

# Gus Hall



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# BIBLIOGRAPHY



For Julian —  
Comrade,

Ted

**GUS HALL**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**



# GUS HALL BIBLIOGRAPHY

## *The Communist Party, USA*

PHILOSOPHY  
HISTORY  
PROGRAM  
ACTIVITIES

Compiled and edited by JOSEPH BRANDT

Assisted by SYLVIA OPPER BRANDT

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## Preface

The bibliography is constructed in thematic and chronological order. In the cross reference Section XIII Roman numeral indicates section and Arabic numeral item, e.g., Section V, No. 38.

References are given to original sources of articles, speeches and reports which may be included in books and pamphlets.

Pamphlets are listed in their chronological order of publication which may differ from the actual year the report which the pamphlet contains was delivered. For example, *Peace Can Be Won* was published in January 1951 and contains the report delivered December 28-31, 1950.

The volumes *Basics for Peace, Democracy & Social Progress* and *Imperialism Today – An Evaluation of Major Issues and Events of Our Times* include some selected articles written by the author, Gus Hall, for the *Daily World*, *World Magazine* and other publications. These articles are all referred to in the twelve thematic sections and the cross reference Section XIII of the bibliography.

The radio speeches delivered by Gus Hall on station WHK, Cleveland, Ohio, and referred to in the thematic sections of this bibliography were a weekly news analysis program sponsored by the Ohio Communist Party. They began before Gus Hall left for the Navy and were resumed following his honorable discharge in 1946. The radio presentations discussed the progress of the anti-fascist war (World War II), the electoral and economic struggles on the home front and post-war plans of the people of the Allied countries.

The scripts of these weekly radio broadcasts which ran for two years were offered by the defense attorneys during the Smith Act trial as evidence to prove Gus Hall's thoughts and advocacy. However, the prosecution rejected the offer on the grounds that the radio programs were self-serving documents, despite the fact that the essence of the trial was prosecution for thinking and advocating.

We include in this volume seven unpublished and published articles, speeches and lectures by Gus Hall to help the researcher to get acquainted with the writing style, contents and mode of thought of their author.

The titles and subheads on some articles, speeches and statements were supplied by the editor.

Articles, speeches, interviews and statements not referred to in the bibliography were not available at publishing time. Anyone having access to omitted material, please send it to the Publications Department, Central Committee, CPUSA, for inclusion in coming updated editions.

The bibliography includes references to books, pamphlets, articles, reports,



selected public statements and speeches, TV and radio presentations from 1939 to 1981.

Books, pamphlets, articles in periodicals and other media referred to in the bibliography are available in leading libraries including libraries in the major universities, colleges and other educational institutions.

Other reference matter such as radio, TV programs and non-published speeches and statements are available from PD CPUSA.

Articles, interviews, introductions and forewords published abroad in other languages are also available in English from PD.

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#### NOTE ON PRINCIPAL SOURCES:

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Daily World Library

Elmer Holmes Bobst Library

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Gus Hall Papers and Memorabilia



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# GUS HALL / A PROFILE

*by Joseph Brandt*

It was 1910, and for J.P. Morgan and U.S. Steel Trust it was the best of times. All along the Mesabi Range in Minnesota, there was fabulous wealth for the taking. The Range sported the richest iron deposits in the world and out of its immense mines came a steady flow of profits. But for the people who sought their living in the pits the times were cruel.

Here was capitalism in the raw. Time and again the miners revolted against company thugs. Time and again the militia appeared on the side of the mine owners and open warfare flared across the Range. It was here that Matt and Susan Halberg settled after immigrating to the United States from Finland. They were socialists and no strangers to struggle and suffering. Matt Halberg was blacklisted from the mines. He had been spotted — a class-conscious, militant worker, bent on unionizing the fields. There were four children to feed and a fifth one on the way and hunger was ever-present. On October 8, 1910, a boy was born in Virginia, Minnesota. He was named Arvo Gus Halberg.

The birth of Arvo Gus was followed by the birth of five more children and the Halberg household became known as the biggest and poorest in the area. But it also had a reputation for being the most radical and having the most books. There was never quite enough food or clothing or heat or space, but there was always an abundance of love and pride and somehow the Halbergs endured.

Matt and Susan Halberg became founding members of the Communist Party. Matt Halberg became a master carpenter. At an early age, Arvo Gus followed his father and helped him erect the magnificent staircases for which he was becoming famous, but from which he earned a bare living. This constant plight of the family forced Arvo Gus to quit school at fifteen and become a lumber worker to help feed the family.

He took a job “swamping,” the term for clearing roads in the camps, and later a four-horse skinner. Recalling his experience on this job, he said, “I drew \$32 a month board and room and the food — I just can’t describe it. I suppose you could say it was active food for it used to crawl on occasions.”

From the lumber industry he went to railroading as a “gandy dancer” and then to floating logs in Minnesota’s northern rivers.

He soon joined his first union, the International Woodworkers of America. As job followed job he joined the Laborers International Union of America, the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers of America and finally became a charter member of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA).

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At 17 in 1927, he joined the Communist Party.

His interest in books led him to rummage in the family library. He learned from Marxist writings why life was so hard for those who worked and produced all the wealth. "I felt," he said, "an overwhelming desire to share this knowledge with others."

This desire determined the rest of his life. The need to communicate clearly and convincingly came early. He became an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL) in charge of the North Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin area. As organizer-lecturer, he learned "that there is nothing more important than to know why and for what you fight," at the same time learning from the workers and absorbing their experiences.

Gus Hall matured with a strong working-class sensitivity and a rebellious view of corporations and corporate interests. "I've often said," he remarks, "that I've never found anyone from north Minnesota who didn't have a very strong feeling against big corporations. I grew up in an area that was very poor. Hunger was an everyday occurrence and the struggle against it was a continuous movement all the time."

Events would soon show that he had been in the right place at the right time. Around the corner was the Great Depression. Soon experienced organizers would be in great demand. But for Arvo Gus Halberg first there would be arrests, time spent in jails, lessons learned about the high price of freedom of speech.

There was, for example, the International Youth Day Rally in Ely, Minnesota, in 1929, organized in support of peace, against the menace of fascism and in defense of the first socialist country — Soviet Russia. No sooner was the word "peace" out of his mouth, than the police burst in and a peaceful rally became a media-headlined riot. Young Halberg and a dozen others were soon behind bars.

During the depression days of the early thirties, Gus Hall was active in the great unionization and strike struggles of the Minnesota workers, farmers and unemployed, leading picket lines in the truckers (teamsters) strike, marches of farmers on the State Capitol, unemployed hunger marches on Washington, D.C., and helping to organize support among the people of Minnesota for the Bonus Marchers in the nation's capital.

Like hundreds of others he was in and out of jails while organizing and leading movements for bread for the hungry, jobs or compensation for the unemployed, social security for the aged, against foreclosures and evictions of impoverished farmers from their homes and farms.

In 1934 he became a Young Communist League organizer in the Youngstown-Warren (Ohio) steel region and found a job as a welder at Truscon



Steel, later to become part of the Republic Steel Corp. From here he went to work as a shearman at the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.

It was among these workers in the Ohio Mahoning Valley that a new chapter began in his life and in the history of American labor. Here he became a founding member of the United Steel Workers of America.

A noteworthy feature of CPUSA history is that two of its top leaders had their major trade union experience in close connection with steelworkers. William Z. Foster was the leader of the great 1919 steel strike and Gus Hall participated in leading the "Little Steel" strike of 1937 and in organization of the United Steel Workers of America.

At one point Arvo Gus Halberg took a course in electric welding and went looking for work. One day, in a hiring hall, "A man pointed a finger at me," he recalled later, "indicating that he had a job for me. Then he asked me my name. I had to make up my mind in a hurry about my name because having run for the city council as a Communist candidate the name just wasn't very popular in a hiring hall. So, I decided to cut off both ends of my real name — the Arvo and the Berg, and I became Gus Hall."

This was a time when labor in basic industry (steel, auto, rubber, electrical, maritime and others) broke with the conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) craft union policies.

Industrial union organization, uniting hundreds of thousands of workers in a single union, replaced the isolated weak craft unions.

Gus was on a delegation which called on John L. Lewis urging him to initiate a drive for unionization in basic industries, especially steel. This movement for organizing the unorganized culminated in the establishment of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO).

The industrial unions matched their strength against the monopolies and the state apparatus and won the battle for the organization of the unorganized culminating in the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Following the establishment of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), Gus Hall (this "gaunt hulking kid," to quote the SWOC office secretary, Sally) became field organizer in 1936 and was soon chosen its sub-regional director. He was later appointed international representative for the SWOC in 1937.

Gus Hall was assigned by the SWOC to lead the organization drive at Republic Steel and Youngstown Sheet & Tube mills in the Warren-Youngstown-Niles-Sharon region.

In a short time the membership grew from a handful to 10,000 organized workers. In a public statement on the organizing drive, Philip Murray declared, "We have the best organization in Warren."

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Sally, past office secretary of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and later Hall's secretary when he served as Mahoning County Communist Party Organizer, remembers that: "Gus was considered by each individual as a personal friend. As such he won steel workers' confidence in the difficult days when filling out a union organizing drive card meant the possible loss of a job, the mortgaged house and physical attacks by goons. But when I watched him in the office talk to the steel workers and listening to the bantering, laughing and horsing around, I knew this guy will walk out of the office with a union card in his pocket and a hearty handshake from Gus accompanied by a pleasant grin of satisfaction on the part of both."

On May 26, 1937, the Warren steelworkers joined the "Little Steel" strike. Gus Hall served as chairman of the strike committee until the end of the strike.

The "Little Steel" strike spread throughout many steel centers and became one of the bloodiest, bitterest confrontations between labor and monopoly. The use of the National Guard, armed gangsters and strike-breaking scabs caused fierce battles on the picket lines, the murder by the National Guard of five Ohio steel pickets and the frame-up and arrest of Gus Hall on charges of "dynamiting" — the classic union-busting and strike-breaking tactic of those days. He was held in jail for months, released on \$100,000 bail and finally freed through the efforts and pressure of the steel workers and the community at large when it was proven that his arrest was a frame-up. It was during the "Little Steel" strike that ten workers were killed in the Memorial Day Massacre in Chicago May 30, 1937.

The vicious and bloody character of this "Little Steel" strike was exposed during the LaFollette Committee investigation of workers' deprivation of civil liberties. The Committee found that the steel companies had spent over \$178 million for all types of guns and ammunition. Republic Steel bought 552 revolvers, 64 rifles, 245 machine guns and 2,707 gas grenades.

His experience as a steel organizer, daily contact with hundreds of steel workers and his grasp of Marxism-Leninism led Gus Hall to the conclusion that this was the time to channel the steel workers' class consciousness into building and strengthening the political arm of their class, the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Gus Hall brought to his new work invaluable experience and insight. The trade union experience had taught him two important lessons which the Party could not afford to ignore if it was to achieve its historic mission. For one thing, he had learned that workers were able, because of their experience and creativity to tackle and solve what to others seemed impossible problems. And, most important for the working class in the United States, "the absolute necessity for black and white unity in the labor movement." He had learned that, "The struggle against national oppression and racism is of necessity an integral



feature of every struggle.”

In 1935 Gus Hall was Communist Party candidate for City Council in Youngstown. In 1939 he campaigned for President of Youngstown City Council. In the 1941 national election campaign, he was framed and indicted for “obtaining and/or misrepresenting on nominating petitions and for forging petitions.” After serving six months in jail with other campaigners, Gus Hall became the Cleveland Organizer of the Ohio Communist Party. In 1952 he was a write-in candidate for U.S. Senator from Ohio while serving a prison term following conviction in 1949 under the notorious Smith Act.

During World War II, Gus Hall enlisted and served as a machinist mate in the Navy in the Pacific Theatre of Operations and was honorably discharged on March 9, 1946. His popularity among workingmen in the steel mills followed him among the sailors, most of whom were also workingmen. His fellow Navy men voted him “the man of the Company.”

He was qualified for officer training school but his Republic Steel dossier had been passed on to the Navy. His Commanding officer rejected his application.

Gus Hall was on Guam Island when the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Recalling his horror at hearing the news, he said, “I felt terribly ashamed of my country. I was fighting against the inhumanity of fascism for a world of peace. That horrible bomb bursting on defenseless people of Hiroshima made me realize that the new danger was going to come from the corporate mad dogs I met during the steel strike.”

Upon his return from service in 1946, he went back to his previous post in the Communist Party. In 1947 he became State Chairman of the Ohio Communist Party and a member of the National Executive Board of the National Committee, Communist Party.

The “cold war” reached its climax with the imperialist provocation on the Korean Peninsula.

While General MacArthur was straining to extend the Hiroshima-Nagasaki atom bomb holocaust to the Chinese people, the U.S. Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy, was terrorizing the homefront.

On July 22, 1948, Gus Hall and eleven other Communist Party leaders, including William Z. Foster, National Chairman, CPUSA (later severed from the trial because of ill health) and Benjamin J. Davis, first Black Communist member of the City Council of New York, were indicted together with Henry Winston, Eugene Dennis, Gilbert Green, Jack Stachel, John Williamson, Irving Potash, Robert Thompson, Carl Winter and John Gates. In 1949 Hall, together with the other convicted National Board members, was sentenced to five years in prison under the Smith Act. The indictment had charged “a conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government by

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force and violence,” which amounts to a charge of thinking about advocating.

In 1950 when the General Secretary of the CPUSA, Eugene Dennis, was imprisoned for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), Gus Hall was chosen to take his place as Acting General Secretary.

Speaking on June 28, 1950, before 20,000 people in New York’s Madison Square Garden, Hall denounced President Truman for starting the undeclared “hot” war in Korea during the post-World War II cold war. He declared that despite “this zero hour, World War III is not inevitable” and called for “hands off Korea! Let the Korean people form a free, united and independent government.”

One of the objectives of the U.S. ruling class in unleashing the McCarthy witch-hunt was to render the Communist Party helpless by imprisoning its leadership via the Smith Act frame-up and outlawing the Communist Party via the McCarran Act.

On June 4, 1951, the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the eleven defendants. They were directed to surrender and go to prison July 2, 1951.

Four of the defendants: Gus Hall, Henry Winston, Gil Green and Robert Thompson instead became political refugees, thus seeking to guarantee continued Party leadership under conditions of possible unconstitutional illegalization of their Party.

Three months later, on October 8, 1951, Gus Hall who was living in Mexico was kidnaped by the FBI in Mexico City and, with the connivance of certain police agencies of the Mexican government, brought back illegally to the United States. He was placed on trial for criminal contempt. In a press statement he said:

“This trial brings back memories of another case many years ago.

“In 1932 the Hitler-minded public prosecutor of Hamburg, Germany, had me arrested and hauled me into court because of my modest activity in the attempt to stem the march of fascism in Germany. These activities were the direct cause of my arrest. But the charge in the courtroom was based on some non-existent law of passport regulations. Today’s action in this federal court is likewise based on a non-existent law of bail jumping. . . .” (*Daily Worker*, Nov. 21, 1951)

Hall was sent to Leavenworth, Kansas, penitentiary for eight years including three for contempt of court. It was 1959 before he was able to return to his duties with the National Committee of the Communist Party.

His early contact with the working people, being part of them, experiencing the disappointment of setbacks and defeat and the satisfaction of victories in struggle against the capitalist enemy prepared him for the patience, the solitude, the discipline of prison life. His Communist training, his study of Marxist-

Leninist social science, which deepened his conviction in the just cause and the inevitable victory of the exploited and oppressed, helped him endure the separation from his people, his family, comrades and friends and eased the suffering that comes with long years behind prison bars.

Following his release from prison, he worked as an auto mechanic at a gas and repair station in Cleveland, Ohio. When restrictions on his movements ended, he was elected General Secretary at the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, December 9, 1959. He has been unanimously reelected at each successive convention, most recently the 22nd Convention, August 1979.

In 1960, Hall occupied himself for a period of time giving leadership and participating in a movement against a piece of McCarthyite reactionary legislation, the McCarran Act, which attempted to legislate the Communist Party, U.S.A., out of existence by requiring it to register as a "foreign agent" of the Soviet Union. In 1962, Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary of the Central Committee, CPUSA, were indicted under the McCarran Act for refusal to register as "foreign agents" and for resisting other fascist-like provisions of this Act.

His response to the McCarran Act was to initiate a successful major national campaign for the right of Communists to speak and the right of students to hear them in the market place of ideas—the university, college and high school campuses, despite reactionary-inspired attacks against his right to speak.

Tens of thousands of students thus heard Gus Hall, a Communist, as the "authority" on Communism and the Communist Party. They would otherwise have had access only to the J. Edgar Hoover version on this subject.

His speeches were usually interlaced with ordinary working peoples' daily life experiences, with homespun and quick-witted parables or examples from the treasure of the natural sciences which he studied while in jail.

On August 31-September 2, 1968, Gus Hall presented to a conference of the National Committee CPUSA, a report on the crisis in Czechoslovakia provoked by U.S. imperialism and its allies. This report, published as a pamphlet *Czechoslovakia at the Crossroads* was a popular explanation of the causes and source of a crisis endangering the entire community of socialist nations. It was translated into dozens of languages and circulated in hundreds of thousands of copies.

After winning the fight for his passport and the right to travel, he visited Cuba and other parts of Latin America, the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, Western Europe; attended the Ho Chi Minh funeral and visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the midst of the U.S. renewal of its genocidal bombing of the people of Vietnam. He also participated in numerous international Communist conferences and seminars and attended as a fraternal delegate the



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Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist Parties.

In the peace struggles in the United States, and especially in the campaign against the war in Indo-China, Gus Hall participated as an active spokesman for the Communist Party and its policies. He joined with millions of Americans in a "second front" at home against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. He spoke at mass rallies in Washington, D.C., marched on picket lines for peace and helped organize aid for the people of Vietnam.

He wrote the most complete and widely-circulated exposure of Mao Tse-tung's "great nation"-chauvinist, hegemonist policies. His Open Letter from the Central Committee to the Communist Party of China (January, 1979) has had the effect of countering pro-Maoist confusion, helping hundreds of thousands of Americans, especially the young people, to recognize the character of the Maoist regime. This letter has received the international support of many of those fighting against the aggressive war policies of the Maoist rulers.

In the 1972-76 election campaigns, Gus Hall, Communist Party presidential candidate, presented the CPUSA platform and program to millions of people via the limited media at his disposal, at many rallies and through the written word.

In 1936 Gus Hall in his capacity as a steel organizer was sent to Birmingham, Alabama, to help in the union organization drive. Upon his return to Birmingham in 1976, this time as Communist candidate for President, he was asked at a press conference what qualified him as a presidential candidate. His reply was:

"Among the many qualifications the one that puts me on top of the list is that I'm the first steel worker to run for President. Congress would be a lot different and better if it had 50 steel workers and 50 auto workers and machinists in it."

In 1980 he again became the Party Presidential candidate. Along with the Vice Presidential candidate Angela Davis, he campaigned on a platform of "People Before Profits."

Gus Hall comes from a generation that weathered the Depression, fought at the gates of Madrid, defended the Scottsboro "Boys", organized the basic industries, built the unions, defeated Hitler, talked back to McCarthy, and joined in organizing the home front against U.S. imperialist aggression in Indo-China.

Gus Hall is a product of the working class of the United States. Contrary to prevailing notions that the working class is disdainful of theory, his life proves that the working class can and does produce from among its ranks theoreticians,

just as it does scientists, scholars, intellectuals and great cultural talents.

A prolific writer, he has written on all aspects of the class struggle. He has authored six books, and many pamphlets on the day-to-day basic issues of working-class and peoples' struggles at home and abroad. He has contributed hundreds of articles and regular columns to the Communist press and periodicals all over the world. He has become recognized in all parts of the world and especially in the ranks of the world Communist movement as an outstanding Marxist-Leninist theoretician, leader and activist. His writings have been translated into many languages and have contributed in clarifying the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

His book *Imperialism Today* has been published in Persian (Iran), Greek, Russian, German, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian, and sections of the book have been printed in numerous periodicals and the press in many countries.

His latest book *Basics* is receiving similar attention.

In addition to his writings on the working-class and trade union movement, his writings on peace, against racism, international working-class solidarity and Communist unity have attracted the attention of a world reading public.

The written thoughts of a socially conscious writer usually proceed from a given point of reference. In the case of Gus Hall, his point of reference from the inception of his social consciousness has been the working-class struggle in contemporary United States society leading to the struggle for a socialist U.S.A. He uses his pen as a weapon, and is confident of victory in the battle he fights.

For his contributions to the international working class, the Soviet Union awarded Gus Hall one of its highest awards—the Order of Lenin and, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, in 1981, he was awarded the Order of Friendship Among People. Also on his 70th birthday, he was awarded the Order of Karl Marx by the people of the German Democratic Republic. By the people of Czechoslovakia, he was awarded the People's Friendship Order and, by Bulgaria its highest award, the order of Georgi Dimitrov.

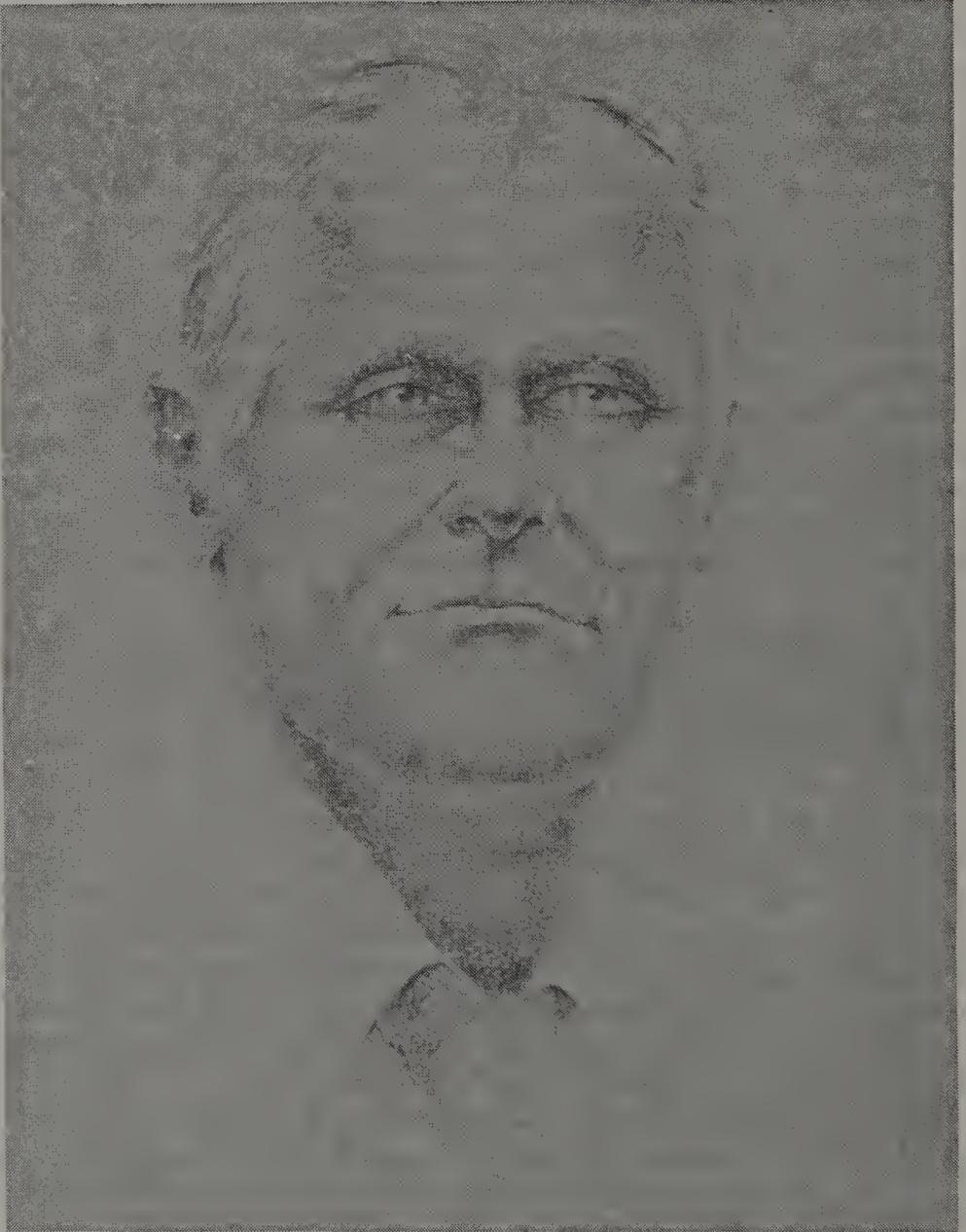
The "Gus Hall Bibliography" that follows is a guide to fifty-five years of a U.S. workingman's social thoughts. His maturity and development as a Communist leader are traced here in terms of his written and spoken words. This bibliography indexes his contributions in the chief areas of the class struggle in the United States and especially in his leadership in building the Communist Party and a popular Communist press.

The views and vision reflected by this bibliography were acquired as a result of bitter confrontations against fascism in the front lines, on the picket lines, hunger marches, anti-war and anti-imperialist demonstrations, May Day cele-

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brations, mass meetings, debates, forums, radio and television interviews and in his direct participation in the electoral struggles. They were crystallized in courtrooms and as a political prisoner. They matured in the collective deliberations of Party and non-Party co-workers.

Written from the front lines of history in the course of making history, his writings convey the urgency of the moment along with its special significance.





# THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

A Review of the Recent Work of Gus Hall\*

*Professor Howard L. Parsons  
University of Bridgeport*

The journalist, scholar, or other worker who wants to understand the movement of history will go both to the events of history and to the ideas in the minds of men and women who have created and are creating those events in living practice. To understand the history of the United States, one must thus consider both the actual practices of people at particular times and places and the ideas guiding and giving shape and direction to those practices. If one is interested in the progressive strand in that history since the 1850s, one must have recourse to the progressive ideas and in particular to the ideas that have been put forth and carried into practice by the Communists and the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Gus Hall, whose six recent books are under review here, has been a member of that Party for more than half a century. (It was founded in 1919; he joined in 1927.) Since 1959 he has been its General Secretary, and in 1972, 1976, and 1980 he was the Party's presidential candidate. His thought set down in these books therefore reflects the strategy and tactics, the program and general line of the Party in the class struggle in the U.S. for a number of decades. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims," wrote Marx and Engels in 1848. Here, in Hall's work, there is no concealing of his efforts and the efforts of the Party to develop the class consciousness of the worker in the U.S. and to advance the whole society toward the ultimate goal of socialism and human liberation and fulfillment.

\* *Imperialism Today: An Evaluation of Major Issues and Events of Our Time*, Gus Hall. New York: International Publishers, 1972, Pp. 384. \$12.50. New World Paperbacks, \$3.50.

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General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Gus Hall has the tools, skills, zeal, and gusto to go to work on his topics as none else can. For a half century he has grappled with imperialism, struggling against it in both theory and practice. Lumberjack, construction worker, steelworker, founder and leader of the United Steelworkers of America, member of the U.S. Navy in World War II, longtime officer in the CPUSA, he has observed and studied firsthand the deprivations forced down the throats of workers by U.S. imperialism, and has fought unswervingly to defeat it. In the 1950s he was rewarded by an eight-year prison term at Leavenworth, Kansas, under the iniquitous cold war Smith Act. The reader may not be a socialist, but he will probably concede that Gus Hall has the facts to indict imperialism of high crimes against humanity a thousand times over. And if the reader grasps the facts with feeling, and follows the argument where it leads, he will have to agree with Hall that:

“Dropping out is an illusion. . . . There are only two choices. One can become a willing slave or one can unite with the majority who are the victims of monopoly oppression.” *Imperialism Today* (p. 25). With an irresistible spirit of hope, Hall rallies his countrymen as Shelley rallied his after the Peterloo Massacre:

Rise like lions after slumber  
In unvanquishable number,  
Shake your chains to earth like dew,  
Which in sleep had fall'n on you,  
Ye are many, they are few.

Therefore, a study of Hall's work is indispensable to one who wants to understand recent progressive history and the theoretical and practical position and role of the Communist Party, U.S.A. in it—and, above all, to one who wants to contribute to making that history. No doubt the prejudice of anti-communism, which has infected U.S. society for so many years, affecting scholars as much as anyone (and sometimes more), will prevent some from even looking at this position. And for others a look will be impaired by a blind spot, barring them from an objective gaze and judgment. Yet some, now an increasing number, will come to this work in a fair-minded and humanistic way and will be able to tell for themselves the truth and utility to be found in these views.

Why is objective and serious consideration of Gus Hall's work important? Because neither major political party represents the people of this country—only 52 per cent of the eligible voters went to the presidential polls in November, 1980; and because the CPUSA is a Party that stands for the interests of the broad masses of the people. An article in the May 17, 1980 issue of *The*



*Nation* describes the Party as “by far the largest organization on the left” and as “one of the few national organizations concentrating on the defense of Black and Hispanic communities against racist and economic exploitation.” Since the end of World War II the CPUSA has upheld the strategy of an anti-monopoly coalition of all groups objectively opposed to imperialism at home and abroad.

It remains for the scholar and journalist, the industrial worker and the farmer, the Afro-American and the white, the Chicano and Mexican, the youth and the senior citizen, the woman and the man, to look and to listen, to study and to decide. And then—“Let the voice of the people be heard!”

### **Basics: For Peace, Democracy, and Social Progress**

Every exploitive class system seeks to hide its exploitation under false ideology. As its malefactions and crimes multiply, its spokesmen thicken the air with half-truths and lies, the more to deceive themselves and to try to mystify to its victims the conditions of their exploitation. The lies of 20th century corporate capitalism abound; a worker today need only read the rhetoric of presidents and other national politicians and compare it with the facts of life—nuclear arms escalation defended as “peace,” unemployment and poverty and racism covered up by the hue and cry of “human rights,” “freedom” proclaimed in the headlines as the corporations rob the workers behind their backs. The big lie of monopoly capitalism since 1917 has been and has got to be anti-communism and anti-Sovietism—because communism has been and still is the big enemy of capitalism, and because the defenders of capitalism are fearful of facing the truth. This is the basic fact at the foundation of Gus Hall’s *Basics: For Peace, Democracy, and Social Progress*. It is a class fact which more than anything else determines what happens in world society today. As Hall puts it on the first page:

The self-interests of the monopoly corporations are not the self-interests of the people. They are in basic contradiction with the self-interests of the working class. Corporate interest is to exploit and the worker’s interest is to fight against exploitation. (p. 5)

If the reader grasps this premise of Hall’s class analysis, then he/she will grasp all else that follows in logical order. And the reader must take sides, will take sides, is taking sides, in this class struggle. Hall takes the side of the working people. In this book, as in his others, he wages the struggle at the ideological level. That means that he upholds communism against capitalism and the truth of communism against the multifarious big and little lies by which capitalism seeks to befog, divert, weaken, and smash the movement of the working class. This ideological struggle, an integral part of the class struggle at the factory and office and picket line, is a struggle for the minds, souls, and very lives of people. It is “basic.”

