

PARTY ORGANIZER

Formerly Party Affairs

JUNE 1978 MEETING NATIONAL COUNCIL/CENTRAL COMMITTEE

TURNING POINT FOR THE WORK OF OUR PARTY

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The Working Class: ITS GREAT EMANCIPATORY AIMS

ABOUT THIS ISSUE OF THE PARTY ORGANIZER

Characterizing the NC/CC Meeting, and especially the Main Report delivered by Comrade Hall, Comrade Winston said:

"This is a turning point. It is the beginning of the path which will establish the leadership of the working class in the anti-monopoly movement and in the whole struggle against state monopoly capitalism. The Report calls for the total reorientation of the work of the Party toward the working class in general and toward the basic sections of the class in particular."

In The Main Report Comrade Hall makes a comprehensive analysis of the objective processes and subjective factors which taken together constitute a new situation, and which open a path to a winning fightback struggle by the working class in leadership of all forces ground down by monopoly. His analysis underscores the reality that the world revolutionary process moves on to ever new successes; but he warns that the march forward is not automatic. A decaying state monopoly capitalism unleashes new offensives. The nest of ultra-Right cold warriors try to push history backward. The Report expresses confidence in the ability of the mass movements to influence events in a positive direction. It is a fighting Report which organizes all the conscious forces on the side of the working class toward maximim building of the mass movements.

From the Report it is clear that our Party avoids sectarian schemes and remedies, that our contribution is a liberating science – a science which belongs to our whole class, a science which protects and takes care of the future as it guides our actions in the present. This Report is an important further contribution to that science and must be studied by hundreds of thousands of working class fighters.

The participants in the Meeting – hearing and studying the Report – reflected in their speeches a sense of anticipation that the really great liberating aims of our class can be realized in our time. This anticipation was partly a result of the objective analysis. It was undoubtedly even more a result of recognizing and accepting a major criticism in the Report on the work of the Party – that is, the existence of a serious weakness on the economic question, a weakness of equating concern with immediate economic issues with economism. The Meeting recognized the necessity of a correction; it recognized as a fundamental concept of the working class struggle that it is precisely in the struggle to improve living conditions – as Lenin noted – that the working class "also progresses morally, intellectually and politically, becomes more capable of achieving its great emancipation aims. The Meeting participants understood that a correct struggle on the 'economic question' – a correct struggle at this moment to organize a winning fightback against the crisis in everyday living – is the necessary path to working class leadership in the fight for peace, for detente and disarmament, for smashing racism and finally ending colonialism and imperialism and for solving every great issue of our time.

Therefore the meeting fully agreed with Comrade Winston's call for a total (Turn to p.37)

SUMMARY:

Comrade Gus Hall's *MAIN REPORT*

THERE IS A NEW QUALITY TO THE PRESENT MOMENT, THERE IS UNCERTAINTY AND INSTABILITY, THERE ARE CONTRADICTORY PRESSURES, SOME VOICES IN WASHINGTON SCREECH LIKE WAR HAWKS, BUT THE PEOPLE EXPRESS UNPRECEDENTED SUPPORT FOR PEACE AND DETENTE, THERE IS AN EFFORT TO PROVE A SWING TO THE RIGHT, BUT THE PROOF IS IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION, WE MUST MATCH THE NEW QUALITY OF THE MOMENT WITH A NEW QUALITY IN OUR WORK, FOR THE DOOR IS OPEN TO INFLUENCE EVENTS WITH MASS LEVERAGE.

THE WORLD SCENE

IT IS IMPORTANT TO SEE THE POWER THAT IS INHERENT IN THE FORCES PROPELLING THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, THERE IS A NEW STAGE IN THE CRISIS OF TRANSITION, OF THE END OF COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALIST DOMINATION, IT IS



THE DEATH RATTLE OF COLONIALISM AND RACISM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION, THE BALANCE OF FORCES AGAINST IMPERIALISM SHIFTS FURTHER, AND THERE IS A HEATING UP AND A CRISIS OF IMPERIALIST FRUSTRATIONS, BUT THE CLOCK OF HISTORY WILL NOT TURN BACK,

AFRICA

The crisis of transition has brought to the surface the threat of U.S. military involvement. Together with France, Belgium, South Africa, Saudi Arabia and Egypt they are attempting a major counter-national liberation offensive. What they would like to do is set up an all African reactionary armed

force as a framework for the introduction of a multi-national imperialist force directed against national liberation movements. The Soviet Union and Cuba, who are most active in giving aid and support to the forces of national liberation, come under their main attack.



The effort of imperialism to demand that the Soviet Union give up its support to the national liberation forces in return for a Salt II agreement - "linkage" - is a demand for the socialist countries to give up the revolutionary path and to accept the path of opportunist accommodation and retreat. Acceptance of this path by the Maoist group in the leadership of the Communist Party of China has given hope to the advocates of "linkage".

The fight to keep imperialism out of Africa is one of the most urgent tasks.

SALT II

The two main obstacles to a

agreement are the "linkage" demand and the refusal of U.S. imperialism to accept the reality of military balance between the Soviet Union and the United States. The struggle to cap the nuclear arms race remains one of the most critical tasks on the world scene.

