, where, when and how.

The club is where "Party building" must be translated into who and how.

The club is where Party members are molded into mature Communists.

The club is where we will build a mass Party.

At the last meeting we had to deal with ideological currents and questions. We achieved a higher level of ideological unity than ever before.

At this meeting we must utilize this unity to help the clubs find solutions to problems and weaknesses.

We must get a picture of how the clubs function, a precise picture of the problems the club face.

We must draw on the positive club experiences and search for the solutions to problems.

In a very real sense, this meeting is all about "the

club experience." In this meeting we will deal with the club experience from many different angles.

The club experience cannot be obtained second hand or from reading. It is an experience every leading Communist—every member of the Central Committee and National Council—must get first hand.

It is an experience one cannot get by speaking at a club meeting once in a while.

One can only get a real feel for the challenge our clubs face as an active club member, by dealing with the real problems of grassroots mass work, of Party building, of Party education, press circulation, etc., meeting after meeting.

Being active in a Party club is a necessary leveling experience for Communist leaders. It keeps us from becoming weightless. It keeps us grounded.

In a club meeting one tends to be more realistic, more practical, more down to earth.

In a club meeting one even lowers one's voice.

On the club level one is more sensitive to the personal problems of comrades, more patient, more constructive on ideological questions.

On the club level a leader must not only be correct, but be correct for the specific club, in specific conditions, in a specific community, with a specific population and in the specific club conditions considering club members' abilities, level of commitment, etc.

Thus, a Communist leader without regular, consistent club experience lacks fine tuning.

A Communist leader not immersed in club experiences cannot keep up with the constant and especially the more subtle changes in the thought patterns and mood of the masses. And you can't get this by reading the local newspapers, the Nation, The Village Voice, Business Week, U.S. News and World Report, the OpEd page of the New York Times—or even the Daily World.

In fact, our comrades who write for the Daily World, People's World, Political Affairs, Jewish Affairs and the

Black Liberation Journal cannot gain ideological clarity or tactical sharpness without being consistently active as club members. We must write and speak from the viewpoint of the club experience. And the club experience is not an inner-Party experience. It is a mass experience.

Therefore, the primary task of this meeting is to begin the process of changing how we as leading comrades see the club and our relationship to it. Without this change, it will be much more difficult for the club to change. And without some basic changes in the club we cannot make our full contribution or become a mass Communist Party.

In the most fundamental way, Party building is club building. And club building is Party building.

Because this national meeting will focus on the clubs, we asked the clubs to help us formulate the questions, the problems and tasks—to help prepare this Report.

Once again, the grass roots of our Party came through with enthusiasm, collectivity, seriousness, a sense of pride and frankness about the strengths and weaknesses of the club, as well as the various Party organizations. There is a growing Communist maturity in the ranks of our Party.

To make their contributions, the clubs conducted special discussions around the questions and many sent in well-written reports giving a well-rounded picture of the club. Many expressed appreciation for the opportunity to contribute.

This development, once again, deepens and broadens the base of democratic centralism, of collectivity and molds a sense of oneness that can only come from our ideological and political unity.

Without the club contributions this report would be much less grounded in the club experience, in the everyday reality of our Party clubs.

II. DOMESTIC SCENE

There are a number of new political developments this meeting must address. But we must also update a number of older, ongoing developments.

First is the fact that there is no basic change in the foreign policy of the Reagan Administration. The war policy of building nuclear weaponry for first-strike and nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union continues without letup.

The nuclearization of outer space and the Star Wars project is adding a new dimension to the arms race and to the danger of a world nuclear holocaust. The Star Wars concept creates a shield behind which all nuclear missiles become offensive first-strike weapons.

To this point the U.S. side is flatly refusing even to discuss the Star Wars escalation of the arms race. They also continue the old policy of asking the Soviet Union to cut its missile arsenal while refusing to consider the nuclear missiles deployed in France and Great Britain, as well as the U.S. missile-carrying bomber fleet.

It is the old game of talking but not negotiating, of talking as a cover while continuing to build the weaponry of nuclear superiority.

In accord with a policy of war and aggression, the Reagan administration continues to finance, arm and train the counterrevolutionary forces in Nicaragua and El Salvador. And the economic and trade embargoes widen the policy of aggression into a new area.

The establishment of a CIA Voice of America-operated radio station beaming counterrevolutionary propaganda to Cuba on a 14-hour-a-day schedule is in itself an act of aggression. It is an attempt to intervene in and destabilize Cuba.

ROOT OF ALL EVIL

U.S. imperialism remains the main financial, economic and military power base for the fascist, racist government of South Africa. As the struggles in South Africa sharpen, as the South African working class moves to the front in the line of struggle and as the protest movement in the U.S. broadens from the labor movement, the Afro-American communities, to the student movements, to communities across the country, the Reagan administration increases its military and financial backing of the Botha regime.

An open policy of terrorism has become standard operating procedure for the U.S. government. The CIA and State Department are now the sponsors, organizers and trainers of the world's largest network of terrorist gangs operating worldwide.

Without letup, the Reagan administration continues to establish new military and nuclear bases around the

world. As a result, U.S. imperialism now has the world's largest network of military bases.

U.S. imperialism promotes and defends the world's largest network of industrial and financial multinational conglomerates with operations in almost every capitalist country of the world.

U.S. imperialism has the biggest counterrevolutionary network of radio stations operating throughout the world.

U.S. imperialism has built the biggest and most insidious spy and sabotage network in the world.

The expanding U.S. imperialist operations further increases the danger of war. U.S. imperialism is the root of all evil in every corner of the world, bringing with it poverty, hunger, unemployment and war.

Wherever there is imperialist aggression—in Asia, Africa, Central and South America—the trail leads to Wall Street.

Wherever there are preparations for unjust wars of aggression, the trail leads to the U.S. military-industrial complex.

Wherever there is racist violence and oppression, the ideological lines lead directly to the front door of U.S. imperialism.

Wherever big lie anti-communism fills the airwaves, the White House is the source.

Wherever countries are going bankrupt, the bill collectors are from U.S. banks.

These are some of the existing and ongoing developments.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

What are some of the newer, emerging developments?

In the short-range ebb and flow of developments, the world forces of evil, of war, reaction, racism and fascism, supported by imperialism, have been forced onto the ebb side of the political spectrum.

Reaganism is on the decline, both at home and abroad. It is caught in the undertow of history.

Squandering tens of millions of taxpayers' dollars, Reagan's ten-day junket to Europe turned into ten days that shocked the world. Reagan's attempt at reconciliation with reaction backfired. It turned into a moment of serious reassessment, into a cause for worldwide rededication to the struggle against war and fascism.

Instead of strengthening and unifying the capitalist world, Reagan's bumbling journey served to expose and sharpen the contradictions and weaknesses of world capitalism. Reagan's ten-day fiasco served to further isolate U.S. imperialism.

Eclipsed by Bitburg, the European economic summit conference turned into nothing more than a photo opportunity. The rivalries, contradictions, disagreements, as well as the severe economic problems of the U.S., dominated the summit.

There were serious reservations and only lukewarm support by Kohl for Reagan's Star Wars outer space scenario. And there was total rejection of Reagan's embargo of Nicaragua.

CHANGING WORLD TIDE

The ebbing tide of the policies for which Reagan is the chief communicator is changing the political landscape of the capitalist world. The tide has turned around in countries like Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, South Africa, New Zealand, Greece, Spain and the Philippines.

While Reagan and Kohl were whistling in the Bitburg graveyard, the workers and people of the Ruhr Valley were whistling a different tune. They gave Kohl—and Reagan—the biggest electoral defeat of modern times.

Reagan went to Spain to convince the Spaniards to remain in NATO, to increase U.S. nuclear bases in Spain and to support Reagan's brand of fanatical big lie anti-communism. Some two million people took to the streets in protest against Reaganism and Reagan's visit.

The secretary general of the Spanish Trade Union Confederation expressed the opinion of millions when he said, "Our Confederation has declared President Reagan persona non grata."

In Belgium and the Netherlands, Pope John Paul also got caught in the undertow of the ebbing tide of world reaction.

And the New York Times had to go out on a limb to claim that the Italian Communist Party suffered a setback because it only received a little over 30% of the vote and missed by a few percentage points becoming the party with the biggest voting constituency in Italy. For two days the Times tried to make 30% of the popular vote a defeat for the Communists!

The decline of Reaganism on the world scene is related to the growing resistance to the policies of aggression of U.S. imperialism.

As the support for Reaganism continues to ebb there is a growing recognition and appreciation for the peace policies of the Soviet Union. The concrete proposals in the interviews and speeches of the new general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, continue to sink roots and influence mass thinking in the U.S. about the role of the Soviet Union.

Simultaneously, there are growing questions about the role and policies of aggression pursued by the Reagan Administration. More and more people are asking: if the Soviet door is open, if the Soviet Union is making one peace proposal after another, why doesn't the White House open its door, why doesn't Reagan respond?

SUPPORT WASHING AWAY

The opposition and pressures against Reaganism continue to mount as the support gets washed away by the ebbside of history.

The people's pressure grows because they need jobs, more food, better housing, cheaper medical care, no cuts in Social Security. And they want an end to the arms race.

These demands were expressed in the April 20th demonstration and days of protest, on the picketlines at the South African embassies and in the student sit-ins.

The monopolies are putting pressure on Reagan because they want more business and more profits. These pressures showed up at the trade negotiations in Moscow. These were the first economic and trade talks on a government level in seven years.

There is growing collective pressure against Reaganism by the Third World countries.

Expressing their own selfish class interests there is also a growing resistance by the old capitalist countries.

Of course, there is the growing strength and power of the socialist countries.

There are the militant movements of the working class and people in the capitalist world.

In spite of this world reality, Reagan keeps singing the same old song, "The tide of history is moving away from communism and into the warm sunlight of human freedom." Spoken at a stop in Disneyland, these words blended in with a world of make-believe.

While preparing for his Bitburg blunder, Reagan should have learned that these were the very last words uttered by Hitler as his bunker went up in flames.

No, Mr. President, the tides of history are against capitalism and with Communist ideas, with the theory and philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. They are with the builders of socialism. And, yes, with this comes the real "sunlight of human freedom."

POLITICAL SCENE UPDATED

Reaganism is also affected by the ebb tides in domestic affairs.

As President Lyndon Johnson did with the Tonkin Resolution, Reagan also tried to get official congressional sanction for his policies of aggression against Nicaragua by convincing them to vote for the \$14 million to support the contras. Failing in this, Reagan declared a U.S. embargo against Nicaragua, which is turning into an embargo of Reagan.

THE BUDGET BATTLE

On the budget, only after long-distance calls from Bitburg, mobilization of the sick and lame from stretchers and ambulances, was Reagan able to gather enough Senate votes to pass a compromise of a compromise budget. The Senate passed an inflation cost-of-living allowance (COLA) for the Pentagon, but denied it to the already hard-hit seniors.

In order to come to a correct approach to the budget, we have to compare this Senate budget with the budget of the House and with Reagan's version.

In this context, we have to say that the House version is better.

While not quite forcing a change in direction or spending, it is still a defeat for Reagan and Weinberger because it calls for a halt to the supersonic escalation of military appropriations.

It does not put an end to the spending spree because the Pentagon thieves have unlimited resources, including the \$26 billion they discovered left over from past budgets. But it is important because it is the first time in ten years the military has been cut. This could be a trend reduction in the rate of growth.

The House budget preserves Social Security without

a cut and with the COLA. It puts back into the budget dozens of programs the Senate version proposes to eliminate. It restores full funding for the Job Corps, full funding, plus allowance for inflation, for Medicaid, and no increase for Medicare.

The House budget begins, but only begins, to express the needs and sentiments of the people. It is on this basis that we have to campaign, that we have to mobilize movements, such as a "call-your-congressperson" campaign to register your demands.

We must remember that the final budget will bear the stamp of the 1986 congressional elections. The coming elections are already influencing representatives and senators alike. Their votes will be influenced as much by a desire to hang onto their seats as a tendency to concede to Reagan and his henchmen. Their self-interests can be used to influence their votes on the budget and many other issues, like taxes.

The tax bill will attempt to use a token cut in taxes on working people to cover up huge tax breaks for the very rich and the corporations. All the big loopholes for capitalists and monopolies will be retained, or widened, if the Reaganites get their way.

Many factors will continue to influence the decline of Reaganism. The coming 1986 congressional elections are a growing factor influencing the votes of senators and representatives who are up for re-election. The more they think about their re-election, the less they think about Reaganism. The teflon coating will continue to wear thin and peel. The illusions created by election promises will continue to dissipate. Millions are waking up to the realities of life: that the Reagan they voted for and Reaganism are not the same thing; in fact, they are turning out to be just the opposite.