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Hall develops his thesis in four parts—peace, democracy, social progress, and the Communist movement. The class struggle gives us the key to understanding all the vital foreign policies of the U.S.—the post-war cold war and “frontal aggression” of U.S. imperialism against socialist states and national liberation movements; the shift in the world balance of forces; the rise of detente; capitalist resistance to detente and “retreat and maneuver” in the forms of militarism, nuclear escalation in Europe, various fabricated arms “gaps,” opposition to SALT II, Maoism and playing the China card, the U.S. Mideast encirclement, “the propaganda blitzkrieg” over Afghanistan, and the fraudulent “Soviet threat” of militarism.

Hall defines democracy dialectically by describing the people in struggle for their rights against their oppressors—the Watergate crisis; the McCarran Act; the “million conspiracies” of racism and anti-labor and anti-communist laws; the prolonged dirty work of the FBI and CIA; thought control, as in the Smith Act (under which more than 100 Communists were convicted and imprisoned, though the act was subsequently declared unconstitutional); and the Rosenberg frameup. He likewise tackles the problems of social progress—divisive class collaboration and racism in the trade union movement; the crisis in medical care; Appalachia; corporate tax privileges and profits; greed, planlessness, and the crisis of overproduction and inflation (monopoly-dictated high prices); wage differentials based on region, racial and ethnic status, and sex; crises in energy, steel, and auto; and the facts and myths about inflation.

*Basics* brings together selected articles of Hall’s written from 1973 into 1980 for his regular column of the same name in *The Daily World* and *The World Magazine*. The fourth part of this book appropriately focuses on “The Communist Movement,” with articles on the militant history on *The Daily Worker* and the CPUSA, Hall’s evaluation of (and address to) the 21st National Convention of the CPUSA (1975), his assessment of Santiago Carrillo of Spain, of the Communist Party of Portugal, and of the 25th Congress of the CPSU (1976), and his expression of support of a World Conference of Workers and Communist Parties, in which he emphasizes proletarian internationalism.

*Basics* is valuable as both a timely running commentary on events during the last years of the 1970s and as a method of application of general theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism to the solution of concrete problems. It can be read as theory, strategy, and tactics.

### **The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism—Labor Up-Front**

Such solutions are precisely and fully spelled out in the reports of Gus Hall, as General Secretary, to the 21st and 22nd conventions of the CPUSA. In the first, *The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back*, delivered in Chicago in

1975, the domestic crisis of U.S. capitalism and the general crisis of world capitalism are set down in the context of the global revolutionary transformation of the 1970s evident in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Portugal, Guinea, Bissau, Angola, Greece, Mozambique, and the United Nations. At that time the Ford Administration pursued both “detente and aggression.” Hall called attention to the deterioration of capitalism at home with its racism, new efforts at repression in S-1, and the danger of fascism. He stressed the working class movement and the task of the Party to take the initiative in forging a broad working class unity in the trade unions and electoral politics. He concluded with a critical appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the Party.

*Labor Up-Front* is Hall’s report to the 22nd Convention of the Party in Detroit on August 23, 1979. It reveals important changes in the U.S. political economy since the previous report in 1975: recession and new layoffs and plant closings, stratospheric profits, the nearing depletion of energy sources and the ruling class temptation to seize by arms the oil fields, “new cold war coalitions” and mounting enmity toward SALT II, the drive for increased military spending, and widened U.S. support to racist and reactionary regimes. On the other side of the class struggle stand the trade union workers in a more militant Center and a growing Left, a general “anti-corporate current,” a decline in anti-Sovietism, a new respect for the Communists, and “broad-based fightback movements” and coalitions—as well as the world revolutionary process which provides a framework and line for these specific actions. Correspondingly Hall calls for building coalitions of Left-Center unity based on the principles of “respect [for] the independent character of the mass movement and “working with and giving leadership to.” Such work, he underlines, has as its “central task . . . organizing and giving leadership to grass roots formations” (p. 101) and must be concentrated among “the more basic industrial workers”—steelworkers, auto workers, machinists, miners, longshoremen, electrical and rubber workers, etc. Why? They “act in a particular class way,” they are and will be uniquely powerful, they “tend to have less illusions about capitalism,” and “they have no place to go but up,” freeing themselves only by leading the whole society’s struggle. (p. 98). Of note are many new sections explicitly devoted to issues not as fully developed in the previous report: liberation of Afro-Americans, Chicano-Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native-Americans; racial and national oppression (of some 40-50 millions); women’s equality; youth; senior citizens; agriculture; culture and the arts; and the intellectual and professional community.

### **Imperialism Today**

The general theory of Marxism-Leninism that backs up and lights up these daily practical and tactical questions is given in Hall’s *Imperialism Today: An*



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*Evaluation of Major Issues and Events of Our Time*. Between 1917 and 1969, Hall points out, the world's territory controlled by imperialist nations shrank from 44 per cent to 9 per cent. The desperate postwar aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism—ranging from “roll-back” to the present nuclear escalation—has been and still is a drive to contain, erode, and destroy the world revolutionary movement. This movement is defined by the rise of socialist states among one-third of the world's population, the growth of the working class movements in capitalist nations, the many national liberation movements, the forces at work for peace and progress in all social systems, and the morbid contradictions endemic to the capitalist nations and their relations to one another. Hall describes imperialism as “history's greatest obstacle to human progress” and his purpose here is “to strengthen the struggle against imperialism.” (p. 8)

At the end of the 19th century, he shows, big finance capital had achieved dominance in the world; U.S. imperialism fixed its hold on the Philippines in 1898. But World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 signaled a world-wide crisis in imperialism, a crisis which broke the back of European empires by the end of World War II. During the subsequent vacuum U.S. imperialism experienced its greatest growth. Through this period Hall traces four developments: the growth of finance capital (private banks handling government money); the increase of state-monopoly capitalism (a mounting tax burden on the workers, with tax monies handed over to war industries and the Pentagon); the impact of the scientific-technological revolution on production and the workers (a shift in manufacturing to the South and West, mechanization of agriculture and the northward migration of Afro-Americans, the concentration of capital, the use of new technology to maximize profits, the exploitation of labor, the impairment of the life, health, and safety of the workers, strikes, new finance crises, a shortage of energy resources, pollution); and the postwar expansion of U.S. multinational corporations—all accompanied by the export of capital, the decline in imports, the devaluation of the dollar, and the balance of payments deficit. “Growth” in the branches has meant decay at the roots.

No matter how capitalism may maneuver to become master, dialectics in due time works its way. Toward the end of World War II the decision-makers of U.S. imperialism, cognizant of a wrecked Europe and U.S.S.R., framed a “plan of world conquest.”

Everything that has followed since has been in line with the master plan. Hiroshima, the cold war, the Marshall plan, the McCarthy hysteria, the attack on North Korea, the Indo-China aggression, the CIA, actions in Iran and Guatemala, the murder of Lumumba, the U.S.-dominated system of alliances (NATO, SEATO, etc.), were all related to the master plan of aggression.

The anti-Soviet campaign, the counter-insurgency program, the plans of ideological and political penetration—these were all features of the plan for U.S. domination of the world. The anti-Soviet campaign has been in the center of this drive because militarily, politically and ideologically the Soviet Union has been and is the pivotal force on which the master plan of aggression has foundered. (p. 81)

The plan foundered because it struck reef after reef of resistance—the revived and rival imperialist powers of the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan; the independence of the peoples and Arab nations in the Middle East; strikes against overseas industries; national liberation movements, as in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; and the “deep anti-imperialist consciousness here at home.” (p. 71) In a global process driving inexorably toward an interdependent world economy and ecology and the peaceful coexistence of different social systems—or else destruction—U.S. imperialism has become its own enemy by its “self-blockade” from much of the world (p. 83), insisting on playing its old master role in a new drama that has no place or tolerance for masters. It is losing respect, influence, trade, and profits.

Standing four-square against the counter-revolutionary schemes, the Soviet Union has poured out unstinting material and moral transfusions to national liberation movements, nations newly liberated from colonialism, and the international peace movement. In this struggle Hall urges the tactics of world-wide trade union solidarity, a world drive to nationalize U.S. corporations, and world supports for laws limiting foreign capital involvement within any one corporation. (pp. 70-71) He rejects the sectarian view that imperialism is “frozen in state power” and that electoral struggles are pointless, as well as the reformist view that the state is independent of the ruling class. Only a dialectical understanding of the state, subjected to the antagonistic buffetings of the people at home and abroad and torn by internal contradictions among the capitalists themselves, can give the correct tactical guide for political action.

A large part of *Imperialism Today* is devoted to critical, practical discussion of the specific burning issues of the 1960s—Kissinger’s policies, the U.S. imperialist war on Indochina, racism, the Mideast crisis, Czechoslovakia, Puerto Rico, Cuba, South America, the Dominican Republic, Joe Curran and Jay Lovestone, Algeria, Vietnam and the Vatican, Maoist opportunism, neocolonialism, revisionism, etc. In the ideological struggle, which mediates between theory and practice, Hall exposes the whitewash myths that cover the rotting corpse—“people’s capitalism”; the adequate wage; “the American century”; “human rights”; “exporting democracy”; “alienation”; and even “revolution.” The most powerful myth is anti-communism. Hall calls it “imperialism’s spurious alibi”—the “*ideological narcotic of our day.*” (p.

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278) His whole book is in fact a refutation of the lie that Communism promotes individual acts of terror and violence. On the contrary, it reflects, guides, and facilitates an objective mass movement of people struggling for their liberation from the institutionalized force and violence of a system built on the exploitation of labor, war, racism, and political oppression.

### Ecology

In *Ecology: Can We Survive Under Capitalism?* Hall applies his working-class perspective to a problem in the U.S. commonly felt and widely studied but not yet communistically understood or tackled. The cause of the wrecking of the environment is the monopolies bent on profit. He shows that the working people, on the job and off, are the “major victims” of environmental disorder and dehumanization. The working class “now shoulders the social, the public interests”; it is “the most powerful single element for progress in our society” and will and must provide the solution of the ecological crisis. (pp. 18, 87) Practice in socialist countries like the Soviet Union proves what can be done. People must demand the nationalization of industries that violate anti-pollution laws, laws guaranteeing that the cost of all anti-pollution measures comes from corporate profits, and their own collective control of the environment.

### Energy

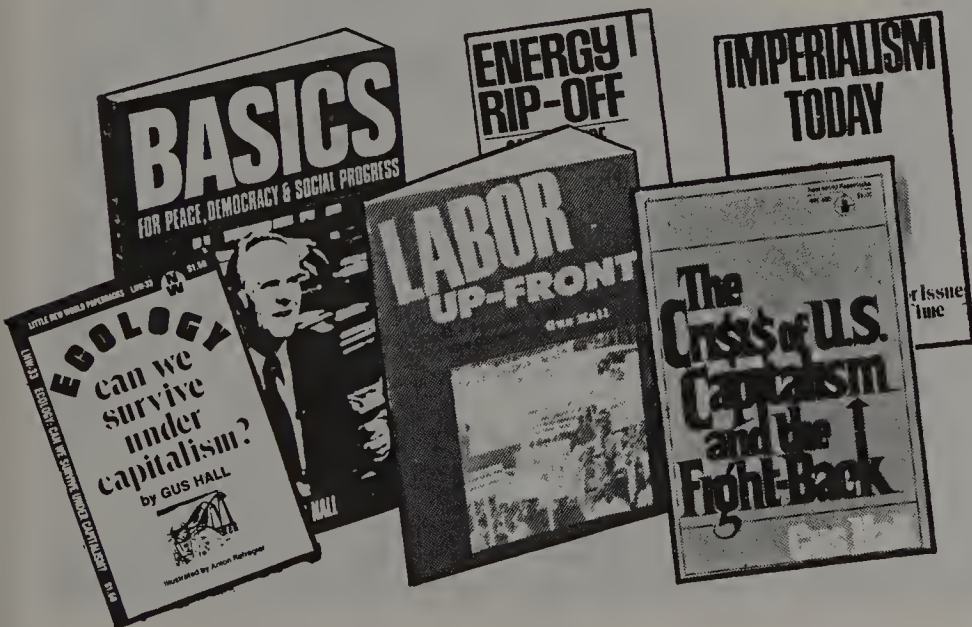
*The Energy Rip-Off: Cause and Cure* is an even more extensive and devastating class analysis of a major social problem. Energy is everything, and those who control it make the world go round and retard or advance human history. In the U.S. oil is the principle source of energy. Hall sets out the structure of the “seven thieves” comprising the world oil cartel; three belong to the Rockefeller group (Exxon, Mobil, and Standard Oil of California) and in 1972 the thieves owned 46 per cent of oil production in the world, dominating as well the whole field of energy in gas, oil, coal, and nuclear energy. So the Rockefeller history is examined—from the Ludlow massacre through Attica and the errand boy Kissinger. Hall then proceeds to show how many things follow from this basic monopoly: the willing collusion of the U.S. Government, which spends \$33 billion per year for the benefit of the oil companies (p. 49); the oil corporations’ contributions of almost \$5 million to Nixon’s 1972 campaign; the U.S. use of Israel and Zionism as a catspaw in its aggressive policy on Middle East oil; the use of the Big Lie through “the ‘patriotism’ of profits”; the production of General Motors, Exxon, and Ford for the Nazi war machine; the oil corporate termination of more than 100 electric surface rail systems in 45 U.S. cities; the “contrived shortage” of oil during December, 1973, when “centralized petroleum stocks were 30 million barrels higher than a year earlier”—not counting the hoards held by big oil-using corporations and individual capitalists (p. 23); the corporate campaign, beginning in 1971, about

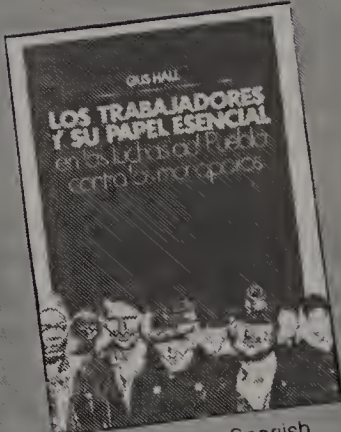


a world energy shortage, and psychological warfare waged against the consumer; pressure exerted on the U.S. government; as early as 1967 reduction of expenditures on productive capacities, and little spent on refineries; a shift of production and refining to overseas locations, with no taxes, cheap labor, and higher profits; and virtual doubling of the prices of gasoline, fuel oil, and other petroleum products.

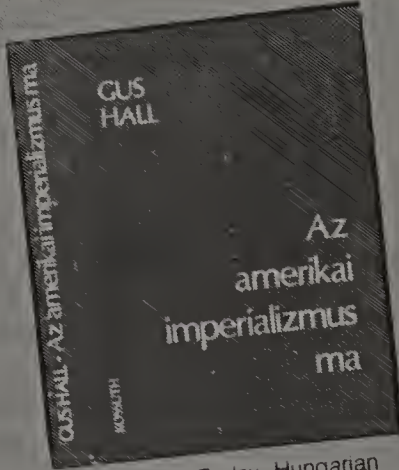
As a solution of this colossal rip-off, Hall refers to a decision of the CPUSA at its December 1973 meeting calling for "a democratically elected and controlled National Energy Council . . . that will own and operate all energy-related business from oil, coal, and gas fields to the refineries, to their distribution, including all power plants, and nuclear plants." (p. 173) Energy production and distribution would be put on a non-profit basis; it would be a real public utility. Hall cites an increasing number of trade union organizations and leaders who had spoken up for government take-over of energy industries. (pp. 212-216)

The struggle is a class struggle. The goal, as Gus Hall describes it, is a democracy of equals, a socialized economy, and the creation of the people's history by the people themselves. As the crisis deepens day by day, more and more people will be forced to make a conscious decision on the question, "Which side are you on?" Developed consciousness is always, willy-nilly, class consciousness. A study of Gus Hall's work is bound to help in that development of us the workers, to make us more conscious of our real interests, and to inform and encourage us about what is to be done.

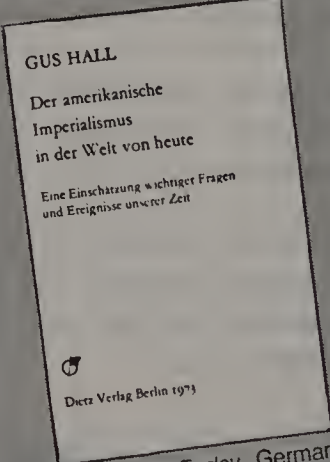




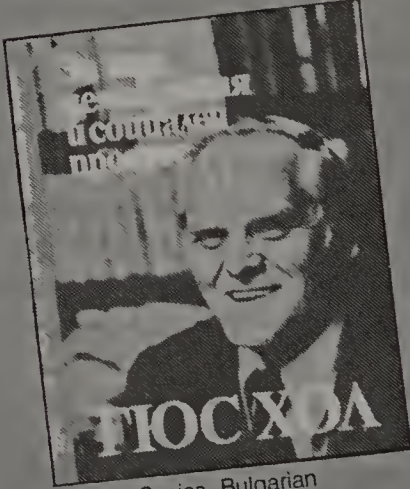
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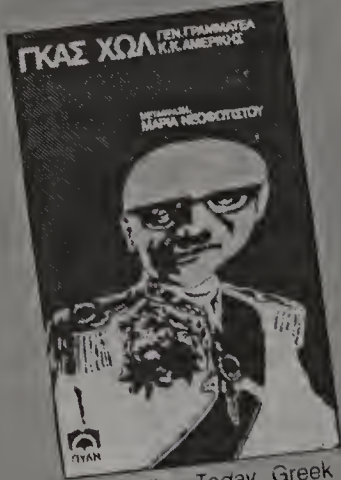
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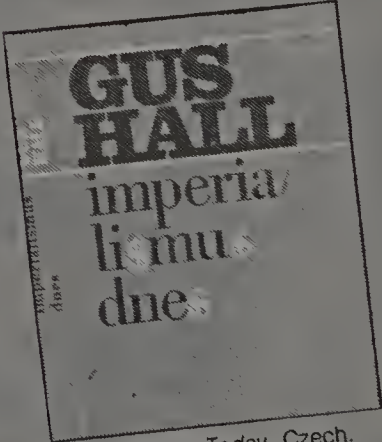
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## SECTION I

### THE SCIENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.A.

Many working people especially in the capitalist world, go through life in the belief that the world of ideas of theory and science is beyond their ability to understand. They believe theory and science have very little to do with their everyday lives or activities. They accept the notion that the world of ideas, the realm of thought, is for intellectuals and professionals.

That of course, is how the ruling classes of all past and present exploitative societies have wanted it . . .

U.S. capitalism has always prompted the concept that thinking should be limited to the chosen few.

Gus Hall

“Working Class Intellectuals”  
*Political Affairs*, April, 1977

As capitalism has become infected by the crises of its decay, truth has become its antagonist. On the other hand, for socialism, for Marxism-Leninism, truth is an indispensable instrument. Truth is the soul, the very inner nature, of Marxism-Leninism. Because Marxism-Leninism is a science that rests on a careful and meticulous study of all the facts of objective reality, it is as close to truth as possible . . .

Partisans of socialism do not need to present falsehoods about capitalism, because the truth of capitalism is ugly enough—it is uglier than most fiction. The hourly truth of capitalism is sufficient grounds for its impeachment. . . .

In the realm of our mass media—the press, television, radio, the mass magazines—objective political truth has become a rare, if not an extinct, commodity. In capitalist class politics and ideology, objective truth has been replaced by the Big Lie. It has become the guiding principle for the mass media syndicate.”

Gus Hall

“The Role of Theory in the Struggle for  
World Communist Unity,”  
*Political Affairs*, September, 1977

There is nothing in U.S. law that requires that the American people must live under capitalism. In fact capitalism itself was an import into this country. We

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Communists in fact relate closer to the tradition of the Native Americans who were practicing a form of primitive Communism long before the colonists arrived on these shores.

It should also be noted that in the 1830s a Joint Session of Congress was convened to hear a speech on the merits of Socialism presented by the early Utopian Socialist Robert Owen. That speech precipitated a sharp debate in the Congress which went on for two days and was never resolved. We should recall that joint session of Congress and resolve that debate.

Gus Hall

*Radio Station WFRL*, Freeport, Illinois  
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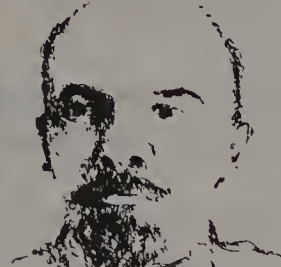
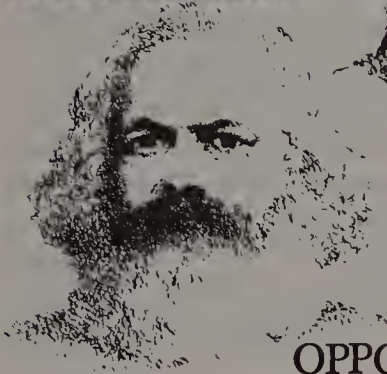
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# political affairs

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT



## MARXISM versus OPPORTUNISM

**OPPORTUNISM—THE DESTRUCTIVE GERM**  
Gin Hall

**MAOISM: MOST ABHORRENT CASE OF  
TREASON**  
Fidel Castro

**THE CRISIS OF "CLASS PARTNERSHIP"**  
George Meyers and Roscoe Proctor

**AUSTRALIA AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
OPPORTUNISM**  
W. J. Brown

**ANTI-RACISM: GUARANTEE OF WORKING-  
CLASS VICTORIES**  
Betty Smith

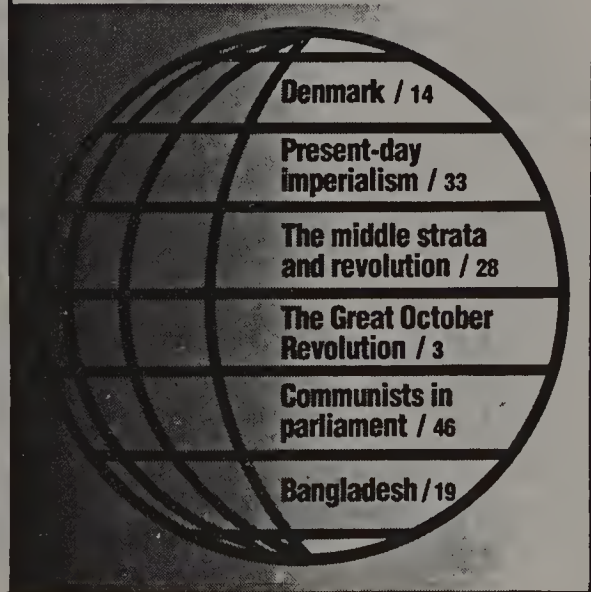
**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM  
IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**  
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**REVISIONISM: THE CASE OF HEALEY AND  
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# WORLD Problems of MARXIST Peace and Socialism REVIEW

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## SECTION II

### THE WORKING CLASS AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

As Marxists we know that the exploitation of the working class is the primary essence of capitalism. It is the pivot around which everything else revolves . . . (hence) it is also the primary point of reference for our Party and its program.

Because the working-class is the pivotal force in the struggle for reforms, for social progress and in the struggle for socialism, our Party places its main emphasis in all our work on the working class.

Gus Hall

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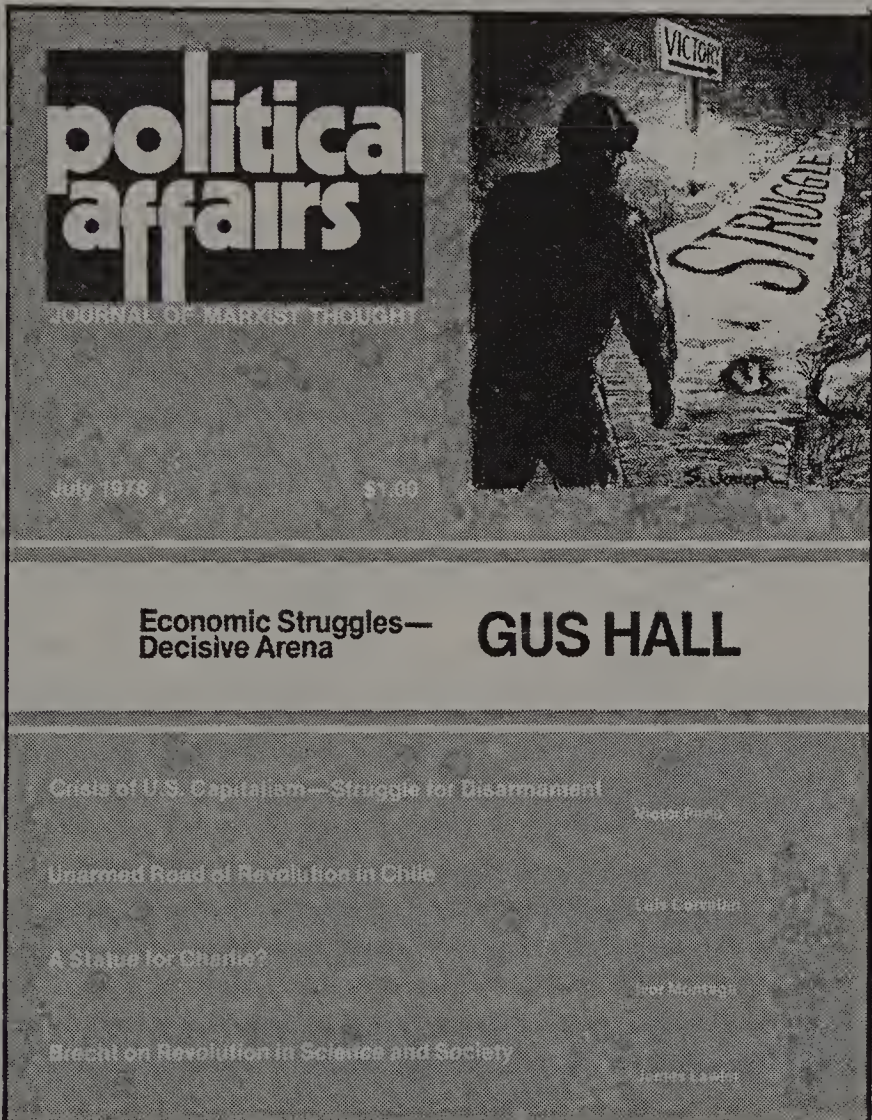
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# INTRODUCTION TO SECTION III

*By Henry Winston*  
*National Chairman, CPUSA*

Section III refers to the writings, public speeches and reports by Gus Hall, general secretary, CPUSA, to national conventions, plenary and periodic sessions of the National Committee, Central Committee, National Council and conferences of Central Committee departments.

These writings and reports cover a wide range of issues.

The reader, researcher, scholar, author, journalist and student will find in them the answers to questions in the social sciences relating especially to the class struggle in the United States and to seemingly difficult problems which characterize our times.

The solutions to these problems are presented and analyzed in the interests of the working people and the entire nation and projected as a program of action in a Marxist framework.

These writings represent the summary of the Communist Party U.S.A. collective position on the basic issues of the class struggle in this country. They are presented with particular competence by a working-class leader combining theory with a vast store of experience in the oppressed peoples' battles against capitalism — for socialism.

This section contains reference to reports and discussions which define the historic role, the Marxist-Leninist concepts and the organizational principles of the Communist Party.

Each of the reports contains a section on "The Party" dealing, in addition to the overall program, tactics and issues, also with the structure, style of work, internal democracy (democratic centralism), membership duties and responsibilities of leadership.

In the reports, Gus Hall introduces the reader to the Party's basic principles. Among them are:

*THE MULTI-RACIAL CHARACTER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY:* The U.S. is an ethnically diversified nation. The Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and the anti-racist policies of the Party reflect this diversity in its membership composition.

The disunity to which our country is subjected by its ruling class is a major obstacle to a better life for *all* people. Racist myths and male supremacy are used to justify increased exploitation and oppression among *some* groups which affect the exploitation of *all* working people.

All forms of racist discrimination are used to maintain and justify an inferior



status for Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking peoples, native American Indians, Asian and Pacific peoples.

*HOW DOES THE PARTY PROJECT THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM?* The Party program projects the need to win and defend improved living conditions today. This will inevitably lead our people to understand the need for a fundamental reorganization of today's U.S. social-economic order.

The struggles of today will solidify and unify the people's organizations. They will help them to become socially conscious, educate and inspire them to advance from social consciousness to class consciousness. They will weaken the monopoly grip on society and point out a path to socialism.

The strategy and tactics for the above course of action are fully developed in the Party's program referred to in the reports of Gus Hall in this Bibliography.

*CAN THE COMMUNIST PARTY INFLUENCE A SOCIALIST CHANGE IN THE U.S.A.?* Without minimizing the complexities involved in such a change, the answer is: Yes. U.S. history has already answered this in the affirmative. For over one hundred years our country has been deeply affected and influenced by the activities of Communists:

- The First International of working people led by Karl Marx, had a headquarters in the U.S.A.;

The International inspired boycott movements against slavery (see the articles by Karl Marx in the *New York Tribune* of the 1860's) and helped determine the outcome of the civil War;

- The struggles of the U.S. working people for a shorter work day culminated in "May Day," the international working people's holiday. Today it is celebrated by millions of working people — Communists and non-Communists throughout the world;

- In the 1930's and 1940's, the Party organized and led great sections of the population in the struggle for economic and social advancement. It helped the working people wrest from the monopolies many concessions, winning the social programs which the Reagan Administration is now trying to dismantle, such as social security, unemployment insurance, industrial union organization, the right to organize and strike, progressive income tax, anti-lynch laws, the Wagner Labor Act and other anti-monopoly victories;

- In the initial battles against fascism of that time, the Party in unity with hundreds of thousands of anti-fascist Americans helped organize and rally support to the Spanish people's struggle for democracy. Communists, young and old, volunteered and joined with thousands of other Americans in the organization of the anti-fascist Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the first integrated U.S. military formation in our country's history;

- Similarly, 14,000 Communists served in the armed forces and merchant

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

marine. And many died in the people's war against fascism (World War II).

- In the late 1940's and 50's monopoly-inspired reaction — McCarthyism — unleashed a campaign to restrict the democratic rights of the people, to rob the people of the economic concessions gained in struggle in the early thirties, to weaken and eventually destroy the Constitution and Bill of Rights. The aim was a U.S. form of fascism in the name of "defense" of the Constitution and under the slogan of "ending 20 years of treason." The witchhunt against all democratic Americans by McCarthyism under the "big lie" of "anti-Communism" fell most heavily upon the Communist Party and its leaders.

Over 270 leaders including the top leadership of its National Committee were indicted and sent to jail on trumped up charges under the infamous Smith Act for thinking and teaching Marxism-Leninism. McCarthyism did not succeed in its objective. *The Communist Party endured and continued as a viable force.*

- The 1960's began with another McCarthyite attack, on the rights of Americans to belong to independent political parties outside of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party — the monopoly-controlled "one party with two names."

Once again the Communist Party became the choice victim under the phony McCarran Act which legislated for the first time in U.S. history the outlawing of a political party — the Communist Party. And once again, the Communist Party fought back, endured and continued to give leadership to the people's struggles.