CHINA

What can one say about people who proclaim they are Communists, but who have been gathering to their bosoms all of the world's fascists, racists and most reactionary and chauvinistic forces in the world; who proclaim they are for socialism and national liberation, but are an active force in support of the imperialist forces in every corner of the globe? One must expose and condemn this malignancy of opportunism. In modern history there is no clearer example of what is the end product of opportunism that goes unchallenged, of opportunistic acceptance of bourgeois nationalism, of the end product of the policies dominated by petty bourgeois radicalism, the end product of accommodation to anti-Sovietism, the end product of veering from the class struggle and the class viewpoint.

MIDEAST

Prior to 1973 U.S. imperialism relied almost exclusively on Israel as the linchpin of its Middle East policy. Since then there is growing division. Jackson, Javits, the Zionist organizations and the Ultra Rights want to continue the 'special relation' with Israel. The Carter Administration, the oil monopolies and some senators feel that it is now possible to build a more reliable force to further U.S. imperialist policy with the reactionary Arab governments. This became possible because Sadat broke ranks with the anti-imperialist forces and moved into accommodation with imperialism.

With the growing isolation of Israel, the United States and Egypt; and with no united support for the Begin policies in the Jewish community, it is now possible to put forcefully the U.S.-Soviet outline of basic steps necessary for Mid-east peace.

LATIN AMERICA

As in Africa, imperialism in Latin America is in a worsening crisis. It can't solve the problems of the people; it can only repress. But the struggle continues. Everything points to an upsurge of the democratic forces. Institution of fascism reflects not strength, but weakness; it has united the overwhelming mass of the people against itself. There are three underlying factors influencing basic direction: anti-imperialism is a strong current everywhere; the sensitivity of Latin America to the international economic crisis of capitalism; and Cuba - its social and economic advances are having more and more of an impact in Latin America.

CONCLUSIONS: WORLD SCENE

The current move toward cold war does not have to produce the same results as thirty years ago. The correlation of forces between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries, is very different. The forces of revolutionary Africa, Asia and Latin America are far stronger, and together count for more on the world scene. The American people have gone through intense historical experiences. The anti-racist sentiments of Black Americans are a powerful deterrent. There is fear of return to cold war, and fear that Africa will turn into another Vietnam. Altogether, there is a

much more favorable framework for popular struggle.

Carter's vacillations reflect the deepening crisis. We see the new dangers. We also see that the course of events pursued by the cold warriors can be reversed. How to stimulate and guide this movement is a most important question before us.



THE DOMESTIC SCENE

THE ECONOMY

There is a hectic spurt, but the underlying contradictions arising from private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of wage labor which inevitably lead to crises are fully opera-



TAXES

Taxes have emerged as a most critical and explosive economic issue -- not only because taxes take an increasing bite out of income, but because the tax burden each year has shifted increasingly to those who can least afford it. The big business campaign to get more subsidies and tax breaks has reached an exceptional degree of intensity. The tax revolt can be moved into either progressive or reactionary channels. Proposition 13 is an example of how the tax issue can be misused by reaction. The level of taxes has reached the point of crisis. There is need for a real movement to cut taxes, directed at cuts in the military budget. There must be a transfer of the tax load from the people to the corporations and the rich. There must be a fight against the use of tax cuts to cut social services.

OUR TAX PROGRAM

(1) End all taxes on families with under \$20,000 income. (2) Steeply graduate taxes above \$30,000. (3) Eliminate loopholes. (4) Tax real profits (cash flow) of corporations at high rates. (5) Slash the military budget by 80%. This program can raise 200 billion dollars revenue per year. It can provide: three million homes per year at prices workers can afford. Socialized health services. High quality mass transit. All other neglected social needs of the people. Jobs for masses of unemployed. Funds to save the cities.

ENERGY

Conflicts in this area are the most acute between the monopolies and the people who suffer the highest inflation, between multinationals and the developing countries, between monopolies and the

tive. The symptoms are there: soaring interest rates, accelerating inflation, prices of growth stocks and other speculative sink holes. All of the negative sides of capitalist development are magnified. The general crisis deepens. The pace quickens in the continually sharpening crisis in everyday living.

PROFITS

All told, capitalists are squeezing surplus value out of the workers to the tune of a half of a trillion dollars per year. This is the basic source of inflation, of poverty, of the decline in the worker's real spendable income. These profits are the basic source of the crisis of everyday living. And profits are what propel and sharpen the class struggle.

workers in the energy industries -- which are the industries where most worker fatalities occur and where there is the worst racism of any broad industrial group. Our fundamental approach is to demand the nationalization under democratic control of the energy complex.

priority to Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano workers, until their employment is in proportion to their numbers needing work at all levels and in all industries, is in the forefront of necessary working class objectives.

WAGES AND LIVING STANDARDS

Due to the stagnation of real wages over the past decade, average wages of U.S. workers are now considerably lower than those in a number of other capitalist countries. Big business and the Carter Administration are preparing to impose a real-wage cutting wage freeze on the workers in order to further increase the rate of profit at the expense of living standards. But the unity of working people can defeat this effort (the tactics are the same as those used by the Nixon Administration in 1970-71).

SHORTER WORK WEEK

Increasingly, the focus of trade union program to reduce unemployment is the shorter work week at 40 hours pay. A 30-hour week would mean at least 15 million more jobs. Of vital importance is the linking of the struggle for the shorter work week with the struggle for affirmative action against racism, a linking which brings a new dimension and a new strength to both.