The decline of Reaganism is proof of the correctness of our election analysis: millions voted for Reagan, not Reaganism. We were correct in projecting that Fightback II would eventually include millions who voted for Reagan's lies, distortions, false promises—the image, not the real Reagan. Now the chickens are coming home to roost.

We have to help assure that people have an outlet for their anger and protest as millions wake up to the reality of raw Reaganism.

Our projection of the all-people's front against Reaganism was and remains correct.

Our assessment about the importance of the rise of the movements of political independence was and remains correct.

Our projection of Fightback II was also correct, and remains so today.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS CALL FOR TACTICAL SHIFTS

However, the new objective developments call for a shift in tactics.

The opposition and decline of Reaganism calls for tactics of mass action on all levels. It is also clear the focus on all the actions should be directed at members of Congress.

As we said, the coming 1986 congressional elections can have great leverage on the actions of Congress today. The independent forces can have a great impact on Congress by relating today's legislative work to consideration of platform and candidates in the coming '86 elections. Now these activities should be combined with mass actions like demonstrations, marches and petitions.

This situation creates great possibilities for the Party clubs because the struggles now shift to congressional districts.

We should say to our shopmates, to our neighbors and friends, to members of our clubs, churches and trade unions: "If we can unite, we can determine what our congressional representative does today and determine who gets elected in 1986. Let's talk about it over a cup of coffee. Let's set up an ad hoc committee—you, me and, you know, our friend so-and-so. If the present congressperson does right by us, we may support him or her; if not, we may run someone else—maybe you."

Some of the best, most powerful and effective mass movements, had their beginnings in just such off-the-cuff conversations.

This is a moment not only for building a powerful all-people's front against Reaganism, but a moment when millions will also be looking and listening for answers and solutions only our Party can provide. It is a moment to build our clubs and our Party.

III. UPDATE: THE ECONOMIC SCENE

The main undercurrent influencing the ebb and flow of the political spectrum is the economic developments. This is clearly the case in the present situation.

The capitalist world economy is stagnating. Economic activity in the U.S. increases haltingly, but not enough to cure many of the crisis phenomena which peaked during the cyclical crisis and the depression of 1980-82.

High unemployment with high permanent unemployment afflicts the working class of almost the entire capitalist world. It is rising to new postwar highs in Western Europe, new all-time highs in Latin America, and remains at depression level in the United States, where it shows all the signs of starting to rise again.

The debt crisis of 40 developing countries, the record U.S. payments deficit, the overvalued dollar, the growth of domestic indebtedness (which is \$7 trillion and growing) and speculation of all kinds—these are financial time bombs ticking toward an explosion that could have devastating effects. In fact, there is a new kind of a dollar gap. The United States is now on the verge of becoming the largest debtor nation in the world.

The structural crisis afflicting basic industries of the U.S. and Western Europe remains unresolved. Inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening, with the Japanese challenging and seizing positions from U.S. and Western European capitalists in more and more spheres. West European capitalists, losing ground, are backing away from the bellicose extremism of Reaganite military-political policies, and are resisting Wall Street's high-interest, high-dollar financial offensive.

The debt-ridden Third World economies are in profound crisis, with massive suffering greatly intensifying the struggles for relief and liberation. The trend toward anti-U.S. imperialist unity, challenging the traditional ruling class dependence on Washington, is growing.

In Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, the Sudan and others, the crisis has forced out the pro-U.S. imperialist, reactionary, fascist, military governments. The people in these countries have gained some political power. And, most importantly, the Communist Parties have gained legality. These are significant anti-U.S. imperialist advances.

THE U.S. ECONOMY

U.S. industrial production has been stagnant for nine months and industrial employment is still declining.

Construction activity and certain trade and service areas are still growing. This tends to cover up the creeping economic crisis in the basic industries.

The gap between productive capacity and the market is increasing. The next crisis of overproduction already has its foot in the economic door. Its outbreak is delayed by increased use of debt to maintain consumption, by investment to robotize and displace labor and by moving facilities to low-wage, non-union areas.

There is a heavy, growing investment in office and commercial buildings, basically parasitic and speculative in character, with all the earmarks of a boom-bust outcome.

There is the plant and equipment investment by foreign capitalists seeking to profit from high rate of surplus value in the U.S. and to escape protectionist threats. There are over 50 Japanese industrial plants in Tennessee alone. And, of course, there is the increasing war production output. Such measures postpone but will not cancel the oncoming economic crisis.

The economic bottom line is that the industrial sector of the economy is also caught up in the ebb tide. In a sense, the industrial sector is now in an economic crisis.

In the months since Reagan's second inaugural, 150,000 industrial workers have lost their jobs. Unemployment among industrial workers is at a crisis level.

Among Afro-American and other nationally oppressed industrial workers there is now double-digit unemployment. The industrial sector continues in the grip of the triple-layered economic crisis. And, there is nothing on the economic horizon that can reverse this trend.

The special effects of the new structural crisis keep creating more and more havoc. What the transfer of basic steelmaking into low-wage, union-busting foreign countries could not do, the non-union, low-wage mini-steel mills are achieving.

Mini-mills now account for 20% of total steel production. But because they do not use iron ore or taconite, the result is a total shutdown of the taconite plants and iron ore mines in Minnesota and Michigan and the mothballing of the Great Lakes ore-carrying fleet.

Again, the end result is a cut in living standards and dozens of new ghost towns.

The mere size of the federal government's debt is also beginning to effect the long term economic trends. Last year the interest on the debt cost taxpayers \$260 mil-

lion dollars per day. In less than 5 years it will cost \$1 billion per day. It will take 32 cents of every tax dollar.

Therefore, the demand for either a cancellation or at least a moratorium on all interest payments is both realistic and necessary.

IMPORTS

The problem of imports continues seriously to affect the working class.

The question of imports has become a feature of a number of new developments of world capitalism. It is related to the growth of U.S.-based multinational corporations. It is a by-product of the internationalization of both capital and the production process. It is affected by the new role of finance capital in the world production process.

These developments create new contradictions. The monopoly corporations all try to solve the contradiction on the backs of the working class.

These new developments and the accompanying contradictions emerge most sharply with the rise of Japan as a new economic power.

Japan has clearly emerged as the second largest industrial and financial power of world capitalism. Holding back from foreign investment for decades after World War II, it has struck out boldly in the past decade and now boasts that at the end of 1984, with net foreign assets of \$60 billion, it had become the largest net creditor among developed nations.

Its total foreign holdings are a fraction of U.S. corporations and banks. But the U.S. holdings are by now largely offset statistically by large foreign holdings of U.S. government bonds, bank deposits and investments.

Japan has gained trade ground in all major capitalist markets. It leads the U.S. in penetration of China, and leads or is close to the U.S. in other dynamically growing areas of East Asia. Japanese exports now far exceed requirements to pay for imported oil and other raw materials, providing the surpluses for foreign investment.

U.S. imperialism strives for cartel arrangements between the most powerful U.S. industrial and financial groups and their Japanese counterparts, to limit the loss of markets and profits to their Japanese rivals. The U.S. is consciously building—through liberal export of technological know-how especially—an advanced Japanese industry and powerful finance, and a significant Japanese military power. It regards Japan as a close partner in the domination over and exploitation of Asia and the Pacific, and an ally against the Soviet Union.

At the same time, Washington strives to maintain ultimate control through its huge military bases and occupation forces in Japan.

The U.S. must cope with the peace strivings of the Japanese people and constitutional restrictions on Japanese militarization. Economic concessions to Japan seek to soften opposition to the military-political collaboration.

Thus, the export of autos to the U.S. is crucial to the health of the Japanese economy. Washington extracts concessions by threatening restrictions on these exports, including: 1) continued Japanese militarization and expanded cooperation with the U.S. military in the Northwest Pacific; 2) deregulation of Japanese financial markets to secure greater integration under Wall Street

hegemony; 3) granting increased export quotas in the U.S. to Japanese affiliates of the U.S. Big Three, while limiting export increases by Toyota, Nissan, Honda and Mitsubishi.

The 1985 informal quota for Japanese car imports is 2.3 million, up 450,000 from 1984. Of the increase, 367,000 or 80% goes to the Japanese affiliates of General Motors and Chrysler. Ford also has a stake in the Japanese company, Mazda. At the same time, new super-automated plants are being set up by Japanese-Big Three partnerships, with new labor setups weakening existing unions.

The Big Three also are rapidly increasing their connections with Korean firms, where the wage level is a small fraction of the Japanese or U.S. levels and where workers toil extra-long hours and have no rights. Along with Japan, South Korea has the largest U.S. occupation forces, except for West Germany.

Other U.S. industries, such as steel and machine tools, have not been able to escape big losses from competition by Japanese, Korean and other foreign capitalists through organization of cartels with them.

With almost no import penetration in the 1960's, foreign machine tools accounted for almost 33% of the domestic market in 1983, jumping to 42%.

A major role in this was played by U.S. auto companies, which decided to retool largely with imports. The overvalued dollar accelerated, but is not the root cause of this trend.

Japanese labor relations being imported with the products are creating big problems in the United States. They are feudal leftovers. For example, the number of small shops making parts for industries are seen as "extended families." U.S. capitalism is pushing many of these proposals. They are a cover for increased exploitation, for higher profits.

The question of imports raises some difficult questions and contradictions for the trade union movement and for our Party.

On the one hand, we are bound to defend the interests of our class. But we do not want to do it at the expense of workers in other countries. We must not in any way help the capitalist class put our working class in opposition to the working class of other countries.

Thus, there are problems, the answers to which are not an easy "yes" or "no."

At our 23rd National Convention in Cleveland, we said,

"The federal laws regulating imports and exports are basically for protection of corporate profits because most of the foreign imports are not foreign. Many of the imports are U.S. corporate and bank-owned imports under foreign labels. This trend is growing.

"We must honestly say that the import-export crisis has created a dilemma for workingclass internationalism. The solution cannot be at the expense of the working class of any country. As much as possible, the solution must be at the expense of the common enemy, the transnationals and corporations that are creating the dilemma.

"Why not outlaw investing abroad, especially in such countries as South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil and

other nations under the heel of Right-wing military dictatorships, which hold power only with military and financial support of the U.S. government, and where wages are low, unions persecuted, union leaders jailed and strikes outlawed?

"Why not a law that stipulates that for every dollar U.S. banks or corporations invest in other countries they must invest five dollars in the corresponding domestic industry?"

"Why not tax the superprofits from foreign investments?" (Main Report to 23rd National Convention, "For Jobs, Peace and Equality," November 10, 1983.)

Since then, the problem has become more acute and the solutions more difficult to come by.

Are there situations where we should take a different tactic? I think there are.

When the U.S. monopoly corporations, who do not care a wit about the workers of any country, conspire with the corporations and trade union leaders of another country at the total expense of U.S. workers, then it seems to me we have to take a new look.

For example, we could work with the trade unions and Communist Parties of other countries to stop all exports and imports if the workers of both countries are not getting equal wages. Or possible laws that equalize profits from both domestic and foreign production.

We do not have a clear solution, but it seems to me we have to get involved. Maybe a world conference of Communist Parties from the exporting and importing countries would now be helpful.

DOWNWARD MOBILITY

The other long-term economic factor that influences political class relations and the decline of Reaganism is the fact that there is a continuing decline in the overall standard of living of the U.S. people. The constant chipping away at the standard of living often goes unnoticed. It is difficult to keep track of the endless ways the ruling class keeps eating away at the working class's and people's quality of life. It is without precedent that the standard of living keeps declining even through economic upturns as well as downturns.

The cumulative effect of this chipping away takes its toll. There is a visible, qualitative change in the process of pauperization taking place. For millions it is an economic downward mobility.

The long term downward trend in real wages started ten years ago. The wage takebacks are not being made up and inflation keeps chipping away at what is left.

For millions laid off because of plant closings, living standards are lowered because these workers are forced to live on unemployment or welfare checks, or forced to take jobs at much lower wages, sometimes as much as 50% lower.

There is the two-tier wage structure which is nothing more than a big wage cut. For example, United Airlines wants the union to agree that all new workers hired will work at the lower wage scale for 18 years, which means that once adopted, slowly the top tier wage category will disappear and the lower wage, which is about 50% lower in some grades, will gradually become the standard wage rate for a pilot. It is a form of union wage rate attrition. It retires not only workers, but the hard-won union wage scales.

The cuts in fringe benefits, which are not being re-

stored, are cuts in the standard of living. The corporate cutoff of pensions, including those cut off by way of Chapter 11 bankruptcy laws, where corporations just decide they can't make the payments, is not only outright robbery, but also another cut in the standard of living.

There are more and more non-union shops and industries. Sweatshops have once again become a mass phenomenon. There are some 3,000 in New York, 2,000 in Los Angeles and hundreds in Chicago. In some cases wages are as low as \$1 per hour. More than foreign imports, it is these sweatshops that cut into the production in union shops.