- In the same decade, the Communist Party rallied its members to join with thousands of Americans in support for the Civil Rights battles in the South and the movement for the freedom of the victims of racist and political oppression.

- The Communists could be found among the first resisting and refusing to fight in the unjust war of aggression against Vietnam. Communists joined with many other organizations in sparking the campus free speech movement and the students' sit-in strikes against the Vietnam war. The Communist Party initiated a successful fight-back against the FBI and McCarthyites who were denying Communists their rights to speak in the marketplace of ideas and present the Communist Party viewpoint on the U.S. campuses.

- In recent years the Party has advanced and helped build rank and file movements in the organized labor and working-class movements to influence a more militant and determined struggle in defense of the economic interests of the people.

The struggle for detente, peaceful coexistence, friendship between nations, against increased expenditures for war and nuclear destruction and against the militarization of our country has been a major field of Party activities.

Another major contribution by the Communist Party U.S.A. was the elec-

toral campaigns, national and local in 1968, 1972, 1976 and 1980. These campaign activities made a major contribution to building a base for independent political action exposing and challenging the monopoly controlled "one party" system.

Can the Communist Party lead, inspire and help the people accomplish this? Yes! It has already contributed a great deal in that direction and more is still to come.

The writings and speeches referred to in this section and in the entire *Gus Hall Bibliography* present a historical assessment of the CPUSA and bear witness to the Party's leadership and contributions to a changing America.

**UNEMPLOYMENT • INFLATION  
RACISM • THE WAR DANGER  
SALT II • AFGHANISTAN**

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# **SOLUTIONS**

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**ECONOMIC CRISIS • PLANT  
CLOSINGS • RUNAWAY  
SHOPS • THE DRAFT**

**REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
AND NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, JUNE 7, 1980, BY**

**GUS HALL**

**General Secretary, CPUSA**

## SECTION III

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

The Communist Party is relevant because it refuses to be swayed by opportunistic pressures. Because it refuses to follow will-o-the-wisp, subjective fantasies, it is the Party with working-class principles. It doesn't compromise to the ruling class, and not to the publicity agents or media of that class. It has a working-class loyalty, and is in the class struggle.

Gus Hall

*The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back*  
International Publishers, 1975, page 80

Co-workers are the key to any contributions one makes in the field of endeavor . . . My good fortune in working with good co-workers — co-workers who are resourceful and inspiring has continued in my political work, in the trade union movement and in the Party.

Whatever I have written or said is a reflection of collective thought. That is a basic method in our Party.

from speech of Gus Hall at 60th birthday  
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## SECTION IV

### ECONOMICS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM—USA

Today struggles in any sector of life turn into a confrontation with monopoly capital. Search the surface anywhere and you touch some tentacle of monopoly corporate interests. The industrial worker meets the monster on the production line daily. This confrontation is direct and clean-cut. The small farmer confronts the beast in the form of banks, the agri-corporation and monopolies who control the economy. The Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the American Indian and Asian peoples are the victims of the monopolies' special system of oppression and discrimination. The students face the fiend in monopoly-controlled college boards. Women face the monster of reaction-inspired male chauvinism. The youth are subjected to monopoly-inspired moral, ethical and cultural decay.

In the United States one cannot escape the tentacles of monopoly capitalism. They have a choking grip on industry, banking, newspapers, radio, television, magazines, on retail trade. They control the two parties of capitalism. Monopoly capital has a controlling influence on the government on all levels. We have a state monopoly power.

Gus Hall

*Imperialism Today*

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# THE SINKING DOLLAR



Bill Anderson - Daily World

**The Sinking Dollar  
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**CIA Defeat in Angola**  
Michael Myerson

## SECTION V

### AFRO-AMERICAN LIBERATION — AGAINST RACIAL AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Our 200-year history has been 200 years of class struggle. But it has also been 200 years of racism. It is a history of massive brainwashing, of sweeping mind-twisting. It stands as the most enormous injection of ideological poison in history. Racism has always engulfed the entire spectrum of life in the United States. This is a bicentennial of racism in the social and cultural fabric of life in our society. It is a Bicentennial of racism in education, in housing, medical care and recreation.

In a more fundamental and primary sense it is a 200-year history of racist discrimination in the economic arena. Through the years racism has been the source of billions of dollars in extra profits for U.S. corporations. Racism has been interwoven into the capitalist system of class exploitation. For this reason there has been and there is today a close relationship between the struggle against racism and the class struggle.

Gus Hall

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## SECTION VI

### FOR PEACE — AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

The most important issue before the *world* today is U.S.-Soviet relations. It contains all the main questions and contradictions of our times. In a basic sense, it determines the nature of the world we live in. And, even more basically, these relationships, and the nature of the solutions, will determine whether humanity will survive on this planet, or whether we will join the growing list of extinct species.

The most important task facing the *people of the United States* today is to turn around the present U.S. foreign and military policy. This policy can only lead to disasters of one sort or another. It not only increases the danger of war. By pouring hundred of billions of dollars down the armaments rathole it makes it impossible to mount a serious attack on the exploding economic and social crisis in the United States. It feeds the problems—runaway inflation and a declining standard of living, heavy unemployment, decaying cities, a shaky social security system, and an inhuman health care system.

Gus Hall

*Basics for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress*  
International Publishers, 1980, pp. 36 and 82

. . . There will be no serious negotiations to cut or control nuclear arms unless the people of the United States speak out and act to demand peace and detente.

Ultimately, only the people can be the arbitrators. Only the people can make the decisive difference between war or peace, between human survival or extinction.

Mass actions can bring about serious negotiations that will put an end to the nuclear arms race. Silence now can result in “Silent Springs.” Mass actions now will bring about springs of peace, progress and a deeper friendship between our two peoples.

The imperialists have been watching with great concern the spread of revolutions of natural liberation throughout the world — in Africa, the Middle East, Central America and the Caribbean. The imperialists don’t care that the peoples of these areas are fighting to free themselves from racist oppressors, as in Southern Africa, or murderous dictatorships, as in El Salvador. They want to be able to defend the interests of the transnational corporations and the Pentagon, to hold back or control revolutions. They want to be able to intervene militarily if need be. And they feel that to have a free hand to do this they need



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military superiority over the Soviet Union.

Gus Hall

*Basics for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress*

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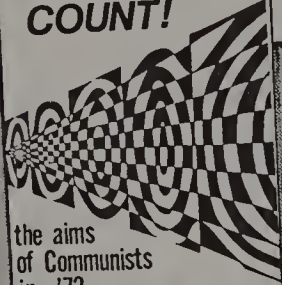
# END THE COLD WAR!

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of Imperialism

CRUMBLING

MAKE THIS ELECTION COUNT!



the aims of Communists in '72

by Gus Hall

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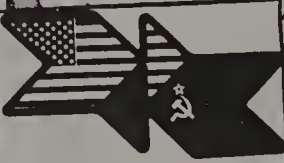
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# TOWARD UNITY AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALISM

By GUS HALL

Speech at the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, June 5-17, 1969



# THE BIG STAKES OF DETENTE

Coal Miners and Steel Workers: United Struggle Can Win!

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HOW TO STOP THE MONOPOLIES

By GUS HALL

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THE SAKHAROV SOLZHENITSYN FRAUD

GUS HALL

OUR COUNTRY IN CRISIS-

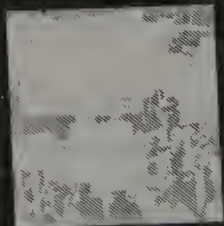
THE PEOPLE MUST ACT!

GUS HALL

40c

# LABOR UP-FRONT

Gus Hall



## SECTION VII

### IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

A policy that is destructive of the people's interests necessarily must be accompanied by a policy that is destructive of the people's rights. One follows the other like thunder follows lightning. The cold war cost in democratic rights is high. But how can you weigh or measure the worth of the years in prison for hundreds of Americans, or the loss of jobs for thousands, or the years of fear and suspicion of millions which led many to suicide which in fact were political murders? How can you measure the guilt and shame and self-destruction of those millions who knew better but also lacked the courage to stand up and fight these monstrous policies?

How can you measure the debasement and decay of the ethics and moral standards of the country when an administration speaks of peace and wages war, speaks of democracy and destroys liberty in our land?

Gus Hall

On This We Stand Together

Publishers: Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, June 7, 1962, p.6

### WITH ONE VOICE FOR HUMANITY

We, like you, live for humanity and its future. And because of this we do not feel the despair, the alienation, the frustration, the sense of fragmentation and nonfulfillment that grips so many millions of our fellow citizens. We Marxists and humanists know that we are part of something much larger than ourselves, that the collective humanity to which we belong continues to march forward despite great obstacles, and gives us wisdom and strength far beyond what we might have as isolated individuals alone in our actions, thoughts and beliefs.

Gus Hall

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by GUS HALL

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the struggle for

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# Peaceful Coexistence



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ELEMENTS OF A DIALOGUE

A Political Affairs Pamphlet



## SECTION VIII

### POLITICAL ACTION AND ELECTORAL STRUGGLES

In the center of all the questions is the agonizing one: Will it be possible — ever — to mobilize the great majority, including the 75 per cent of the potential electorate who are alienated, to take part in the electoral struggles without some form of political independence? I think life has placed this question on the agenda in a new way.

There is a corollary question: Can honest, progressive, anti-racist, anti-monopoly and working-class candidates win, continue in office for periods, and win re-election without some form of an independent political base? Life has also placed this question on the agenda.

These questions are placed within the meaning of the Marxist concept that history places for solution questions only when the means for their solution are already available or in the making.

In the broadest sense, political developments have reached a point where it is impossible, as well as counterproductive, to seriously consider electoral struggles, or electoral activities, without some form of political independence.

The use of the two-party electoral structure, which in many cases is still necessary, is self-defeating without some form of political base which is independent of the two old parties.

To talk about using the electoral structure, including the running or supporting of candidates, without having some form of politically independent base is like the old story of being up the two-party creek without an independent paddle.

Gus Hall

*Political Affairs* December 1978

The only substantial force seeking consistently to unify all these independent forces in the direction of a people's anti-monopoly party, led primarily by labor, is the Communist Party. That has been our historic position. It remains our position and policy today. We encourage and help to build independent anti-monopoly movements in the political arena, particularly those that arise in the ranks of labor, and we press for their unity on grassroots and national levels.

To help build the new politics of political independence that will lead to an anti-monopoly people's party that can effectively challenge the two old parties

of monopoly capital (is) . . . a central element of (the Communist Party's electoral policy).

Thus, our campaign must be seen as an indispensable element of the people's anti-monopoly struggle.

It is high time for all those concerned with the need of keeping open the avenue for independent political action, whatever their differences on other questions, to unite in a broad coalition for the defeat of measures designed to kill off breakaway political movements, even while still in the embryo stage.

Gus Hall

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## SECTION IX

### THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY

The most important change in the past years is the role of women as part of the working class. Over fifty percent of all women are now wage workers and 41 percent of all workers are now women. The percentages of racially and nationally oppressed women in the labor force are even higher. . . .

*This is an historic process.* It is not a momentary development.

(However) male supremacy remains a major ideological obstacle to the unity of women with other sections of the population. . . .

The struggle for full equality for women . . . must be given a higher priority by all progressive democratic movements, as well as by our Party.

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# CAPITALISM ON THE SKIDS TO OBLIVION

the people's struggle  
for a new beginning

GUS HALL

50¢

# WORKING- CLASS APPROACH TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION

30¢

# NEGRO FREEDOM

IS IN THE INTEREST  
OF EVERY AMERICAN

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The  
HIGH CRIMES  
and  
MISDEMEANORS  
of  
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DRIVE THE CROOKS  
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GUS HALL

# GUS HALL LABOR KEY FORCE

FOR PEACE, CIVIL RIGHTS  
AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

YOUR STAKE  
in the  
1960  
ELECTIONS

# A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters



the next 4  
years of  
Nixon  
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For a  
Meaningful  
Alternative

- VIETNAM
- MIDDLE EAST
- NEGRO FREEDOM
- ECONOMIC WELFARE
- 1960 ELECTIONS

30¢



## SECTION X

### YOUTH IS KNOCKING ON HISTORY'S DOORS

Our youth are the first generations that have been born into the epoch of the explosive transition from a world of capitalism to a new world of socialism. These are the first generations that can compare the two socio-economic systems. They are more open to Marxist-Leninist and socialist ideas. The youth of today are not wedded to capitalism. Capitalism is not offering rich inducements or long-term commitments. The youth of today are not buying the usual clap-trap.

However, they are also the generations that must resist and deal with the moral, ethical and cultural decay, the hopelessness, frustrations, depression, anger, corruption, violence and complete breakdown of the fabric of our society . . .

Whether in the class struggle, the struggle against racism, the struggle for democracy and peace — the mobilization of the youth must be seen a key element that requires special approaches, special forms, special cadres, special programs. In all this the Young Workers Liberation League is key.

Gus Hall

*Labor Up-Front*

International Publishers, 1979

pp. 66, 67, 69

Editor's Note: Gus Hall's writings on the problems of the young generation are an exemplary initiative of leadership.

These writings combined with organizational steps have led to the founding of the only existing viable Marxist youth organization — the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL).

Youth wants peace, an end to the nuclear arms race, an end to war. They want an end to racist discrimination and bigotry. They want the right to learn, the right to hear, to read, to discuss, to think, to act.

*On this We Stand Together*, Citizens' Committee for Constitutional Liberties, June 7, 1962, page 9

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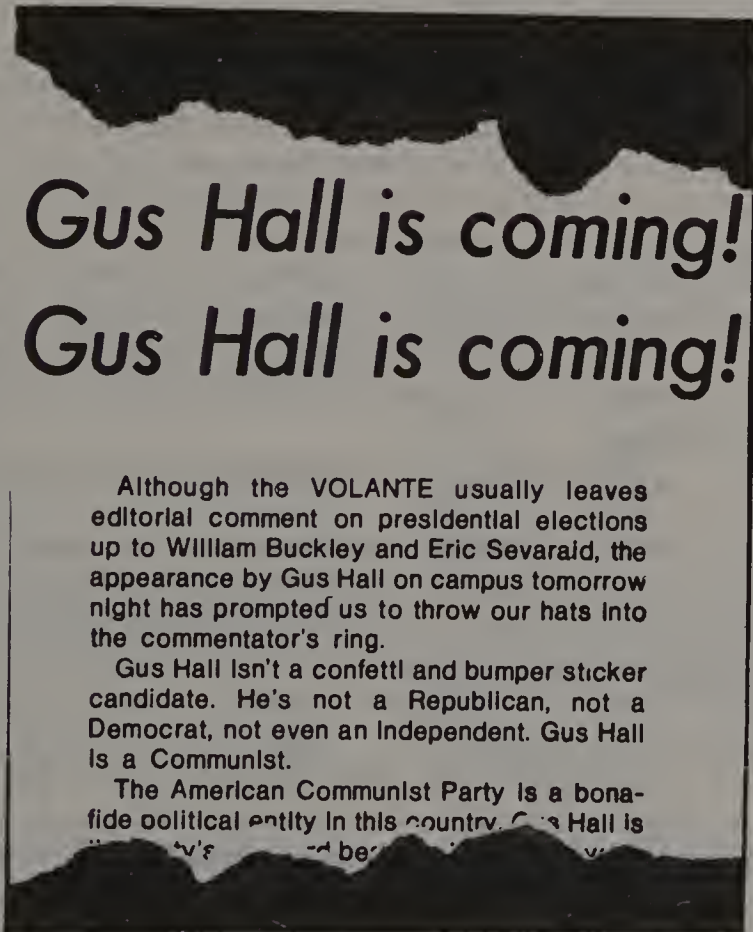
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Editorial headline in University of South Dakota campus newspaper.

## SECTION XI

### WORKING-CLASS INTERNATIONALISM— THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Working class internationalism is an essential weapon in the struggle against imperialism. In its basic essence the struggle for internationalism in the revolutionary movement is a struggle against opportunism. How one reacts to and identifies with the problems of one's own class is a *measurement of class consciousness*. How one reacts to these same problems in some other country, or when they affect the lives and struggles on a world scale is a *measure of the depth of one's internationalism*.

Internationalism is class consciousness that reaches beyond national boundaries. Internationalism correctly sees the oneness of the national self interests of one's class, and the worldwide nature of the class struggle. Proletarian internationalism is not a slogan, or a cute phrase that one trots out on some ceremonial occasion. It is an ideological concept that must lead to a line of actions. It is an outlook that must influence a line of tactics. It is a world outlook of a class. It is a weapon of struggle. The concept has its roots in the hard necessities of the class struggle. It reflects the realities of the working class. Capitalism is worldwide. Class exploitation is worldwide . . . Without the concept of internationalism the working class cannot rise above the limits set by narrow nationalism.

*Imperialism Today*, International Publishers, 1972, p. 302

To prevent and to checkmate imperialism's use of differences between socialist countries, differences between Communist parties, differences between newly liberated countries — differences between any of the forces of anti-imperialism — has emerged as a most decisive question of our times. It is the acid test of one's ideological fiber. In today's world it is the test of one's working-class internationalism.

*Imperialism Today*, International Publishers, 1972, page 302

International means neither humiliating nor sacrificing one's homeland . . . Quite the opposite, internationalists might call themselves the only true patriots, for only they understand the extent to which conditions must be improved before one can ensure the future and grandeur of one's homeland, and all homelands, after turning from antagonisms to solidarity.

From an appeal of the French Workers' Party, 1893



I do not speak for the Communist Parties of other countries nor do I try to tell them how to resolve their problems around this question of freedom. In broad general terms, I have always advocated more boldness and greater expression of confidence in extending freedom. It is a fact that all observers recognize that the trend is toward more and more freedom in many areas. It is a process and requires constant attention.

I do not, however, join those who see freedom in the right to peddle slander and falsehood, in the right to advocate racist hatred, bigotry and violence, in the right to advocate suicidal war or the enslavement of people.

Society has paid a heavy price for freedom from such concepts, and that price must not have been in vain. Such restrictions on freedom under socialism gives freedom a higher meaning. These restrictions need not wait for socialism.

Gus Hall

Lecture "The State, Government and Society"  
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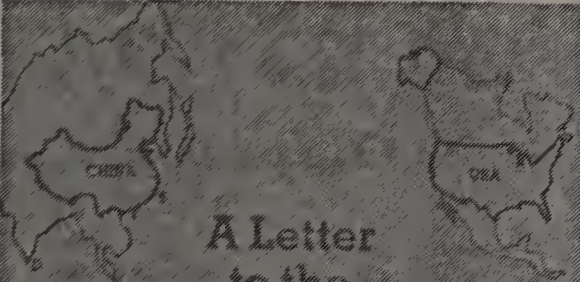


# CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AT THE CROSSROADS


BY  
GUS HALL

254



A Letter  
to the  
Communist Party,  
People's Republic of China

from  
**GUS HALL**  
Commander, Emergency  
CPUSA



## SECTION XII

### SPECIAL OCCASIONS IN THE ONGOING CLASS STRUGGLE

We are a revolutionary party of an advanced mold.

In our Party we are more than pieces glued together.

In our Party we are more than the sum total of Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican. In our Party we are more than the coming together of people of different classes, different ethnic backgrounds. In our Party there is more than formal equality or formal unity. We are more than formal members. In the Communist Party we are *one*. It is in this sense that we are of an advanced mold. It is in this sense that we are a mold — a prototype — for the society to come.

Gus Hall

*Political Affairs*

November 1970 p. 13

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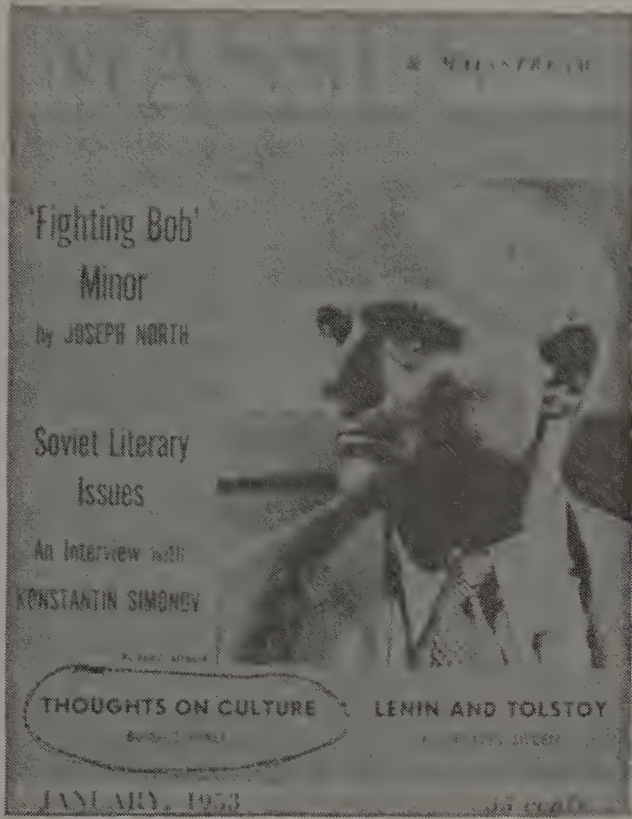
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SUMMER — 1966



**THE CASE FOR OPTIMISM**  
**A Talk With GUS HALL**

## SECTION XIII

### CROSS REFERENCES—1939-1981 WRITINGS—SPEECHES—STATEMENTS

Co-workers are the key to any contributions one makes in the field of endeavor . . . whatever I have written or said is a reflection of collective thought. That is a basic method in our Party.

Gus Hall

*Political Affairs*

November 1970, pp. 8-13

NOTE: The Roman (I) and Arabic (28) numerals indicate cross-reference, e.g., I-28 refers to Section I item number 28.

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207	"Hummel Imitates Hitler"	"	6/13/48	VII	6
208	"The Crippled Ohio Constitution"	"	11/28/48	VII	8
209	"An Important Book"	"	1/9/49	I	1
<i>1950's</i>					
210	"The Taft 'Fix' "	TW	1/29/50	VII	12
211	Letters from Prison: Books, Baseball and Birthdays"	Masses and Mainstream	Autumn '52	VII	13
212	"Thoughts on Culture"	"	January '53	VII	14
213	"On Leadership Training"	Youth Rev.	Spring '53	X	3
<i>1960's</i>					
214	"We Must Raise Our Sights" (Two Speeches)	Party Affairs	May 1960	III	19
215	"An Illustrious Son and Citizen"	TW	2/12/61	XII	2
216	"United States Threatens Intervention in Cuba"	"	4/16/61	VI	24
217	"Supreme Court Decision on McCarran and Smith Acts"	"	7/61	VII	15
218	"The Ultra-Right, Kennedy and the Role of Progressives"	"	7/16/61 and 12/1/63 rep't	VII	16
219	"Hail Gains on 8th Anniversary of Cuban Revolution"	"	7/30/61	XI	4
220	"On New Draft Constitution of USSR"	"	8/6/61	XI	5
221	"Greetings on Labor Day to Labor"	"	9/3/61	II	7
222	" 'Slip of the Tongue' Follows 'A Spur of the Moment' "	"	9/9/61	VI	25
223	"Interview on McCarran Act" Peter Khiss, <i>New York Times</i>	"	12/17/61	VII	18
224	"Perils of McCarran Act"	"	3/25/62	VII	21
225	"There Is No America That Will Be Free After That"	"	4/10/62	VII	22
226	"An Attempted Robbery by the Steel Trust"	"	4/22/62	II	8
227	"The McCarran Act's Definition of of the C.P."	"	5/6/62	VII	23
228	"What's Behind the Stock Market Plunge"	"	6/10/62	IV	3
229	"An Open Letter to the Socialist Party"	"	6/10/62	VII	24
230	"For A Peaceful Conclusion to the Cuban Question"	"	10/23/62	VI	26
231	"F.B.I. Perils Us"	"	10/23/62	VII	26

No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer.	
				Sect.	No.
232	“Reverse McCarran Conviction of CP”	TW	12/22/62	VII	28
233	“The Meaning of Birmingham”	TW Supple.	6/21/63	V	7
234	“United People’s Action for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress”	TW Supple.	6/23/62	III	27
235	“Political Parties, Movements and the 1964 Elections”	TW Supple.	6/23/62	VIII	12
236	“The Crucial Issues Facing Mankind”	TW	7/28/63	XI	9
237	“Statement on Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty U.S., USSR and Great Britain”	”	7/30/63	VI	29
238	“Gus Hall Greets Cuba’s Tenth July 26 Anniversary”	”	7/30/63	XI	8
239	“In the Battle for Jobs and Negro Freedom”	SW	8/25/63	V	9
240	“Telegram to Pres. John Kennedy on Incitement of Murder by Racist Gov. George Wallace in Birmingham”	TMW	9/10/63	V	10
241	“95th Anniversary of Grito Lares Observed in Puerto Rico”	TW	10/1/63	XI	10
242	“Hall-Davis Campaign Statement on Passage of Civil Rights Bill”	”	10/20/63	V	11
243	“For A Campaign of Party Renewal”	”	11/17/63	III	28
244	“Anti-Communism Perils the Nation”	”	12/29/63	VII	30
245	“Birmingham and the Struggles in the South”	Communist Viewpoint	1963	V	8
246	“Dissent with Foresight”	TW	3/8/64	III	31
247	“Bright Perspective for New Daily Marxist Paper”	”	3/8/64	III	36
248	“The Communist Party Position on Current National and International Events”	”	3/8/64	VII	31
249	“Are ‘Profound Beliefs’ A Crime?”	”	5/3/64	I	10
250	“An Appeal Vs. A Peril”	”	5/10/64	III	32
251	“Two-Headed Monster of Hypocrisy —The CIA Murder Unincorporated But Government Sponsored”	”	5/31/64	VIII	32
252	“China’s Detonation of Atomic Device—Kruschev’s Resignation”	”	10/25/64	XI XII	13 8
253	“U.S. Imperialism and the Cuban Revolution”	IT	1965	VI	34
254	“The Communist International”	”	”	I	14
255	“Pope Paul’s Address to the United Nations”	Continuum	Autumn ’65	III	39
256	“Communists and the Great Society”	TW	1/24/65	VII	35
257	“Honor to A Marxist— Alexander Trachtenberg”	”	1/31/65	XII	9
258	“Freedom Now Is for All of U.S.”	”	2/7/65	VII	36
259	“Against U.S. Air Attacks in Vietnam”	”	2/9/65	VI	30

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No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer.	
				Sect.	No.
260	"Stop War in Vietnam Now!"	TW	4/65	VI	31
261	"An Open Letter to Pres. Johnson (on Los Angeles's Watt's Riots)"	"	9/12/65	V	14
262	"'Passing the Word'—Whose Word?"	IT	1966	II	12
263	"Some Thoughts on Revolution"	"	1966	I	19
264	"The Authoritative Position of the CPUSA"	TW	2/66	III	49
265	"Foreword to New Program of CPUSA"	"	2/66	III	50
266	"Questions and Answers on New CP Program"	"	3/6/66	III	51
267	"The Case for Optimism"	American Dialogue	Summer '66	VII	39
268	"World Anti-Imperialist Unity"	TW	11/12/67	XI	22
269	"Not All Peace Talk Is Talk for Peace"	"	12/24/67	VI	38
270	"The War U.S. Imperialism Cannot Win"	IT	1968	VI	42
271	"An Open Letter to the Israeli Peace Movement"	"	1968	VI	43
272	"Anti-Communism in Algeria"	TW	1/7/68		
273	"Anti-Communism Anti-Sovietism"	IT	1968	VI	41
274	"Neo-Colonialism Needs A Labor Cover"	"	1968	I	27
275	"How to Shape History"	"	1968	II	18
276	"How to Shape History"	TW	1/13/68	III	55
277	"In Support of New Marxist Daily Paper"	SW	1/23/68	III	56
278	"Statement on L.B. Johnson's Fade-Out as Candidate for Reelection"	TW	4/1/68	VI	39
279	"Racism Is the Killer" (on assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King)	"	4/9/68	V	22
280	"Dr. Martin Luther King—An Organizer of Mass Fight for Justice"	TW	4/11/68	V	24
281	"On De-Escalation of the Criminal War in Vietnam"	"	4/2/68	VI	40
282	"America Has Been Very Patient with Capitalism"	"	7/7/68	VIII	20
283	"Communist Party Position on Contempo- rary Topics of Concern to Students of 5 Rocky Mountain State Campuses"	DW	12/10/68	X	9
284	"Czechoslovakia/A Defeat for Imperialism"	IT	1969	VI	46
285	"U.S. Imperialism in Africa— Goals Remain Only Tactics Change"	"	1969	VI	47
286	"Marxism-Leninism and Its Contribution to Anti-Imperialism"	"	1969	I	33
287	"What Was the Cheering About?"	DW	8/69	XI	33



No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer. Sect. No.	
<i>1970's</i>					
287	"Trends in American Capitalism During Past Half Century"	IT	1970	I	43
288	"The Military-Industrial Complex"	"	1970	VI	54
289	"Imperialism and Racism—Twin Instruments of Oppression"	"	1970	V	28
290	"A Revolutionary Day in South America"	"	1970	VI	51
291	"The Ghosts of Past Realities"	"	1970	VI	52
292	"Imperialist Excursions and Incursions"	"	1970	VI	53
293	"Some Problems of Anti-Imperialist Unity"	"	1970	I	42
294	"The Struggle for Leninist Concepts of Proletarian Internationalism"	"	1970	I	44
295	"Revisionism and Counter-Revolution"	"	1970	I	41
296	"You Are Making Revolutionary History"	DW	2/70	X	11
297	"No 'Wage Freeze' Guidelines"	"	6/6/70	II	23
298	"The Meaning of Chile"	"	10/17/70	VI	49
300	"Nixon's 'Peace Proposal' A Bold Faced Fakery"	"	10/70	VI	50
301	"Marxism-Leninism: The Star of Revolutionary Transition"	New World Review	Winter '70	I	34
302	"The Nixon-Mao Meeting" (Letter to Editor by Old-Timer)	DW	2/71	XI	36
303	"Commitment to the Full Measure" (Henry Winston's 60th Birthday)	"	5/29/71	XII	20
304	"Not Super Powers but Class Struggle"	"	6/12/71	I	45
305	"Kissinger's Follies"	IT	1971	VI	57
306	"Who Gets the Super-Profits?"	"	1971	IV	8
307	"The Rise of the Conglomerates"	"	1971	IV	7
308	"The Ideological Offensive Against U.S. Imperialism"	IT	1972	I	48
309	"Beware of Opportunism"	"	1972	I	47
310	"Imperialism and Its Accomplice the State"	"	1972	I	56
311	"Capitalism on the Skids to Extinction"	"	1972	I	53
312	"Revolutions Are the Explosions of Historical Necessities"	"	1972	I	54
313	"Political-Ideological Storms"	"	1972	I	55
314	"To the People of Vietnam"	"	1972	VI	59
315	"Moment Ripe for Peace Push"	"	1972	VI	61
316	"Padlock the Pentagon to Keep Peace!"	"	1972	VI	62
317	"Nixon's Troop Withdrawal"	"	1972	VI	65
318	"Support the People of Chile and the Allende Government"	IT	1972	XI	38
319	"Class Issues in Sharp Focus"	DW	10/21/72	II	27
320	"Mass Action Will Force (93rd) Congress to Act"	"	1/4/73	VI	66