RACIST DISCRIMINATION

Helped by the recent wave of court decisions on the side of racism - and by statements of the Carter Administration - bosses are increasing their racist discrimination against Black workers. Last hired - first fired is being applied with a vengeance. While white unemployment (between Apr '77 & Apr '78) was down by 917,000, Black unemployment went up by 37,000.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action without teeth - that is, without quotas - is idle talk. The struggle for full affirmative action programs, giving



"If we'd plugged his side first, we'd all be better off!"

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

There is a special tragedy in the enormous scope of mass youth unemployment: 17% of all youth; 40% of Black youth, most of these in the never employed category. The success of the National Coalition's Washington demonstration of 12,000 on April 8 shows that the jobless victims are ready for militant struggles. A necessary demand is for the multiplication of government job programs; and to get them out of the reach of politicians and into the control of the youth and the community.

INFLATION

Inflation is the main economic concern of the majority of working people today. Again it is double digit, not because of wages (which have lagged behind the price index), but fundamentally because



of the role of the monopolies with their tightened grip in the last few years. But still more fundamental is the intensification of state monopoly capitalism: the more intense and complex merging of the state with the most powerful groups of big capital; the ever-widening use of government regulations, laws and manipulations to increase monopoly profit. (The result of this factor is that there is an increase in profits with less production, less capital expenditure, but with inflated prices and a smaller number of workers working longer hours)

The concrete elements of corporate profit inflation are: the



"Sure kids, I know you're hungry, but us military fellers gotta keep up our strength to protect ya!"

\$128 billion dollar military budget; the \$10 billion dollar per year rise in the military budget; the \$135 billion dollars per year of non-payment of taxes by the corporations and the rich. What could be done to meet the people's needs with this worse-than-wasted spending and unpaid capitalists' taxes?

On top of all else there is the sharply increased use of the government to directly increase prices. This is both on a federal level with its endless ways of fattening monopoly robbery, and the monopoly controlled Public Service Commissions of the states which have passed all records in granting completely unjustified rate hikes.

The struggle against this feature of monopoly state capitalism's squeeze for ever-higher profit must become an integral feature of the anti-monopoly and the class struggle.



opportunism. The preferred candidate of the Tri-lateralists, to win Carter had to bring together a coalition of popular forces, and to do so he lavishly indulged in populist demagoguery. He tries to keep his options open to switch direction, this being especially true in the area of foreign policy.

This is a Big Business Administration in ideology and in politics. Carter is indecisive because his different advisers represent differences in the ranks of the ruling monopoly groups. Consequently he takes a firm stand on both sides of most questions.

There is a danger that the Brzezinski line may become the hardened and permanent line of the Administration. This relates to the view - seemingly accepted by Carter - that the country has swung to the Right and that he should become "tough" in response to this alleged swing.

Actually the "swing to the Right" is something proclaimed with no evidence by the mass media. And Carter is supposedly getting in step with the national mood. The reality is that he is getting further out of step.

It would be wrong to believe that it is no longer possible to influence Carter's course, but to be effective pressure must be considerable. He must fear loss of his mass base and stare at defeat in 1980

THE "NEW LOOK" RIGHT

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION

The Carter Administration is now in the midst of a major crisis of credibility. It is the product of Carter's two-faced demagoguery and

A well-coordinated, well-financed, slick and clever Right has emerged and grabbed the initiative on a number of emotional and complicated issues. By its aggressiveness it has made it appear that it really speaks for the majority.

Its success and growing threat arise from its more sophisticated thrust and its backing from a much larger segment of big business.

Its "new" mass approach is based on computerized study of mass currents and sentiments by area, ethnic group, special interest group and by computerized determination of special appeal to each, with resulting ability to turn out the vote, flood congressmen with letters and exert pressure on all the media.

Its appeal on so-called emotional issues is often twisted out of context to appear the opposite of what they really mean. Salt II is twisted into "surrendering to Moscow". Labor law reform becomes "payoffs to labor bossism." The Bakke case becomes "reverse discrimination."

By their ability to energize, activate and organize their constituencies, to bring out their voting strength, and by the failure of progressives and the Left to join hands in mass struggle to counter this cynical manipulating, the Right gives the appearance of majority - - and often becomes so by default.... This threat is not to be overlooked.

THE REACTIONARY CONGRESSIONAL BLOC

The spotlight must be directed at the emergence in Congress - in the name of re-establishing Congressional prerogatives - of a very active, reactionary, cold war Right-wing bloc: Jackson, Byrd, Moynihan and Baker. "...this nest of Cold Warriors."

GAME PLAN OF THE RIGHT

The Right is out to overturn detente, bar Salt II, step up the arms race, strengthen the CIA and the FBI, and intervene openly against

national liberation and democratic movements.

Its aim is to create an atmosphere of racism, create an anti-Soviet hysteria, prepare people for the adoption of the doctrine of pre-emptive first strike.

Their "game plan" is reflected in the increasing boldness of the KKK and the American Nazi gangs who openly voice slogans the more respectable Right avoid at this time.