There are millions more who work below the minimum wage level, while Reagan pushes the sub-minimum wage law and Free Enterprise Zones, which will institutionalize the slave wages.

There are also two-tier wage gimmicks. Once established, the sub-minimum wage will become the standard, non-union wage.

The practice of contracting out to non-union contractors is a factor cutting the standard of living.

Then there are Reagan's 100 per cent cuts in people-helping programs, in aid to dependent children, education, child care, Medicaid and Medicare. Rents, medical care and housing costs are soaring out of reach, leaving hunger, sickness and homeless families.

These are part of the deep cut in the living standard and overall quality of life.

The agricultural crisis is resulting in a deep cut in the standard of living on the land. This year alone 200,000 families will not only lose their farms, but will slip below the poverty level—and increasing numbers of farmers will become suicide statistics.

Ninety-five percent of the farmers divide 16% of the net farm income. And 5 per cent gobble up 84% of all farm income. It is the most economically polarized sector in our country.

The farmers are also in an economic downward mobility, but on the fast track.

Our recent national emergency farm conference laid out the crisis on the farms and concrete proposals for action by districts that are most affected. We must now follow up and assure that the clubs become involved in the mounting protest movements that will increasingly take more and more militant actions as the situation grows worse and Reaganism continues to veto all help for the desperate family farms.

The homeless, hungry, the sick and disabled, the millions who are living below the poverty level are but the most visible of the working class and people whose living standards are being eroded.

Of those living in poverty, almost 30 million are white, 12 million are Black, Hispanic and Asian. Twenty-three percent of our children now live at the poverty level. One-half of all Afro-American and one-third of all Hispanic children live in poverty.

WHAT THE CLUBS CAN DO

There is not a club of our Party which is not in one way or another affected by the process of pauperization. Our clubs should be especially sensitive to the social, psychological, as well as economic effect this has on the unemployed and on workers in the shop.

This long-range decline in the standard of living has

significant political and ideological effects.

When an industrial plant now shuts down the workers know there are no comparable jobs available anywhere. They are now aware that the problem is not a temporary one. They know, also, that the cuts in living standards are an ongoing, long-term downward process.

The \$500-700 per month soaring rents create a serious housing problem, even for workers who are working.

Millions still come to the end of their unemployment insurance benefits without any options.

And, increasingly, workers are becoming aware that their condition is not of their own making, that their situation is not their own fault.

We have to be sensitive to the changing mood that takes place because of the long-term nature of this process. Workers go from hopeful to hopeless when they see no light at the end of the tunnel.

This argues for the clubs to take struggle initiatives and lead protest movements in the economic sphere.

However, from the club reports it is clear that many clubs and members of the Party are extremely active on issues in general, including issues like supporting legislative action on crisis issues like housing, unemployment and social security.

It is also clear that most clubs are not as active on concrete, specific, immediate problems in their communities, such as the homelessness and hunger, and the problems of the long-term unemployed, child care and medical care.

For example, a club reports going to the state capital to demonstrate against gentrification and co-oping and for rent control. This is very good. However, the club says nothing about working with the people who are already victimized.

And another. A club is very active in supporting legislation against plant closings as well as leafleting on nationalization using eminent domain, because a large

plant in their community has just closed. This is also very good. But the club says nothing about the laid-off workers and their families who are already suffering the effects of the plant closing.

Today, there should not be a club of the Communist Party that remains silent when an industrial plant closes. We must become initiators and organizers of fightback movements, both against the plant closing and for the welfare of the laid-off workers.

Every club of the Communist Party in one way or another should be working among the unemployed—distributing leaflets and the press at welfare and unemployment centers. Clubs should be organizing people-helping committees and JOIN chapters.

Or, how about a club announcing a telephone number people can call for advice or help with emergencies like losing their homes and hunger. The Tacoma Unemployment Center in Washington State we heard about at our last convention remains an active center of struggle. This Center is a good example for clubs to study.

There should be no club that is not involved in one way or another with problems of taxes, not only organizing against tax hikes, but a struggle for tax cuts for the working and poor people. Clubs should produce leaflets exposing Reagan's corporate coverup tax plan to "simplify" the system for the rich and monopolies.

There should be no club that is not involved in some way in the housing crisis, organizing around rent control, gentrification and affordable rents. But we must also be active around evictions.

As a result of the declining standard of living, the crisis of everyday living is getting more critical.

Clubs must become activists and leaders in the economic arena.

IV. THE OLD AND THE NEW

When dealing with different sectors of the people we must always keep in mind that they are not static, not stagnant or stationery. They are constantly in motion, in the process of change. They move with and create new political currents. They change in an ongoing ideological process.

As a result they respond differently to events today than they did a year or five years ago. Besides many other things, their priorities change. When we do not take these changes into consideration we tend to tail movements and struggles and to misjudge the thinking and mood of the masses. In fact, we become tactically stagnant. We cease to give vanguard leadership.

Therefore, it is necessary constantly to update our assessments and refresh our tactics.

It is always important to be alert to what is new and growing. There are situations in which the new should still be dealt with in the framework of the old. But it is most important, from a tactical viewpoint, to be able to recognize when there is a qualitative change in the relationship between the new and the old, a point when it is necessary to see the new as the dominant factor. Then the new must be seen as the framework in which we must deal with the old.

OVERLAPPING OF ISSUES

One of the new and growing factors in this period is the coming together and overlapping of issues and struggles. The objective developments that bring this about are the triple layers of the economic crisis, because to one degree or another they affect the great majority of the people.

This is especially true of the effects of the structural crisis. When a plant shuts down it affects all workers, all families, all communities, all small businesspeople.

The overlapping also holds for the fear of nuclear war. There are no hiding places from a nuclear war for any section of the population. How this issue overlaps other questions is evident in the scope of the freeze movement, which tends to cut across all sectors of the population.

The struggles that are taking place over the federal budget in a new way bring together the overlapping issues of Social Security, farm loans, interest rates, the military budget and many more.

This does not mean all the effects are equal. For instance, it does not mean there is no need for special de-

mands and struggles against the special effects of racism or for women's equality. What it does mean, however, is that we have to take into tactical consideration the fact that the overlapping objective developments mesh with concepts like an all-people's front, which is much more in tune with these new overlapping developments.

These developments create objective factors that make it possible for a many-sided struggle and the need for a new emphasis on all-around unity.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Another area of mass trends where the new must increasingly be taken into consideration is the maturing of class consciousness. The objective conditions that give rise to class consciousness in the ranks of the workers are the experiences and struggles at the point of production.

There is a coming together in broad circles of class consciousness and rising consciousness of the role of the class struggle and the role of the working class.

This creates the objective conditions for broad anti-monopoly coalitions and alliances between the working class and its allies. The maturing of class consciousness influences all sectors of the multiracial, multinational male-female working class. This has a special effect on all questions and all sectors.

The maturing of class consciousness brings with it a deeper sense of class unity.

With white workers, it becomes a stronger barrier against the influences of racism and other bourgeois influences. They see more clearly the monopoly corporations as the enemy.

With Black workers, class consciousness develops to where the primary identification is with the class. This leads to strong anti-capitalist sentiments. This does not mean class consciousness replaces identification with race and nationality. But the new and growing identification is with the class.

The same process and change is going on in the ranks of all sections of the class. The growth of class consciousness in the ranks of Mexican-American workers, including the workers in agriculture, leads to a growing identification with the class. For Puerto Rican workers the dominant identification is with the working class.

For workers who have national and cultural ties with the people of other countries it is important to see that there is a growing identification with the working class in general, but the growing trend is the identification with

the U.S. working class.

With the entrance of women into industry there is also a new growth of class consciousness in the ranks of women. And because of the experiences of struggle and the need for unity, the class consciousness of male workers becomes a factor in eliminating male supremacist influences.

The same process takes place in the ranks of the unemployed.

So this maturing of class consciousness is a critical historic process. It is a dialectical process that takes place alongside many other developments over a period of time. But at a certain point the change becomes more obvious and operative. It has an effect on objective developments.

As the working class becomes more class conscious its influence grows because the source of its influence is its position of greater unity and strength.

This is also true for the different sectors; their influence grows as they become more class conscious.

This process of change should be reflected in how we approach the working class. It should determine the level and the framework in which we deal with issues. I think we underestimate the level and rate of this process.

Even our description of a multiracial, multinational, male-female, young and older working class is misused. The intent was to place the emphasis on the oneness. But some place the emphasis on the separate sections. We not only have to be sensitive to the process, but always keep in mind that the molding and maturing process will continue.

THE PARTY'S ROLE IN THE PROCESS

We are not and must not be spectators on the sidelines in this process. We have a unique contribution to make. The objective developments and the class struggle lay the basis for this maturity. The task of our Party is many-sided:

1) Recognizing the process and the new level of class consciousness;

2) Understanding its significance;

3) Promoting its growth.

The natural question is how to stimulate the growth of class consciousness. We can do this by keeping our eyes on the class struggle ball and by

1) Constantly explaining the class nature of exploitation;

2) Focusing on issues that affect the whole class;

3) Putting emphasis on issues that unite the class;

4) Pointing the finger at the capitalist class as the root of all problems;

5) Patiently and ceaselessly question and explain what is wrong with capitalism, explain the class nature of exploitation and the irreconcilable contradictions between the classes.

If we are to be more of a factor in stimulating class consciousness we must tirelessly deal with these basic questions. Without this, we will be treading the ideological waters.

The question is, can we take for granted class consciousness in the ranks of our Party? We make a mistake when we do. It is one of the big ideological weaknesses in our ranks, including our leadership.

Non-working class, petty-bourgeois influences seep

in when class consciousness is low.

A deep class consciousness is a necessary foundation for Marxism-Leninism. It is a necessary prerequisite for a lifetime commitment to the Party of the working class.

It is the foundation on which to build a workingclass kind of cadre.

We cannot take it for granted. It must be included in all of our schools, study outlines, club educationals, in our press and publications.

NEW PARTY TRADE UNION PROGRAM

Based on these concepts of what is new and growing we have developed and drafted the new Party trade union program for discussion and adoption. This new program is in response to the changes in the workingclass and trade union movement.

These changes are taking place because of objective developments in the class struggle. They are a response to the effects of the three-layered economic crisis, especially in response to the structural crisis. They are reactions to the Reagan-corporate offensive, to the cutbacks and concessions. They are reactions to the nuclear war danger and the escalating military budgets.

A new trend toward political independence in the trade union movement emerged in the presidential election. This new trend has surfaced on the picket lines and arrests at South African consulates. The new is emerging in the struggle against further concessions, in the fight-back against the two-tier wage swindle, in the new level of class unity, of class solidarity.

The new is making its appearance in the decline of anti-communism in the unions. It makes its presence felt in the growth of the broad Left sector, in the growth of the Party's influence within the movement.

The new is strongest in the rank and file. But it is also making its way into the higher levels of the trade union leadership.

The draft Party trade union program is in response to all these new developments.

The program discusses the older negatives and weaknesses. But it correctly does so in the framework of what is new. And not the new in the framework of the old. That's because of the qualitative change that is taking place.

Some comrades have difficulties with this. They tend to dismiss the new, placing instead an emphasis on the weaknesses, in the framework of the old. This leads only to pessimism and to increasingly defensive tactics.

For example, when we judge the labor movement, even trade union leaders, without taking into consideration the concrete, objective situations that the working class faces, our estimates are often not in accord with reality.

We have to see the trade union movement in the proper framework of today. The corporate-Reagan offensive is having its effect. But the main emphasis must be on this offensive. But we have to place it not just in this offensive, but in the context also of what the structural crisis has done, objectively, to the trade union movement.

If we put this all together this presents the workingclass and trade union movement with more difficult problems. And we must not put the blame on the trade unions.

The major problem is the nature of the objective situation because of the structural crisis. This is what we have to deal with. We cannot deal with the unions without taking into consideration the times and the objective situation. We even have to deal with class collaboration in the proper framework.

Especially if we do not have real solutions, we should be very modest with our criticisms. And we must at all times be partisan to our class and to the trade union movement.

It is easy to sit on the sidelines when you don't have to deal with the specifics of the corporate offensive, the structural crisis, the Reagan administration, the new Right-wing network, the professional anti-union outfits, etc.

We must not even inadvertently undermine, under-rate or attack the trade unions. We must at all times take their point of view into consideration, defend them and refuse to be critical in a way that is destructive or downgrading.

Not seeing the significance of the new—the independent role of labor in the presidential elections—has already led some comrades to draw some wrong and unnecessarily negative conclusions from the elections.

Because they did not see the new—the independent role of labor—these comrades did not see the damage done by Gary Hart's anti-trade union "special interest groups" campaign.