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No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer.	
				Sect.	No.
321	“The Roots of the Watergate Crisis”	DW	6/2/73	VII	47
322	“Rich in Basic Ideas” (Book Review)	”	8/19/73	V	32
323	“The Strength of Tyomies”	”	8/25/73	XII	22
324	“The Crisis of Everyday Living” (Interview)	”	9/6/73	IV	12
325	“Crimes in the Name of ‘National Security’ ”	”	9/13/73	VII	50
326	“Sakharov Self-Exposed”	New Times	October ’73 No. 42, 43	XI	39
327	“The Vision . . . 50 Years Ago”	DW	1/12/74	XII	23
328	“Who Endangers Representative Government?”	”	2/2/74	VII	54
329	“The Unhappy Liberal”	”	3/2/74	VII	55
330	“A Bird of Prey—Never a Dove of Peace”	”	4/6/74	VI	68
331	“May Day Honors the Rank and File”	”	4/27/74	II	29
332	“Poverty of Thought”	”	6/4/74	I	60
333	“In A World of Epochal Change”	”	6/15/74	XII	25
334	“The Crisis in Medical Care”	”	6/29/74	VII	56
335	“The McCarran Act Is Dead— Capitalist Oppression Continues”	”	7/6/74	VII	57
336	“The Exit of Nixon An Historic Step in the Right Direction”	”	8/9/74	VII	59
337	“Telegram to President Ford”	”	8/14/74	IV	15
338	“Poverty on a Rich Mountain”	”	8/17/74	VII	60
339	“At 55, Well and Fighting”	”	9/7/74	XII	26
340	“Appeal for ‘Basic Fund Week’ ”	”	10/12/74	III	73
341	“ ‘Paint Brush’ Provocation”	Cultural Reporter	October ’74	VII	61
342	“The Biggest Coverup”	DW	11/16/74	IV	14
343	“Fifty Years of Honor”	”	12/8/74	XII	27
344	“For A World Conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties”	”	12/14/74	XI	40
345	“A Challenge to the Program of President Gerald Ford”	”	1/23/75	VII	62
346	“Stem the Drive by War Hawks”	”	1/30/75	VI	71
347	“The Nature of the Economic Crisis and Its Solution”	”	2/1/75	IV	17
348	“Racism—Monopoly’s Hammer Against All Workers”	”	3/1/75	V	34
349	“Planning—for What Purpose and for Whom?”	”	3/29/75	IV	20
350	“Stop the U.S. ‘Kidnap’ of Vietnamese”	”	4/11/75	VI	72
351	“Congress Must Be Alert”	”	4/24/75	VI	73
352	“The Unemployed and the Vietnamese in the Struggle Against a Common Enemy”	”	4/26/75	VI	75

No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer.	
				Sect.	No.
353	"Portugal Communist Party Is on Solid Ground"	DW	4/29/75	XI	41
354	"A May Day of Victory"	"	5/2/75	XII	28
355	"The Anti-Fascist Coalition and the Struggle for Detente"	"	5/10/75	VI	76
356	"The Fight for Human Rights"	"	7/12/75	VII	63
357	"A Unique Convention"	"	8/2/75	III	77
358	"The Imperialist Spider Spins Webs of Aggression"	"	9/5/75	IV	18
359	"The 'Purpose' of World Monopoly Capitalism"	"	9/6/75	IV	19
360	"Corporate Fangs"	"	10/11/75	VII	65
361	"An Open Letter ' Joseph Odorcich; Red-Baiting—Refuge for Sell-Out Scoundrels"	"	11/8/75	II	34
362	"You May Not Kill, Terrorize or Harass—Except in Case of . . ."	"	12/6/75	VII	66
363	"The Papers That Get Under the Boss's Skin"	"	1/10/76	III	80
364	"Young Workers Liberation League Holds Key for Youth"	"	2/7/76	X	17
365	"For A Meaningful Bicentennial"	"	2/21/76	X	16
366	"A Challenge to the Boss's Parties"	"	2/21/76	VIII	36
367	"Address to the 25th Congress Communist Party of the Soviet Union"	"	3/4/76	XI	42
368	"Demagoguery—the Art (and Craft) of Hoodwinking People"	"	3/6/76	VII	69
369	"Milestones Toward Communism"	"	3/20/76	XI	43
370	"It's Time to Raise Hell"	"	4/3/76	II	36
371	"McCarthyite Sensationalism—A Forrestal Disease"	"	4/28/76	VIII	38
372	"Marxism and the Bicentennial—200 Years of Class Struggle"	"	5/13-14/76	I	68
373	"It Is Inevitable, the People Shall Be All"	"	5/22/76	XII	31
374	"A Personal Message to Senior Citizens"	"	6/5/76	VII	70
375	"Detente Means Serious Concern for the Whole World"	"	6/19/76	VI	78
376	"S-1 Stands for Slavery"	"	6/26/76	VII	71
377	"To the United Steelworkers in Convention, to the Workers in the Mills"	"	9/4/76	II	37
378	"The Assassination of Orlando Letelier"	"	9/21/76	XI	45
379	"With One Voice for Humanity"	"	10/30/76	VII	74
380	"Communist Party Offers Program for United Struggle"	"	11/30/76	VIII	42
381	"1976 Elections: Mandate for People's Action"	"	12/7/76	VIII	43

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				Sect.	No.
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383	“An Open Letter to the New Governor of Minnesota, Rudolf G. Perpich”	”	2/12/77	VII	77
384	“Shortages”	”	2/26/77	VII	78
385	“On Force and Violence—Question and Answer”	”	3/5/77	VII	79
386	“Statement to Pres. Carter: Invite Sen. Luis Corvalan, Chilean CP General Secretary for Discussion on Human Rights in Chile”	”	3/8/77	XI	46
387	“The One Hundred Day Period” (Open Letter to N. Y. Communists)	”	3/9/77	III	83
388	“Message to Romania on Earthquake Disaster”	”	3/9/77	XI	47
389	“The Arrogance of Imperialism”	”	3/12/77	VI	81
390	“New Gap—Old Story”	”	3/19/77	VI	82
391	“When People Are Silent, War Hawks Dominate Policy”	”	4/20/77	VI	83
392	“May Day Flashbacks”	”	4/30/77	XII	32
393	“Keynote for A People’s Crusade”	”	5/14/77	XII	33
394	“On Socialism and Personal Property—Question and Answer”	”	6/4/77	VII	80
395	“Nuclear Energy—”	”	6/4/77	VII	81
396	“Not How Independent But How Communist”	”	7/30/77	XI	48
397	“The Most Advanced Democracy: the Dictatorship of the Proletariat”	”	8/6/77	I	71
398	“The Role of Theory in the Struggle for World Communist Unity”	”	9/3/77	I	72
399	“The Young Workers Liberation League—Spark in A Time of Crisis”	”	10/22/77	X	18
400	“Crisis in Steel—Cause and Cure”	”	11/5/77	IV	21
401	“Can’t Win Without Unity”	”	12/3/77	II	40
402	“A People’s Solution to the Steel Crisis”	”	12/20/77	II	41
403	“New York Times CIA Cover-up”	”	12/29/77	VII	83
404	“Did Esquire Run Out of Space?”	”	12/31/77	VII	82
405	“NBC’s Rockefeller-Bred Peacock”	”	2/11/78	VII	84
406	“Honor History by Making History”	”	2/19/78	V	36
407	“Biggest Obstacle to Social Progress”	”	3/9/78	V	37
408	“Capitalism’s Fascist Mentality”	”	4/20/78	VII	85
409	“May Day ‘A Very Special Day’ ”	”	5/2/78	XII	34
410	“Greetings to 10th Congress Communist Party of Greece”	”	5/19/78	XI	50
411	“Immediate Cures for \$\$\$ Ills”	”	5/23/78	IV	23
412	“Greetings to the Communist Party of Vietnam”	”	9/2/78	XI	51
413	“Economic Struggles—the Decisive Party				



No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer.	
				Sect.	No.
	Arena"	Organizer	Aug. '78	III	86
414	"The Million Conspiracies of Racism"	DW	11/16/78	V	39
415	"Butter Not Guns"	"	11/30/78	IV	24
416	"Some Basic Questions"	Party			
		Organizer	Dec. '78	III	88
417	"A Toast to Fighters"	DW	1/6/79	XII	36
418	"Comments on Situation in Kampuchea"	"	1/10/79	XI	52
419	"The Myth About Wages and Inflation"	"	1/13/79	IV	31
420	"Against Chinese Threats of Aggression in Socialist Republic of Vietnam"	"	2/15/79	VI	84
421	"Against Chinese Invasion of Vietnam"	"	2/21/79	VI	85
422	"Threats of Persian Gulf Intervention Denounced"	"	3/1/79	VI	86
423	"Against Aggressive Designs of Maoist Leaders in Vietnam"	"	3/5/79	VI	87
424	"On Chinese Aggression"	"	3/15/79	I	86
425	"Salt II and Beyond"	"	3/22/79	VI	88
426	"Join Forces to Form Labor Party"	"	4/6/79	VIII	47
427	"Maoism, the Betrayal of the Great Chinese Revolution"	"	4/10/79	I	80
428	"Close Nuclear Plants! Obtain People's O.K."	"	4/11/79	VII	87
429	"In Defense of the Communist Party of Turkey"	"	4/11/79	XI	55
430	"The Three Mile Island Crisis: People Must Run Industry"	"	4/14/79	VII	88
431	"To Hell with Injunctions"	"	4/26/79	II	47
432	"Let's Stop Big Business Now"	"	5/1/79	XII	37
433	"An Open Letter to Mike Wallace"	"	5/17/79	VII	90
434	"The Mary Blair Victory"	"	5/17/79	VII	89
435	"But Is That Enough"	"	5/24/79	I	83
436	"The Courts for Mind Control. . ."	The New York Times	6/5/79	VII	91
437	"Vegetable Gardening"	DW	6/6/79	XII	38
438	"The Ideological War"	"	6/7/79	VII	92
439	"Salt—An Act of Mutual Sanity"	"	6/19/79	VI	89
440	"Stay Out of Nicaragua"	"	6/26/79	VI	90
441	"Chrysler's Inhumanity"	"	6/30/79	IV	32
442	"Against Intensified Repression in Colombia"	"	7/3/79	XI	56
443	"U.S. Government: Stop Support of Somoza"	"	7/12/79	VI	91
444	"Carter Energy Plan A Rip-Off"	"	7/22/79	VII	93
445	"Loathsome Duo and the Rosenbergs"	"	7/26/79	VII	94
446	"Solidarity with People's Progressive Party of Guyana"	"	7/27/79	XI	57

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				Sect.	No.
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448	“A Letter to Black and Jewish Leaders on ‘the Safety of Israel’ and for the Right of Palestinians to ‘A Sovereign State’ ”	”	8/24/79	VI	92
449	“The Working-Class Answer to the Deepening Crisis”	”	8/30/79	II	48
450	“A Giant Stride for Mass Action”	”	8/30/79	III	90
451	“U.S. War Politics”	”	11/8/79	VI	93
452	“Detente Requires Two Sides”	”	1/10/80	VI	96
453	“What Really Happened in Afghanistan”	”	1/31/80	VI	97
454	“Firing Up the Arms Race— Economic Lunacy”	”	2/14/80	VI	98
455	“The 10th Birthday of the Young Workers Liberation League”	”	2/14/80	X	21
456	“Corporate Profits and the Standard of Living”	”	3/6/80	IV	33
457	“Carter’s Shell Game”	”	3/18/80	VII	97
458	“U.S.-Soviet Military Balance— A Must for Peace”	”	3/20/80	VI	99
459	“The People Vs. Monopoly”	”	4/5/80	I	88
460	“Racism— 1980’s, Worse Than More of the Same”	”	4/10/80	V	41
461	“Anti-Union Plot Exposed”	”	4/11/80	II	50
462	“Carter Fights Inflation by Attacking Its Victims”	”	4/26/80	IV	34
463	“Two Crises— A Grave Economic Crisis and A New Military Threat to Peace”	”	5/6/80	VI	100
464	“The War Danger”	”	5/15/80	VI	101
465	“U.S. Policy in Iran”	The New York Times	5/28/80	VI	102
466	“A Plan to Halt Plant Closings”	DW	5/29/80	II	51
467	“The Economic Crisis: Who Is Really to Blame?”	”	5/29/80	IV	37
468	“Report to Central Committee”	”	6/12/80	III	93
469	“Stop Every Plant Shutdown! Save Every Job!”	”	6/12/80	II	52
470	“Message to Senior Citizens”	”	6/19/80	VII	98
471	“Runaway Companies Unpatriotic”	”	7/10/80	IV	39
472	“G.O.P. Convention— A Cold War Orgy”	”	7/19/80	VII	50
473	“Keep Our Industrial Plants Open”	”	7/24/80	IV	38
474	“Harlem, A Community of Heroic and Militant Struggle Traditions”	”	7/26/80	V	43
475	“Open Letter to Steelworkers”	”	7/31/80	II	55
476	“Crisis in Steel— There Are Answers”	”	7/31/80	II	54
477	“Corporate ‘No-Win’ Politics As Usual”	”	8/9//80	IV	35

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				Sect.	No.
478	“Senator Kennedy and the Democratic Party Convention”	DW	8/14/80	VIII	53
479	“The Media and Political Leeches of FBI Origin”	”	8/19/80	III	94
480	“Developments in the Working-Class Movement”	”	8/25/80	II	56
481	“Gus Hall Rips Pro-War Presidential Trio”	”	9/16/80	VIII	54
482	“What’s Happening in Poland?”	”	9/20 & 23/80	I	91
483	“War or Peace the Key Issue of Our Time”	”	9/27/80	VI	105
484	“Iran-Iraq War”	”	9/27/80	VI	106
485	“Major Candidates: the Big Con Job”	”	10/2/80	VIII	55
486	“2-Party Front for Corporate Pickpockets”	”	10/9/80	VIII	56
487	“War or Peace”	”	10/18/80	VI	107
488	“People Before Profits”	”	10/23/80	VIII	57
489	“Nuclear Power Controlled by Private Firms Is Unsafe to the Health and Well-Being of the People”	”	10/25/80	VII	99
490	“Demand Government Keep Steel Plants Open”	”	11/1/80	II	58
491	“Greetings: 63rd Anniversary October Socialist Revolution”	”	11/7/80	XI	59
492	“Hail Wilmington Ten Victory”	”	12/13/80	V	44
493	“Outraged Humanity Condemns Anti-Democratic Action by Israeli Government”	”	12/24/80	XI	60
494	“’81 A Mass Fightback Year”	”	1/2/81	XII	39
495	“CPUSA Hails Cuba’s Revolution”	”	1/3/81	XI	62
496	“End U.S. Imperialist Aid to El Salvador Reactionary Junta”	”	1/15/81	VI	108
497	“The Hostages—Greed and Policies of Imperialism”	”	1/27/81	VII	100
498	“Comparing Two Directions”	New Times	Feb. ’81	XI	65
499	“The First Days of Grand Larceny”	DW	2/3/81	VII	101
				VIII	58
500	“Israeli Communists Saluted by CPUSA”	”	2/14/81	XI	63
501	“A Better Life Under Socialism”	”	2/28/81	XI	64
502	“William Z. Foster—100th Anniversary”	”	3/10/81	XII	42
503	“The Order of Dimitrov”	”	3/11/81	XI	66
504	“The World Rejects Reagan Policies”	”	3/24/81	VII	102
505	“Greetings, Bulgarian Communists”	”	3/31/81	XI	67
506	“Support the Miners”	”	4/2/81	II	60
507	“Behind the Assassination Attempts: Social Misfits or Misfit Society?”	”	4/16/81	I	94
508	“A Tale of Two Systems”	”	5/14/81	I	95
				XI	68

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				Sect.	No.
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510	"A Proud and Worthy Son of the Working Class"	"	5/15/81	XII	43
511	"The 1981 Communist Party USA Membership Drive"	"	5/23/81	III	97
512	"Reaganomics and the Politics of Decline"	Nova Mysl (Prague)	1981	I	97
513	"Hail Mongolian People's Republic"	DW	5/27/81	XI	69
514	"Join the Fight-Back—Organize"	"	6/25/81	III	98
515	"You Are A Historic Necessity"	"	7/2/81	X	22
516	"The Strategy and Tactics of Counter-Revolution"	"	7/9/81	I	98
517	"Fightback Will Grow"	"	7/21/81	IV	41
518	"Flying Is Scabbing"	"	8/11/81	II	62
519	"Class Collaboration Retooled"	"	8/13/81	II	61
520	"Storm Warnings" (Excerpts)	"	8/15/81	IV	42
520a	"Reagan Can be Licked"	"	8/23/81	IV	43
520b	"McCarthyism-Militarism; The Reagan Threat to Trade Union and Democratic Rights"	"	9/10/81	VII	104
520c	"Freedom for Namibia"	"	9/24/81	XI	69

## NOTE

Initials used in cross reference Section XIII are:

NCP	<i>New Century Publishers</i>
NOP	<i>New Outlook Publishers</i>
PA	<i>Political Affairs</i>
WMR	<i>World Marxist Review</i>
DW	<i>Daily World</i>
D. Wkr.	<i>Daily Worker</i>
TW	<i>The Worker</i>
SW	<i>Sunday Worker</i>
TWW	<i>The Week-End Worker</i>
TMW	<i>The Mid-Week Worker</i>
IT	<i>Imperialism Today—An Evaluation of Major Issues and Events of Our Time</i>
PD	<i>Publications Department, Central Committee, CPUSA</i>



## 4. Selected Speeches and Lectures Selected Public Statements Radio, T.V. and Press Interviews Book Reviews and Introductions

No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer. Sect.	No.
<i>1930's and 1940's</i>					
521	"Elect A Steel Worker"	Radio	11/6/39	VIII	1
522	"Whose War Is This"	"	3/28/41	VI	1
523	"On the 1944 Election Campaign"	"	9/30/44	VIII	3
524	" 'You Can't Be All Things to All Men and Get Away With It' "	"	10/7//44	VII	4
525	"The Four-Power Dumbarton Oaks Conference for Formation of World Security Organization (The United Nations)"	"	10/14/44	VI	2
526	"Continued Commentary on Formation of U.N. and the Elections"	"	10/21/44	VI	3
527	"The Continued Military Destruction of the Fascist Axis and the U.S. Elections"	"	10/28/44	VI	4
528	"On the Eve of Election Day"	"	11/4/44	VIII	5
529	"An Estimate of the 1944 Elections"	"	11/11/44	VIII	6
530	"Plans and Agreements in the Post-War Period Following V-Day"	"	11/18/44	VI	5
531	"The Final Stages of the E.T.O. (European Theater of Operations) World War II"	"	11/25/44	VI	6
532	"Desperate German Fascism Challenging Allied Advances with Provocative Mutiny in Canadian Army and Agitation for Civil War in Canada"	"	12/1/44	VI	7
533	"British Imperialism Trying to 'Red Bait' Greece into Submission"	"	12/9/44	VI	8
534	"British Imperialism's Post-War Policy in Europe"	"	12/16/44	VI	9
535	"A Balanced Perspective on the Final German Fascist Counter-Offensive on the Western Front"	"	12/23/44	VI	10
536	"Reactionary Pro-Fascist Circles in the USA Fertilizing the Grounds for An Anti-Soviet Cold War to Reverse the Anti-Fascist Victory of the Allies"	"	12/30/44	VII	1
537	"The Final Gasps Before the Destruction of The German Nazi Fascist Military Machine"	"	1/6/45	VI	11
538	" 'The Rich Get Richer—the Poor Get Poorer' The Fight Continues"	"	4/27/46	VII	2

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No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer.	
				Sec.	No.
539	"The Post-War Struggle Against Colonialism and the Case of Puerto Rico"	Radio	5/4/46	VI	12
540	"Two Elections: France and Ohio"	"	5/11/46	VIII	7
541	"British-U.S. Domination of Palestine"	"	5/18/46	VI	13
542	"Truman Shafts the Railroad Workers"	"	5/25/46	II	1
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544	"The First Case Against the United States Before the United Nations"	"	6/15/46	V	1
545	"Ohio Gov. Lausche and the Returned World War II Veterans"	"	6/22/46	VII	3
546	"The Shenanigans of the Department of Justice"	"	6/28/46	VII	4
547	"The Ohio 20th Congressional District Election"	"	7/20/46	VII	5
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553	"The Foley Square Smith Act Trial"	Radio	1949	VII	11
<i>1950's</i>					
554	"William Z. Foster for National Chairman of the Communist Party USA"	Speech	2/50	III	8
555	"From the Truman-Marshall Plan to Open Military Aggression"	Report	7/13/50	III	5
556	"U.S. Imperialism Out for Cannon Fodder"	Article	1/51	XI	1
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<i>1960's</i>					
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560	"William Z. Foster—Many Wonderful Birthdays"	Speech	3/3/61	XII	3
561	"Pioneering Construction of the New Socialist Society"	Greeting	1962	XI	6
562	"Notes on the Kennedy Administration After One Year" (never published)	Notes	1962	III	24

No.	Title	Source	Date	Cross Refer. Sect.	No.
563	"The Communist Viewpoint and Policy Rests on Fundamental Concepts"	Speech	2/62	I	8
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565	"Radio Interview by Direct Telephone—Questions and Answers"	Radio	1963	III	30
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572	"Smash the Ultra-Right Conspiracy"	Speech	7/9/64	VII	33
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612	"A Nation in Tears . . ."	Speech	9/18/69	XII	17
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623	"Make Your Vote Count"	Radio	11/6/72	VIII	30
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625	"Thoughts About 'Your Man in Moscow' "	"	4/26/74	VIII	34
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643	"Problems and Solutions"	Radio	6/27/76	VII	72
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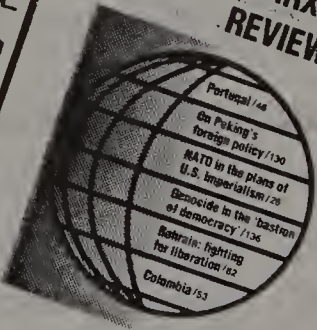
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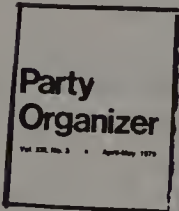
# The Daily **WORLD**

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*The Peoples' Daily Paper*

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**Young Worker**

# REAGAN RIPOFF

By *GUS HALL*

An interesting thing about capitalism is that each time you think it has reached the very bottom of the barrel something comes up that is below the barrel.

When Nixon said, "I'm no crook," it looked like that was the bottom — the pits. But now, 6 months after taking office the crooks in the Reagan Administration are already surfacing.

The Chief spymaster-thug of the CIA accepts the resignation of his chief spymaster because he's been exposed as a crook. And the very next day it turns out that the big chief himself has been a crook longer than his assistant. And where do all the fired crooks go — where else, back to Crooks Haven, Wall Street, of course.

And while we're on the subject of top level crooks, I think most everyone now agrees that Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher are identical political clones. That's why the spontaneous mass rebellions of the British youth are sending shock waves all the way from the Thames to the Potomac.

There is great concern because basically Thatcher policies that are stirring up the young people in Great Britain are the very same policies being pushed by the Reagan Administration.

The mass revolt in Great Britain is a direct result of the reactionary Thatcher policies. They have wiped out the last vestige of hope for millions of young workers, Black and white. And they are now striking back at a society that has battered and abandoned them.

The only difference between Thatcher and Reagan is that the British clone has been in office longer. But the U.S. clone is moving much faster headlong into the same kind of disaster.

The events in Great Britain can very well become a preview of things to come in the United States. Obviously worried, millionaire Governor Carey warned that Reagan's policies could become "telescoped Thatcherism."

There is also another lesson from the developments in Great Britain. The fascist right-wing forces tried to turn the spontaneous mass revolts and actions into racist channels.

It was to the great credit of the British youth that in most cases they rejected the racist attempts and instead joined forces and presented a united front to their common enemy. By now, most Americans are painfully aware that we have been saddled with an Administration in Washington that is completely in the service of big business. But most are not yet aware of the depth and scope of the disaster we're headed for — unless we take some immediate, drastic fightback

measures.

### What Most People Know

Most people know from first-hand experience — from their own daily lives — that our people face horrible economic problems of skyrocketing rents, taxes and joblessness. But many are not yet aware of the deep-seated economic gangrene that is eating away at monopoly capitalism.

Most Americans now have a gut feeling about the meaning of the Reagan-Stockman announcement that the people “are not entitled to anything.” But many are still not fully aware of the real meaning of the totally irresponsible, anti-people and criminal nature of the Reaganite policies.

Most people sense the war-like nature of the Reagan — “I’m in charge” — Haig policies. But many are not fully informed about the extremely dangerous and provocative nature of the steps toward nuclear war and the preparations under way that can only lead to the annihilation of humanity and our precious earth.

Most Americans recognize the racist nature of the Reagan-Stockman programs. But not all understand the significance of the immediate measures and the long range plans that will amount to a 50-year set-back in the struggle against racism and for full equality.

Most of our people know about the cuts in specific economic and social programs. But many are not yet fully informed about the magnitude of their overall impact on our lives. Many are not yet aware that we are not just dealing with cuts in programs and services, or even with wiping out 50 years of social and economic progress, or even with what is being called Reaganomics.

What we are really confronting is a deadly serious, massive, all-encompassing, all-round, all-out, no-holds-barred war against the American people. It is a monopoly capital offensive against the working class and people that has no precedent in U.S. history.

Monopoly capital is out to wipe out much, much more than fringe benefits.

All these are critical issues and questions for the American people. But, if that were all we could see, if that was all that was happening, we’d have to come to some awfully pessimistic conclusions.

But thanks to the people’s fightback spirit there’s the other side — the people’s side—of the picture. In fact, THE most important happening of 1981 is that most Americans are not just worried, they’re getting very angry. They’re coming to a slow boil and most are beginning to boil over and fight back.

Most are now in some state of readiness — looking around their battlefield, or already in one or more of the mass formations that make up the most significant and powerful mass upsurge in the history of our country.

As the Reagan policies already turned into bills passed by Congress begin to



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turn into more layoffs, cutbacks, takeaways, cancelations, plant closings, tax, rent, gas and food price increases — as they become red slips ending jobs and white slips cutting out unemployment benefits and blue slips terminating social security payments, into the red, white and blue slips against the people, *they will turn the red, white and blue of the flag into banners of militant, marching millions.*

As the American people become fully aware of the basically ruthless, brutally reactionary, totally irresponsible class nature of the corporate offensive, the mass upsurge will gain momentum and gather both people and power.

The people's fightback will change from a defensive into a mighty, irresistible, irreversible offensive, a mass upsurge that will turn the Reagans, Haigs, Helms and Stockmans out of office and turn our country completely around.

June 25th, 1981, the day the Reaganites rammed through Congress the most vicious, anti-people, anti-labor, racist budget bill in all history, will be forever etched in the collective memory of the American people. It will become known as the date of the midnight raid on the people by the Reagan ripoff bandits. It is a day that will live in infamy as a dirty sneak attack, a well-planned Republican boll weevil blitzkrieg.

The Reagan ripoff budget bill was never even typed. No one was given a chance to read the massive xeroxed copies, not even those who had to vote on it. It was pushed, pulled and barreled through Congress in the form of a huge scratch pad on which each of the Reagan cutthroats cut into the people's living standards with their own reactionary pet projects.

To this day, not a single Congressman knows exactly what or how much of what is in this killer bill. Nevertheless, incredible as it seems, this monster killer bill is now the law of the land.

In the coming months the open, as well as the hidden effects of this poisonous plan will begin to explode out of Washington like the fruitfly invasion of California.

The criminal corporate boll weevils have turned Reagan's phony safety net into a noose tightening around the necks of our people.

We can get a sneak preview of things to come across the country just by looking at the happenings in New York, during the last 10 days:

- A fare hike of 25% on all buses, subways and trains on the very same day the 60-year old safety signals failed, causing the death of a motorman and the injury of 135 passengers;
- A minimum jump of 16% in rents;
- An increase in the New York sales tax to 8½%;
- Ma Bell demanded and got a 16% increase for all long-distance calls;
- Con Edison demanded and got another one of their almost-monthly



increases;

- The Koch-Carey killer bill in Albany raised gas and heating oil by 4¢ per gallon — Mobil settled for an initial 2¢ per gallon hike in gasoline after a public outcry with Esso and all the other thieves close on their heels;
- 2 cables snapped on the Brooklyn Bridge;
- A pier burned down spewing poison air through the midtown area;
- An ancient 100-year old water pipe broke sending sewage and sludge into the beach areas of Brooklyn;
- A 100-year old transformer broke down plunging the people of Staten Island into darkness;
- And to top it all off, 5,000 CETA workers — who no one would deny are “truly needy” — were fired. All this in little more than a week.

All these disasters are nothing but a direct result of the monopoly-orchestrated Reaganite offensive. But they are only the beginning.

The full force and effects, the real impact and explosions of the June 25th Reagan anti-personnel neutron projectiles that only hurt people won't be fully felt till October when the 1982 fiscal year begins and the majority of the cuts will then take effect.

### **The Ripoff Budget**

Again, taking New York as a microcosm of the country, the immediate effects of the budget cuts will mean;

- The closing of 67 day-care centers;
- The closing of 29 senior centers;
- A reduction of Federal housing aid by 1,500 units;
- Rent increases for tenants in public housing;
- Cuts in Medicaid, Medicare, education, hot lunches and recreation programs.

The human toll in human misery, poverty and the hopelessness can't be measured now — but we'll soon see them walking the streets of New York City.

Let's take a look at the Reagan public service disaster and see how it will hit New York:

- A 96% cut in mass transit;
- A complete cutoff of CETA and Youth Conservation programs;
- Extended unemployment insurance totally cut off, except for the 1% to pay off the executioner;
- 30% cut in food stamps.



The Reagan offensive aims to remove all limitations, all regulations, all restrictions on the operations of the monopolies and then give them free rein and

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legal license to kill — to jack up prices and profits, to plunder our precious natural resources.

The ripoff is removing all big business curbs on anti-trade union activities, all restrictions on racism and discrimination. It is removing all regulations preventing the poisoning and polluting of our air, water and land — our total environment. It is giving license to big business to maim and murder workers on the job.

The federal enforcement agencies and the Department of Justice have closed shop and dropped all efforts at enforcing the laws against racism and discrimination. Busing, affirmative action, desegregation, equality, voting rights — are all mere words that have been dropped from their lexicon.

They have also closed shop on all efforts to restrict mergers and dropped all anti-trust suits against such monopoly monsters as IBM and ITT. Conglomeration continues apace now!

That's part of the reason for the off-the-Wall Street merger madness now taking place to put into practice their favorite slogan, "Bigness is not Badness." They are also the very last words the frog heard as it was being swallowed by the crocodile.