No intellectual games are permissible with self-proclaimed racist killers. It is understandable that monopoly capital is for the right of the KKK and Nazis to march. For them these political thugs represent an alternative method of rule to be prepared for possible use. For the people - for Blacks, for Jews, for the working class these thugs are are thugs, symbols of clear and present danger. Not to fight them is to be an accomplice to disaster.



THE CLASS STRUGGLE

A number of basic problems are getting worse, both during the upswing and the downswing of the business cycle. The area of maneuver for state monopoly capitalism continues to contract. Its ability to handle problems of unemployment, inflation, economic stagnation and others is much less than before the Vietnam war. The situation continues to decline under Carter.

Both Carter and Congress have no policies for these problems. Bills that attack the real problems get nowhere. Nothing has been done on the dollar crisis, the crisis of the cities and the energy problem - nothing except to soak the people.

In a sense monopoly capital is running the economy into the ground, turning the United States in some respects into an underdeveloped

and decaying country. Bridges are falling, railroads not maintained, water supply systems neglected, slum areas expand - all of this on an enormous scale. With this, the U.S. has lost its dominance in the field of industrial technology. Why?

It is a matter of priorities. In our economy the priorities are arms and corporate profits.

While capitalism decays, the rate of exploitation increases, the class struggle sharpens, all economic questions come into ever sharper focus.

For over 30 years the economy has been war-oriented and war-dominated in a period of relative peace. This sharp contradiction must be resolved to meet the everyday needs of the people.

MONOPOLY STILL ON THE OFFENSIVE

The policy of monopoly capital is not to give concessions, but to take away previous gains.

This policy is carried out in practice on many fronts: Through unprecedented speedup, harassment and firings; Through corporate mobilization against the labor reform bill; Through political support from Carter and his position that "High wages cause inflation"; Through open union-busting by the N.A.M.; and through an extra racist edge given to every attack.

The result of the offensive has not been what monopoly hoped for. The most important result has been an increasing militancy in the ranks of the working class. The coal miners especially - in their 114 day strike - set an example to the whole working class of how to fight.



Feeding the monster

ECONOMIC STRUGGLES

A central question that confronts our Party is the existence of a long term weakness in our work with respect to economic questions.

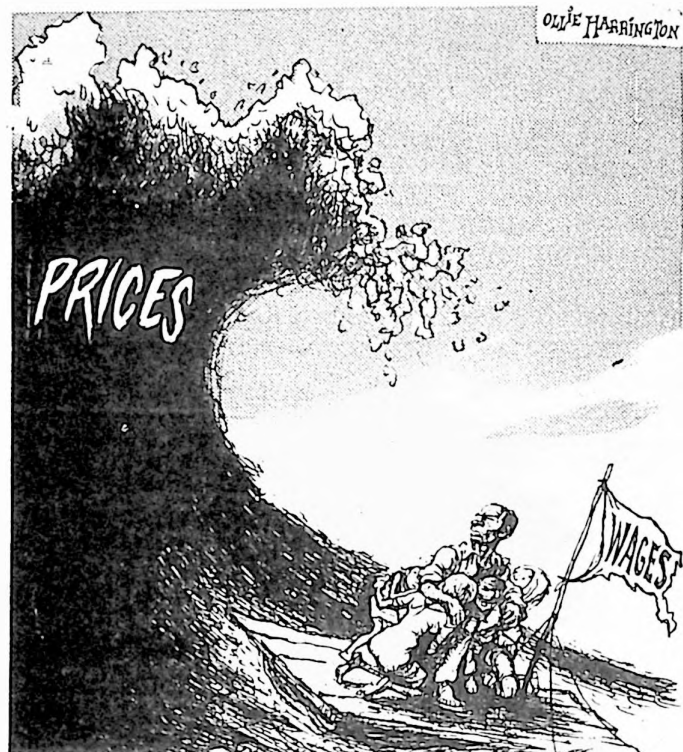
1. Economic questions have emerged center stage, but as a Party we have dealt with them as one category among many. We are not sharply, clearly and consistently enough focussed on the class struggle as our main point of reference. We are not fully involved with the economic problems or economic struggles of workers.

2. Many in the Party apparently still equate economic struggles and involvement with them as "economism" or "reformism" or "trade unionism".

3. Some make a flank attack against the centrality of economic questions: "It is wrong to think that workers are interested only in bread and butter questions." Such comrades forget that under capitalism making a living and providing for the family is the most basic and the most difficult of all struggles.

4. The main root of the class struggle is the economic root. The main activity of our Party must be in the fight to raise the living standards of the workers and the people, to fully mobilize support to workers in their economic struggles for increased wages and improved living standards. Our overall work must be closely linked with demands in regard to wages, hours, jobs, prices, social security, taxes, inflation, affirmative action with teeth, and cutting the war budget by transferring billions to peaceful work and improved living standards.

5. Lenin on the economic question: "The masses are drawn into the movement, participate vigorously in



it, value it highly and display heroism, self-sacrifice, perseverance and devotion to the great cause only if it makes for improving the economic condition of those who work. Nor can it be otherwise, for living conditions of the workers in 'ordinary' times are incredibly hard. As it strives to improve its living conditions the working class also progresses morally, intellectually and politically, becomes more capable of achieving its great emancipatory aims." (Works. Vol.18,p.85).