Of course it is possible to overstate what is new. But it is much more damaging to continue dealing with questions as if there is nothing new, because that leads to stagnation of thinking and no action.

THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS AND INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

The structural crisis is making some dramatic changes in the overall industrial complex.

Industries have declined. Industries have disappeared. And some new ones have made the scene.

The industrial complex is being decentralized, dispersed and spread out.

Of some 60 mini-steel mills, 8 are in Florida, 7 in Texas, 5 in California, 4 each in South and North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia and 2 in Hawaii.

It is difficult to think of Florida and Hawaii as steel centers. This is a new concept.

The high-tech industries are spread throughout the 50 states. The same is true of the electrical, auto and aerospace industries. These new plants now stretch along the freeways outside of the industrial centers. There are the new plants along the U.S.-Mexican border. Most of these plants are unorganized.

This dispersal presents a serious problem of organizing the unorganized.

This redistribution of the industries creates some new problems. But in no way does this change some basic concepts:

- 1) It does not affect or change the class struggle;
- 2) It does not cut down the size of or eliminate the working class or the industrial working class;
- 3) It does not change the role of the working class;
- 4) It does not eliminate or change the basic role of the trade unions.

And because it does not make any changes in the

above it does not change the need for the Party to pursue our policy of industrial concentration.

It does mean, however, that we cannot continue to put all our efforts into the older, basic industrial centers. It means we must pay more attention and put more of our human, financial and political resources to work in the newer industrial states, without in any way cutting back in the older industrial centers.

There are also some inner-changes in the old industrial states. There are new industrial centers in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, California, Massachusetts and others.

Therefore, the district Party organizations must also make some structural changes.

These changes mean that the Party state organizations and the clubs in the states that have recently become industrialized must now give a much higher priority to industrial concentration.

And these changes need to focus our work in the shops. While it is necessary to include work in workingclass neighborhoods as a feature of industrial concentration, this must not be seen as its only or even main feature.

The transfer of our Trade Union Department to the Midwest was in tune with the new changes. After some ironing out of organizational and cadre kinks the Department is beginning to function and is grappling with the problems and tasks. It was a correct move.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

The four years of Reagan's racist rhetoric and openly racist policies are now showing up in grim new statistics, in terrible new conditions and new poverty and suffering.

The economic upturn has not only bypassed the Afro-American working class and people, but also their communities. The Reagan years have increased the number of unemployed, the number of homeless and hungry, the rate of infant mortality and malnutrition, the number of children living in poverty and hunger, the unemployed, the permanently unemployed, especially the number of youth who are unemployed and the number of homeless who have been forced onto the unemployed and welfare lines.

Afro-Americans are 10% of the U.S. labor force and 20% of the jobless. Twenty-five percent of all Black youth up to 24 years of age have never had a job, never experienced economic stability or security. One half of all Black children live in poverty.

The Reagan years have halted and reversed many of the gains in housing, in education, in jobs, in job training, in health and medical care.

The monopoly corporations and the Reagan administration keep slamming racist economic doors shut.

Attorney General Meese leads an aggressive war to close all the doors that affirmative action programs have opened.

Reagan and the Republican-controlled Senate are riding roughshod on the budget to eliminate and slam the doors on job-training programs.

Cut-offs of student loans are shutting Afro-Americans out of colleges. There has been a marked decline in college enrollment of minority students.

Plant closings shut the doors on Black workers.

The Reagan administration has effectively cut off all legal or contractual pressures on government-funded construction programs, shutting the door on Black construction workers.

And, while there is some increase in the hiring of minorities in the low-paid service and communication industries and in civil service, this does not make up for the job losses due to the structural crisis.

Add to this the Reaganite stacking of the Civil Rights Commission and racist pressures on the Supreme Court to undo integration and busing, to destroy affirmative action programs and eliminate racist hiring practices, and it is clear there is a conscious, all-out attempt to turn back the clock on all the advances and hard-won gains in every area of life.

Sometimes one dramatic event, one action gives the clearest signals about the overall reality, for instance, the dropping of a military-size bomb on the roof of a Black workingclass housing complex by the Philadelphia police.

This was a racist anti-workingclass act. It signaled a new level of racist violence directed at men, women and children. It was an act of official terrorism.

While there are several important secondary issues, we have to keep the focus on the main aspect—the racist terror.

Our Party clubs must make the connection in their own communities between this crime and Reaganite racism generally, because this act cannot be separated from Reaganism, which creates the political and ideological atmosphere for these kind of vicious official crimes.

This level of raw racism is in keeping with the use of electric zap guns used to torture victims of police brutality in New York City and battering rams to break into homes for illegal searches in Los Angeles. Crimes against Black and other oppressed minorities by city police, like the murder of Eleanor Bumpers and others, adds to the overall reality of unleashed racist violence, sanctioned by the U.S. government.

This kind of racist terror calls for a new level of response by the working class, by the U.S. people and by our Party. It calls for a new level of unity that can demand and win a halt to this new wave of racism.

On the other hand, there are also new mass trends that move in the opposite direction and are not in keeping with the racist campaign of rhetoric and actions of the Reagan administration.

The objective developments, including the overall decline in the standard of living and quality of life, tend to promote not only class unity, but also a broader Black-white unity.

This is expressed on the picketlines, in demonstrations, on college campuses, at trade union meetings and in protest movements.

Black, white, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian and Native American workingclass unity has increasingly be-

come the deciding factor in local and statewide elections. It resulted in the victories over Reaganism in the '84 elections. It resulted in the election of Black officials in predominantly white workingclass communities. This unity resulted in the election of progressive Black and white candidates.

To be effective our tactics in the struggle for equality must take into account these new positive trends.

In our preparations for the coming June 15-16 national Party conference on Afro-American equality we have to make a deeper study of the new. And we must include a reassessment of some of the old concepts and slogans to see whether they are in tune with the new developments.

The conference will also deal with the newer ideological and political currents, such as the small but growing Right wing, the continuing decline in all the separatist, go-it-alone trends, the most significant developments in political independence, including the very influential movement led by the Congressional Black Caucus, a further assessment of the tremendous electoral upsurge, led by Jesse Jackson, a study of how Black public officials were elected, including in areas where Black voters are a minority.

The conference will also deal with such currents as the Erie movement and some of the new trends in the Black organizations, Black newspapers and, most importantly, will examine the role and development of Black workers.

In this sense the national conference can make an important contribution to our work in the coming period.

Clubs and districts should help prepare for the conference by giving their assessments and projections that can be incorporated into the deliberations of the conference and by assuring maximum Party attendance and participation in the conference itself.

THE ULTRA-RIGHT AND THE "WHIFF OF FASCISM"

The ultra-Right and the "whiff of fascism" remains a danger. What's new is that for the second term Reagan is surrounding himself with even more ultra-Right-wing elements, like Buchanan, Regan and Meese. More of the fanatical and fascist groups have gone public.

What is also new is the growing public concern and the increase in rejection and activity against the ultra-Right.

The base of the ultra-Right has not expanded. In fact, the Bitburg fiasco stimulated serious anxiety about the extreme Right and fascist-like activities.

We must do more in exposing not only the ultra-Right organizations, but the base of their support, both political and financial.

The process of change in many areas has accelerated. Therefore, we must be much more alert, much more tuned in and prepared to make changes ourselves in order to keep pace with our policies and especially with our tactics at the club level.

V. UPDATE: THE ELECTORAL SCENE

The ebb in the affairs of monopoly capital and Reaganism creates the objective conditions for the rise, the increased flow in the movements and struggles of the people.

Because of the declining lame duck presidency, the people's political leverage shifts to the U.S. Congress and state and city governments.

Therefore, the Party also has to shift its focus and emphasis. In the present situation the fact is that in many situations the Party clubs can make the difference in how individual congresspeople and senators vote, which in turn, because of the close votes, can make the difference on a final vote on issues.

The truth is that because the vote was so close, better work by some Party clubs could have tipped the scales on the MX missile vote.

Therefore, it has become important during this period that the Party clubs become expert lobbyists. The Party clubs must become active in building coalitions, ad hoc committees around legislative issues like Social Security, taxes, affirmative action, the military budget, housing and unemployment bills.

Clubs could spark "Put the Heat on Congress" campaigns, mobilizing their communities and shops to call their congresspeople using their home district telephone numbers to register their protests and opinions.

This kind of mass lobbying and legislative work will also lay the basis for the '86 electoral campaign and for the 1985 mayoralty campaigns.

The earlier the independent movements act around legislative issues and tie them to the '86 congressional elections, the more leverage they will have on how Congress will vote in the next 18 months.

Simple, seemingly small actions can be effective enough to move huge political mountains when they are done by groups and in great numbers.

Some estimate that within days after the Senate voted to cut Social Security, 250,000 cards and letters of protest flooded Congress.

Again, one of the more potent forms of political expression has become calling congresspeople and senators on their home district phones with messages which are registered in a computer, printed out, and given to the legislators daily, giving them a composite of the opinions and positions of their constituencies.

To launch this campaign the Daily World has started

a regular box providing the telephone numbers of legislators in their home districts. The numbers will be published daily by states.

It should become a routine that each club assign a protest secretary, a comrade that provides such telephone numbers together with addressed and stamped postcards that club members, friends, neighbors and coworkers can fill out on the spot and mail.

These are just a few examples of how the club must become more action- and outreach-oriented.

INDEPENDENT FORCES

The post-election period has given further proof that the emergence of the independent forces in the presidential election was not a one-shot deal.

The big debate now among old-party politicians is how best to deal with the trade union movement and the Rainbow Coalition forces in the 1986 elections. Even the new Secretary of Labor Brock was picked because the Reaganites think he may be able to make inroads into labor's ranks for the Republican candidates.

Leading Democrats are split over how to relate to labor and the Afro-American community. Senator Edward Kennedy is among those who are dropping their liberal lines and caving in to the Reaganites and big business interests.

The dilemma in the Democratic Party concerning their relationship to the independent forces was best articulated by Kennedy:

"We are for labor, but not a labor party; we are for women's rights, but not a women's party; we are for minority rights, but not a minority party." He might as well have said, "We are for big business and we are a big business party."

Retreating still further, Kennedy argued, "Those of us who care about domestic spending must do more with less." Less of what? Jobs? Food? Housing? Education? And, less for whom? Not big business, but the people, of course.

The Democratic Party's crisis is further deepened by the emergence of the new Right-wing, led by Senators Nunn and Capewhart. The new conservative Right-wing caucus has money and it is beginning to have an impact on the whole party. Some are working based on the mistaken conclusion that Mondale and Ferraro did not win because their policies were too liberal and Left.

The question we have to deal with is: where does

this leave independent sectors that worked within the Democratic Party? Is it possible for these sectors to continue working within the Democratic Party with these kinds of forces?

The independent forces have two options:

1) They can continue to go along in the Democratic Party, or,

2) Do what the conservatives are doing—organize independent forms. This is a decisive question going into the '85-'86 elections.

These developments are creating difficulties for the independent movements and have created some divisions in the trade union movement.

In the trade union movement there are several tendencies.

1) There are those who want to continue the tactics of political independence developed for the 1984 elections, as expressed by Kirkland. In response to signals from the Democratic Party that it wants labor to be less politically independent, Kirkland said,

"The plain truth is that labor is the chief representative force that keeps the real special interests from dominating American life."

He urged trade unionists to ignore those in the Democratic Party who say it should

"further distance itself from its natural constituency—that it turn a cold shoulder on labor, on the minorities, and on women's issues. Their formula for electoral success is to stake out a piece of the conservative field and call it the center. They want us to stay in the background and come out only to deliver votes. But we're frankly no longer willing to do that on a national or state level. Our movement today is challenged on virtually every front—the political front, the organizing front and the economic front. We have powerful forces arrayed against us. But we have no intention of backing down."

These statements are expressions of the growing fightback militancy and the growing sentiment for political independence on the part of the rank and file.

2) There are those who want to go back to being the tail of the Democratic Party. And, of course, some continue being the tail of the Republican Party, such as the Teamsters union leaders who buy time from going to prison for stealing from Teamster pension funds, and some Social Democrats who want to stay in the Democratic Party and be more like **Democrats than Democrats.

3) And there are increasing numbers of trade union leaders who are seriously talking about organizing a new independent political formation, including advocating a new party. In the grassroots of political independence there is disillusionment. There is a searching and seeking for something new. There is deep disappointment when, as in New York City to this point, no meaningful alternative candidate or coalition has emerged against Koch.

Here we should mention the advanced forms in Wisconsin. These are perhaps the best developed and most effective thus far in the country.

In Wisconsin separate forces have come together to form a farmer-labor alliance. There are other groupings also. It is possible that out of this will come a new party development. This takes advantage of old Progressive

Party traditions.