We are seeing a wild, completely out-of-control rogue elephant on the rampage. If not stopped and caged it will trample under foot all rights, all hard-won advances, all social welfare programs.

If Reagan and monopolies have their way our country will be pushed back to the days when the only social security system was the now nearly forgotten county poor houses. We'll be pushed back to the times when the only sanitation system was the outhouse; when the corporate armed guards were the "mediators" of labor relations; and when the lynch rope was the tool of "justice"; when segregation was the law of the land; when most children of the poor never went to school; to a time when it was predetermined that the poor could only get poorer and the old and sick could only die.

Those are the times Reagan-Stockman want to bring back; the days when people "were not entitled to anything."

Besides the open, brazen, frontal attacks there are also the camouflaged flank sneak attacks that are taking place.

So far, within six months the Reaganites have managed to totally eliminate over 100 separate programs affecting millions of people's economic welfare. They've managed to rescind or gut 110 regulations affecting the health, safety and environment of millions.

The lives and health of workers in industry and people in workingclass communities are now considered expendable and disposable, like so many empty beer cans.

## Two Systems Compared

These Reagan ripoff policies present another vivid and dramatic comparison between the two social systems — capitalism and socialism.

Both are now preparing and presenting their five-year plans.

A five-year plan in the Soviet Union means stable, efficient, steady and marked year-by-year improvements in all areas of life such as economic, cultural, application of science and technology, housing, medicine, education and recreation.

In reality, socialism means a year by year improvement in the overall quality of life.

The Reagan five-year plan for the United States is an assault, an attack on all areas of life — economic, cultural, housing, medical care, education, science and technology.

In reality, it is a five-year plan of attack on the people's standard of living, a year-by-year decline in the overall quality of life.

One plan is based on the philosophy of corporate profits before people; the other on the concept of no corporate profits, everything for the good and welfare of the people.

Reagan's cumulative cuts go from \$40 billion in 1982 to \$300 billion in 1986 and this clearly demonstrates the direction of the U.S. quality of life.

The Reaganite ripoff is a cold-blooded, calculated five-year conspiracy to tighten the economic noose around the necks of tens of millions of people. And the Reagan hangmen executioners openly boast, while admitting that "of course some people are going to suffer."

It is not only just and right that such people should be treated as criminals. They should be arrested, indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced for crimes against the people. The charge should be grand larceny and attempted murder, for robbing the people of hundreds of billions of dollars and depriving them of their right to a decent livelihood.

They should be forced to pay restitution. The thieving, robber-baron banks and corporations should be forced to return every cent of their stolen loot to the people.

Today's monopoly-Reagan offensive is proof once again — if more proof is needed — that there are absolutely no limits to the gluttonous, insatiable, bottomless-pit greed of the capitalist class.

It is proof positive that this ruthless ruling class is in no way influenced by or motivated by any conscience, morality, patriotism, humanism, any standards of decency, any sense of right and wrong, good and bad, justice and injustice.

There has never been, and never will be, another beast, jackass, rodent, reptile or buzzard such as the capitalist class of the United States. It is literally

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gorging itself to death.

And, as if the "Midnight Special" blitzkrieg was not enough, Congress is now getting ready to lay on us the most outrageous, calamitous ripoff tax package in all history also. The tax package will glide through Congress because the Reagan robber and the Democratic party pickpocket are really clones.

For monopoly capital, it will be nothing short of an unprecedented bonanza, a huge money-making tax bill.

The *New York Times* speculates that it could cut the average business tax to "below zero." Below zero means they don't pay taxes. Instead they get paid for not paying taxes.

The Reagan bill will cut the corporate tax rate by 40% and for people making over \$50,000 — that is \$1,000 per week and up — it will mean a tax rate cut of 30%. But those making below \$50,000 per year — the great majority of the people — will not get a tax cut but will get a tax increase, a quite sizeable one.

It is the working people who will pay the \$700 billion budgets.

The cuts in federal grants to the states and cities will result in more bankruptcies. As is already the case in New York, Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin, and many others, state governments are passing new taxes on the people to make up for the cuts in federal monies.

They are passing new taxes — like sales taxes, payroll taxes and excise taxes, or the likely new 50¢ per gallon gas tax. These are taxes that hit mainly working people while the same cities and states exempt corporations from paying any taxes whatsoever.

Corporate extortion is even more effective on the state and city levels because by threatening to move out or not to move in the giant monopolies are literally getting away with murder as far as taxes are concerned. Then on top of all this there is the new Federal depreciation swindle. The corporations can build new plants, buy new machinery and the people will bear the burden of the cost because the corporations deduct it from their taxes, which are then added to the taxes people pay.

### **Reagan's Profit Plan**

The people will pay for the building of new General Motors building and machinery in Hamtramck, Michigan.

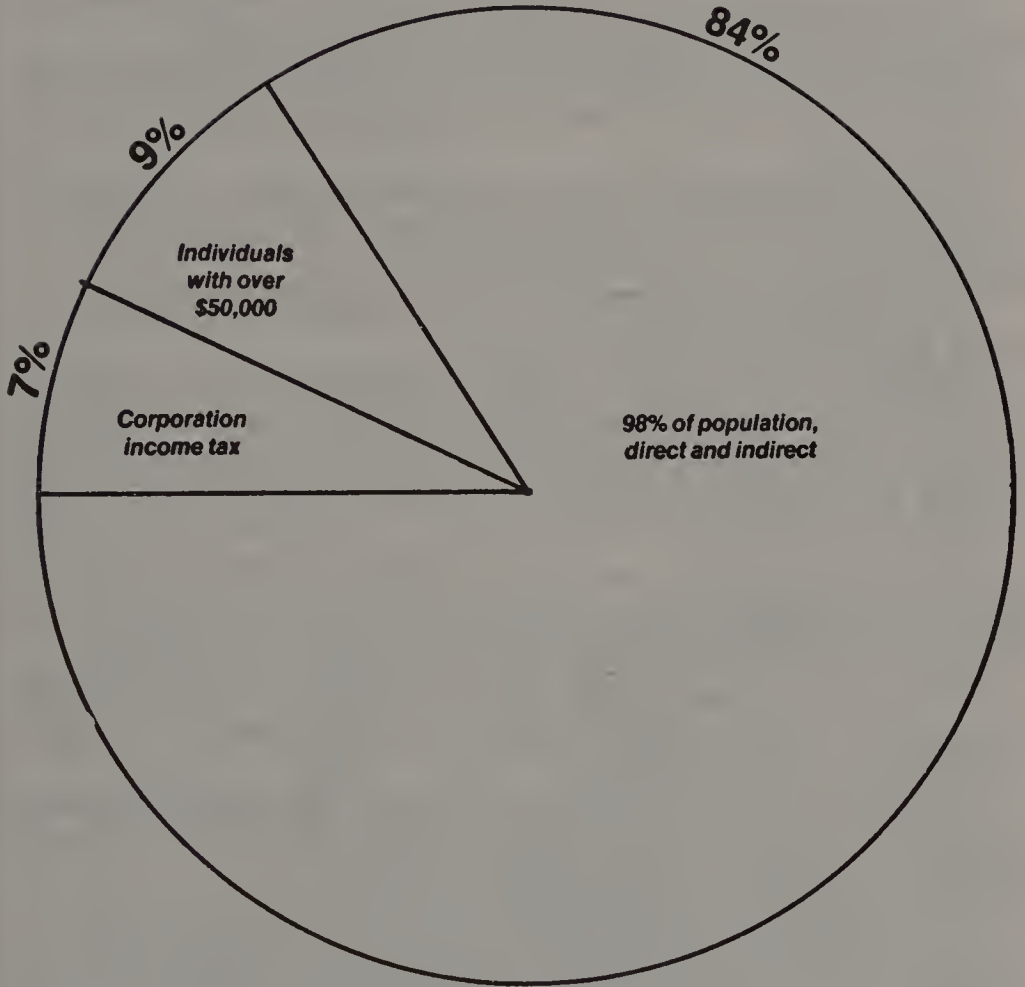
Exxon's profits will be over \$5 billion this year, but the people will pay for the new oil refineries it is building because it deducts it from the taxes it is supposed to pay.

This is a free, profitable ride for capital investments.

Then there are the new bigger tax loopholes for the rich. They are now



**Source of Federal Revenues, 1986**



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infinite. The loopholes and the tax structure itself now provide the rich with a \$200 billion per year swindle.

Besides the 5-year poverty plan for the millions, Reagan also has a special five-year profit plan for the corporations.

Between 1970 and 1980 corporate profits multiplied four-times. And remember, this was in a period when the real wages of workers were constantly declining.

But no amount of profits is ever maximum enough. So Reagan's five-year corporate profit plan is for profits to reach \$365 billion per year.

And when you add all the swindles and under-the-table deals the figure will reach one-half trillion dollars a year. Corporate profits are beginning to match the federal budget.

The Reagan profit plan is to back up big business to the hilt in an unprecedented profit craze, while at the same time impoverishing and ripping off the people on a scale never before seen in history.

This criminal conspiracy is all covered up by a number of calculated falsehoods. It's the biggest con game in history.

First, there's the deception of so-called "supply-side economics." In simple words, this means that the government shovels billion of dollars into the corporate coffers and then claims that some of it will trickle down to the workers. It's the old trickle-down trick. This is what Thatcher has been trying to put over in Great Britain.

It's a take-off from the old conservative farmer who tried out the trickle down theory on the farm. He figured he could get away by feeding the oats and corn to his horse and that part of the feed would trickle down to the chickens.

But — as you can guess — it didn't work. His chickens quit laying eggs and all he got out of it was a bigger pile of horse manure. That's exactly what supply side economics is really all about.

The old line that the hundreds of billions in welfare grants to big business will result in new investments in new industries and plants that will in turn result in new jobs is also pure, unadulterated horse manure.

In fact, there's really no shortage of corporate investment capital. They're simply on a strike against investing their capital where it's needed if they can't get what they consider maximum profits. And nothing is maximum for corporations.

The Reagan five-year people's poverty plan provides a new framework for the further double-digit decline in workers' real wages.

After the October revelation, when the new fiscal year hits Main Street there will also begin a bigger, steeper decline in real wages — the beginning of a new

spiral of ripoffs, on the workers' pay-checks.

There will be more of the Chrysler-type of direct wage cuts. The corporate threat to close shop has become the most serious problem for workers across the land. Workers are forced to take wage cuts and the corporations get tax breaks and write-offs as high as zero taxes in every part of the country simply by threatening to move.

The new factors in the declining real wages will be the cutbacks in unemployment insurance, pensions and social security payments.

There will be deep cuts for the 6 million people on the federal disability rolls, for the 9 million children and their 3 million mothers on Aid to Dependent Children, for the half-million CETA workers. And there are the October cuts in food stamps and welfare benefits.

The entire ruling class establishment — Reagan, the Republicans and Democrats in Congress, the media — are all united in the drive to slash social security benefits, including old age and disability pensions, and medicare benefits.

The drive is both against those now receiving pensions and those who will be entitled to them in the future. Unemployment benefits are also being cut.

These social insurance benefits were won by the American working class much later than workers in many Western European countries, and they lag behind the benefits won by West German, Swedish and other workers, not to speak of those in socialist countries which are now at a level never reached under capitalism anywhere — and never will be. Socialism has far surpassed capitalism in overall social security now.

The hypocritical big business argument for cutting benefits is that since workers' real wages are being cut, real pensions should also be cut to stop the beneficiaries getting an "unfair advantage" over workers — when the real need is for workers *and* pensioners to get *real* increases.

The argument for cutting old age pensions is the claim by government-appointed so-called experts that the old-age pension fund will go into the red in the next few years. That's a phony, misleading argument. Even some big business experts say this would be temporary, and that the fund will accumulate surpluses again in the late 1890's and remain in good shape at least until 2010.

In addition, the social security tax revenues are artificially divided into three parts. By offsetting the paper deficit in the old age pension fund with the big surpluses in the other funds the entire system would be in balance.

At present, only minor changes would be necessary to assure short-term balance. Or, merging with the big surplus government pension funds would do the same job.

Adequate pensions and other social security benefits must be recognized as a basic right of all workers, to be financed out of general revenues, rather than

largely at the expense of those currently working. Again, socialism has surpassed and left far behind all the capitalist countries in social security benefits.

The Reaganites have one formula for slashing benefits. Congressional majorities favor another formula; one is as bad as the other. The Reagan Administration says it will consider any formula that doesn't use general revenues for social security purposes. In fact, one of its main objectives is to achieve a reduction in corporate contributions to social insurance funds.

### **The Military Budget**

Although the subsidies to big business are all understated it is the Reagan military budget that is most understated.

In their public statements, the Reaganites and most of the Democrats sweep the military budget under the rug. They talk about government spending in general, without mentioning the military part of it. And for good reason. Because if the facts about the military budget were advertised, people would see how they are being swindled and impoverished to feed the world's biggest sink hole, the Pentagon. It has Pentagonaria.

Here's the big picture. Carter's military budget authority went up from \$146 billion in 1980 to \$200 billion in 1982 and \$324 billion in 1986.

However, Reagan is putting over a cheap trick to conceal part of the increase. His calculations for 1984-86 assume an inflation factor of only 5% per year, when all agree it will be at least 10% and much higher.

Allowing for a 10% per year inflation factor brings the figure for 1986 up to \$445 billion, three times the 1980 figure.

The chart "U.S. Military Budget," shows the growth in military budgets projected by Carter, by Reagan, and by Reagan adjusted for a reasonable inflation factor.

And that isn't all. Reagan's increases are lopsidedly concentrated on procurement of major munitions, on building a 600-ship Navy, on huge new missile programs. But they do not provide for the manpower it will take to operate the hardware. That's because Reagan doesn't want to tip his hand on the draft to young people, which is inevitably in the background.

If the Reagan plan goes through, there will be vast additional expenditures for manpower and for current supplies, which are also understated in the budget projections.

Unless the Reagan plan is defeated, actual military authorizations in another five years are likely to surpass a half trillion dollars per year.

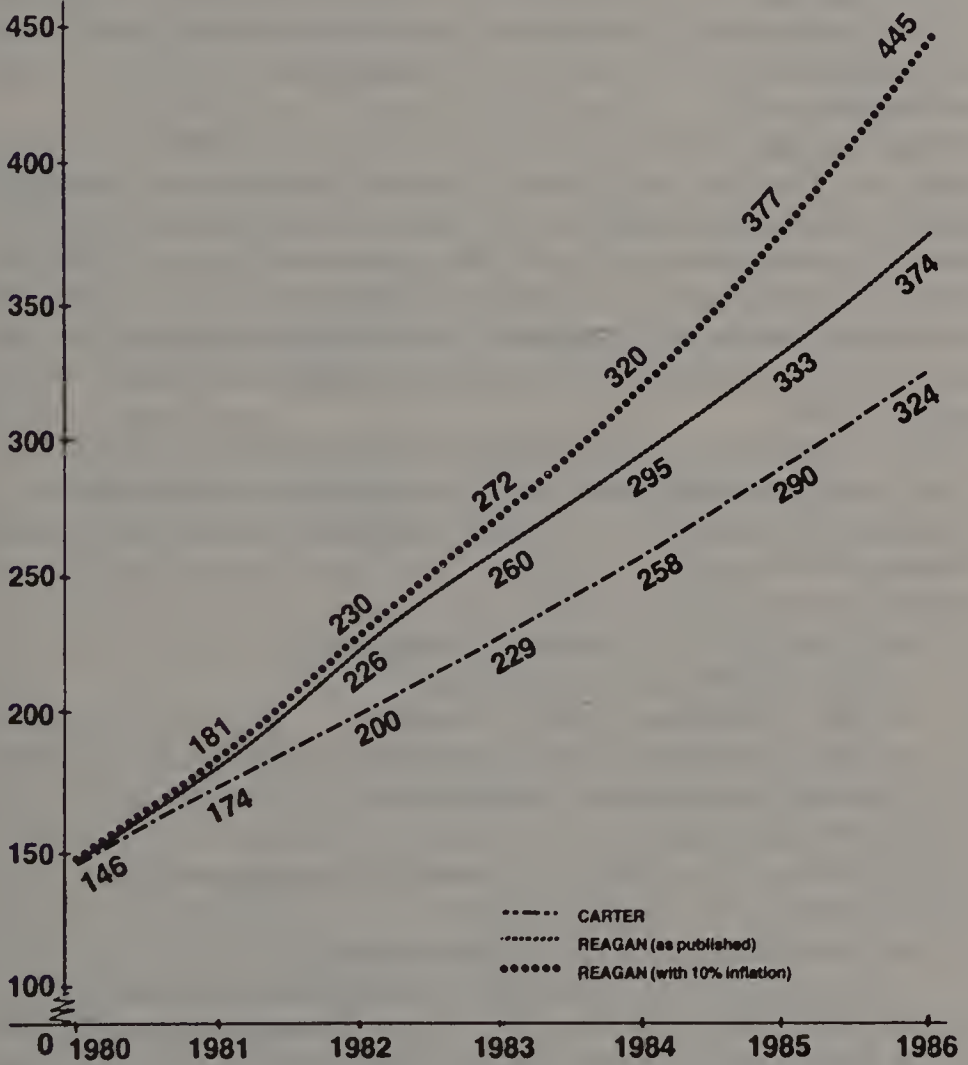
*By 1986 there will be a \$300 billion slash in the civilian public service sector and there will be a \$300 billion-plus increase in the military sector.*

In the 5-year period, it is the workers and the people who will pay the trillions of military dollars and trillions in corporate profit dollars, through tax in-



U.S. Military Budget, Fiscal Years 1980-1986

\$  
Billions



creases, cuts in real wages, cuts in social services. And the fact is that most of the military dollars also go to the same corporations.

The Vietnam War buildup lasted only three years. The Reagan buildup plan is for six years. And it takes place in a much more advanced stage of the general crisis of U.S. capitalism, with the specific contradictions afflicting U.S. imperialism much more severely.

This is nowhere more crystal clear than in the case of inflation. The inflation of the 1970s was in part a consequence of the Vietnam War. And the accelerating inflation of the 1980s is, in larger part, a consequence of the Carter-Reagan war budgets.

The comparison with the Vietnam War buildup highlights a other more sinister fact. There has never been such a military buildup as now, or anything approaching it, without an ongoing war. The constant multiplication of military spending accompanies and fuels the rampant belligerency of Haig-Weinberger-Reagan hawks and rapidly increases the danger of war. The prevention of nuclear war and the defeat of Reagan's military budget are parallel, interconnected and critical tasks for all of our people, and for the sake of humanity itself.

There is no big mystery about the causes of the present crisis that we face.

The basic cause is the bottomless-pit greed of the monster monopolies.

There is no big mystery what can be done when the corporate and Pentagon excesses will be cut off.

Just to list the big items — like:

- \$200 billion off the bloated military budget;
- \$200 billion off corporate profits;
- \$200 billion from closing tax loopholes;
- Add \$200 billion in taxes corporations should pay and this very quickly can add up to a trillion dollars.

That's more than enough to:

- Give an immediate 10% across-the-working-class-board wage increase;
- Establish a 6-hour day with no cut in pay;
- An immediate 10% cut in all food and clothing prices and rents;
- Cancellation of all taxes for families with incomes below \$25,000;
- Immediately begin the repair and construction of clean, modern and free transit systems for all urban centers;
- Begin the construction of a million housing units a year to be placed on the market at rents no higher than 10% of income;
- Open all the colleges and universities for all who want to attend, with tuition costs subsidized;

- Without delay, set up a Federal Department of Nationalized Industries and proceed to turn into public property all the energy and related industries, plus the industries that are closing plants and the pharmaceutical industry just to begin with;
- Make affirmative action programs with teeth basic law of the land;
- Make racist discriminatory acts and practices criminal offenses;
- Move our Senior Citizens off the brink of starvation by adding an immediate 25% to social security and Medicare benefits;
- Immediately put into operation a massive jobs creation program, putting to work millions to build and rebuild our cities in the future.

That and much more can be done with that trillion dollars by making these simple cuts.

It seems almost unnecessary to say that we are embarking on a new stretch of the road of history — new economics, new politics, new movements and struggles, new coalitions and alliances.

There is a new sharpness to the contradictions and the class struggle.

There is also a new level of racism, a greatly heightened danger of war and nuclear confrontation.

These are all related to the new offensive of monopoly capital.

These developments raise some understandable and serious questions.

Can the Reagan Administration get away with its reactionary, anti-workingclass, racist policies? The answer is yes — and — no. Yes, because it is getting away with them at the present moment. Congress is passing the cut-throat bills. Social welfare programs are being cut. The Pentagon is getting its way.

But the verdict is in.

The people's jury is still out deliberating about not whether to fight, but how to fight. That will determine the final verdict. These deliberations must go on in every city, town and community in the country. Mass actions, demonstrations, rallies of protest and demand must take place. All these deliberations, discussions and actions can lead up to one grand, militant, marching millions solidarity demonstration in Washington on September 19th. On September 19th the people can and will give Reagan their verdict.

These are times that call for new attitudes, new approaches, and new relationships.

For example, we Communists may disagree with many policies of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. But we fully agree with their initiative in calling for the September Solidarity Demonstration.

We are ready and willing to work with all forces who are still in the two old parties, including the members of DSOC, in the struggle against Reagan's

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policies — while we still believe that the bankruptcy of the old parties argues for the urgent need for the birth of a new, labor-based mass people's party.

Let us put aside all secondary differences between us and focus our full efforts on the task that we all agree on. Let us join forces to unite all working and oppressed peoples to defeat the Reagan ripoff — to stop and turn back the monopoly capital-Reagan offensive against our people.

1981



AMMO-UAW



# THE CHIP AND ROBOT REVOLUTION

*By GUS HALL*

After many years of incubation and development, microelectronics, integrated circuits—what I have dubbed the chip and robot revolution—is entering on the world scene with giant strides.

Largely unannounced, these microprocessors will hit our industries with the power of a hurricane. The result will be beneficial rains, but also winds that will be as destructive as the rains will be beneficial.

This new technological revolution is bringing with it new advances in production, in consumer goods, in almost every area of human activity. It is a new force that will significantly affect all economic and social relationships. Its impact will be felt on the scale of electricity and atomic energy.

The effect on the working class in the capitalist countries is being clearly signaled by the coining of phrases such as “jobless economic growth,” meaning growth without jobs to match.

The chip and robot revolution is occurring worldwide. The overall benefits of the new technology will be available to all countries. It will be a great blessing for the socialist countries, as are all scientific and technological advances. The destructive winds will be limited to the capitalist countries.

In the capitalist countries the monopoly corporations are scheming and conspiring about how to hog the fruits of this new technology to further maximize private corporate profits. This partially explains why so little is being said and written about this explosive new technology. The corporations want to avoid alarming the workers who will be the victims of this hurricane. They want to present its application as an accomplished fact, a *fait accompli*.

## **What is a Chip?**

What is the nature of this new technological revolution? The basic kernel of this breakthrough is the development of the microelectronic chip. It is a chip made of silicone wafers.

The new technology makes it possible to “imprint” on the chip hundreds of thousands of electronic components and most complex complete circuits. Assembled together in large numbers they become powerful computers, while remaining small in physical size. The chip is one quarter the size and thickness of a postage stamp. It is much smaller than a dime.

These tiny chips are revolutionizing the world of communications, of the production process, of home appliances, watches and calculators.

The “mighty chip” makes industrial assembly lines—without human

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hands—a reality. Such assembly lines are now being set up. the microprocessors automate controls not only over production lines, but also research and design work.

The development of the chip has by no means reached its ultimate potential. While the latest contain 100,000 circuits, the new generation now being designed has a capacity of 250,000. It is currently predicted that within a few years the chip will contain over one million such circuits. Each chip itself is a microprocessor. A microprocessor can execute 800,000 instructions per second.

### **The Revolutionary Effects**

The basic impact on economic and social conditions will not come from the production of the chips because once designed they can be mass produced rather cheaply. The chip is replacing human hands in its own production process.

The revolutionary effects will come from the application of the technology, especially in the production process. It will be the most dramatic replacement of human labor in history.

In the United States, the chip and robot revolution is now taking on a head of steam because it has finally broken out of the Pentagon-military stockade. During the 1960s and 1970s this phenomenal technology was to a great extent a prisoner of the Pentagon, while the federal government had subsidized it to the tune of \$3 billion.

It is currently being installed as the programmed brain controlling and regulating most phases of a washing machine, automobile motor, microwave oven and thousands of other instruments and appliances.

The microelectronic processor makes it possible to eliminate many moving parts. For instance, in a sewing machine now in production, the chip replaces 350 cams, gears and other moving mechanical parts. In a West German Telex machine, the chip replaces 936 moving parts. And as the processor replaces these moving parts, it also replaces the workers who were producing those parts.

The most potentially devastating effect of the chip and robot revolution is its capacity to replace human hands, human labor. The chip will replace workers across the board, in all industries and in all skills, from steel and auto workers, machinists, to bank tellers and secretaries. It can replace inventory keepers and warehouse handlers. It is now being applied especially where there are large numbers of clerical workers, for example, in large insurance companies.

The chip is phasing out much of the repair and replacement sector. Fewer moving parts means fewer repairs. As is the case with present computers and TV sets, the electrical components are all on a sheet that can be pulled out and replaced easily and quickly.

### **Current and Future Impact**

So far, U.S. trade union leaders have remained silent about the chip and robot revolution. However, some European trade unions have begun to conduct studies.

In the initial stages of the transfer to microelectronic production methods, these studies reported the following findings:

- National Cash Register, a U.S.-based multi-national corporation, has already replaced 22,000 workers in its plants in the U.S., West Germany and Great Britain, while at the same time increasing production.

- A telecommunications corporation in Sweden has replaced 5,000 of its 15,000 workers. A similar type corporation in Great Britain has reduced its work force from 88,000 to 55,000. All these reductions in work force have taken place while production has increased.

- A Japanese corporation manufacturing TV sets has laid off 50 per cent of its workers, while increasing production by 25 per cent.

- A British plant went from 200 to 20 workers, while increasing production.

- The U.S. textile industry plans to increase production in the next 10 years, while laying off 300,000 workers, by installing the new microelectronic production process.

### **Impact of Chip on Robots**

The robot is one of the robust offsprings of the new technology. The chip makes it possible to program industrial robots to do ever more complex jobs.

The new generation of robots going into production is equipped with "vision and touch" sensors. They will respond to light, nearness to objects, pressures and temperatures, thus signaling the computers to shift, stop or resume action. Some say the new generation of robots is on a "higher intellectual level."

After introducing the first generation of electrical spot welding robot machines, the Lordstown, Ohio, GM plant reduced its work force by 20 per cent, while increasing production by 10 per cent.

General Electric has announced plans to replace 50 per cent of its 37,000 assembly line workers within a few years.

However, in a sense all these present generations of machines are in the initial, model-T stage of the chip and robot revolution. And the birth rate of new generations of robots is rising at a fast clip.

### **Adding Dimension to Contradictions**

The new technology is also changing the patterns of past industrial expansion and capital investments. In the industrially developed countries there is the transition from the extensive patterns of increasing production by building new plants and adding to the work force to intensive patterns of increasing produc-

tion without increasing the work force or building new facilities.

The chip and robot revolution is a major scientific and technological achievement. It is introducing a new dimension into all economic developments. And it is bringing with it further proof that the capitalist socio-economic system is outmoded because it turns scientific advances into frightening nightmares for the workers. And what adds to the nightmare is that this new technology is making its appearance at a moment when the general crisis of capitalism is reaching new levels. It is greatly aggravating the already razor-sharp contradictions.

The new technology is sharpening the contradictions between the major capitalist countries. It aggravates trade relations. It is going to be a major new factor in the relationships between the industrial capitalist countries and the developing countries. It will have a dramatic effect on the struggle and competition between capitalist and socialist countries.

In a nutshell, the chip and robot revolution adds a new dimension to all existing contradictions and relationships.

In the U.S. it will affect the relationships between the big corporations and small businesses because it will increase the power and domination of the largest monopolies. Small corporations will not be financially able to enter the world of the new technology.

### **Effect on the Working Class and Class Struggle**

But its most basic and critical effects will be on the working class and the class struggle.

In assessing the effects of the microelectronic processor, the key words are "jobless growth" and "technological unemployment."

Most past technological breakthroughs have resulted in some employment growth. While the new technology has replaced workers in some industries, the economic growth has created new jobs and new industries. And, while new machines have taken over in parts of manufacturing industry, there has been an increase of jobs in the white collar sectors.

However, the microelectronic technology breaks with past employment patterns, first because it is the most directly worker-replacing technology and, second, because it is applicable across the board—in industries, offices and services. It will displace workers even in the industry that replaces microelectronic components.

This new technology is a major factor in the radical changes taking place in the steel industry.

The basic process of making raw steel from iron ore is being phased out in the United States. This same trend is now also appearing in Japan and West



Germany. This part of the steel industry is being fostered in many of the developing and neo-colonial countries. It is the process that most pollutes the environment and damages human health.

In the United States the shift is to “mini-steel plants” that produce higher quality steel from scrap metal. In the mini-plants the new microchip technology makes possible a continuous process with a much smaller labor force. Most of these mini-plants are in out-of-the-way, low-wage, non-union areas. This is a pattern in many of the basic industries. It is a pattern that leads to sick and dying industries, to higher chronic unemployment and to decaying, dying urban centers.

It is clear this new technology is a new weapon in the operation of the multinational corporations. It is they who are shifting the polluting, unhealthy type of industries to developing countries.

The chip and robot revolution is creating new problems for the developing countries generally. While it is true that some industries are being built by the multinationals to take advantage of the lower wages and better tax breaks, there is also an opposite development.

Microelectronics, because it is able to replace workers, becomes a competitor even for the lowpaid workers in the developing countries. This competition will result in a shift of capital and production back to the developed capitalist countries. And even the threat of such a shift becomes a factor in reducing still more the wages and living standards in the developing countries.

### **Sharpening the Capitalist-Socialist Contrast**

With each new technological breakthrough in a capitalist society the worker increasingly loses influence or control over the production process and over his relationship to that process.

Increasingly, the machines, computers and chips, in the hands of corporate executives, determine the process. The microprocessors push this separation process to its extreme. This new technology provides the tightest control over every minute, every movement of the worker.

The chip and robot revolution is also making great strides in socialist societies.

Since 1974 its development has been a joint endeavor of the CMEA (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance) countries. The result is ever new generations of more sophisticated microprocessors in all of the socialist countries. This is another area where the U.S. technology boycott/blockade is having the opposite of its intended effect.

Each new technological breakthrough means an advance for the people in socialist society. It is a society in which the people get the benefits of every scientific and technological breakthrough.

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The increase in production is passed on to the people by way of wage increases. When machines replace workers the hours of work are cut, without any cut in real wages.

Technological advances will never become a problem for the people in the socialist countries because there are no private corporations to expropriate the products of the new technology.

On the other hand, the same technological breakthroughs present serious problems for the people in the capitalist countries. And the chip and robot revolution is no exception.