6. Also Lenin's resolution at the Fifth Congress, calling on the Party to make the economic issue dominant: "The whole history of the Russian Revolution shows that all powerful upsurges of the revolutionary movement began only on the basis of such mass economic movements."

Thus the economic struggle, at the beginning of an upsurge, is the key. This is particularly true under the conditions of state monopoly capitalism. It is especially so today when large strikes in major industries almost immediately are con-

fronted by state action (injunctions, Taft-Hartley, etc.).

We must more actively organize support for workers on strike, and in particular explain that wages are not the cause of inflation. We must be part of all neighborhood and organization delegations to the strikers as well as delegations to public officials in behalf of the demands of the workers, and for support. The issues of each strike must be raised in other trade unions, the churches and all people's organizations.

Corporate threats to close or move a plant must be made a citywide, state and national issue. All plants that corporations won't operate should become public property, with democratic trade union and community operation under federal guarantees of supplies and markets for its products.

We must continue to agitate for the 30 - hour week at 40 hours pay. Socialists and Communists were the pioneers and the most resolute fighters for the 10-hour day and the 8-hour day. We must be pioneers now for the 30-hour week.

LEFT - CENTER UNITY

The offensive of monopoly capital is creating a new objective framework for all developments in the trade union field. As a result of the offensive:

* The gap between the class collaborators and the membership keeps growing;

* The process of radicalization is greatly speeded: this includes the growing isolation of the Right-wing class collaborationist section, the growing militancy of the Center forces, the growing class conscious and Left sector and the growing influence of the Party;

* There is a coming together in action of the Left and the Center forces.

* This is the most significant and meaningful development on the national scene in this period.

MAIN FEATURES: LEFT-CENTER CONCEPT

The concept is projected now because it reflects the new reality and the new relationship of forces in the trade union movement - - including the fact that important trade union forces are moving from Right field to Center field. This is the broadest and most significant motion that is taking place.

The deepening crisis of capitalism has given rise to the growth of a Left, and following that the development of an active Center force, in the trade union movement. There is a deepening crisis of class-collaborationism, with the Right losing its influence on the Center and becoming more isolated. The Center forces are more active and look for alliances with the more Left forces. This process has been going on for a number of years. Important sections of the trade union movement have now separated themselves from status quo class collaborationism, and will not return.

A weakness becomes evident as a result of this development, showing up as a reluctance and hesitation to establish relations with Center forces both on a leadership and grass roots basis. These fears persist from reactions to old experiences under different conditions in a different period.

Who are the Center forces? They are honest, militant, working class trade union forces - including at leadership levels. They are the

largest sector in the trade unions. They are in transition from Right to Center, moving Left. Therefore they must be worked with; encouraged to move from one position to another. Clearly they will not agree with the Left on all immediate questions. They will agree in specific area with the Left. They will work with the Left. That is the idea of Left-Center - a united front of forces who agree on some questions and disagree on others.

What kind of unity between the Left and the Center? Our Left-Center unity policy is designed to influence the Center on specific questions. Often there is no solid wall between Left and Center. There is always a certain mixture of overlapping ideas. For clarity we need to make concrete assessments of Center and Left positions and an analysis of our specific current experiences in our struggle to implement policy.

Take this example: The Left has had a fundamental influence on the Center on the question of the struggle against racism. On the specific issue of affirmative action, the Right has taken a Bakke position, the Center has taken a position against racism in general, sees a solution through "full employment", will vote with the Left on resolutions for affirmative action, but disagrees on measures to force its implementation. We have come to a point in this struggle where concrete plans to eliminate inequality is a must, including adjustments in hiring, upgrading and the seniority system. Such adjustments will not destroy the seniority system - but refusal to make adjustments will destroy it. Seniority must serve the purpose of class unity. It is clear from this example why the Left is essential, and what the character of its responsibility is in the struggle for unity with the Center. The unity is not limited to common actions, but is the basis for continuing actions, for continually bringing Center forces toward Left positions.

In applying the Left-Center concept it is important to recognize that we are dealing with people who are in transition both ideologically and politically. The Center forces are honest, positive forces who are Center because they are not ready to accept Left or Party positions. Why Center forces are not ready is an important question. We must know the specific reasons in order to relate to them and help them.

The Left-Center concept is the centerpiece of our trade union policy because it is a winning policy. Without such a policy the working class will remain on the defensive. The historic April 11 Shorter Work Week conference in Detroit was basically a Left-Center conference.

BLACK LIBERATION

Racism - a weapon and an ideology of state monopoly capitalism and a prime instrument of the state and the corporations - continues to pollute the airways and streams of life in our country.

A majority possibly would now say they are not racists, with only a small minority publicly saying they are. While this is positive it is also used by racists to cover up their racism, as reflected in Bakke and so-called "reverse discrimination."

Some liberals speak of "deracialization" - as if the struggle against racism is over; some from the "Left" assert no special struggle is necessary but that it can be dealt with as a feature of the class struggle.

In fact the gaps because of racism are not narrowing. They are getting wider. Life in the ghettos and barrios is getting worse. Wage gaps grow wider. The basic question of racism or special national oppression has not been resolved.

RACISM IN THE ECONOMIC ARENA

The hard core of racism also comes down to economics. In a basic sense racism is an instrument of superprofits.