In that movement trade unions are playing the leading role, including large unions such as auto and steel. The platform and programs are at a rather high anti-monopoly level, good on peace and the struggle against racism.

The Wisconsin development is a reflection of what is happening down below in the grassroots and rank and file everywhere.

We should leave open for the moment the question of whether we should project more advanced concepts of a third party. Or, whether it would be tactically correct to urge the independent forces to withdraw from the Democratic Party structure. We have to take a good, hard look at this before making any judgments.

A word of caution. As usual, the phoney Trotskyite Left sects worm their way into such formations to disrupt, divert, take over and destroy. To help you recognize and deal with these groups we have included in your kit a list of the phoney left groupings in this country. If you know of additional groups, please notify the National Office.

Our policy must be to continue to help build the different independent forms. And we should continue in our efforts to bring the different independent sectors closer together into more organized coalitions. Of course, we will also continue our advocacy of a new broad-based independent electoral party.

PROPOSED SHIFT IN ELECTORAL TACTICS

These new developments call for raising to a higher level the initiatives for broad, Left electoral forms. We must continue and accelerate our efforts to get more workers, Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, women, seniors and youth to run for public office.

A committee set up to support an independent candidate can become an effective vehicle for political independence.

We must continue to increase our efforts to run and elect Communist candidates.

However, taking the new developments into consideration, we want to propose a tactical shift in our electoral work. We are projecting this shift to make it easier for the Left and progressive forces to work with our Party in the electoral arena.

In the current situation, our influence among the Left forces is growing. Our electoral campaigns have attracted many of the Left forces.

However, it is also true that in many ways our influence does not yet result in these forces being able to openly support Communist candidates. There is still a gap between our influence and the active support we get, especially the public support for Communist candidates. Because there is still fear, these forces work with us in many ways and let us know in non-public ways that they agree with us and appreciate our role and would like to work with us more openly.

We propose that wherever possible we support or initiate Communist-Left or Left-progressive-Communist electoral fronts.

We propose that wherever possible and advisable we take the initiative in organizing such electoral structures.

In a sense, this can serve the same purpose as pro-

portional representation did in the elections of Ben Davis and Pete Cacchione. This will serve to cement our relationships with the broad Left.

Needless to say, this has nothing to do with coalitions or alliances with phoney Left groups. Our policy is NOT to work in any way with these groups because working with them becomes the obstacle to coalitions and alliances with the serious broad Left forces.

There are situations when we have to work with broader Left groups in which the phoney Left elements have infiltrated. We have to master the art of exposing and isolating such elements in the mass movements, while winning over the honest, serious Left forces.

What are the advantages of such a Left-progressive-Communist electoral front?

It would provide a structure for the Party to work with broader Left electoral forces.

It would create a kind of shield for people who want to support us but are not yet ready to be public supporters of Communist ticket.

It could provide a link with growing organized Left forces.

It would help the Party to overcome some of the legal electoral obstacles and hassles.

The question is: are there pitfalls we must be aware of in pursuing this kind of electoral policy?

The answer is, yes. The most serious one will be the danger of liquidationism. This is a legitimate concern. The liquidators would come out of the woodwork. Comrades with weakness in this direction will be tempted.

It could become an obstacle to Party building, an excuse for hiding the Party, for not working toward public presence of the Party.

However, I am convinced that the Party is now strong enough to resist these pressures, especially if we take measures to resist the pitfalls. Then the advantages will outweigh the dangers.

There will be many other questions, such as:

Will we still run candidates on the Communist Party line? Yes, of course we will. Whenever we decide it is

necessary and advisable.

Will publicly known Communists run on the slates of independent groups? I see no reason why not.

What would be the relationship of Communists to other groups in such an electoral front? Generally, we would not hide. And we would not flaunt ourselves.

WHAT THE CLUBS SHOULD DO

This new electoral tactic is ready made for the activities of the club. It will be much easier for the clubs to consider running Communists for local office. It will open the doors for the possibilities of electing Communists to local positions. It is a structure for the building of local Communist-Left unity, not only for electoral purposes, but in all fields of struggle.

Because the clubs as a rule have not been active in local electoral races, with this new structure clubs should boldly jump in with both feet.

Again, the approach should be to jump in on a simple, minimum basis. For instance, talk to your neighbor or your co-worker, or your relatives, or members of organizations you belong to, to raise the question of setting up a simple election committee to elect quality candidates—labor, Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, women and, where possible, Communists.

What are some possibilities in terms of tickets and forms? There can be many. But just a few ideas: a People United ticket, People Before Profits ticket, Labor People United, Black-White United.

I think the structure generally should be a committee form. I do not see a membership organization, at least at this point.

We will be discussing these proposals as an agenda point at this meeting. I think this tactical shift will open up many possibilities for clubs to get into the electoral arena and run Communists for office on many kinds of tickets. It holds some exciting prospects for our Party, for Communists to run and win especially local elections.

VI. BUILD THE CLUBS— BUILD THE PARTY

To make 1985 the year of the big step forward in building the Party the clubs must be the main focus of this meeting. This is not an easy focus. We must all do a lot of fresh, creative and bold thinking in the light of all that is new.

Generally, the Milwaukee conference set the stage for the club focus. Since then we have made some very important progress. Just the fact that we are having a Central Committee/National Council meeting devoted to the clubs is a reflection of that progress.

Since Milwaukee, the number of clubs that function well has increased. However, there are still many clubs that have not yet made the turn and still hang on to some old concepts. In fact, these clubs reject and resist change.

Therefore, we have many important political, organizational and ideological questions to take up.

We correctly talk about and quote Lenin on the Party of a new type. The question we have to try to answer is: can we be a party of a new type without the clubs providing the solid foundation for such a party of a new type? We need a new-type club for a Party of a new type.

Lenin's concept of a workingclass revolutionary political Party was modeled in the struggle against liberal petty-bourgeois social-democratic concepts of the Party. In theory, these forces were reformist; organizationally, they were anarchists; in life, they were discussion circles.

Lenin's concept of the Party of a new type was developed in response to the historic role and revolutionary tasks of the working class.

Lenin developed the structure of democratic centralism with the clubs as the base of the Party's activities. Without clubs there was no need for democratic centralism.

The Leninist structure presented the idea of active leadership of mass movements and struggles — by the clubs. It added the element of active leadership to the concept of influencing mass trends and mass mood.

Lenin presented the concept of concentration on the industrial workers as a foundation-stone for the Party. This was in response to the historic role of the working class.

A Party of a new type was necessary in order to fulfill the vanguard role of the Party.

When Lenin repeatedly called for the Party to "organize itself to lead millions," he was talking about the clubs, the "nucleus or cells" as they were called then.

Of course, the concept of "a Party of a new type," is not the same for all time or for all situations.

We must take the political, ideological and structural essence of this concept as a guide and mold our own Party of a new type. This is in response to the needs of our present situation.

BUILD ON PROGRESS

Our task is not to build from scratch. We can now build on the progress we have made to raise our clubs to a new, higher level. Certainly, since Milwaukee we have "raised our sights" and with them our clubs to a much higher level.

We must not approach questions of the clubs, here or in the districts, on the basis of criticizing the clubs, that we in the leadership have always had the right answers but the clubs have not accepted them.

If we had the answers, there is no question the clubs would have accepted and applied them. The fact is that the weaknesses in the work of the clubs are to a large extent reflections of weaknesses of our leadership.

They are OUR weaknesses.

Also, we must not approach the questions and problems of clubs as if there are no objective problems. There are. It is much too easy to discuss and criticize on a subjective basis. But this would not be helpful to the clubs or the leadership.

OBJECTIVE PROBLEMS

There are some very real, objective obstacles—political, ideological and tactical.

For example, in examining the work of the clubs we must take into account the lingering anti-communist atmosphere we work in. We must reject, however, any exaggeration or overstatement that does not see the radical changes taking place.

Perhaps for those of us who lived through the McCarthy hysteria period it is easier to see the vast difference in the atmosphere today.

And, there are other objective problems, including those that have nothing to do with the political climate.

We must try not to criticize without offering some accompanying proposals for solutions—some how-to and know-how.

We should present our assessments from the viewpoint of the positive experiences many clubs are having. Most of the clubs are seriously, conscientiously struggling with the problems of public presence, Communist

mass work, Party building, inner club life and the numerous ideological questions. In fact, our clubs have come a long way in all these areas.

But we still have to ask ourselves some hard questions:

— Why are there still clubs that have no designated geographical area of political responsibility?

— Why do we still have clubs with no public presence, which resist taking any steps in that direction or even raising it in the club?

— Why do we still have club execs that evade and resist questions of public presence, Communist essence and Communist mass work?

— Why do we still have clubs that do not meet regularly, do not have functioning club execs, that are remiss in such elementary organizational tasks as collecting dues, but not giving dues stamps?

— Why do we still have clubs that do not distribute the press? Do not issue leaflets in their own name? Do not work to break through in the mass media to speak to millions?

— Why do we still have clubs that do not run Party candidates for local office?

— Why do we still have clubs that do not recruit?

— Why do we still have clubs that pay no attention to industrial concentration?

— Why do we still have clubs with no systematic approach to education, no mailing lists, no study/discussion groups, no Young Communist League?

— Why do we still have city organizations that hold public Communist mass meetings once every four years?

— Why do we still have the phenomenon of one Communist in a shop?

VIEW OF THE PARTY CLUB

These are obviously all expressions of deeper, underlying weaknesses. Therefore, we have to deal with some fundamental questions.

Among them are questions of how we see the Party. We have some who do not see the Party club as an action-oriented political organization. They tend to view the club as a committee, a dues-paying discussion group that reads communications from the district and National Office.

A discussion group does not have to react to events. It feels no need to initiate or lead struggles. On the other hand, for a political party these are bread-and-butter, life-and-death questions.

A discussion group talks about elections and electoral struggles. A political party club must work to influence elections and run candidates.

A discussion group talks about the movements of political independence. A political party club must take initiatives to set up local electoral forms of independent movements.

A discussion group talks about the struggle against racism. A political party club takes concrete steps to bring people together to fight against all manifestations of racism.

These are things even a progressive political club does. But a Communist Party club has a very special, even unique contribution to make.

We cannot fulfill our vanguard role as a revolutionary workingclass party — on a club level — without func-

tioning as an action-oriented political club of the Communist Party.

A discussion group can have meetings for the sake of meeting. But a Communist Party club should hold meetings that result in decisions on how to reach people and take issues into the streets.

A logical question is: are our clubs set up for discussion or action? Simple things often reveal the answer.

For example, does the club have all it takes to put out a leaflet quickly? One of the new things is that there has been an increase in the number of club leaflets. There are district newsletters. And, there are new shop and even block papers. Some are very professional and effective. But most clubs have not yet reached this point.

Or, for example, how many clubs or members have a phone tree so that they can act quickly to mobilize people? Phone trees have become an important tool in mass movements.

FLOATING IN SPACE

Like astronauts and cosmonauts traveling in outer space, many of our clubs still suffer from a kind of weightlessness. When clubs are not affected by the pull of gravity, of the people in their shops and communities, they tend to float, weightless. In such a weightless condition a club tends to be aimless.

In weightlessness, there is no need to have a specific area of work, no need for a policy of concentration.

In weightlessness, the club easily becomes disoriented. Questions are decided on a subjective basis, not on the objective conditions of real life, on how the decisions will affect the people we are working with.

In a weightless condition, there is a lack of consistency. There is no real need for tactics. Tactics are necessary only when one works to influence objective surroundings, the political thought patterns of a community, plant or shop.

It is important for clubs to get reports on what members are doing in their mass movements or organizations they belong to. But when a club does not have its own political plan of work, a Communist club plan of work to make friends and influence people, the reports by individual comrades become what one of the club reports called "show and tell" meetings. They just tell what each member is involved in but do not discuss how they are doing or what is the Communist essence of their work.

When a club does not have political club objectives these reports are like show and tell. When a club does not have a political plan of work, club goals and objectives, the work of individual members tend to hang in space. The work of individual comrades should blend in with and complement Communist club work.

A club floating weightlessly increasingly tends to turn inward because it cannot draw strength from its surroundings. A club-turned inward, routinely dealing with inner problems, cannot for long stay alive. And a club turned inward cannot grow. Eventually members even stop attending meetings or being active altogether. They don't quit, they just fade away. Such a club also prepares the soil for pessimism and cynicism.

BREAKING AWAY

How to breakout of this weightlessness, how to come down to earth, is a critical problem for some clubs.

Even if a club meets regularly, raises funds, reads all communications and announcements, has educationals, has a functioning club exec and all the members pay dues, attend meetings and are active in mass organizations — all this still does not yet measure up to a **CLUB OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY — A CLUB OF A NEW TYPE**.