As an inevitable result, the class struggle in the U.S. will be even further heightened.

The class collaborators in the trade union leadership are doing what they always do about such problems. They are remaining silent. Like the corporate executives, they are covering up, hoping the chips and robots will become an accomplished fact before the workers realize what is happening.

Like everything else in our exploitive capitalist society of maximum private profits, the chips and robots will be made into instruments of racism by the monopolies.

The chips and robots are replacing human labor in general, but they are replacing Black, Chicano, other specially oppressed and women workers in greater numbers.

The microelectronics industry itself is by and large an unorganized, low-wage industry. The most tedious and tension-producing work is mainly done by young Black, Chicano and women workers.

It is an industry in which the safety and health standards have not been established.

The production of the silicone wafers is a chemical process. The baking process in extremely hot ovens exposes the workers to many toxic substances.

It is an industry that desperately cries out for a union organizing drive.

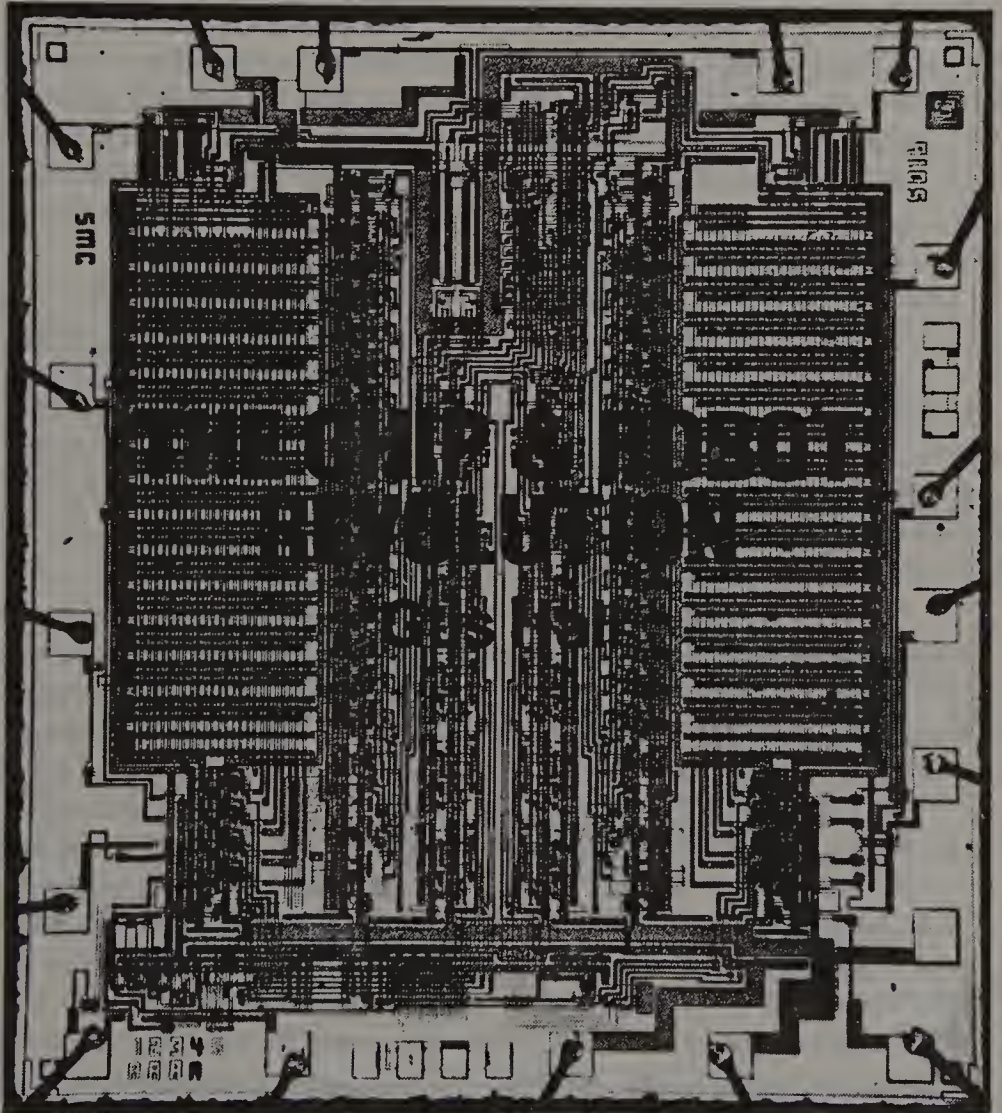
What needs to be done? There is an urgent need for an emergency conference, called by the trade unions, to take up:

- Ways of stopping the corporations from stealing the fruits of the new technological breakthrough;
- A struggle for federal laws that would guarantee the transfer of the benefits to the workers and people through commensurate price cuts and wage increases;
- A struggle to prevent all layoffs as a result of applications of the new technology;
- Affirmative action programs, with teeth, that would apply to every application of the new technology.

Mankind is not threatened by machines, or by the new technological and scientific advances, but by the capitalist system which subordinates workers to machines and uses scientific and technical achievements against them for the sole purpose of maximizing profits.

It is only through a united struggle of the labor movement, the trade unions, of all working people that the destructive winds of the new chip-and-robot hurricane sweeping our land can be successfully resisted.

1981





## **THE ROOTS OF VIOLENCE IN THE U.S.! BEHIND ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS: SOCIAL MISFITS OR MISFIT SOCIETY?**

On March 30th, 1981, a demented ex-nazi, son of an oil executive, emptied his pawn-shop pistol into President Ronald Regan and three others. Only a few months before, John Lennon was struck down by an assassin's bullet. We have just marked the 13th anniversary of the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. We are now recalling with national dismay the long list of murdered and maimed presidents, political leaders and public figures.

The shooting of the President comes at a time when millions, Black and white, are wearing green ribbons for the murdered and missing Black children of Atlanta; when the ugly spectre of lynch-murder returns to haunt us in the city of Mobile; when neo-fascist and paramilitary groups, the Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan march, desecrate and terrorize with impunity; when camps for killers and schools for mercenaries are openly and legally organized to train terrorists in the woodlands of our country.

As one who has been the target of assassins, I am well aware that there are those in official circles and the mass media who are reluctant to even probe for the underlying basic causes, especially when the attacks are directed against the working class and left forces. Many in these same circles are making a concerted effort to cover up the real causes with all kinds of smokescreen theories to divert and discourage people from looking beyond the surface, deeply into the very fiber of our social system, wherein lies the real cause—as well as the cure.

### **Strong Questions — Weak Answers**

Reflecting the mass sentiments, the daily newspapers are filled to the brim with articles asking questions and attempting answers. Everyone is asking: “What is there about America that produces such a pattern?” “Why are assassination attempts so frequent?” And the headline of a *New York Times* April 5 editorial states. “The symptoms surround us, but what is the malady?”

A popular theory portrays John W. Hinckley Jr. as a “social misfit,” a “lone assassin,” a “failure” and a “well-off dropout.” Also being peddled is an attempt to cover up Hinckley's rightwing connections, as well as his father's, by painting a picture of him as a wealthy drifter infatuated with a teen-age movie star, intent on impressing her with his superman act.

Another theory blames the availability of hand guns and the lack of gun control and the strength of the gun lobby. Undoubtedly, the reduction of hand guns would reduce the number of killings.

Many claim that TV violence promotes real-life violence, that there is a



tendency toward mimicry — to try out in real life what is portrayed on the movie and TV screens. It is also claimed that we have become “increasingly desensitized, dehumanized and numbed to the effects of murder and violence that pervade our society.”

And numerous articles have been published pushing the idea of “a violent American mentality which developed in a violent society that goes back to our frontier, pioneering past, and therefore, that violence is inherent in our national character.”

Some of these theories have some truth in them. Many are secondary causes of violent behavior. But they do not by themselves provide the primary, underlying and basic cause.

While it is true that many of the assassins and would-be assassins have been psychotic, demented individuals, the questions remain: What made them sick? What set them off? And why is their violent behavior so often directed against political personalities? No, the blame cannot be placed at the door of “society in general.” Capitalism is the sick element in our society.

### **The Violent Character of Monopoly Capitalism**

In any society the dominant class, the class that rules, must accept the major responsibility for the behavior of its people because it is the main influence over the mass patterns of thought.

In our society it is the class of monopoly capital that exercises domination and control over the press, radio, TV, schools, books, magazines, movies and even sports — over the culture. The thought patterns, the values and the morals are those of the capitalist class. The individual acts of violence are reflections of and are stimulated by the policies, the ideology, the concepts and behavior of the dominant, ruling capitalist class.

It is the corruption, the depravity and brutal violence practiced and perpetuated by the capitalist class that must be held responsible for the patterns of violence of individuals who live under the influence of this thinking and behavior.

The root cause of corruption and violence is inherent in the monopoly lust for power and profit that propels and motivates the capitalist class and its socio-economic system of exploitation and racism. It is the system of private ownership and the drive for maximum profits *at any price*. That is the bottom line, the essence of capitalist society.

The lust for power and profits drives the owning and ruling members of the capitalist class to use any and all violent, corrupt means and instruments at their command to maintain and expand their profits, both at home and in foreign lands. This means they will always strive to pay the lowest wages for the longest hours of work — whenever, wherever and however they can. This is the brutal

class exploitation of human labor. This is the violent inner-nature of capitalism.

No means of making money are too brutal, too bloody. The use of goon squads, police and frameups was rampant during the union organizing drives of the 1930s and are still used against strikers and organizers. Thousands of workers have been murdered and maimed fighting for decent wages and working conditions. The Ludlow Massacre, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the Rosenbergs are but a few examples of capitalist murder and violence.

The closing of plants, the laying off of thousands of workers and the resulting destruction of whole communities is nothing but criminal monopoly inhumanity against workers and their families. The callous corporate disregard for the lives, health, safety and working conditions of the workers in mines, mills, factories and farms of our country is capitalist class violence.

The production and selling of defective and dangerous consumer products is typical of corporate greed, the Ford Pinto being only one small example of a product that kills.

Our land, air and waters are being polluted and poisoned knowingly by corporations who are saving billions at the expense of the health and well-being of our people and natural resources.

### **Violence, Rooted in U.S. Capitalist History**

There is no patriotism, no national human interests in the executive suites of the *Fortune 500*. The only interests, the only loyalty they have is to the “almighty dollar.”

We must not separate the violence of contemporary monopoly capital from the roots and history of U.S. capitalism, upon which our system is built. Looking back to the beginning of capitalism in our country, we must study the genocide, the rape and pillage of the lives, lands and rich resources of the Native-American Indian peoples and the enslavement, exploitation and racism against the Afro-American people.

The true brutal nature of U.S. imperialism was exposed when it dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing and maiming hundreds of thousands of elderly, children and women — contaminating the wombs of the women with radiation poison for generations to come.

The U.S. imperialist lust for profit and power continued unabated in Korea, where “Operation Killer” was the master plan of General Matthew Ridgeway for the destruction of that country.

Methods of mass murder and destruction reached a zenith during the Vietnam War when the U.S. attempted to carry out the policy of General Curtis LeMay to “bomb them back to the stone age.” And carried out it was, with the use of napalm and Agent Orange, ghastly weapons which the U.S. consciously dropped and sprayed the Vietnamese people with, poisoning, burning and

killing thousands upon thousands of men, women and children.

The Christmas bombing of Hanoi, the mining of Haiphong Harbor and the thousands of My Lais injected into human history the ultimate, conscious, concentrated use of the most terrible weapons of mass annihilation and torture. It was the planned attempt to wipe out a whole people, an entire nation.

And yet, these heinous crimes were glorified by the late U.S. Cardinal Francis Spellman during a visit to Saigon, when he publicly stated: "War, in fact, has brought out the noblest instincts and the best traits of human courage and endurance in the annals of history!"

The Vietnam War and the depravity of such public figures as Cardinal Spellman is why the American people are now determined to stop the intervention and aggression against El Salvador with the slogan, "No More Vietnams!"

### **U.S. Capitalist Terrorism: National and International**

The Bay of Pigs invasion, blockade of Cuba, attempted assassinations of President Fidel Castro, support of counter-revolutionaries attempting to destroy the Afghan revolution, the "rescue mission" in Iran and years of support of the U.S. puppet Shah Pahlavi against the Iranian people and revolution, the assassinations of Premier Lumumba and President Allende and the counter-revolutionary activity against Chile, the support and aid to all the fascist military dictatorships in the world, including apartheid South Africa are nothing but U.S. imperialist violence against all movements and peoples fighting for national liberation.

U.S. international terrorism is on a rampage throughout the world in its vain efforts to hold back and turn back the forces of national independence and socialism. Behind the myth of "the Soviet menace," assassination, counter-revolution, torture, mass murder and terrorism are the hallmarks of U.S. imperialism.

The history of our country is soaked in the blood, sweat and tears of all the victims of U.S. monopoly capital. And today the world lives under the ultimate violence of U.S. capitalism—the terrible threat of nuclear annihilation. Nuclear confrontation threatens the world's very existence—because U.S. monopoly capital refuses to accept a nuclear military balance with the Soviet Union, because the dominant monopoly circles refuse to reject the drive for world domination, nuclear superiority and a first-strike capability.

This is U.S. capitalist insanity, a nuclear insanity which seeks to create and mass produce ever more terrible weapons of mass destruction such as the neutron bomb which "only kills people and leaves buildings intact."

In the final analysis, the source of all terrorism, all mass murder and violence and the source of all corruption is the futile but destructive attempt of U.S.

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monopoly to dominate and exploit the world.

Monopoly capital has no morality, no humanity, no sense of brotherhood, loyalty or patriotism. Its only god is private profits. Its creed is to feed the greedy by starving the needy. Its slogan is “profits before people.” It is the basic philosophy behind the anti-people, anti-workingclass economic program and budget of the Reagan Administration.

### **Outlaw Hate Groups**

Hinckley seems mentally disturbed. But he began his path to assassination in the American Nazi Party. Racism is a part of the Nazi and Klan mentality that produces a Hinckley and the killers of King, Malcolm X and countless Black victims of racist violence. That’s why the Nazi Party, the Klan and all rightwing groups practicing and preaching hate, bigotry and prejudice based on religion and race must be outlawed.

As the very fabric of capitalist society decays and crumbles, violence becomes more and more prevalent, more and more a part of the crisis of every-day life. More and more, capitalism resorts to violence to defend itself because it has lost all semblance of a humane society.

Individual acts of violence are methods of a class that history is rejecting. The working class, the carrier of all that is progressive and the class that is leading the way toward social progress and a socialist society free of violence, relies on masses in motion, mass movements and mass struggles.

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## YOU ARE A HISTORIC NECESSITY

*Remarks of Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, to the Fifth National Convention of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL).*

Greetings Dear Comrades and Friends,

Being a part of your Convention is an enjoyable and stimulating experience.

Your Convention is a feast — a rounded-out, well-prepared-and-served political, ideological and cultural banquet.

There's an old Finnish saying that goes: "The older one gets the more one appreciates the young."

So I'm here to tell you that the Communist Party's appreciation and estimate of the Young Workers Liberation League is higher than ever.

The Communist Party values highly the very special relations between the YWLL and the CPUSA. I bring you warm, fraternal greetings from our Central Committee on this special occasion of your Fifth National Convention.

When I think about the role of the YWLL and about your challenging, vibrant, energetic and spirited convention, the words that come to my mind are: organizer, mobilizer, energizer, stimulator, activator, upbeat and "life of the party."

You are the rightful heirs of 60 years of Marxist youth organizations in the United States. But as you know, every honor comes with responsibility. The responsibility you inherit with this honor is the responsibility to measure up to the present tasks in the struggle for social progress and the past traditions. We have confidence you will accept both — and fulfill both.

Ever since capitalism dug its profit-greedy corporate claws into our nation's rich soil there has been a crying need for a Marxist-Leninist youth organization. In the present period the YWLL has become an absolute historic necessity. You are indispensable. You are unique. No other organization can or will make the kind of contribution to the people's struggles that you do.

You are a historic necessity because we live in a world that is at its most explosive crossroads. Imperialism is hell-bent on the rails of ruin and destruction, while the world generally is on the rails of national liberation and socialism. The bottom line facing the world is whether there will be social progress or nuclear destruction.

A perfect example of the inhuman, bestial nature of the Reagan-Stockman policies is the proposal to eliminate the minimum Social Security payments. The Bill was passed last night. There are over 3 million people whose lifetime wages have been so low that they could not make it on the Social Security payments charts. So for 35 years now there has been a \$122 per month

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minimum payment, which is just about a bare subsistence level, if that. The Reagan bill passed by Congress will reduce these 3 million people to abject starvation and despair, by chopping away that meager \$122-lifeline.

### **Unprecedented Problems**

Capitalism has never been a bed of roses for past generations of working youth. But you represent the first generation in the 200-year history of U.S. capitalism that faces an economic and social dead end.

Your generations face some unprecedented problems. You are the first generation of Americans forced to deal with problems in the context when the explosive scientific and technological breakthroughs are taking society and its productive capacity far beyond the inherent built-in limitations of capitalism. Capitalism cannot for long cope with unparalleled breakthroughs in nuclear fusion, bio-technology, microelectronics, laser technology, optical-light wave chips and the latest applied magnetic bubble technology.

Youth of past generations died in unjust wars for corporate profits and plunder. But today each of the new generations of nuclear weapons threaten the lives and even the birth of new generations of youth.

The casualties from past wars were in the tens of thousands. But you are the first generation of Americans that has to deal with concepts such as "megadeaths," meaning death in the millions from nuclear bombs.

You are the first generations of Americans that have to deal with the mad generals and Pentagon Pariahs who are pushing the insanity that the U.S. can win a nuclear war "cheaply because we would only suffer 20 megadeaths." They purposely use these code words to make 20-million deaths palatable.

In past wars poison gas was sprayed on human beings, but now the development of each new generation of chemical and hydrogen bombs threatens to Agent Orange whole generations.

Past generations faced scientific and technological breakthroughs, but now each new generation of electronic chips and robots chips away steadily and massively at the jobs and economic security of present and future generations.

The YWLL is a historic necessity because whatever hopes or dreams and security capitalism offered past generations they are today turning into nightmares and ashes. You are a present-day necessity because you are the indispensable link between the young generations, the racially and nationally oppressed and the working class.

You are a historic necessity because in the present stage of its development, U.S. capitalism has become wild, destructive, treacherous and terribly dangerous. It is like a wild wounded animal in its death throes. You represent the first generation of youth who are being told by government leaders that you are not "entitled" to anything. The cave dwellers had more of a social conscience.

We have an Administration in the White House that is passing laws and issuing executive orders guided by their openly stated philosophy that as far as they're concerned "the people are not entitled to anything," while the corporations and rich are entitled to everything — everything they can steal, legally or illegally.

In the Reagan-Stockman budget book the youth are not entitled to a job, to an education, not even to food, clothing and shelter — not even to live. It is clear the people are entitled only to the things and rights they are ready and willing to fight for.

### **Insanity and Degradation**

You are a historic necessity because the spokesmen for U.S. capitalism are losing their marbles. The insanity and degradation of this decaying capitalist system is best expressed by the demonic statements of their leading spokesmen.

During a recent Senate hearing the new Secretary of the Interior James G. Watt — a self-proclaimed born-again Christian — was asked whether he favors preserving the wilderness areas and federally owned woodlands for future generations. In all seriousness, with his gaze turned skyward, he said, "I do not know how many future generations we can count on before the Lord returns." What that has to do with saving the wilderness areas escapes me. He did not say, however, how he knew the Lord would like a gutted, treeless and flowerless America — or whether there will be many future generations because of the Reagan Administration's nuclear policies. But you can be sure if Mr. Watt has his way he will turn the forest and mineral resources of our country over to the profit-hungry plunderers. Then the bumper sticker I saw not long ago will become a prophecy. The sticker read: "The Lord is coming back. And will he be pee-d off!"

For over 50 years a man named Eugene V. Rostow has been the foremost ideologue of the nuclear maniacs, the main theoretician of the Pentagon and U.S. arms merchants, an advocate of the concept of nuclear and military superiority over the Soviet Union.

Now this war-maniac has been named by President Reagan to head the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. That's like giving Willy Sutton or Machine Gun Kelly the job of guarding Fort Knox. This nuclear Dr. Strangelove is now in charge of the so-called arms negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Last week at a Senate Hearing he said the negotiations will start some time in March 1982. That was bad enough. Right after that Rostow spoke the kind of words of wisdom we've learned to expect from Washington these days. He said: "I don't know anyone who knows yet what it is we want to negotiate about."



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Of course, all he needs do is read Comrade Jim Steele's excellent report to this Convention to know what we must negotiate about.

For months now we've been hearing the oft repeated Reagan-Haig diatribe:

First Reagan said: "Communism was a sad, bizarre chapter. . . ." A few days later Haig followed with: "Communism is a sad, bizarre chapter."

Again, Reagan said, "We are beginning to see the beginning of the end of communism." And, Haig again, "I think we are beginning to see the beginning of the end of communism." These are — sadly — exact quotes. Such originality! Such profundity!

So people have been asking lately: What comes first, the Reagan chicken or the Haig egg— Reagan or Haig? and of course rotten eggs don't hatch, in any case.

Somewhere in the White House archives there must be a presidential tape because the same wishful thinking about communism has been expressed for 60 years by most U.S. Presidents like Wilson, Coolidge, Hoover, Truman, Ford, Carter, Johnson, Kennedy, Nixon and I'm sure I left out a few. Today it is Reagan and Haig saying the same old thing in the same old way.

And if anything is a "bizarre aberration" it is the remarks by Reagan and Haig about socialism. Recently, Reagan in his usual stupidity, claimed: "It is not a normal way of living for human beings."

He sure stuck his foot in his mouth — as usual. In Reagan's and monopoly capital's book, the ten million unemployed, the millions living on poverty-level welfare and food stamps and old folks eating dog food, is a normal state of human affairs. He's right, for capitalism it is normal.

### **Capitalist "Normality"**

To Reagan it is normal to cut off even the meager food stamps, the children's hot lunches and close schools, hospitals and child care centers, and to be counted the only government in the world which voted for selling baby food formulas in Asia and Africa that kill — while it is not normal that in the socialist countries there is complete child care, health and medical care, free, from the cradle to the grave.

To Reagan it is normal to continue advocating and practicing racism and discrimination. It is normal for 75% of Black youth in our cities to be unemployed. It is normal for the wage gap between Black and white families to get bigger instead of smaller. It is normal for Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican workers to have the dirtiest, hardest and lowest paying jobs. But it is not normal for human beings to live in socialist countries where racism has been completely eliminated and outlawed, where the policies of affirmative action have resulted in over 100 nationalities living together in harmony, on equal levels of development and in full equality.



To Reagan it is normal that a murder takes place every 24 minutes, a rape every 7 minutes and a burglary every 10 seconds and for the locks and burglar alarm manufacturing companies to be the only growth industry. While it is normal for people who live in socialist countries to feel secure and confident without locks on their doors, without a fear in the world about being laid off, getting sick or getting old.

According to Reagan paying 40% of one's wages for taxes and 30% for rent is normal. While in the socialist countries where workers pay 3% for rents and taxes is not a normal way for people to live.

For Reagan it is normal that students cannot afford to go to school, while in the socialist countries it is abnormal that every child looks forward to a free and complete education.

Reagan thinks \$200 per day for a hospital bed is normal, while it is not normal that in socialist lands hospital beds and all other medical and hospital services are free.

Reagan thinks it is normal to heat up the arms race and waste trillions to turn our country into a ticking nuclear time bomb, and then refuse to even talk about peace negotiations. And he calls it abnormal that the Soviet people and leaders, who this week commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of their homeland — have been calling for peace since 1917.

Reagan thinks it is normal and right to arm counterrevolutionary forces in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Angola and to arm the racist fascist regime of South Africa and to keep denying the people of Palestine their right to self-determination and nationhood and that it is abnormal for the Soviet Union to support all the just struggles for national liberation.

Policies of maximum corporate profits and complete disregard for workers' health and safety; crumbling cities and spreading slums are normal for Reagan and monopoly capital. While in the socialist countries the very opposite is the way of life that Reagan calls an aberration.

For Reagan and the corporations it is normal to close plants and destroy whole communities throwing thousands out of work and into poverty. While it is bizarre and abnormal to monopoly capital that in the socialist countries they cannot build factories fast enough.

The truth that all these bizarre statements are trying to cover up is that it is capitalism that has become an aberration of history. Its decline and decay is normal.

The YWLL is a historic necessity because if the world needs anything it is a sense of working-class internationalism.

And today you are a present-day necessity more than ever because you make important contributions to the mighty people's upsurge now mounting against

the Reagan anti-people, cut-throat corporate policies.

This became crystal clear in a letter I received yesterday, which opened with the following: "We are in the midst of the biggest political battle waged in our country in the last forty years. I know the outcome will affect you directly." Believe it or not that was the President writing in an 8-page letter appeal. It is the only line in the whole letter I agree with, but of course the other side of the class fence.

### **What's Blowing In the Wind**

Even the New York Times senses what's blowing in the wind. Last week it stated, "The Reagan Administration's misconduct of foreign policy is clearly blowing up a storm. . ." What's really blowing in the wind is more like a hurricane. The September 19th AFL-CIO-initiated demonstration in Washington will clearly be a part of the rising storm against Reagan's domestic policies.

The young generation of today faces some very special problems. And to deal with them there is a need for special youth unity and youth forms of struggle. But more than ever, victories, solutions can be won when the youth constituents join in and become part of the general social and political storms sweeping our country. The storms are going to make history.

The YWLL is a historic necessity because the ruling class besides putting on the market fashion designer labeled jeans, is also putting out fashion-designer labeled ideology like "the big lie," and "the Soviet threat." They are specially designed garments with false designer labels.

Racism is an ideological garment cut out and specially designed for the U.S. market.

Anti-communism comes in a designer-labeled package from Reagan-Haig-Kissinger-Brzezinski-FBI-CIA. But the producers and manufacturers are the Rockefellers, Morgans, General Motors and U.S. Steel.

The ideological fashion designers all work to create variations of the anti-working-class line.

As we know, the United States is rushing to put together a military rapid deployment force to back up its policies of aggression everywhere. Well, let me suggest that you, of the YWLL, together with the majority of U.S. youth, organize your own mass rapid deployment force, a force that can rapidly move to counter the Reagan war policies — at home and abroad — a force that can counter the efforts to reestablish the military draft, that can counter the activities of the KKK and Nazi Party — a youth mass rapid deployment force for winning youth rights to a job, to an education, the right to a life of equality, the right to live in peace, friendship and solidarity with the youth of the world.

And, finally, I want to tell you about a conversation I had recently with my

grandchildren and their friends about the past.

The question of prices of food came up, about how nice it was when a candy bar was 2 cents, an ice cream was a nickel and a time when lobster was considered poor people's food that cost only 25 cents for a 2 lb. lobster. Reflecting on this one of my granddaughters said "Life isn't fair. We should have been born when lobster was 25 cents. We are stuck with a \$5 per lb. lobster."

Well it's true you were all born too late for 25 cents lobsters or the 2 cents candy bar, but you are just in time for the greatest, the most exciting and exhilarating moment of history, the greatest revolutionary transition, a transition that will forever put an end to all social and economic systems of exploitation, an end to racism, a transition where science and technology will develop to a point where the only task governments will have, is to distribute abundance, including an abundance of lobsters for less than 25 cents a pound.

*1981*

## IMPERIALIST BLUEPRINT FOR COUNTERREVOLUTION

By GUS HALL

The history of relations between the people of Poland and the people of the United States has always consisted of open lines of communication, contact and exchange. Most of these contacts have been relations of peace and friendship.

Recently, however, a new negative dimension has emerged because in a very real sense Washington and Wall Street have become the most dynamic, busiest centers for anti-Polish activities in the world. It is from Washington that directives go to Bonn, London, Paris and Rome on how to use the difficulties in Poland.

The activities of the United States authorities and reactionary forces around the events in Poland are but one aspect of the overall U.S. foreign policy in its drive to regain world domination.

In answer to a question about the events in Poland, President Reagan restated the real aim of U.S. imperialism that "what we are seeing in Poland is the beginning of the end of world communism."

Of course this top spokesman of big business is hoping that the destruction of socialism in Poland will be the beginning of the end of socialism in the world. Destroying socialism is the lifetime ambition and goal of U.S. imperialism. It is the grand design, the master plan of the banker-corporate conspiracy.

Ever since the first socialist state was born in 1917 it has been the rabid obsession of U.S. capitalism and its aggressive foreign policy to strangle socialism.

From 1917 on, in every socialist country, U.S. foreign policy has been directed toward using every problem, every difficulty, every crack and fissure, every weakness to destabilize and destroy the socialist world.

The private U.S. banks who have made loans to Poland now privately say: "We have our hooks in Poland," which is the sole purpose of U.S. investments in any country — profit and domination.

*Fortune*, the magazine of big business, revealed that the bankers see their role as the "financial policemen of Poland's government." Discussing their role in Poland they projected that "U.S. banks are going to be in Poland for a long time to come." And since private banks are in business only for profit they are out to squeeze the absolute maximum profit from every situation they invest in.

In their effort to be "financial policemen," the U.S. banks are trying their very best to convince all the capitalist banks who have outstanding loans to



Poland not to refinance the debts, not to renegotiate the payments on principal or interest. And it is the U.S. banks who are insisting on the outrageous 21.75 per cent rate of interest on all loans. The United States is the leading world policeman of reaction and no means are too mean to accomplish its aims.

### **The CIA's Conspiracy**

There should be no mistake about the real intent of U.S. imperialism and its counterrevolutionary arms — the CIA and FBI. The CIA has special sections for every country. The Polish sections of the CIA, Department of State and other intelligence departments of the U.S. government were set up shortly after the establishment of the People's Republic of Poland in 1944. A well planned and executed U.S. government policy of subversion, intervention and anti-Polish conspiracy has been fully operational ever since the birth of socialist Poland.

Reactionary capitalist politicians like Zbigniew Brzezinski have been and are lifetime conspirators against socialist Poland.

The CIA and FBI agents and operatives visiting and living in Poland are not your usual run-of-the-mill spies. They are fully trained in politics and ideology. They are experts at using and twisting people's genuine difficulties and complaints. They are masters at manipulating and distorting feelings of nationalism and national pride. They are crafty at using slander, rumor and innuendo. They are well-schooled in the use of anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism. And these U.S. agents are carefully taught not to take extreme positions until there is a crisis situation. The CIA has a special plan for the use of people who speak "the mother tongue."

The result of all this counterrevolutionary activity is that not all the so-called visitors are "tourists." Not all who have "returned to their homeland" are "retirees."

The Voice of America is the voice of U.S. big business, filling the air waves with its poison. It is a CIA propaganda mill.

The greedy ambitions of U.S. corporations and the CIA do not stop at political activities. They see Poland as a bridgehead into the other socialist countries. They see the destruction of socialist Poland — geographically situated in the heart of the socialist community of nations — as a first step in achieving their 65-year dream, the destruction of socialism everywhere.