The racist pattern - "first fired, last hired" - remains intact. The struggle against racism is the sharpest in the economic arena. Here it is the most concrete, the most difficult to win, because it requires adjustments in the seniority system. How to win over the white workers for united struggle is a key question.

RACISM: IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

The Party must give leadership in the ideological campaign against racism. It must go into racism as a bosses' tool, an instrument against class unity. It must show how and

where the interests of Black and white workers coincide, keep the sharpest attack on the corporations, convince the white workers of the need and the justice of adjustments in the seniority system in hiring, promotion and layoffs.

We are not for dismantling the seniority system, but for bringing it up to date to serve the interests of all the workers - and in the process build working class unity.

NEW FEATURES

Movements of Black, Chicano & Puerto Rican people are developing an evermore direct anti-monopoly character - and because of the influence of Africa and Latin America - a deeper anti-imperialist character. This is an important influence on the trade unions and on people's movements generally.

OUR PARTY'S RESPONSIBILITY

The class enemy nowhere and never gives up. In the plants it is "reverse discrimination". In the community the struggle against the public school system is pressed in the framework of racism. The struggle to weaken the welfare system is made in the context of racism, and so also with low-cost housing, taxes, rents, medical care.

In all these areas the Party must seek more effective ways to fight the poisonous penetration of racism because racism becomes an obstacle to victories in every one of these arenas of struggle.

Within the Party the fight against the influences of racism must take into account that they go underground in more subtle forms: patronizing, insensitivity, silence, unawareness and so on. The struggle must be constant and vigilant.



ELECTORAL SCENE

The liberal wing of the Republican Party is being snowed under by the Right wing on the tax issue. The zigs & zags of Carter, the corporate lobby led by the ultra Right while most other Democrats are silent has left the Democratic Party in shambles. Monopoly capital is interven-



ing in a more direct way than ever before with more than 600 Big Business Political Action Committees. The sinking popularity of Carter reflects the mass disillusionment.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

The disillusionment with the two old parties and the sentiment for political independence is at an all time high -- but it has not crystallized into organized forms.

The Congressional Black caucus members, with their advanced position on most issues, stimulate political independence. There are also various local independent sprouts that are struggling.

All this does not add up to a viable counterforce on the Left, nor a breakaway movement from the two old parties. But these forces do have a potential. They are evolving movements, they have great numbers of healthy elements.

Our policy: to encourage and to help initiate an independent formation to avoid getting stuck with the Democratic Party.

With electoral activity in every state this fall and public debate on issues, we must be involved. We must: raise the major issue; work to defeat the most reactionary candidate; help elect a progressive bloc; advance candidates of progressives, trade unions, Blacks, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Women and youth. We must, of course, develop independent candidates outside the two old parties.

There is not yet an independent national movement. Minnesota, with the rebirth of the Farmer-Labor Association, offers an example of the kind of initiative that is needed.

The largest and growing sector for independence are the non-voters.

There are forces -- only beginning -- to mobilize resistance to the Right and to Carter's policies. This includes: various trade union rank & file movements; some of the more progressive unions; the democratic agenda movement. All of these are against the Right-wing, critical of the Carter Administration, in general agreement on many economic issues and are concerned with the Brzezinski influence.

COMMUNIST CANDIDATES

The struggle to run Communist candidates is a matter of principle. We cannot become a mass Party without participating in the electoral process. It is the most effective avenue of mass influence and political recognition. Party ticket: at least 30 states in 1980!

WORK OF THE PARTY

The pressure to build the Party is not an internal pressure, it is not subjective, but it arises from objective developments. A bigger, better functioning Party is needed to help build a stronger and more militant labor movement, for a more effective struggle against racism, for development of political independence and for a more effective fight for jobs, housing, rebuilding the cities and guaranteeing free quality health care for all.

What is the nature of the leadership tasks the objective situation demands of us? Clear explanations and on-time initiatives for mass actions and movements. To fulfill this responsibility we have to be in touch with millions.

SECTARIANISM

Sectarianism comes from a wrong estimate of the readiness of masses to respond, from an underestimation of our ability to reach and influence the thinking of millions. It is the main cause of lack of initiatives for Left-Center unity, weakness in the struggle against racism, weaknesses in the field of politics and weaknesses in the ideological struggle. Underestimation of the level of understanding and readiness of working people to respond corresponds with the underestimation of our own role. The most impor-

tant feature of the moment is the readiness of millions to probe and search for answers.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