It is true, all these functions are necessary, but if limited just to them, such a club lacks some essential basics.

BACK TO BASICS

What are some of the political basics for a Communist Party club of a **NEW TYPE**:

1) A club must have a political plan of work, geared to the specific needs of the people in the shop, industry or community the club has selected for its area of responsibility.

The club plan and all the work must be directed to how to change people's thought patterns, how to win people over, to convince them to join the struggle, to join the Party.

2) The plan must include the many-sided ways to build a club mass base, a club constituency, a club following or friends and supporters of the Party club.

3) By and large, members of our Party are involved in organizations and movements. They are activists. But many are not **COMMUNIST** activists. The club should discuss how the mass work of each comrade can blend and harmonize with the club's Communist mass work.

4) The Communist club's mass work must be based on and raise questions of the class struggle, antimonopoly concepts, socialism, the all-people's front, the struggle against racism, class-struggle trade unionism, nationalization, the six-hour day, anti-imperialism, corporate profits, the big lie.

These vanguard Party positions should blend in with the local or shop issues. They should never be projected in the abstract, disconnected from the issues most important to the community or shop, and never too far in advance of their level of consciousness.

5) A club must take initiatives to build coalitions, alliances, caucuses, ad hoc committees in the community or the shop.

6) A communist club should run candidates for local office and wherever possible on Communist-Left slates.

7) A Communist club must make recruiting an ongoing, year-round conditioned reflex. The club must have a well-thought out, realistic recruiting plan and a recurring list (which is distinct from a mailing list that contains all contacts).

The recruiting list should contain only those we are working to bring closer and into the Party. One club calls this their "pink to red" list.

Clubs should work toward having a membership director.

8) A Communist club must take on, head on, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. However, the club must collectively help the membership develop the most effective way of responding to these ideological problems.

9) All clubs should be taking initiatives and leading struggles around the hungry, homeless, unemployed and unorganized. These are must activities during this period.

Most club reports indicated lack of activity and atten-

tion to the crisis of everyday living. The crisis of everyday living has deepened and widened, pulling in more people and intensifying the suffering of those already in crisis. We must become involved. At the same time we must not allow ourselves to become "service" organizations. We can do this by helping in emergencies, contributing to food pantries, aiding tenants with evictions, helping farmers to fight off the auctioneer, but these must be seen as steps toward organizing protest and leading people into struggle.

The Tacoma Unemployment Center is a good example of combining both activities.

10) Clubs must have an education plan of work. Many clubs write that they receive no education outlines or those that they receive are too long. Clubs are asking for educationals to systematize their education work. They ask for video-type, short, popular, almost TV-like educationals that can be used also for recruiting meetings.

11) All clubs must have press distributions. We cannot become a mass party without using the press as a mobilizing and recruiting tool.

Most clubs do have press distributions. But clubs say they need new, creative ways to use the press. One district reports they have a press concentration at a plant, and a new shop paper at that plant. They got grocery, candy and all kinds of other community shops to take the paper; none refused. Now the Daily has a new legitimacy to the workers at the plant. This is a new way of using the press to influence workers.

12) New members must be treated as new. New members must immediately receive a new members kit consisting of material that will familiarize them with the Party politically, ideologically and organizationally. They should get a Party pin, Party pennant, Party pen, or something special made up by the particular district. New members must attend a new members class within a few months. New members must be picked up for their first meetings, introduced and welcomed in a special way into the club. The club exec must meet with every new member shortly after he or she joins, to talk about assignment, personal situation and schedule, Party education, dues, fund pledge, etc.

New members must be made to feel they are welcome in the Communist Party and especially in the club, that they are needed and will be a big asset. They must be made to feel they have done something very big and wonderful in their lives. They should feel different after they join — but the difference must be a good one.

TALKING ABOUT TACTICS

In a Communist club it is not enough to be generally right politically and ideologically. The club has to be right in a way that influences and impresses people. This calls for tactics.

Tactics must reflect the specific makeup of the people we are trying to influence. Tactics must be developed and molded for specific, real people, not people in general, not issues in general, or approaches in general.

National leaflets, pamphlets and even the Daily World and People's World inherently cannot do this. This is why we need shop papers, because the press cannot be specific and concrete enough.

We need shop papers for tactical purposes, just as

we need local leaflets for tactical purposes.

We cannot even begin the process of influencing people if we confine ourselves to general issues. We can start this process only on the issues that are most immediate and most important to the people we want to influence.

The club that works in general, on all issues, on everything and everywhere really works on nothing and nowhere.

When a club of industrial workers says, "our main mass work is peace and Central American solidarity," and says nothing about working on immediate shop issues or the communities, one has to take a second look.

The question is not whether the comrades should work on peace and Central American solidarity. The question is how effective can such work be without a focus on the immediate issues arising from the local or shop class struggle.

The process:

- A club should carefully select a specific defined geographical area.

- Then determine the issues that are most immediate and critical to the population in that area.

- Then carefully develop tactics.

- These steps should be done in this order.

We can't change thought patterns or recruit IN GENERAL. Only on the basis of careful planning, follow up and check up can we build the club and a club following.

On issues. Generally only class conscious workers respond to other workers' problems, to class problems. And all workers are not class conscious. They respond to the immediate issues of direct concern to them, to their families, friends, neighbors and communities. This, then, is where the club must be. When people get involved on the basis of other people's problems, and can see their own interests in others' problems, they are already at a higher level of consciousness.

ON RECRUITING

We are now in a special Party-building drive, which has been extended. Sid Taylor will give you details and speaking schedules. We will be carrying out the drive in conjunction with celebrations of our Party's 66th anniversary.

Here I want to speak about some basics in recruiting that are absolute prerequisites for attracting new members and signing them up.

1) There should be one comrade in charge of recruiting, not to do the recruiting but to keep records, like the all-important list, to follow up, develop ideas, organize special events, etc., and to generally keep the club focused on recruiting in every thing it does.

2) The recruiting list should be a special selective list of those people we are working with to bring them closer and into the Party. To these people we should send special mailings of our Party material, special invitations to events, all Party-issued pamphlets and reports—all geared specifically to convincing these potential members to come closer and eventually to join. This should be a year-round, frequent activity.

3) The club should compile a recruiting kit to be given at a chosen moment to a person we want to win. Then, upon joining, the comrade should get a new member's kit and the one-year special new member's program

of orientation and education should be explained.

4) Consolidating, integrating and educating a new member is as important as getting him or her to sign the card. Signing the card is only the first step in becoming a member of the Communist Party.

5) Mass media work should be considered an integral part of the recruiting process. Making ourselves known and respected in the community is half the job.

6) Communist-sponsored mass meetings, public rallies, outdoor street corner rallies, forums, seminars, press releases, etc., must become part of the club's recruiting plans.

7) Our Communist press can play a big role in acquainting people with the Party, legitimizing it in the eyes of the community and shops, and is an indispensable recruiting tool. As I said, in Detroit placing the Daily World in stores and shops near plants makes the paper more "legitimate" at the shop gate.

8) Open club meetings to which the recruiting list is invited should become a regular feature of club life. At the meeting all invitees should get Party literature and an application card. Club members should feel responsible about attending these affairs, and should make special efforts to talk to the people. It should not be left only to the speaker to do the recruiting.

9) Small, informal, popularly presented study groups have proven to be very successful. They have shown with results that an atmosphere that is sociable, relaxed, informal and informative is conducive to making people feel at home and more inclined to respond positively.

10) Party recruiting should be integrated with building the Young Communist League. The club should become the "bridge to youth."

Of course we want to continue one-on-one recruiting. But we are now in a period when we can do group recruiting.

Recruiting should be done in waves. After the first wave, before long we should begin to work on the relatives, friends, co-workers and neighbors of the new members. This will be the second wave of recruiting.

SPECIAL RECRUITING RECRUITING WORKERS

Recruiting workers requires a special approach and a special method. Clubs have to deal with special working class problems, one of which is security.

Another important element is developing a working class atmosphere in our Party, on all levels. The lack of it shows up in many ways: in our press, in Political Affairs, in leaflets.

The Daily World established a labor desk. So the rest of the Daily staff assumes that will take care of "labor issues." What has to change is that every article must be permeated with working class issues, written from a class viewpoint for worker readers. For example, to start with, most of the articles should be cut in half.

In some districts and clubs we have difficulty in dealing with working class kind of comrades. We don't deal with their special problems, their concerns, their needs.

Workers generally have a strong distaste for quibbling, for pettiness, for abstract inner agitation — which takes place at many club meetings. They naturally respond negatively to factional-type behavior. It is against

their class instincts. They are not comfortable with convoluted, complex approaches to problems. This is more characteristic of professional, intellectual and academic-type comrades, not workingclass types.

Workingclass kind of comrades look for calm, thoughtful discussions. They appreciate frank, open, candid, no-nonsense approaches to problems. We have to find ways of adapting our clubs to this workingclass kind of atmosphere. These approaches are especially important in the period of consolidating new members.

These characteristics of workers are not genetic. They grow out of their class experience. For instance, workers have a collective approach to work simply because they work collectively in the workplace day in and day out. Because of their class experience and class interest they can't afford nonsense, flippancy, and long-drawn-out, complex discussions. Their class position negates arrogance and immodesty. All comrades should strive to emulate the workingclass kind of comrades and cadre.

THE CLUBS NEED WORKINGCLASS KIND OF CADRE

The club of a new type needs to develop workingclass kind of cadre. It needs to develop Communist maturity. You will hear more about our new work in cadre development later, including our plans for a national cadre pool.

Now I would like to point out some qualities and characteristics that make up workingclass kind of cadre, cadre with potential for leadership.

1) Enthusiasm for our Party. Partisanship is a workingclass quality. When a comrades are willing to put the Party first in their lives their potential for growth and struggle to overcome weaknesses is multiplied a hundred times.

2) An action orientation. An important quality is the willingness to understand the line and policy of the Party through life experience, through club experience, through helping to develop tactics and then helping to carry them out. Energy and creativity can make a big difference in club life.

3) An approach to struggle that says, "where there's a will, there's a way." This is a workingclass attitude towards struggle which comes through in a comrade sticking to a task, looking for ways to solve the problems and helping to get the job done in the best possible way. Leading by example. Determination.

4) Willingness to work with others. Collectivity. Getting along with others for the good of the collective. This is the heart of collectivity. This kind of individual attitude toward collectivity is what can make our work more effective and more productive.

A comrade who is always interested in and sensitive to others, who is not afraid of people, who is patient and helpful, has one of the basics of class consciousness.

Even though a comrade may not have had the experience of a worker, this willingness to see oneself as part of a larger collective, to subordinate subjective interests to the interests of the larger collective is an important basic in the fight for collectivity.

5) Class partisanship. An effort to understand political work and personal life from a workingclass angle. This includes a lifestyle and social behavior that blend

with political life. There is a Communist essence to lifestyle. Class partisanship comes easier, naturally, to workingclass comrades. But in the Party it can be learned. Without class partisanship, new developments can sweep us off course. Without the guide of class experience our tactics will be out of focus and therefore less effective.

Then, of course, there are the personality traits and attributes we have been talking about in terms of Communist maturity. I think these words of Lenin's describe what I mean by Communist maturity:

Let there be fewer words, assurances and promises; and more real deeds, practical results, responsibility, principledness, harmony in work, care for the people and personal modesty.

This is a good guide. But we should not see it as a guide for everyone else. Not a guide by which to judge someone else. But standards by which to judge ourselves. We should not see it as a checklist at the year's end. It should not be used at a week's or month's end to judge. Such a guide has value only if it is a guide to our everyday work, our everyday lives.

SHOP CLUBS

Shop and industrial clubs have all the problems that all clubs have, but they also have to deal with very special, unique and knotty questions.

Because workers still face job security problems, such questions as public presence and recruiting present some unique, but not insurmountable, problems. For instance, a shop paper makes a good public presence.

The lack of an industrial concentration policy is a reflection of a lack of understanding of the role of the working class. This leads to all kinds of weakness on the level of shop and industrial clubs. In a sense, there is an identity problem.

There are some who think in terms such as: "If there is a good union, especially if it is left-led, why do we need a Party?"

And, when there is a caucus, especially a Left-led caucus, then the problem grows into an identity crisis. "Why have club meetings when we can take up the same union questions in the caucus meetings?"

Further, what follows are the logical conclusions: "Why recruit?" And the ultimate question: "Why have a Communist Party at all?"

There are cases where this is reversed and the Party club is turned into a caucus, a rank-and-file caucus.

It is a fact that if the Party's work in the shop club is on the level of trade unionism, without effort or conscious decision, it just naturally turns into a caucus.

Just as in other clubs, the critical question is: what is the Communist content, the essence of the work of our shop clubs?