### **The Anti-Socialist Goal**

This was the sole purpose of the economic boycott and blockade against the first socialist state by the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy right after the birth of the Soviet Union.

This was the evil design of the interventionist forces of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria and other countries when their

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combined military forces invaded the Soviet Union in 1919 and were ousted only after two years of military invasions.

This was the intent of the United States, France and Great Britain just prior to the Second World War when they refused to respond to urgent appeals from the Soviet Union to establish a united front against Hitler fascism. This unheeded appeal, among other things, would have saved Poland and Czechoslovakia from the horrible devastation they suffered from the invasion by Hitler Germany. Instead, the United States, France and Great Britain were doing all the maneuvering they could to push the Hitler war machine against the Soviet Union. This was called the period of the infamous “phony war.”

This was also the goal of the Cold War period, the openly stated Dulles policy of “rolling back the borders of socialism.”

During this John Foster Dulles period, U.S. policy toward the socialist world was described as one of “containment and rollback.” Its aim was not only to keep socialism from spreading, but through engineering of armed counter-revolutions in socialist countries of Eastern Europe, to push it back to the borders of the Soviet Union — and eventually beyond them.

Today, because of the shift in the world balance of forces in favor of the forces of anti-imperialism, there has been a parallel shift in the tactics of counterrevolution. The main effort is to undermine and soften up the socialist countries from within, to render them ripe for a takeover by the counter-revolutionary elements. The goal is what has been described as “peaceful counterrevolution.”

But always and everywhere the capitalist class is inherently an enemy of the working class and of socialism. The tactics may shift, but the strategy remains the same.

The methods applied in the relentless efforts to achieve their aim are no mystery. The key word in their tactics and plans has always been “destabilization.” The aim of “destabilization” is to create confusion and political disorientation, to create unrest and to instigate anarchy and chaos.

“Destabilization” was the key word in the U.S. tactics to overthrow the progressive, democratically elected government of Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973.

This was the tactic employed by the CIA to overthrow the democratically elected Mossadegh government in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954.

“Destabilization” was the key element in the tactic used to subvert and intervene in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In Chile, Iran and Guatemala, when the democratically elected governments were overthrown the U.S. multinational corporations moved in full force and

took over the oil and other natural resources.

It is a hard lesson of history that in all three cases, when the democratic governments were overthrown they were replaced by brutal, militaristic, fascist governments. The trade unions and other people's organizations were smashed, even the most conservative trade unions. Terror, torture, murder and mayhem became the way of life for the peoples in these countries.

In most cases, the "destabilization" started with strikes. In most cases the strikes were the result of legitimate grievances and complaints. In all cases they were misled and diverted into political channels. The strikes and demonstrations led to economic crises. And in every case this was precisely when the right-wing counterrevolutionary forces moved in to further destabilize the situation.

This is a pattern U.S. imperialism has followed for a long, long time.

A key factor in the "destabilization" plan is always to undermine and weaken the influence and prestige of the political leadership.

The standard method of undermining confidence in Party leadership in all cases has been to use and exaggerate past mistakes, to distort and downgrade the role and achievements of the Party.

### **Counterrevolutionary Tactics**

As is the case in Poland, anti-socialist forces work to deny the historic role of the Polish Party in the defeat of German fascism, in the achievements and advances in the building of the industrial base and in safeguarding the peaceful building of socialism in Poland for over 37 years.

The instigation of hooliganism, vandalism, disorientation, anarchy in production and the creation of ideological confusion are old, tried-and-tested tactics of the CIA. They are masters in the use of all these counterrevolutionary tactics.

In all countries where the CIA operated — including Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Iran and Guatemala, where they created havoc — the forces of counterrevolution infiltrated and moved to take over the mass media — television, radio and the press.

In the CIA handbook of counterrevolution, slogans like "socialism with a human face," "socialist renewal," "liberalization," "independence," "democratic socialism," and "reform" are all nothing but code words to create an atmosphere of confusion, unrest and chaos and to draw people into anti-socialist activities.

There are people and workers in the United States who honestly want to help the Polish people. These include workers and people who believe that socialism is truly the next necessary historic step on the path of human progress.

It is ironic that the people in the United States who agitate for strikes in



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Poland are the most anti-trade union, anti-labor strikebreakers when it comes to workers and their unions in the United States.

The bankers, the reactionary politicians and the very top trade union leaders, the mass media, the ultra-right reactionary and fascist forces who make the most noise about Poland could not care less about the welfare of Poland or the Polish people. They are not for socialism with any kind of face. They are for the total destruction of socialism.

They are not interested in correcting the mistakes and weaknesses of past leaders. They are for the isolation and undermining of all legitimate leaders.

They have no compassion or concern for the Polish people and their problems. They simply want to use the Polish people for their own selfish aims.

The central feature of the Reagan-Haig Administration is to finance and arm all the reactionary, counterrevolutionary, imperialist-supporting forces throughout the world.

The export of counterrevolution is the centerpiece of the Reagan-Haig foreign policy. It has been assigned the status of state policy by the Reagan Administration. Their interest is nothing more — or less — than finding and applying the best ways to use the problems in Poland for their own selfish, reactionary purposes.

The bottom line of U.S. foreign policy is to create, wherever possible, a situation where the U.S. banks and multinational corporations can move in and take over the natural resources and take advantage of lower wages, to exploit every situation for one purpose only, to add to their already bloated profits.

The human element — human concerns and human beings — do not even enter into the calculations of monopoly capital. They have absolutely no compassion, no conscience, no concern whatsoever for people — anywhere.

The anti-socialist forces in the United States who are yelling the loudest about supporting Polish “reform and independence” are those who cover up their real counterrevolutionary motives with hypocritical rhetoric about concern for the human and trade union rights of Polish workers.

These very forces are those who have never supported strikes in the United States, or any other capitalist country for that matter. But when strikes occur — as they rarely do — in any socialist country, these hypocrites are the first to “pick up the picket signs.”

One of the most infamous U.S. politicians involved in the U.S. anti-Polish conspiracy is Zbigniew Brzezinski, who as early as 1965, in his book, *Alternative to Partition*, projected the use of U.S. economic and political resources to foster “a) the independence of Eastern Europe and socialist countries from the Soviet Union; and, b) internal liberalization of these countries.” Through such a process he envisions the eventual return of these countries to the capitalist fold.



In 1968, Herbert Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute, a reactionary think-tank, described his vision of Poland's future — first, as a conversion to “a socialist democracy with capitalist overtones,” and, following this —among other things — “the fall of Communist leadership in Poland.”

All these spokesmen for and hirelings of U.S. capitalism have one — and only one — task for which they are handsomely paid, and that is to put into operation bigger and better plans for destroying socialism, because socialism is an obstacle to bigger and better U.S. corporate profits.

The U.S. imperialist plans for regaining world domination are geared toward the sole objective of extracting these greater profits.

### **Using the Big Lie**

Anti-Sovietism is and always has been the center of their ideological attacks because the Soviet Union is the center and bulwark of socialism, national liberation, detente and peace.

The central pillar of U.S. imperialism is the same Big Lie that Hitler Germany used, including as a cover up for its invasion of Poland. Nazi Germany's cover for moving into Poland was “the Soviet threat.”

Today, the Big Lie spreads falsehoods, lies and distortions about socialism. It is the ideological umbrella under which the counterrevolutionary, anti-socialist forces move in to put into operation a policy of aggression against the countries fighting for national liberation and a policy of subversion and undermining against the socialist nations.

Throughout the world, in every region, the Reagan policies pose a danger to both the national and economic independence of nations and peoples.

The Reagan Administration is out to turn the clock back to the days following the Second World War, to “the good old days” of U.S. imperialism when it was the world's number one money-lender, the keeper of the world's weapons arsenal, the hoarder of the world's food supplies.

The Reagan Administration policies are moving against the mainstream of history. It will not succeed in its strategy of counterrevolution. Nations and peoples will no longer put up with U.S. imperialist domination and exploitation.

The people of Poland will find the means and the strength, within themselves, to reject this attempt at imperialist intervention and subversion.

With the fraternal aid and assistance of the socialist community of nations, and in the first place the Soviet Union, and with the very best good wishes of all progressive peoples everywhere, the Polish people will find the strength and means to overcome all obstacles to continuing along their chosen path of building a better, richer, more meaningful and productive life under socialism.

*1981*

# MAOISM, THE BETRAYAL OF THE GREAT CHINESE REVOLUTION

## Maoist Aggression

It is unfortunate that we are not tonight able to speak about the Maoist aggression against Vietnam in the past tense — because the criminal aggression is still going on.

From the beginning — and to this very moment — the Maoists have tried to cover up their bloody trail by false and totally misleading statements. They do this deliberately. They have become masters of the art of using the big lie.

The latest falsehood is their repeated statements that they have withdrawn to the old borders. The truth is that their military forces are still on Vietnam's soil, in some places as much as 12 miles into Vietnam. The truth is the Maoists are preparing for new acts of aggression, including attacks on Laos, whenever they think the time is right and the worldwide protest has subsided.

In fact, the Maoists are continuing the old warlord policy of annexation and illegal confiscations of other people's lands and property. They unilaterally set up boundaries and then announce that they have withdrawn behind the "old" boundary.

The fact is that the Maoists have lost all their credibility. It is impossible to take at face value anything they say now.

At the beginning of their criminal invasion the Maoists said they were responding to "acts of aggression by Vietnam." World public opinion rejected this out-of-hand as absolute fakery. Then they shifted to saying they were "punishing Vietnam" because of the so-called aggression against Kampuchea. This story is also false. Public opinion does not accept this either because why should events in Kampuchea — that doesn't even have a border with China — give the Maoists the right to attack Vietnam?

I will talk about the events in Kampuchea, but the real explanation for the Maoist policies of aggression, including the attack on Vietnam, does not lie in Kampuchea.

Most Americans reject the Maoist coverup and condemn the aggression. This fact, and the protests throughout the world, have been a factor in halting the Maoist aggression.

However, there are a few professional Maoists — like William Hinton and Robert Williams — who keep repeating and distributing garbage no matter how rotten it smells. They do have an excuse — that's their profession. They are

professional-programmed Maoists: whatever is programmed in comes out. The garbage they peddle has never had anything to do with the truth.

To tell the truth, to be objective is to expose and condemn the Maoist aggression.

There is an old Finnish saying that people who are able to examine honestly defeats and setbacks, and draw the necessary conclusions, will become stronger and will live to win another day.

This thought is a good guide to the examination of the cruel, cold-blooded, malicious Maoist invasion of socialist Vietnam.

There is no question — it is a serious setback, in the first place for the people of Vietnam and China. It is also a setback for the forces of the world revolutionary process, for national liberation and for world socialism.

However, for the forces of the world revolutionary process, for socialism and Vietnam, the setback will be of short duration.

Vietnam and the forces of the world revolutionary process will very quickly recoup their losses. And, because they are drawing the necessary conclusions they will be — in fact they already are — much stronger. I am convinced this is a significant turning point in the history of the world revolutionary process.

### Playing the China Card

As is the case with living bodies, so it is with the body of ideology and politics that when an abscessed boil bursts for a short time there is a foul smell and some corruption. But the body soon becomes healthier and stronger.

The boil that is Maoism has burst. There is a foul odor and the corruption of opportunism. But the forces of the world revolutionary process are healthier and stronger. There is less confusion. The path ahead is in sharper and clearer focus.

Out of all these developments there is, however, one entity — and only one — that will never recoup its losses, and that is the abscessed boil of Maoism.

As an ideological trend, the aggression against Vietnam and Maoism's open alliance with U.S. imperialism are more than the beginning of the end of Maoism. The deception of Maoism, that was always there, is now exposed for all to see. This removes a source of confusion and diversion. The powerful wave of worldwide protest and anger is proof of the new understanding of Maoism.

The recent developments are tragic, especially for people of Vietnam — for the Vietnamese and Chinese youth who are dead, and who are still dying, because of the betrayal by a gang of politically degenerate elements who are intoxicated with Chinese bourgeois great-power chauvinism.

It is a terrible tragedy in the loss of so many lives. However, history will

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record this unprovoked attack on a socialist neighbor as the turning point in the struggle against opportunism and betrayal in the camp of the forces of the world revolutionary process.

It is the end of Maoism because never again will it be able to sneak around wrapped in the garments of honest, working class and revolutionary forces. The Maoist treachery removes a source of poison, as well as confusion, from the world's working class movement.

This betrayal also changes the value of Maoism in the eyes of the imperialists. For imperialism, Maoism was most valuable when it was able to parade around as a trend in the revolutionary movement; when it was able to confuse, divert, disarm and influence some forces within world socialism and national liberation.

Because Maoism now stands exposed, from now on imperialism is going to pay less for the China card. An exposed Maoism is not worth very much. As an ideological force it has become isolated.

U.S. imperialism has been playing the China card for only a few weeks, but its economic worth has already been greatly devalued. The great euphoria and the promise of endless billions of dollars in trade have turned into bum-checks that are bouncing all over the place.

It is a case of mutual miscalculation by two unprincipled forces. The Maoists thought they had earned a free ride from imperialism, and the monopoly corporations thought they had discovered a new gold mine. The China card has turned into a valueless paper credit card being used by a paper tiger.

U.S. and Japanese imperialists rushed their Cabinet ministers and trade delegations to Peking to give their blessing to the aggression in return for huge billion dollar trade contracts.

Instead of signed contracts they came away with nothing but copies of the "Little Red Book."

However, as long as the Maoist gang is in the leadership of the Communist Party of China they will remain a serious danger. They will remain a danger because of their insane policies of aggression and their de facto military alliances with the U.S., NATO and Japan.

At this point, it should not be necessary to prove the specific acts of betrayal by Maoism. This should be clear to everyone. Under these circumstances, for anyone to defend, to ignore, or to minimize the counterrevolutionary acts of Maoism would be nothing less than total ignorance — a refusal or inability to accept overwhelming, undeniable evidence.

It is impossible to defend Maoism honestly when it has become impossible to find even one single example where the Maoists take a position against imperialism, for national liberation, for socialism or for the working class. To



defend such behavior can only be the result of softening of the brain, or the attempt of an FBI agent in left-wing cover to continue creating confusion.

### **Maoist Support to Counterrevolution**

So, in order to draw the correct conclusions it is necessary to study seriously the most difficult feature of this problem. That is: What is it about Maoism — what is there inherent in the political and ideological texture of Maoism — that has led it to the positions of supporting counterrevolutions?

What has led Maoism to support the fascist butcher Pinochet of Chile — to work actively with the CIA and the other forces of imperialism to overthrow the progressive anti-imperialist governments in Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen and other countries?

What is there about Maoism's inner ideological and political makeup that led it to side with U.S. imperialism during the Cuban missile crisis?

In response to a critical statement by our Party in 1962, the Maoists issued a pamphlet attacking and slandering our Party, in which they said the following about the missile crisis:

“We are opposed to adventurism and we also oppose capitulation. And we would like to ask: what was wrong with that?”

The question itself is a shallow deception, totally lacking in honesty or principle.

What was wrong with that was that when the Cubans and Soviets placed the missiles in Cuba it was an emergency measure to stop a planned, major U.S. attack on Cuba. It was a well-known secret that the preparations for the attack had reached an advanced stage. The Maoists, like the Pentagon generals, called the placing of the missiles “adventurism,” while they had no words of protest against the planned U.S. aggression against Cuba.

In other words, to defend a socialist country was adventurism. That is also what the Maoists are calling the people of Vietnam who are defending their country today — adventurists.

When the missile crisis agreement was reached and U.S. imperialism had to give up its planned invasion, and the missiles had been withdrawn having accomplished their purpose, both stopping the invasion and preventing a nuclear war, the Maoists, like the most reactionary U.S. propagandists, called that “capitulation.”

So the question is: what is it about Maoism that led it to follow and support U.S. imperialism at both ends of that crisis?

In this kind of study one must ascertain: What is it in Maoism that induces the leading core of a country with a socialist structure to attack and oppose every single proposal for peace or reduction in arms — from slander of, and opposition to the atomic test ban treaties, to the present SALT II agreement?

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And, what is there inherent in Maoism that has now led it into an alliance with U.S. imperialism, NATO and Japan — an alliance that strategically contemplates war against the countries of socialism and national liberation — an alliance that gambles with nuclear war?

What has led Maoism to defend NATO and SEATO: What is there in the inner-nature of Maoism that has turned it into imperialism's major anti-Soviet center?

Because it is a fact that no force in history has so irresponsibly slandered, vilified and spread such total lies about socialism as have the Maoists. They have long since surpassed even the Nazi Goebbels's level of big lies. They have completely turned truth on its head: they say — socialism is imperialism; the danger of war comes from the Soviet Union; national liberation is Soviet takeover. This is the big lie with vicious fanaticism.

And, what is there in the inner-essence of Maoism that enables it to switch almost-overnight from being — in appearance — the most extreme radical and revolutionary, to being the closest bosom buddy with the most reactionary and conservative forces in every part of the world.

In this regard I would like to read a quotation from a statement by Deng Xiao Ping, the new Texas rodeo clown — the new jester in the ultra-right stables:

Today, the urgent task confronting the Communists of all countries is to unite the people of the whole world, including the American people, in the broadest possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States.

We Communists throughout the world, must unite. We must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow statement and direct the spearhead of our struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States.

We must carry through to final victory the great cause of the people of all countries for world peace, national liberation and socialism.

These empty, hypocritical words were written in that pamphlet attacking our Party 15 years ago (in 1962) for supposedly being “too soft on U.S. imperialism.”

We should have sent that pamphlet back to Deng when he was having his secret confabs — while sipping the imperialist, ultra-right brew with his close cronies, his ideological mentors, Brzezinski, Schlesinger and “Scoop” Jackson.

Now let me quote from the same man, who in 1962 called for a world front against U.S. imperialism. The following quote is from a 1979 *Time* magazine interview:

After setting up this relationship between China, Japan and the U.S., we must further develop the relationship in a deepening way. If we really want to be able to place curbs on the polar bear, the only realistic thing for us is to unite. If we only depend on the strength of the U.S., it is not enough. If we only depend on the strength of Europe, it is not enough . . . but if we unite, well, it will then carry weight. (*Time*, Feb. 5, 1979).

Who has changed? Who is soft on imperialism? This switch from revolutionary rhetoric to supporting ultra-right forces, to calling for an alliance against socialism, seems like a 180-degree turn. However, it only seems that way because in its very basic essence it is no switch at all — not even a one-degree turn. That is why it was so easy and fast, because it is nothing more than changing one's ideological and political camouflage.

The 1979 Deng is the same as the 1963 Deng — he has only changed his hat. Now he wears the Texas, 10-gallon hat.

I will explain how this ideological shell game works.

### **“Which Side Are You On”**

The most basic of all phenomena of our times is that our society is split into two main classes — the working class and the capitalist class.

The main contradiction of our times, the main struggles of our times, are all related to the irreconcilable antagonism between these two classes. However, this class division and the class struggle between them involves more than the economic bread and butter issues.

The class division determines and affects the way we think, the way we approach problems and developments. It determines our basic outlook, including our world outlook.

Many years ago, the coal miner's wife, Florence Reece, who wrote the song and the words, “Which Side Are You On?”, simply, beautifully and brilliantly gave expression to this most fundamental thought: “What side are you on?”

The haunting ideological refrain, “which side are you on?” is the background music — whether on a picket line, in economic thought, in philosophy, in theory, in one's attitude at home or in the world arena. “Which side are you on?” determines one's character; it determines one's thought patterns.

The main contradiction in our world is the contradiction between the working-class and the capitalist class. On the level of socio-economic systems, it becomes a contradiction between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. The most decisive question, the one that determines one's outlook, is: “Which side of that main contradiction are you on?”

Mao Tse-tung could not evade the challenge of that dividing line, but he was never able to measure up to that challenge. He never did meet the challenge of the coal miner's wife.



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He tried to avoid it by arguing that such a main class contradiction did not exist. Instead, he wrote about life being a maze of contradictions that come and go, and that one could subjectively decide which side one would take in any of the contradictions.

The class contradiction was never a guide to Mao's thinking. Every so often he threw in the words "working class" and "Marxism-Leninism." But Maoism was never a workingclass trend — not even a weak one. It never was — and is not today, a variation of Marxism-Leninism.

The Maoists published millions of copies of the so-called "Little Red Book." But there was nothing new or original in the thinking of Mao or in the "Little Red Book."

In fact, Maoism is a rather classical mixture of non-workingclass ideological trends. It contains a strong dose of Chinese bourgeois nationalism. This is the base for its great power chauvinism that has always been present, but has become a stronger strain in the last years. Before and during the Revolution the anti-imperialist trend was a positive influence and at moments overcame the other elements. However, after the revolution, it soon faded into the background.

There is also a strong feudalistic, warlord influence in Maoism. And there is a small shopkeeper's petty bourgeois peasant influence that tends to waver in an erratic pattern, depending on momentary pressures. All these influences contribute to Maoism's complete lack of principle and reliability.

Such was the case when the Maoists signed the political documents adopted at a world conference in 1960. A few months later not only did they publicly reject the documents they signed, but, in addition, slandered and misrepresented them. Their total lack of principle even appears in their trading practices.

After the Chinese Revolution, the Soviet Union built China 286 complete industrial complexes; not just factories, but whole, new industries, such as auto, airplane, tractor and many others. This is really the only industrial base China has today.

The Soviet Union built these complexes without any downpayments; they were not lay-away plans. These industrial complexes were constructed and completed. Most were donated, but for some contracts were signed. The plants were built and delivered. But the Maoists simply refused to make payments on the contracts and attacked the Soviet Union for not donating ALL the plants and for not continuing to give more.

This same unconscionable lack of principle is reflected in the overnight shifts from extreme radical rhetoric to advocacy of ultra-right ideas. It is reflected in the open use of the big lie.

These non-workingclass influences have always been strong in the Chinese



revolutionary movement. They have always competed with workingclass influences in the Communist Party of China. Mao Tse-tung has always been an advocate of these non-workingclass influences. Indeed, what has always been missing in Maoism is precisely the workingclass influence.

The workingclass influence has always pressed for a decision on the basic question: "Which side are you on?" The workingclass influence has always pressed for consideration of the problems of class brothers and sisters across borders. The workingclass influence has always pressed for a partisan class position, including a workingclass attitude toward other socialist countries, as well as proletarian internationalism.

Workingclass ideology is an echo of its class self-interests. Workers do not cross picket lines because to do so is against their class interests. Workers are against crossing the political and ideological picket lines; they know which side they are on.

Workingclass ideology is against acts of aggression and oppression of other peoples because it is not in their class interests.

It is this workingclass ideology and influence that have always been missing in Maoism. Bourgeois nationalism is an ideology that says:

"We have the right to enslave others because we are superior or because we are bigger." As capitalism has a total disregard for the welfare of workers and people, so it has a total disregard for the interests of other peoples and nations.

It is interesting that almost word for word identical statements were made a few years apart by General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mao Tse-tung about Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and all of Southeast Asia. They both said — Ike in the U.S., and Mao in China: "We have a right and must take these countries over because they have rich deposits of mineral resources" and (Mao added) "the ability of these countries to raise food."

I have often quoted the statement by Eisenhower, but now let me quote a similar one by Mao Tse-tung.

In 1965, speaking to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China, Mao said.

"We must, without fail, get Southeast Asia, including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore. An area such as Southeast Asia is very rich with many mineral resources and it is well worth the expenditures involved in gaining possession of it. It will prove very useful to the development of Chinese industry in the future. Thus, we shall be able to make good our losses." This is almost a Xerox copy of what Eisenhower said.

The fact that the peoples of these countries and nations have some rights never entered the minds of either Eisenhower or Mao.

That is bourgeois nationalism. That is great-power chauvinism. That is what

the present Maoist leaders are trying to do. That is what the Maoists were doing in Kampuchea. That is what U.S. imperialism has never given up, that is why the Carter administration is giving its support to the Maoist invasion of Vietnam.

In most cases great-power chauvinism is an encasing for racism. This is the case of national and racial superiority. They say they have the right and the responsibility of teaching inferior peoples a lesson. The "celestial empire" is a racist concept.

### **Maosim—A Confucian Legacy**

What is the nature of the feudal, warlord mentality that is part of the Maoist makeup? It is not very much different from bourgeois nationalism. "Teaching your neighbor a lesson" by military forays; calling China "the middle kingdom," or "the celestial empire," as the Maoists do, is basically the same dream the feudal warlords had. Of course the warlord mentality is more than a dream. Extreme factionalism, as a way of political life, is also a warlord way of life.

When Deng Xiaoping says: "War is a normal state," or "War is a continuation of peace," he is expressing the thinking of the backward feudal warlords.

During feudalism, which was a long period in China's history, all the neighboring countries were called "Vassals," or "Tributaries" of the Chinese "celestial empire." Maoism continues that tradition.

Thus, in their book, the Emperor of China had a right to be the supreme arbitrator between China and her neighbors. This was the basis of the feudal warlord mentality. The Maoists continue this concept.

The Chinese feudal warlords used expressions such as "pacifying by military means," China's neighbors. This is not very much different from the present Maoist leaders' concepts of "teaching a lesson."

The much-quoted Maoist cliché that "all power comes from the barrel of a gun," reflects the warlord mentality.

The working class sees its interests and its power coming from class unity and militant class and mass struggles.

The petty bourgeois radical influence comes through in the Maoist approach especially to domestic policies. It comes through in the empty, radical rhetoric, the concepts of skipping historic stages, the so-called cultural revolution aimed at the dispersal of all workingclass organizations, or the idiotic concept that it is possible to disregard objective laws and forces, and that it is possible to change things by subjective forces and by rhetoric. From this flows Mao's idea that the people of China are ideologically a blank sheet of paper and that, therefore, the Maoists can write whatever they want on it.

This petty bourgeois influence comes through in the Maoists' irrational instability — the practice of jumping from establishment of Communist communes one day to announcing, the very next day, that it will take 100 years to build socialism in China.

The Maoist concepts of "skipping stages," the "big leaps," the "communes," the building of "backyard steel furnaces," the "cultural revolutions," concepts of surrounding the workingclass cities, the dispersal of the people from urban centers — have all been influenced by this mixture of bourgeois, feudal and petty bourgeois ideas.

It is to such sectors of the Chinese population that Maoism makes its appeal. It has also had some appeal for the non-workingclass elements around the world.

Put all these non-workingclass influences together, add the overall ingredient of unprincipled opportunism and you have Maoism, as well as the explanation of *why* Maoism behaves the way it does.

Because the working class of China has always been small in size, and because of the murderous policies directed against it by the ruling classes of China and later by the Maoists, the working class has always had an uphill battle. It has been the dominant influence in the Communist Party of China only for short periods.

### **The Irrationality of Great-Power Chauvinism**

What is the overall game plan of the Maoists? It is based on their irrational obsession of China being the "celestial empire." Like a narcotic, great-power chauvinism induces irrationality. Motivated by their great-power chauvinism they justify any destruction, no matter how great, if they believe it will contribute toward achieving their Chinese "celestial empire."

Maoism openly advocated the concept that the world revolutionary movement must accept the possibility that more than one-half of the people will perish in a nuclear war. Behind this bourgeois nationalist thinking was Mao's thought that because there are so many Chinese enough would survive to rule the world after most had been killed in a nuclear war.

Mao publicly stated: "A nuclear war would not be so bad — even if half of humanity were exterminated, the other half would survive."

Mao also openly stated that some nations and whole peoples must be ready and *willing* to be totally wiped out for "the glory of world socialism." Of course the "socialism" Mao had in mind was a Chinese "celestial empire," with Mao Tse-tung as the world's "helmsman."

The irrational obsession induced by great-power chauvinism led Maoism to the point where it was not only willing, but actively worked to gain its goals, not



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at the *expense* of imperialism, but *working with*, collaborating *with* imperialism, to destroy world socialism, national liberation and the workingclass movements.

The Maoists worked hard to take over, dominate and use the forces of the world revolutionary process, including the Communist Parties of the world. When this failed, they turned against them.

Maoism makes its appeal to the Chinese people on the basis of great-power chauvinism. In speaking to students, and in the "Little Red Book," Mao said, "The world belongs to you." And, further, he said, "Our trump card is war," and, still further, "We should conquer the globe; the entire globe is our target."

Again, Mao was not talking about the transition from capitalism to socialism; rather these are the irrational mouthings of one demented and intoxicated — of one drunk on the Maoist brew of great-power chauvinism.

Some old, bourgeois ideological hands are now gleefully pointing a finger and saying:

"You see, socialism is no different from imperialism. It is also warlike. See, Maoism proves that socialism is also inherently aggressive."

And, not to be left out, some of the old opportunists in the world Communist movement who have been encouraging Maoism for 25 to 30 years, are also explaining and justifying the Maoist aggression against Vietnam.

Some Yugoslav opportunists, writing in a journal called *Start* are joining in with their own brand of opportunism and anti-socialist slander. They imply that the Maoist aggression against Vietnam is "natural," if not inevitable.

They say: "Conflicts between socialist states are not accidental. They are in conformity with the law of quantity turning into quality that can develop into 'classic' wars — 'classic' wars between socialist countries."

In the first place, they are of course expressing their own quantity of opportunism turning into a new quality of opportunism.

By their logic, the more socialism there is, the more likely there will be "classic wars between socialist states." This is also the opportunistic Yugoslav writers' way of defending the Maoist aggression — by putting the aggressor and the victim on the same level, and thereby closing their opportunistic eyes to the Maoist aggression.

The question is: Does this aggression in any way change the understanding we have of the nature of socialism — that war and wars of aggression are incompatible and alien to socialism? It has not changed.

The behavior of the Maoists does nothing of the kind. The Maoists' behavior is an exception to the rule. It is not in keeping with the principles and norms of socialism. It is a gross violation of the most basic precepts of the working class



and socialism. It is anti-Marxist-Leninist.

What it does demonstrate, however, is that under very special and unique circumstances it is possible for socialism, for the workingclass ideology, to be engulfed and overrun by bourgeois nationalism. However, there is also evidence that such derailments are temporary and an exception to the rule because it goes against the grain of socialist development. However, this fact should raise to a higher level and sharpen the vigilance against the penetration of bourgeois nationalism in the world revolutionary movement.

China's military aggression has brought into sharper focus the more basic aims of the Maoist gang. The bourgeois nationalist aims of Maoism are not limited to, or for the purpose of abstract "lesson-teaching." This is a cover for their real aims. In 1954, the Maoists published an official map that included as part of China large areas of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Malaysia, Mongolia and, of course, parts of Siberia.

As idiotic as it may sound, the longer-range goal of Maoism is the attainment of a two-country domination of the world. In their hypnotic, intoxicated nationalistic state they see a world dominated by U.S. imperialism and Maoist China, with some other capitalist countries such as Japan and West Germany as junior partners.

The fact is that Mao secretly made such proposals to President Roosevelt before the end of the World War II. This has been the longer-range and the hidden, underlying meaning of the attempt to dominate the "Third World." This was the meaning of the efforts to involve the Soviet Union in a war with the U.S. during U.S. imperialism's aggression against Vietnam. This has been the meaning behind the secret Chinese proposals for a U.S.-China military alliance, first suggested about 12-to-15 years ago. This is the meaning of Ping's provocative encouragement of a U.S. attack on Cuba. He said: "You do to Cuba what we are doing to Vietnam."