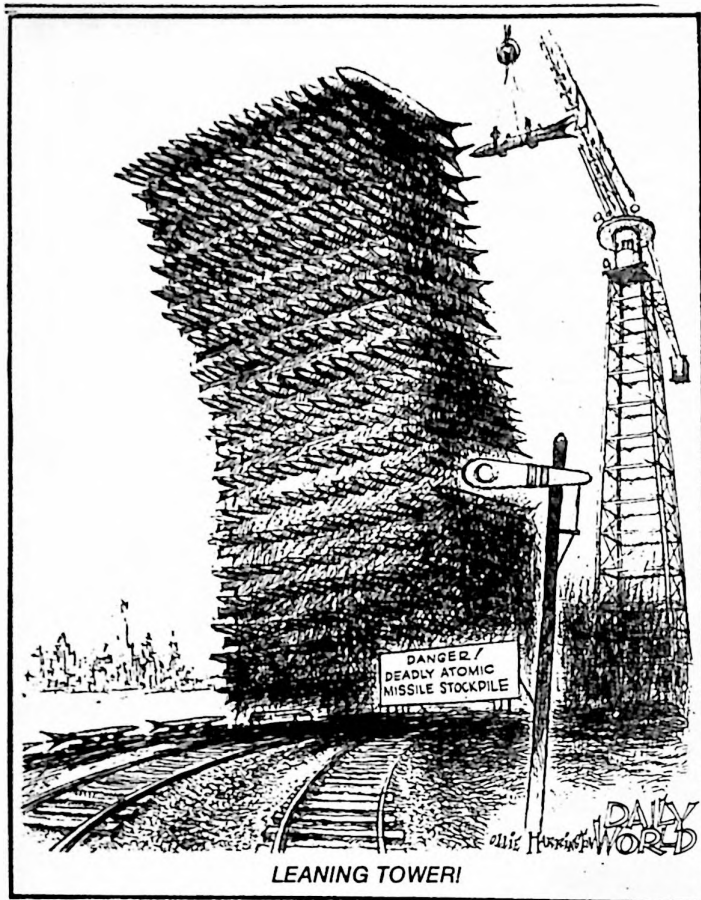
Because of new developments an adjustment on our position on ERA. We now combine support of ERA with a resolution of intent that passage is not intended to abrogate special protective laws or be an obstacle to passage of such laws.

The most significant development in this field has been the growth of women's caucuses in industries, within trade unions, and the growth of organizations of Black women. The struggle for equality is a struggle for jobs, for upgrading and for equal pay.

ANTI-PARTY SLANDER CAMPAIGN

There is a let up in the slander that we are foreign agents. In its place we are charged with ideologically tailing the Soviet Union. The charge is made that we are not for democracy - now or when we have socialism.

The slander that socialism is the opposite of democracy has wide public acceptance. We must explain our attitude. We are for: the widest possible participation in the affairs of society; the Bill of Rights; peaceful transition to socialism. At the same time we recognize and remember the utterly reactionary trend - - the genocide against the Indians; slavery, semi-slavery and lynching of Blacks; war against Mexico; chauvinism & discrimination against Chicanos; anti-Semitism against Jewish people; tradition of free action for fascists; police & court violence against unions, murders of strikers & hunger marchers, imprisonment for harboring thoughts of soci-



'alism. We take these into account in our struggle to keep the democratic avenues open for peaceful transition.

ANTI-WORKING CLASS IDEOLOGY

Even in the Party we have not won the battle. Anti-working class ideology surfaces as milder flank attacks: not becoming involved or excited about working class struggles; being super critical of workers; reflecting lack of confidence in the working class; and in intellectual snobbishness.

A correct understanding of this moment calls for a new level in our ideological work in our periodicals, pamphlets and leaflets:

1) The content must relate to the issues people are worked up about - in the main these are in the economic arena.

2) We have to convince the Party membership to more widely and consistently circulate our message **.

THE CRISIS OF EVERYDAY LIVING AND THE WINNING FIGHTBACK

By GUS HALL
General Secretary,
Communist Party, U.S. A.

The Communist Party's View

35¢

A B O V E

. . . Is the cover of the New Gus Hall Pamphlet - - except that the pamphlet itself is in living color - a militant red. Actual size 5½ x 8½ inches.

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SUMMARY:

Comrade Henry Winston's SPECIAL REPORT ON PARTY BUILDING

THIS NATIONAL COUNCIL/CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING IS A TURNING POINT, COMRADE HALL'S REPORT, TOGETHER WITH THE RICH DISCUSSION, MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A PATH WHICH WILL ESTABLISH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE WHOLE STRUGGLE AGAINST STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. THE REPORT CALLS FOR THE TOTAL REORIENTATION OF THE WORK OF THE PARTY TOWARD THE WORKING CLASS IN GENERAL AND TOWARD THE BASIC SECTIONS OF THE CLASS IN PARTICULAR. TO BEGIN WITH WE MUST GUARANTEE THAT THE REPORT REALLY REACHES WIDE SECTIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS. THIS WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT A TOTAL RECONSTRUCTION OF OUR STYLE OF WORK.

IN THIS SELF-CRITICISM OF OUR work we begin with those of us who are responsible for the organization of our work. What in our Party is the decisive cornerstone? Is it not democratic centralism? Democratic centralism is a two-way street. It is not "participatory democracy," which would not build the kind of a Party to give life to the report of Comrade Hall.

Beginning with the Organization Department, this fundamental principle of democratic centralism is not fully developed and applied. If this were not true we would not show our basic deficiency with respect to clubs.

Proceeding with our criticism, we turn to this truth: Org work is deficient. Its main stem has been of an administrative character. But we cannot guarantee line - line such as here presented - by administrative work. By administrative work we have in mind: paper, memos, inward-looking, top-level, many decisions with each calling for more decisions, and with all this having no time to look into what is happening in this specific club or that specific club.