Workers do not see the need for another caucus, or another organization that limits its work to reforms. If they see the club in this light, they will not join the Party.

It is this weakness that explains why we still have situations of one Communist in one shop. We are often good trade unionists, but we must be much more if we are to grow.

If we only raise the overall issues we are not going to

attract workers. Workers join the Party because of our unique role, because of how we see the class struggle; how we see the corporations; how we fight racism; how we see the interrelationship of things.

After we develop an understanding of our unique role, then the question is how do we communicate this to workers on a regular basis? That's where the press, leaflets and shop papers come in.

We still have to answer the questions raised in this club letter:

Our club evolved from full-fledged industrial clubs—Longshore and Teamsters. All of our longshore and ship clerk comrades are retirees. We have two active teamsters. The others are retired and out of the industry. We have not recruited in years, although we keep active connections in both industries and have a certain amount of influence.

How is it possible that we have clubs of comrades who have worked in industries all their lives and who continue to have connections and influence, but still have not recruited anyone for years, maybe for ten or 20 years?

The answer is not to be found in the ranks of the workers. The answer is in the area of the content, the political and ideological essence, of our work. It can not be anywhere else. The question is, has it been basically reformist, progressive, liberal? And on the level of good trade unionism? On that level we are not different or unique. On that level our mass work is not Communist.

This weakness not only appears in the work of our shop clubs and comrades in industry.

From this viewpoint we must examine the essence and ideological content of our press. Writing that is not distinguished by its Communist, class-struggle, workingclass, anticapitalist essence is not good writing. They are words without the class punch. When the Communist essence is not interwoven into all our work we are not getting the Communist bang for our buck. In a sense, we are treading on ice. And wasting a lot of time, effort and money.

One club writes:

Articles should reflect more analysis. Many articles simply say such and such took place and so-and-so was there, without going deeper (giving the Communist essence). So what? Who cares? What's the point in reading a Communist paper if that's all it will say?

We should take time out in every area of work to examine and think through what is the Communist essence and how to integrate it into every area of work.

One idea that has worked in the past to improve industrial concentration and strengthen both shop and community clubs, is the method of twinning or pairing an industrial with a community club to share activities, visiting contacts, press distributions, etc. And together working on the Communist essence.

Another method is establishing club labor secretaries, whose responsibility is to develop plans and activities, to coordinate, follow up and check up on this work, to keep the club focused on this area of work.

Lenin's concept of a Party of a new type is a party with Communist essence. That is what Lenin had in

mind.

To do mass work without the Communist essence you don't need collectivity or even democratic centralism.

To do Communist mass work is impossible without the help of the club collective, without criticism and self-criticism and the structure of democratic centralism. These are indispensable only to the Leninist kind of Party club.

THE CLUBS SPEAK OUT

In order to deal with club problems and weaknesses more concretely I have selected quotes from some reports that more or less typify the wide range of questions clubs need help on. I want to try to give some direction, some guidelines for discussing and solving problems, some suggestions for finding answers to difficult and knotty questions.

But first it is important to recognize that even where clubs are not yet doing good Communist mass work, are not yet into public presence in their community, do not yet approach the mass media, do not distribute leaflets in their own name, are not involved in industrial concentration—even in those cases, most clubs now recognize and acknowledge their weaknesses. This is new.

We have to keep in mind that many of the concepts, especially concepts dealing with public presence, are new for many clubs to take hold of and run with.

Most clubs, even though they haven't yet translated their motivation into concrete action, are now convinced of the need for public presence, convinced they must find ways to become the Communist Party in their community and that they must build the Party.

Not only do clubs recognize and articulate their weaknesses clearly, but almost all state that the tasks they don't yet do are in their plan of work.

The clubs are serious about wanting to change, to turn that corner. They have a healthy, collective approach to tackling the new, are enthusiastic about the national plan of work and have developed local plans that begin to correct the weaknesses. The clubs are genuinely searching for help in outreach, in taking to the streets. Most are enthusiastic, optimistic and confident in themselves and the Party.

After reading the club reports we concluded that many of our clubs are new and the leaderships are younger. It is true they are fresh, vigorous and ready and willing to give all. Outreach and action orientation comes almost instinctively. But the club execs are also inexperienced. They are groping for the how-to's. They are grappling with all the tasks and problems, both objective and subjective. They need much more guidance, many more materials that will help them, from both the district and national organizations. They ask for more educational materials, more recruiting materials, more position, issue and program materials.

Because our Party now has so many new clubs and new members, we must step up and improve many of our club support systems. We must adapt them to the new type of club we are trying to build.

It is also evident that many clubs had difficulty coming down to earth after the heightened activity of the '84 elections. There is always a problem "coming down" from a high activity period, getting back to normal. Clubs

should be aware of this problem and take necessary precautions against feelings of something being wrong with the club because things don't move as fast and the excitement is missing.

So with this, I will try to deal with typical problems with the aim of providing some helpful advice.

Our industrial concentration club has been unable to develop close enough relations with white workers at the shop. There is a tendency of a union organizer to dominate the club meeting. We have not broken through with new members despite the closest of relations with several—as if the workers are saying, “we support you but now is not yet the time.” We need more help analyzing this.

First on a union organizer, or anyone else, who tends to dominate and stifle a club meeting. The club chair or the exec should call such comrades in and nicely, but firmly, say, “Look here, we know you mean well, but with your know-it-all attempt to dominate every discussion, you are destroying the club. You must listen more and talk less.”

When we have close relationships with workers for a long period and they don't join the Party we should examine the political and ideological content of our work. Maybe we are not fully convinced and it shows.

When there is a long-standing weakness, like “inability to develop relations with white workers,” we have to examine the content of our work. It would seem in this case we should examine the content of how we handle questions like the struggle against racism, class unity, in fact, all questions related to class-struggle issues and the question of socialism. The answer to the question must be in the approach we take to this problem. And we should also examine how we discuss the special, unique role of our Party.

Another letter:

It is necessary to even convince clubs they need an area of concentration. Many of the members of a given club view themselves as leaders in other organizations and haven't the time to spare to establish the Communist Party club as an action organization rooted in a given community or shop.

Even with those who are not immersed in other organizations, there is a timidity about seeing our Party in that role. We need more club education on the question of the new role of the Communist Party club in this period and how it should function. We should organize club seminars with club leaders on this question.

The problem is developing a new understanding of what Communist club work means. A constant pull away is the large number of citywide peace and other organizations in the city, which key comrades end up staffing, in general, with no time left to build around that work in their own neighborhood. Need more help from the district to break out of isolation and sink roots.

This is a problem in many clubs. The members are so busy they have no time for the club. This question relates to more than time. It reflects political and, yes, ideological priorities.

For Communists, the Party club can not be last on the list of priorities. It must head the list. When a club collectively decides on what day the club will meet, it is the duty of all club members to arrange all their other activities so there is no conflict. We can not have a situation where there are two kinds of members: those who are so busy doing “mass work” that they have no time for the club, and members who do what is called “club work.”

There are no long-term political or ideological benefits from Communists staffing mass organizations if the Party becomes the victim. Without the Party the staffing becomes just that—staffing.

Number four:

New members find no problems in feeling at home in our club. They not only discover a new political life, but a social one as well. In fact, inner club life is so congenial that there is a tendency not to get out into the political arena wholeheartedly. This tendency also stems from a certain timidity and a feeling that we are not quite adequate ideologically to cope with the outside forces.

Keep up the nice, congenial inner club life. But we must reach out and get out into the outside world. There you will also find a lot of nice congenial workers and people—people who will want to “find a home in your club.”

Number five:

We don't yet do recruiting. Almost no work in the community in our own name. About one-third of our members don't attend club meetings.

The three go together—no recruiting, no work in own name, members don't attend club meetings.

How to break out of this cycle? Try a plan of small steps. A leaflet on some community issue, a mailing list, a simple plan for influencing your Congressional representative, a letter to the editor. There will be some responses. Then the work can be expanded based on the responses.

Number six:

Our meetings are regular. We collect dues, have educational, reports, but meetings have become mechanical, sometimes boring and lifeless. We need new blood to get things rolling. The club is divided into two groups: one looking for answers as to how best to function as Communists and how best to do mass work. The other group are armchair revolutionaries who love theories and talks about philosophy and dialectics, but do nothing to build the Party.”

First, you have to reverse the placement of the problem. To get new blood you have to get rolling. When you say “the meetings tend to be mechanical, become boring and lifeless,” here again, they tend to be mechanical and boring because they are lifeless.

As with many other clubs, this club has taken the first step by putting together a plan of work. Now such clubs must take the next step, begin the process of carrying out the plan.

Club meetings will be mechanical and boring if they deal only with the inner functions. What gives life to club

meeting, is plans and discussions about activities to reach people and their responses.

About the members who "love to talk about philosophy and dialectics," maybe the club should help organize forums and discussion groups. But also try to convince these members to get out and work with an exciting mass movement like the seniors movement.

There are many other quotes that would help demonstrate to the Party what the typical club problems are. But it was impossible to include them all.

However, before ending this section, I would like to quote from some reports that simply describe the club life and activities, to give you more a sense of the tone, the mood, the new attitude of many clubs. And a few to show how clubs responded to being asked to contribute to this report

We wish to express our thanks for allowing us to have the opportunity to express our views and appreciation for taking our views into account.

Your letter gave us a good lead to focus on real problems in our club. It gave us the basis for many club educationals that will begin to correct our weaknesses.

We want to thank you for the new method of getting the club experience. We agree that's where it is at. But we have never felt this in life till now. The series of new things—the national plan of work, the new standards, the new trade union program—all make us feel that wonderful things are happening in the Party and that we are getting ready to explode on the American scene.

There is a lesson in how the club reports are critical. It is a healthy, constructive criticism. They are not sniping. They do not slander. They are not about "the Party" in the distant. For example, before offering criticism they say "Maybe we do not know all the problems or all the facts." Their criticism is very partisan, with a sense of class and Party.

And on club life and activities:

All the members of our club are friends, in addition to being members of the same club. We frequently have pot luck dinners and socialize together. This helps develop a collective style of work because we are always talking to one another. In addition, it helps us know each other as people.

We have excellent meetings. Everyone looks forward to them. Our attendance is excellent, with no unexplained absences. The meetings start on time, short, to the point and action oriented.

One of our local clubs has just issued its first leaflet. It was a real collective piece. One comrade came in with the first draft, two others helped to amend, edit and polish it. The club as a whole worked in teams to distribute the piece door to door in each of our three concentration neighborhoods. Preparing and distributing this leaflet has done a lot to raise the appreciation of the special and unique role of the Party among club members. In the past the public face of the Party was barely visible in the mass work of comrades. Now, there is a real Communist consciousness developing. We hope to set an example for the rest of

the district.

While no one in the club is a public Communist, in the sense of doing radio and TV interviews, all club members have told people in the course of doing mass work that we were Party members. And at each club meeting we go over potential recruits and discuss how we can bring them closer to the party. Our club is in the process of developing a computerized mailing list which we will use for the sending of Party literature, including club leaflets.

We are an active, visible club. Regular, organized with planned outreach to our concentration area being established. We are fairly disciplined. This is reflected in doing what we say we'll do.

And a conclusion from a District Organizer, one of the very few who sent a contribution to this Report. More on that later.

What is most exciting is the new commitment and experiments with shop and neighborhood concentration that our clubs are developing month by month. Overall, our Party is healthy and enthusiastic, our clubs are serious and struggling to develop new leadership.

IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

How to handle ideological questions in the clubs is a very important and sometimes complex question.

I think we can conclude that most of the new members who leave the Party leave because of ideological questions.

First of all, new members come into the Party with all the ideological baggage—anti-workingclass ideas, racism, anti-Soviet propaganda, nationalist ideas, male supremacist influences.

These ideological problems are even more serious because so many of our club leaders are new and inexperienced in handling ideological questions.

Very often the enemy is able to create confusion that leads to members leaving the Party.

These ideological questions must be at the very top of our priorities in the first year, when we are consolidating new members.

On a club level, the approach must be more on explaining, on education, on convincing. We must make sure new members go to classes very soon after joining.

The state and national leadership must do much more in this area—more material, direct help, and intervention in time before the questions can fester because of either wrong approaches or from doing nothing. We must see the questions as critical on the club level.

THE PRESS

Generally, the clubs expressed great appreciation for the Daily World and Political Affairs. The clubs see them as necessary tools in their work.

They see the Daily World as a breakthrough instrument that lays the political and ideological groundwork and prepares the working class and people for struggle. The clubs outside New York think the paper carries too many New York articles; in New York they think there should be even more.

Some want more articles on socialism. Others think there are too many already.

Most ask for more analytical articles.

One club pleaded, "Please don't use 'slam' and 'blast' anymore in headlines."