The Maoist gang wants to dominate Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea politically, and they have plans and cadre ready to force Pol Pot-like regimes on Burma, Malaysia and Thailand.

But more immediately, the Maoists want to annex the parts of Vietnam that contain the oil and rich mineral deposits in the mountain areas. The annexation of a few miles of the Vietnam shoreline would add a large 200-mile ocean area for oil drilling.

Both the Maoists and U.S. imperialists want to dominate the world. Vice premier Deng Xiaoping came to the United States to get U.S. imperialism's blessing for the aggression against Vietnam — and he got it.

The aggression against Vietnam was also the Maoist way of furnishing proof that U.S. imperialism can rely on China.

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And, the direction of the aggression should be obvious. The Maoist attacks are not directed against capitalist neighbors such as Hong Kong, Singapore or Taiwan. They are directed against socialist Vietnam, Laos, Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The Maoists' charge that Vietnam crossed China's borders is so irresponsible, and such fakery, that it really should not need a response, except to repeat what the Vietnamese have said — that the Maoists have become the world's biggest pathological liars.

Their second charge is that Vietnam invaded Kampuchea. Let us examine what *really* happened in Kampuchea.

The problem in Kampuchea started right after the Vietnamese, Laotians and Kampuchians defeated the forces of U.S. imperialism and forced their withdrawal.

Following that defeat, there was confusion and for periods of time power vacuums existed. This was the case in Kampuchea.

The Maoists took advantage of this confusion and literally flew the Pol Pot gang from Peking into the capital of Kampuchea (Phnom Penh), and set them up as the new government. The Pol Pot gang took over the name of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. No one had ever heard of them before they arrived. They proclaimed they were going to build socialism in Kampuchea, but instead they established their Maoist rule by mass murder of people who had heroically fought against U.S. imperialism.

Who can now deny the insanity, the brutality of the Pol Pot clique? They were *not* workingclass or Communist leaders. They were *not* building socialism. They became the petty, criminal puppets of Maoism. They set out to dismantle the nation and people of Kampuchea.

As the world now knows, they herded the people out of the cities and established agricultural prison camps; they separated families, closed down factories, all the schools, hospitals, libraries, theaters; they destroyed all printing presses, and stopped publication of newspapers and books. They did away with all money and trade.

They committed mass murder of people who were for socialism and those who were Communists. The slaughtered Kampuchians were replaced by Chinese. Kampuchea was to be a part of the Chinese "celestial empire" — a "vassal" state.

Because of these brutal, criminal policies honest revolutionaries, working-class people, and intellectuals fled into exile, mainly into neighboring Vietnam, by the tens of thousands.

The Pol Pot army became the shock troops of the Maoist invasion of Vietnam. For years, they conducted military actions against Vietnam.

It is within this framework that one must consider the events in Kampuchea.

Did the Vietnamese help the Kampuchean revolutionary forces? Of course they did! They helped the people who became the main revolutionary force that overthrew the Pol Pot regime. They helped them economically and militarily.

Instead of attacking or criticizing, we should express our gratitude and admiration to the Vietnamese who assisted the people, the revolutionaries, the Communists of Kampuchea, in overthrowing the bloody-insane dictatorship.

That the Pol Pot regime had no support, and the new revolutionary government had the full support of the people of Kampuchea is proven by the fact that the exodus of refugees that was expected across the borders to Thailand never happened. The largest group of refugees who fled Kampuchea were the Chinese who had been in Kampuchea and who helped to keep the Pol Pot gang in power.

Now the people of Kampuchea are finally free to begin the process of building a socialist society.

### **The Lessons of Maoism for the Revolutionary Movement**

I do not see the need for, nor the benefits from an abstract discussion on whether China now has socialism or not — whether it is now a socialist country or not. Many things in China are in flux. There are sharp internal struggles taking place over basic questions of direction; this includes the overall question: “Which side are you on?”

A Socialist revolution makes a very fundamental change in the basic structure of society. Once the private ownership of the means of production is eliminated it is not easy to revert back to the old system based on private ownership, private profits and exploitation. This requires a major counter-revolutionary upheaval.

Although it cannot be ruled out completely, experience indicates that wrong policies and errors on the part of leading personalities can go on for some time and not fundamentally affect the established socialist economic base. The wrong policies and errors retard the building of socialism, distort the structure, but it takes a basic upheaval to reverse the direction.

What is absolutely clear, however, is that the present Maoist leaders are not Marxist-Leninists. They are following a line that is anti-working class. And in the world arena their policies are anti-socialist, anti-national liberation and pro-imperialist. Of course one would have to be naive to think these policies do not have some influence on internal policies, as the history of Maoism proves.

That such an anti-workingclass ideology can survive — and even take over — in a country that is building a socialist structure is a phenomenon worth studying. There are many lessons the revolutionary movement can draw upon.



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Among the lessons I am sure will be the need to re-establish a higher priority for the struggle in the field of ideology. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas penetrate where there is an ideological vacuum.

In most mass movements, such as the movements for national liberation or, in our case, the anti-monopoly movements, different sections of the people become involved — which is positive. However, as they become involved they also bring with them their ideological baggage. Many are not clear about “Which side they are on.”

If, for the sake of expediency or for opportunistic reasons, there is not a resistance or a struggle against their ideological baggage, they move into the vacuum and take over. Without a struggle, their takeover becomes almost inevitable.

Another lesson of Maoism is that the Communist movement can not rest on its ideological oars at any stage or under any circumstances. It cannot accept the idea that the experience of building socialism and the objective developments will take care of ideology. The ideological front will be a front-line of struggle throughout all the stages of building the new society.

How the internal struggles in China will develop is not clear now. Hopefully, the workingclass, Marxist-Leninist forces in the Communist Party of China will be able to put China back on the right track. However, these struggles can also, as we know, develop in a way that will open the doors to the CIA and other imperialist and anti-socialist forces, as was the case in Czechoslovakia.

The forces of the world revolutionary process must find ways to build support for the honest, socialist, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces within China, while at the same time exposing, isolating and keeping at bay the Maoist elements.

Maoism has been around for some 50 years or more. The present actions by the Maoist warlords are the results of 50 years of development. This has been a long process.

The question that all honest revolutionaries must ask is: Was the present level of Maoism inevitable? And, what have we done to resist its development, or to encourage its growth?

I believe the present state of Maoism was not necessarily inevitable, and that without the encouragement which has come from the opportunism of many other forces it most likely would never have reached its present level.

Therefore, the development of Maoism to its present stage demands that the revolutionary forces focus the struggle on the general questions of opportunism, including the opportunism that has, for years, encouraged Maoism. Not to raise these kinds of questions is to continue encouraging Maoism and opportunism, which can lead to other Maoist atrocities.



In all honesty, we have to place on the table the question: What is the responsibility of the forces in the world revolutionary movement who have, for years, covered up and encouraged Maoism by a constant repetition of such themes as: "If you criticize Maoism you are reading the Communist Party of China out of the world revolutionary movement," or, "We cannot interfere in the internal affairs of other parties." Who can now deny that these statements — whether intentional or unintentional — served to encourage Maoism.

Also, it should now be perfectly clear that anti-Sovietism has been and is the centerpiece of the Maoist betrayal

Anti-Sovietism became the Maoist trap for many. It was the bait. It should be obvious to all that in this epoch and this stage of the world revolutionary process and the explosive transition from world capitalism to world socialism, anti-Sovietism is the main ingredient of opportunism, because it is the main content of imperialist propaganda. To participate in it, for any reason, is to encourage opportunism. To disagree, to criticize is one thing, but to slander and vilify the Soviet Union is to slander and vilify socialism.

It seems to me we cannot — in all honesty — ignore the opportunism and the encouragement that some Communist leaders have given to Maoism. Behind the sham of saying, "We have relations equally with all parties and countries," some of these leaders invited Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping to their countries, and they did exactly what Carter did — permitted this warmonger to attack and slander publicly the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries, without even a hint of disagreement with him. That was most encouraging to Maoism. The Maoists saw this as an endorsement of their policies.

Such behavior is, in fact, itself opportunism. And some have continued their opportunism, coverup and encouragement to Maoism even during Maoism's attack on Vietnam.

This critical point in the development of Maoism and opportunism should encourage and induce all honest forces to take a second hard look at all of the Maoist-inspired concepts and ideological traps, such as "the two superpowers," "the third world," and "social imperialism." These are all ideological snares of Maoism.

Also, those who have tried to conceal the pro-imperialist foreign policies of Maoism by speaking only about China's domestic affairs need to take a second hard look at what they have contributed to the development of Maoism. This was also a coverup.

The forces of the world revolutionary process, including our Party, need to take a deeper look at the corroding effects that the combination of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism and opportunism can have when there is no consistent struggle against them.

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The influences of bourgeois nationalism and the other non-workingclass ideologies, should not have come as a complete surprise.

There was a warning. Karl Marx, in his great wisdom, foresaw the problem.

In writing about the new society, Marx said that it is not one that “developed on its own foundations,” but rather one which is “in every respect — economically, morally and intellectually — still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.”

Maoism has all the birthmarks of the old societies. And we have since learned that old birthmarks can become cancerous not only in the human body.

The lesson of Maoism is that if not fought these ideas turn very quickly into instruments of counter-revolution.

However, this can be — and I am absolutely convinced it will be — the turning point in the struggle against this opportunistic cancer.

For us in the United States this most likely marks the end of Maoism as any serious influence in left, progressive and liberal circles. And because it is a turning point it can also mark a turning point in our work toward building a new, healthier left in the United States.

Because of the alliance between Maoism and U.S. imperialism we in the United States have a special responsibility to expose this dangerous alliance. We must do more to expose Carter’s dangerous policies of establishing what is now called, “U.S. military presence” in all parts of the world.

We must expose and isolate Maoism. And, we must continue to protest against the criminal Maoist invasion of socialist Vietnam. We must do everything in our power to help the people of Vietnam drive the forces of Maoist aggression from their land.



There is no question — the working class and the people of China, the Marxist-Leninists in the Communist Party of China, will draw a clear line as to which side they are on. And we can be sure they will be on the side of the only overall inevitable historic process — the world revolutionary process — which leads to a world building socialism and communism.

# THE ROLE OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES OF THE U.S.A.\*

*By Gus Hall*

I would like to begin by expressing my sincere appreciation for the invitation to participate in this prestigious and timely International Seminar of Philosophical Studies.

I would like to express my special thanks and gratitude to the Vicente Lombardo Toledano Center for Philosophical, Political and Social Studies for the honor and the confidence expressed in the invitation.

The United States is in many ways an unusual testing ground for Marxism-Leninism. Monopoly capitalism in the United States presents itself in all its ugliness as it declines and decays. It is brutally ruthless. For monopoly capitalism ideology is big business.

Turbulent times put all bodies of thought—philosophical and theoretical—to their ultimate test. Because the world is at the zenith of its most explosive, most revolutionary moment of transition, it places all social sciences, economic and political theories and philosophies on the examination table.

## **The Universal Application of Marxism-Leninism**

Indeed, the 20th century is the most revolutionary century in the history of humanity, for with it began a new period of history whose content, as Lenin put it, is “the abolition of capitalism and its vestiges and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order.” Our time is the era of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The moment is explosive because capitalism is the last of the long line of socio-economic systems designed so that the very few can exploit the very many. Socialism is the opening stage of the new history, through which human society will advance by planned qualitative leaps. Bodies of thought which do not reflect the objective realities of this transition will be rejected, discarded and soon forgotten.

On the other hand, bodies of thought based on truth and science, those that reflect the objective realities are not only riding out the storms, but are being refreshed, regenerated, continue to grow and become ever more refined and precise.

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All sciences must be continually tested. They must always be prepared to change with the ever-changing world around them. Social theories and concepts that do not reflect the changing real world, those that are consistently expressed by clichés and dogmas, become brittle and wither on the dry branches of trees that have died for lack of nourishment because of their separation from life-giving reality.

A social science must be rooted in and nourished by the study and application of the laws of social development. The laws of social development are objective, that is they cannot be changed or replaced by human will. However, these laws can be decoded, they can be understood and human beings and movements can use them to guide their activities. In this sense they have much in common with the laws of nature.

To illustrate, although humanity cannot repeal the law of gravity the discovery of many other laws has made it possible to build aircraft and rockets capable of overcoming the earth's gravitational pull. This is an example of human beings using their understanding of immutable laws to the advantage of human progress.

The same is true of the laws of social development. Marxism-Leninism is a science based on an ever-deepening understanding of these objective laws and their fullest application in the interests of the working class and people.

The laws of social development typically determine the entire course of human history. While universal laws function differently in different historic circumstances they do assume specific forms at each stage of human development. Marxism-Leninism cannot be separated from its relationship with objective reality.

The name or label given to an idea or science is not the most important factor. In this sense, whether it is named "Marxism," "Marxism-Leninism," or "scientific socialism" is not in itself a decisive question, if the intent is limited solely to the label. "A rose by any other name is still a rose."

However, the label does become important when there is an attempt to use some other label as a cover for rejecting or changing the essence of the science.

It is not critical if someone wants to call Darwin's basic conclusions by some other name than "the theory of evolution," if in the process they do not reject the basic essence of that theory, as many, with terms like "social Darwinism," have attempted to do.

Marxism-Leninism has become the most widely accepted and adopted social science in the world. In our times, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become a great, powerful and dynamic material force.

Precisely because of its wide acceptance and influence, more than any other body of thought Marxism-Leninism has been and continues to be the victim of



slander, distortions and revision.

There are those who claim that the science of Marxism-Leninism needs to be “modernized.” Others claim the necessity of “selecting only what is valid for today.” Many say they only want to change the name, the label. But in most cases these label-changers are in fact out to downgrade or revise the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

Other so-called theoreticians say “Marxism-Leninism has no universal application,” that it is based only on “the Russian experience.” But as a rule such statements are only covers for or preludes to rejecting the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

### **How Marxism-Leninism Sees U.S. Capitalism**

If further proof is needed of the soundness of Marxism-Leninism and its universally applicable features, the developments in the United States provide irrefutable evidence of its validity. In the United States, Marxism-Leninism comes into head-on collision with the most basic ideological and economic tenets of present-day monopoly capitalism.

In the United States, it is impossible to challenge seriously the Marxist-Leninist concept that the struggle between the two main antagonistic classes is irreconcilable because of the basic difference in their economic and political status in our society. To deny the fact that without the class struggle there would be no social progress is literally to deny the law of gravity.

Capitalism in its monopoly stage has depleted whatever progressive benefits it provided in its early pre-monopoly stage. Therefore, the working class, by means of the class struggle, is the inheritor of the mantle of social progress.

In the United States of today it is difficult to put forth any ideas that are taken seriously which reject the concept of classes and the class struggle and offer in their place concepts of the emergence of a “new middle class,” or “groups” and “people” in place of classes. The class struggle is the predominant influence in all processes affecting all sectors of society.

It is difficult if not impossible to accept any concepts of “social partnership,” and the “harmony of labor and capital,” in place of the concept of class struggle. This is because such concepts have nothing to do with objective U.S. reality. The rate of exploitation in the United States is the highest in the capitalist world.

In the United States of today there is no way one can effectively cover up the main overriding contradiction of capitalism—between the social nature of production and the private form of appropriation—or, its antagonistic, irreconcilable nature. This main contradiction is sustained and fed by the inherent nature of monopoly capitalism, the corporate drive for maximum surplus value and its transformation into maximum corporate profits.

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As the crises deepen, as capitalism decays, this contradiction becomes ever sharper and the shadows of the class struggle lengthen.

Over one hundred years ago, Karl Marx, based on his study of capitalist development, outlined the path that capitalism would take. The monster monopolies, the conglomerates and multinationals; the economic and financial galaxies that now dominate the United States scene, were clearly envisaged and projected by Marx.

For the student of U.S. history, the observation of Frederick Engels, also made over one hundred years ago, rings as true today as it did then:

From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in *philosophy*, but in the *economics* of each particular epoch. (Emphasis in original)

*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Frederick Engels, Little Marx Library, International Publishers, 1975, p. 54.

The development of U.S. imperialism provides the most conclusive evidence of the correctness of Lenin's analysis of imperialism—that it is parasitic, decaying, moribund monopoly capitalism.

The fact that the U.S. economy is now sinking into its eighth economic crisis of recession or depression magnitude since the Second World War is proof that U.S. capitalism is in a decaying stage. It is also evidence of the effects of the new stage of the general crisis of world capitalism.

The relative decline of U.S. capitalism in the world marketplace is proof of another of Lenin's discoveries which is the law of uneven development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism.

There is hesitation—greater in some industries than others—in monopoly circles to make capital investments for industrial expansion. There are well-founded fears in certain monopoly sectors that Reagan's program will lead to greater inflationary budget deficits and financial and credit crises. There are now dying industries in the United States.

There is also the backwash effect of the continuing economic crisis in Great Britain, France, Italy and West Germany. There is fear there that the decline of U.S. imperialism cannot be controlled or stopped.

The enormous, monstrously wasteful military budgets are having an increasingly destabilizing effect on the economy, on production, natural resources, finance and technology.

The underlying essence of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy is based on global confrontation, on obtaining a strategic first-strike nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. It is based on an insane military mania which

deludes itself into believing that the decline of U.S. imperialism can be arrested by attempting to turn the clock back to the days following the Second World War, to “the good old days of U.S. world domination.” These ill-fated global designs are geared toward preparing for wars and neo-colonial domination by U.S. corporations in Asia, Africa, South and Central America.

If further proof is needed that U.S. imperialism pursues aggressive economic and military policies and is out to dominate the world, each day of the Reagan Administration provides just such proof.

A most glaring example is the arrogant, imperialist attitude of Reagan at the recently concluded Cancún, Mexico, International Meeting on Cooperation and Development.

Speaking for the U.S. multinationals, Reagan used the meeting as a pulpit from which to preach platitudes about “the miracle of the marketplace and free enterprise.” In reality, Reagan went to Cancún to warn the underdeveloped and developing nations that there will be no change in the flow of wealth and that they must accept the edict: “You must accept your present status in the world, without complaint, give U.S. corporations and banks a free hand in exploiting your people and resources. If you will accept your neo-colonial status, perhaps we will give you our ear.” At Cancún, U.S. capitalism condemned the Third World to more of the same—underdevelopment, malnutrition, poverty and unemployment—and the domination of the “U.S. marketplace and free enterprise.”

### **The Big Lie—A Death Warrant for Millions**

The United States is a showcase for Lenin’s concept of state-monopoly capitalism. The fusion of monopoly capital with the bourgeois state is the main ingredient, the centerpiece of U.S. capitalism. The state serves as an indispensable pump primer. Without the ever-increasing dose of economic and financial injections by the state, in its present condition U.S. capitalism would go into a catastrophic nose dive. In fact, most would accept the fact that, without the increasing role of the state, monopoly capitalism would collapse.

The state has increasingly become the instrument of maximum corporate profits. As the main enforcer of the rising rate of exploitation, the Reagan Administration is a most clear example of how the state is used as an instrument of monopoly capital’s policies of aggression and neo-colonialism throughout the world.

U.S. imperialism is also continually setting new world records in the area of ideological struggles. The United States spends more money, hires more think-tanks and personnel, publishes more books and exploits the mass media for propaganda more than any other ruling class in history. It is embarked on the most massive brainwashing campaign ever conceived, a campaign based on



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complete fabrication.

The use of the big lie is now an accepted government policy. It is the ideological underpinning for all of the Reagan Administration's policies. The big lie is just what its name implies — a lie of such magnitude that it turns truth on its head in order to completely derail and distort people's thinking. And the mass media dish out a massive daily dose of such falsehoods in order to accomplish just that.

The huge U.S. ideological and propaganda complex is guided by the concept that if you inject a large enough dose of the big lie into the people at least some will believe some of it.

In the very center of the U.S. imperialist ideological campaign is the big lie of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The pressures to persuade people into making anti-Soviet and anti-communist statements — especially people in leadership positions — is unprecedented.

However, the big lie is much more than just an ideological campaign. Just as Hitler's big lie was turned into death warrants for 50 million victims of fascism, the United States is now using the big lie of anti-Sovietism to build a monstrous ideological edifice for all its reactionary policies, with its victims in the millions at home and abroad.

The Pentagon is spending about \$1 billion per day behind the smokescreen, "the Russians are coming." The B-1 bomber, MX missile, Neutron Bomb and Trident submarine are all in production in order to back up the big lie. The \$1 trillion dollar national debt stands as a terrible monument to the cost of the big lie to U.S. taxpayers.

The Reagan Administration has foisted supply-side Reaganomics on the people of the United States to support the big lie. It cut funds for programs that provided hot meals and food stamps for the poor, social security, medical care and housing for the elderly, money for critical education, health and child care — all to back up the big lie of anti-Sovietism.

U.S. imperialism pursues its policies of aggression in Asia, Africa, Central and South America behind the camouflage of the big lie. Step by step U.S. imperialist pied pipers are leading the world dangerously toward the brink of nuclear disaster.

The insane concept of a so-called limited nuclear war and the development of a nuclear first-strike capability are all pushed behind the big lie myths. The so-called "Soviet threat" and "Soviet menace," are the main myths upon which the big lie is built. The so-called "threat of Soviet aggression," of "international terrorism" has been and is a colossal hoax, a massive worldwide brainwashing campaign spewed out by professional liars.



### *War or Peace—The Policies of the Two Social-Economic Systems*

For 60 years, since the birth of the Soviet Union and socialism, the main pillar and goal of U.S. foreign policy has been to roll back, encircle, undermine, blockade, embargo and destroy the socialist world, in the first place the Soviet Union.

To prove who is threatening whom—just take an ordinary compass. Form a series of concentric circles around Moscow on a map. Then form the same size circles around Washington, D.C. Then check the map. You will find there are about 250 U.S. military bases around the Soviet Union, most of them equipped with nuclear weapons. But you will find no Soviet bases in the circles around Washington, D.C.

In the last few years the Soviet Union has made over 100 concrete proposals for moving toward disarmament and strengthening the peace.

For example, the Soviet Union has proposed:

- A treaty binding all countries to repudiate the use of military force;
- Proposals for the total destruction of all nuclear stockpiles;
- Proposals for the banning or manufacture of all nuclear and chemical weapons:
  - A treaty to disband both the NATO and Warsaw Pact military blocs;
  - A public agreement and pledge by all nations never to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

And many, many more.

The world, however, is still waiting for the United States to respond to any of these serious proposals for peace and disarmament.

I like socialism. But some of you may not. You may even believe that it does not always work well. And, of course, there are some problems. In the real world, no matter what social system, there always are problems.

But whether one believes in socialism or not, the fact is that socialism is not now, never was and never will be a threat to the world, to Europe or the United States. The so-called “Soviet menace” is a purely created, fictional menace.

Wars and policies of war are not the creations of evil men or women. Exxon Oil Corporation is not in the oil business because the world needs fuel and gas. It is in the oil business because it means huge corporate profits. And the Exxon drive for profits leads to oil in foreign lands, that in turn leads to policies of aggression and war.

In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries there are no private corporations. Therefore, there is no drive for private corporate profits, either at home or abroad.

In the imperialist countries, policies of aggression and the military buildup to support such policies are an extension of the drive for corporate profits.

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Thus, when considering the question of war and peace it is necessary to take into account the very opposite intentions of the two socio-economic systems.

Socialism has extracted by its roots the economic, political and social force that inevitably moves toward policies of aggression—the private ownership of the means of production.

There is a supporting drum-beat for the big lie that can be heard from the ranks of the “left” forces. There are a number of variations, but the main theme is the same: There are two superpowers, equally guilty, equally greedy. To equate the policies of the Soviet Union with the U.S. policies of imperialist aggression is a big lie. To paint the world scene depicting a struggle between two nationalistic, imperialistic powers, without reference to their opposite class structures, to their opposite positions on colonialism, on peace and detente, is a variation of the big lie.

### **Revisionist Opportunist Policies of Class Collaboration**

The ideologues of U.S. imperialism use the “two superpowers” variation as a most convenient cover for policies of aggression.

For the revisionist and opportunist it is a way of covering up their policies of class collaboration, their policies of capitulation to the pressures of imperialism.

The big lie is an ideological trap. It is a trap that can open the door to a nuclear confrontation and world catastrophe.

In the United States, the ideology of class collaboration is an old tool of class exploitation. It has held back the development of class consciousness among workers. It has retarded the process of radicalization. It was possible for the ruling class to develop this ideology because it has been able to sustain it on the basis of special concessions, resulting from extra profits from colonial exploitation and racism.

Class collaboration has always been a problem and an obstacle to class struggle trade unionism. But with the new, complex crises in the economic arena there is emerging a new form and concept of “labor-management partnership” and “social peace.”

As a rule, the servile class collaborationist policies have been a built-in feature of the top trade union leadership circles.

Throughout the years the forms of collaboration have changed, but the content remained essentially the same. In essence, this meant selling out the interests of the working class to big business.

Today, because there are new economic problems there is also a new variety of class collaboration. Its code name is “quality of work life circles.” This new monopoly enslavement gimmick is being promoted by the biggest corporations. The gimmick is a variation on the same old theme: “What’s good for GM

is good for its workers.”

Basically, this time it is class collaboration on the shop floor. It is an effort to hoodwink the rank and file into cooperating with class collaboration schemes.

The hard-sell sales pitch goes something like this: “Through the quality of work life circles the workers gain a voice in decision-making on the shop floor.”

Privately, the big business think tanks admit this is monopoly capital’s way of dealing with “the lower growth rate, declining productivity and the competitive world market.” It is obvious the net result of these “quality of work life circles” is a higher rate of worker exploitation, resulting in a higher rate of corporate profits.

This is not a fly-by-night operation. The corporate-funded think tanks at Harvard, Yale and Stanford are turning out books, studies and documents to be used for ideological propaganda. Management personnel are being carefully “retrained” and “re-educated” in special Dale Carnegie con-artist type programs to put over effectively the new concept of shop floor class partnership.

This new hoax is clever because it is based on an understandable and just desire of workers to have something to say about conditions on the shop floor. Workers want to have some power of decision-making. So management shrewdly builds this new hoax on a very real need and interest of the workers.

The “quality of work life circles” in both philosophy and its application on the shop floor is designed to take advantage of this need and desire. But like all class collaboration schemes it is a well-laid trap.

In the U.S. imperialist ideological arsenal racism has always been and continues to be a major weapon. It is an instrument of superprofits. It is a weapon that divides the working class and people. It weakens the trade union movement. Because of racism the economic gap between Afro-Americans and white Americans keeps getting wider. The economic gap between Chicano, Mexican-American and other Americans is also widening.

Some 50 million people in the United States are victims of one form or another of racist and national oppression.

The ideology of racism is based on fallacious, unscientific Hitlerite concepts of the superiority of white people. This racist ideology is promoted by the mass media, the educational system, books and other cultural outlets. But the roots of racism are in the system of class exploitation.

The very special and unique contribution Marxism-Leninism makes to the struggle against racism is the pinpointing of the relationship between the class struggle and the struggle against racism.

Throughout its history, the rise and development of the theory and science of Marxism-Leninism has taken place in the battle against opportunistic currents.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Nature, with its systems of checks and balances, of causes and effects, provides living bodies with substances called antibodies. Antibodies are the sentinels on guard against destructive viruses which result in human illness. The working class and the revolutionary movement face a somewhat similar conflict in the struggle against opportunism.

Opportunism is an old bug. It was around during history's first skirmishes of the class struggle. And it will be present when the last battle of the class struggle has been won. Like viruses, opportunism can become immune to old remedies. Therefore, the struggle against opportunistic pressures must be continuous. Viruses strike when the body resistance is low. Opportunism surfaces when the ideological defenses are down.

There are a number of varieties and degrees of opportunistic influences. Lenin spoke about a "frank, crude, cynical" variety. Engels wrote about an "honest" type, which permeates with "stealth and subtlety." The varieties are different, but if not resisted the "honest" type rather quickly develops into the "crude, cynical" conscious variety.

In a basic sense, all varieties of opportunism have one root and single purpose. It is an unnecessary and unprincipled accommodation and, in the end, a capitulation to the pressures of the enemy. It is a sacrificing of the longer-range and more basic interests of the working class and the people behind the guise of getting some concessions on some immediate questions. It is the preaching of "class peace." Opportunism is an evasion of principle. With opportunism the unnecessary and unprincipled compromises and accommodations are always at the expense of the exploited.

In the world arena, the unnecessary and unprincipled accommodations and capitulations are always at the expense of world socialism and national liberation and the working class movement. Opportunism prepares the political and ideological soil that leads to co-option by the enemy. As in the past, Marxism-Leninism will continue to develop and grow in the struggle against all forms of opportunism.

The eagle that behaves like a vulture has been feasting on its Mexican prey for the better part of two centuries. Now that vast oil veins have been exposed the eagle's appetite has grown enormously.

By the end of 1981, U.S. investment in Mexico is expected to exceed \$6.7 billion, well over half the foreign investment in Mexico. Of this amount, \$600 million was added in 1979, \$1 billion in 1980 and \$1.3 billion in 1981.

The present moment offers unique opportunities for creating cooperative ties between U.S. and Mexican workers. Indeed, solidarity is indispensable as the struggle against the same corporate interests intensifies on both sides of the border. U.S. imperialism is a common enemy. Recognition of this fact on the



part of U.S. workers is developing as the ruling class broadens its all-out assault on their hard fought gains.

Therefore, the ideological war becomes ever more crucial in defense of the workers and people of the United States. In this struggle, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism plays a unique and decisive role.





The scholar, labor organizer or political commentator who wants to understand the movement of history will find in the *GUS HALL BIBLIOGRAPHY* references to the ideas of men and women who create and explain historic events.

To comprehend the social evolution of the USA and specifically the contributions of the progressive workers and oppressed national groups to that history, one must study the ideas advanced and carried into practice by the Communist Party, USA.

The *GUS HALL BIBLIOGRAPHY* is such a guide.

It traces the philosophy, history, program and activities of the CPUSA through the writings and spoken words of its General Secretary, Gus Hall.

It indexes his Party's contribution in the interests of the working class, the people and the nation in the class struggle.

Gus Hall comes from a generation that weathered the Depression, fought at the gates of Madrid, defended the Scottsboro "Boys," mounted the civil rights struggle, organized the basic industries, built industrial unions, defeated Hitler, resisted Joe McCarthy, opposed U.S. aggression in Indo-China and organized the home front in the interests of world peace.

The ideas expressed in the references contained in this Bibliography were crystallized by the author in his early years as a worker and union organizer, in courtrooms as a political defendant and as a political prisoner and political refugee. They matured in the collective deliberation of his Party comrades and non-Party fellow-workers.

Written from the front lines in the course of making history, Hall's writings and spoken thoughts convey the urgency of historic moments and their special significance. They deserve the serious study of serious people.