Comrades are very happy about the announcement that June 6 will begin seeing the Spanish pages in the Daily World (Mundo Diario), and said they have missed it greatly in their work, especially among Spanish-speaking people. We must make the use of the Spanish pages a feature of every club plan of work.

Most said the paper had greatly improved.

The clubs were also mainly positive about Political Affairs. Increasingly, clubs report using it for educationals and more clubs now get the bundle of 5, and use them. Comrades especially appreciate the single-theme issues. Many also ask for more theoretical articles. All said they see reading Political Affairs as part of their "must" reading list.

LEADERSHIP

In the letter to the clubs we invited them to give their opinions on how leadership functions and whether they are helpful, especially in their clubs.

The clubs expressed both positive and critical opinions about the leadership of national and district leaders. Mainly positive.

The main criticism was that leadership does not deal with problems or questions in the way they are forced to in the clubs. Some say the same criticism applies to the press and Political Affairs.

The clubs complain that application, and translation of policies are often left to the clubs—to sink or swim.

Some say that demands and directives come down without consultation, without consideration for their specific situations, their problems and capacities. Such demands, they say, often divert the club away from its work in the shop or community. They say attitudes are often mechanical.

Many clubs say they never see leading comrades.

Another often expressed criticism is that leading comrades do not listen; they hear but do not listen.

We asked the clubs whether they have systematic plans for education and work and whether the material sent was useful. Some answered, "What material?"

Some say the material they got is too long, too detailed and often too late.

We must draw some conclusions from the fact that only 8 district organizers and no members of the Political Bureau responded specifically to the letter about the work of the clubs. Is this because as leaders we are not acquainted enough with the work and problems of the clubs?

There were also some thoughts about how leadership deals with the weaknesses of comrades—to which I want to add my own observations.

I think there are altogether too many short fuses that add to everyday tension from the pressures of our work. They are bureaucratic, arrogant short fuses.

Communists should never take out their frustrations and weaknesses on other comrades, co-workers or family members.

Leaders who command, leaders who demand and show disrespect for co-workers and comrades in fact are also degrading themselves.

Leaders cannot force others to have confidence in them or to respect them. This must be earned.

Silence and even verbal agreement out of fear is not respect.

Communists must not browbeat, cuss and intimidate by yelling at co-workers. It is not right. But it is also totally counterproductive.

In the Party we cannot tolerate any boss-worker type of relationships.

Also, there exist problems about how to take up weaknesses. There are weaknesses that have their roots in ideological weaknesses. But not all weaknesses are related to petty-bourgeois concepts, to racism, nationalism, male supremacy or anti-workingclass influences. There is such a thing as inexperience. Also, lack of know-how and personality characteristics. There are personal likes and dislikes and personal problems.

We must not automatically see all weaknesses as ideologically induced. We cannot be most helpful in correcting or strengthening comrades when we respond inflexibly and subjectively.

In other words, leading comrades must help comrades grow to a large extent by example. How they think and behave will have great influence on the process of growth.

We are not going to be able to correct all of the weaknesses or solve all the problems of the clubs in one meeting.

And, not all the clubs can do all the basic tasks perfectly. We must see this as a process. More important is that we are moving in the right direction—one step at a time.

We are able to raise all these questions now because the Party clubs have moved in the right direction since Milwaukee.

Our Party is in good shape and ready to move forward—again.

VII. SUMMARY

It is difficult to assess the discussion of the past two days because it has been so good. We have never experienced anything like it. There was no "weightlessness." So many of the speeches were brilliant.

This says a lot about our Party today. The Party has transformed itself. It is a different Party now.

There are so many more clubs of "a new type." The club leaders added a new dimension to our deliberations. I think most club leaders felt very much at home here.

I sent thank you letters to most clubs for their contributions. However, some were received just before the meeting and I wasn't able to respond to them. So please accept this as an expression of appreciation.

Now for some remarks that will fill in or further balance some sections of the report.

STAR WARS

Daily information comes out that proves our original statement was correct. We said it is a development which cannot be separated into research and development phases. Now there is a new phrase being used to cover this up, "technological demonstration." This means putting it into space. It means putting it into orbit. That is precisely why it is so dangerous.

Now there is a clearer idea of what Star Wars is. It means nuclear-triggered laser beams and particle beam missiles in the air space over the Soviet Union—not the United States.

This is a most serious challenge to world peace. The question is how to stop this before the "technological demonstration" takes place. We have to constantly raise the struggle against Star Wars.

PARTY STANDARDS

We need a document on Party standards for many reasons. The draft presented here is a fine document. The reaction has been very good and the discussion extensive.

We need standards for Party growth, for new members. They are a guide for new members and a reminder for older members. I think our Party needs this kind of document more than any other Party in the world because of the nature of our ruling class. To preserve our Party and deepen its workingclass character we need such standards.

Combined with the National Plan of Work and the Trade Union Program, the Party Standards provide a comprehensive view of where the Party is today.

BREAKING OUT OF WEIGHTLESSNESS

The key to breaking out of this condition is to get a

both mass and Party work.

People's response becomes a political and ideological energy source for the club to draw on. Therefore, the important thing is for the club to take some concrete steps to get the energy source going. The step can be a small one, a leaflet, a letter to the editor, a mailing, etc.

This is not so difficult because there's not a thing we do that doesn't get a response from the people. This then becomes a source of enthusiasm. Then you build on this, and the response gets bigger and activity grows as a result. With this process the club changes and grows.

THE ELECTORAL SHIFT

An electoral front should in no way come into conflict with public presence of the club. The club should be openly supportive of the electoral front.

CRISIS OF EVERYDAY LIVING

A comrade quoted an unemployed worker, "I don't know what to do next to feed my family." There are millions saying this every day.

As a Party, as a club, we must react to such emergencies. The clubs must become available, visible, in motion on these everyday, immediate, emergency issues.

We need a new type of club agenda. The first point must not be finances or dues. From now on the first point must be some action-oriented question.

The club educational must be action oriented and should be useful to the club's work. And, if it is action oriented it will be useful.

ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

We must be on top of any and all changes that take place. In top leadership circles changes are very subtle. We must be aware that there are inner-laws of change. When change takes place it is not guaranteed that it will continue in a good direction. But we must keep open the possibility that the change will continue. If the changes that are now taking place continue the inner-laws will take over and carry the process even further.

The question is how to take the changes down below and use them. Also, the changes may move even further in a good direction. For example, the inner law that led John L. Lewis to organize the CIO. He got started in a certain direction and kept going. At one point, before the CIO, William Z. Foster was so fed up with Lewis that he wrote a blistering indictment of him. However, once Lewis started to organize the workers in the mass production industries he just kept going. And look at the results.

In the earlier days, he also said he hated to work

COMMUNIST ESSENCE

What is it? Why do we have such problems with it? How can we include it in our mass work?

Briefly, Communist essence is dealing with all questions from the class struggle point of view. When you start doing this it becomes a conditioned reflex. That is our aim in all leaflets, all discussions, all meetings. They must have this class viewpoint as its essence.

In relation to new members, almost as soon as they join the Party we must expose them to the Communist essence. Very often, new members come in without ever having come in contact with it. If we wait two to three months before doing this we will not hold onto our new comrades. This essence must be incorporated into their orientation, their training, education and new members classes.

HOW WE RESPOND TO EVERY DAY CRISIS

For example, where do the homeless go? Most are not on the streets. Some are in shelters. The majority are doubling and tripling up with relatives and friends in apartments. We have to deal with this.

On this issue we have to add the Communist essence, the class essence in this case. We have to explain why families have to double up. There's no housing construction. Why not? There's no doubling up on Fifth Avenue, or the Gold Coast in Chicago. The solution is massive housing construction. Rent control. Rent must be tied to income. If wages are low, then rent must be at a rate that doesn't eat up 30-40% of wages. Rents should only be raised on Fifth Avenue.

In other words, we must have a class, partisan approach to all questions.

We should use Cuba as an example. They have now basically solved the housing problem. Before the revolution they had the worst slums in the hemisphere.

ON THE FARM CRISIS

Most people think the reason we have a farm surplus is because of overproduction. They think farmers are producing too much. Of course, the real reason is because 40 million live in poverty they can't buy food and can't eat. The farm leaflet recently put out is good but it doesn't say who gets the profit. We have to go into the profit system. We must attack profits. But, we must go further. Most people in this country don't see anything wrong with

tion, people will see this as evil.

Thus, Communist essence is the most important question in all areas of work. It is the only way to build a Communist following, a Communist constituency. It is the only way to recruit.

People have to see our uniqueness. They have to understand why and how we are uniquely different. This is not easy.

We cannot inject this by saying, "be it resolved." It is a way of explaining problems and solutions to people. The bottom line is the basic truth of a problem. It has to be given in the natural process of explaining the problem.

Why do we have difficulties with this? Is it because we don't know how? Is it because we think people will not draw the right conclusions by themselves? I don't think so.

The real problem is simply old habits that become institutionalized. But also there's an element of opportunism—giving into enemy pressures.

Some think it is sectarian to deal with the class essence of issues. There are strong ruling class pressures.

Browder totally wiped out the Communist essence, the class struggle. This was the very essence of Browderism. Therefore, it is possible we still have some leftovers of Browderism.

THE REPORT BACKS

The reportbacks must be directly to the clubs. All clubs and districts should take a look at their plan of work and review them. They should be revitalized in view of this meeting. The districts should look at their plans and relate to the clubs.

We should call open club meetings of people we want to win to joining the Party and have discussions on our trade union program and Party standards.

At the National Office we will begin an examination of our work with this meeting as a framework. We have to examine whether we are also weightless. We have to take a look at the plan of work for revisions.

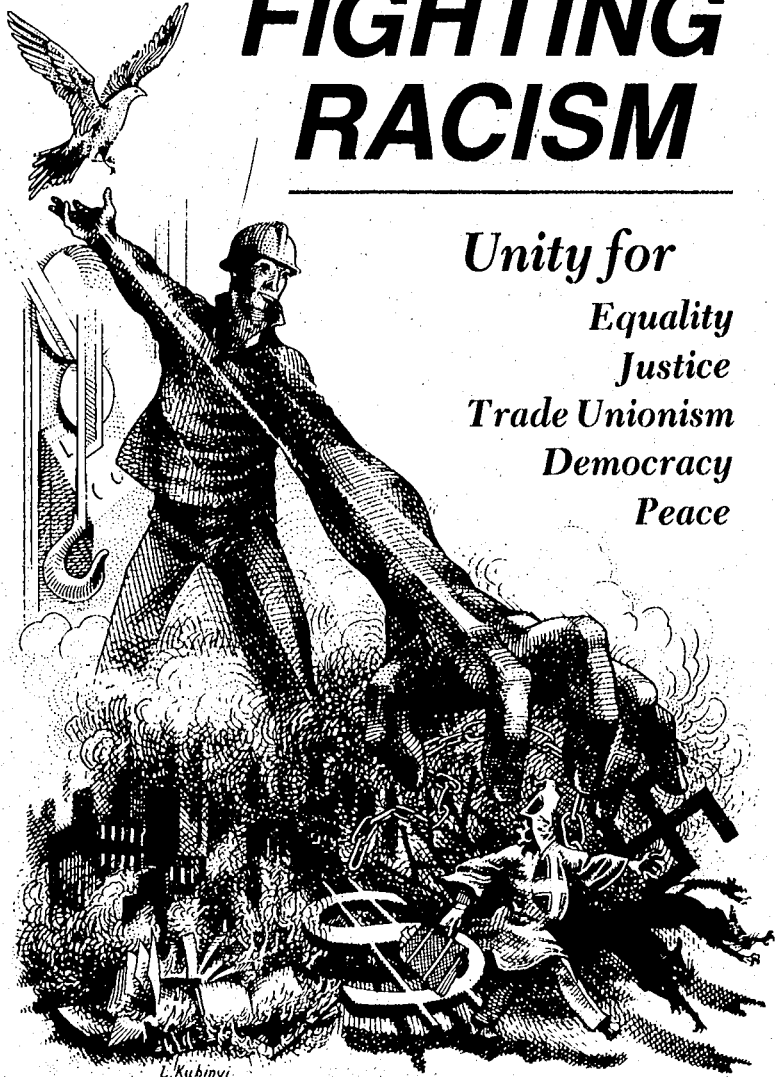
We will look into what we have to change to measure up to a Party of a new type.

The voices in this meeting will reverberate throughout the Party for a long time. We have not only "raised our sights," but have gone a long way in reaching our sights and raising them even higher.

A new book from the fire of struggle

GUS HALL

**FIGHTING
RACISM**



*Unity for
Equality
Justice
Trade Unionism
Democracy
Peace*

Coming soon

312 pages, cloth \$14; paper \$4.95

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016