To carry out the line of Comrade Hall's report means to call a halt to a structure that has become top heavy. When basic sections of the Party are crying out for cadre, then the decisive need

of the Party is cadre for these sections. And the key at this moment to meet this need is to assist this cadre - people, comrades who are ready to work at building the Party - by every educational process we can use and direct to find answers to political and organizational problems. On this basis, organization is developed and the Party as a whole learns through a process of struggle, and will grow in struggle at all levels.

Total reconstruction of our style of work brings before us the question of re-examining the entire process of decision making. Proper organization means proper deployment of cadre - and this requires political and organizational check-up in terms of shop, community and campus.

We have been discussing in the Political Bureau - and have agreed upon - reorganizing the Organization Department, and making an immediate change in the content of its work. In studying the work of the districts it becomes clear that it is imperative to move with speed.

These steps have to do with Party building - Party building on the basis of the approach projected by Comrade Hall in the Main Report. From this it can be seen that Party Building is not simply recruiting into the Party. That is only one aspect of Party building - and a useless aspect unless one understands what Party building is. And it is not Party building if it severs the Party center from the mass movement. Nor is Party building an organizational concept which sees that only a select few have the task of explaining to the people - and particularly to the industrial

workers - the line of the Party, while the main sector only furnishes finances and dues and does not have an approach of mass struggle in the shops and in the unions; that is, without being a participant in determining the course and the outcome of the struggle. And Party building is not possible in a situation in a club in which the club is devoid of spiritual life - of educational outlines and so on. We must prepare comrades to answer the little Brzezinskis as well as the big ones.

This morning there was real joy to hear people talk about a wide range of economic issues, very specific issues. After listening to Rose this morning, no one will say that senior citizens will not have a role to play in foreign policy, and in domestic policy as well. No one will say that senior citizens best serve the Party by giving money. No! People who come from the shops, who have a wealth of experience, who are ready to work: Can they not play a role? Political? Organizational? On many fronts of struggle? Rose answered this question. When she read Comrade Hall's report, you will recall that she told us that she underlined everything.

A small Party with a correct line can overnight become numerically strong. Everything depends on how we organize, organize on the basis of an industrial concentration policy. If there isn't a struggle for such a policy, growth will be slow, the Party will remain small. This is sectarianism. We must see to it that at the core of our daily activity there is the constant development of living ties with mass movements. This is the criterion of Communist work!

Let us look at some of the problems of fighting for such a policy. Do we understand surplus value? We must move from this particular and concrete to the general. Building the Party must proceed from understanding of the concept "working class". This concept cannot equate light industry with basic industry. Somewhere in the international movement there seems to be an attempt to equate. Such an equation doesn't take into account the basic source from which surplus value is derived. It doesn't take into account the class and the national question.

Our Party's line must be presented in such a way that no one can say, "I am excluded from Party policy." Our policy, our line and ideology - never have I heard it put so popularly as Comrade Gus Hall did in his report to this meeting. This is an example for us. So it must be done by the Organization Department, by every district and section and club.

Black workers in industry: They are a component, an integral part of the work force, of the class. The issue of seniority is posed. Is it not true: much is required ideologically, politically, to explain why it is necessary for the labor movement not just to support affirmative action itself, but to carry it to its logical conclusion - affirmative action with teeth. There is a unity of the fight for quotas tied to a class struggle policy in campaigns for the shorter work week, the Transfer Amendment and so on. Failure to fight for quotas weakens the fight against class-collaborationism and for independent class action. To wage a militant and effective fight for quotas is a

duty to our class! The struggle against the neutron bomb and against the arms program is weakened by the failure to struggle for quotas.

There are some comrades who are not in the shops who say: "All this does not affect me. What's all this talk about industrial concentration? Here in the community is where the unemployed youth are. Here is where the action is!"

How do we involve the whole Party in concentration policy? Take the example of New York. It was only when the Party decided on a concentration policy that it began to bring about change in Harlem, not one which pitted Harlem versus concentration, but united the two. When white workers on the job, and Black workers, joined in the fight for jobs; when they built an alliance with the community, this political unity laid the foundation for electing Ben Davis to the New York City Council.

We can realize our program of building the Communist Party along the following lines:

- 1) Strengthen the understanding of every member toward a full appreciation of the policy of the Party.

- 2) Undertake that kind of education which will develop confidence in the Party, confidence which comes about by understanding the leadership role of the Party working together with other forces, confidence which comes about by the projection and achievement of goals.

- 3) The content of the work of the Party as a whole must be: to educate each member of the Party

on the role of the class in general; to fulfill the specific task of developing confidence in the class, a confidence based on knowing that the Party, with the class, can accomplish its historic liberating mission.

4) The task of leadership in this period: To show that each of our members is equipped to meet problems. Take into account many, many problems. Admit there are problems - for example, this problem: Why are we slow in building shop clubs? Among the reasons are both opportunist and Left-sectarian ideas, which exist largely because we do not take into account the following: If we want to go into basic economic struggle, if we want the shop club and the Party to grow, we must recognize that the corporations have created conditions making it difficult for us to carry on our organizing work. Recognizing this reality we must act in a way which will win the respect of the workers. This, for example, means no braggadocio, for braggadocio exposes workers to the enemy. We must organize work on two fronts. Seeing building the Party only in the framework of taking the paper to the shop-gate, important as this is, is not enough. We must work in the shops on the basis of recognizing our still existing semi-legality. This truth about our present conditions of work in a different way applies to the community as well.

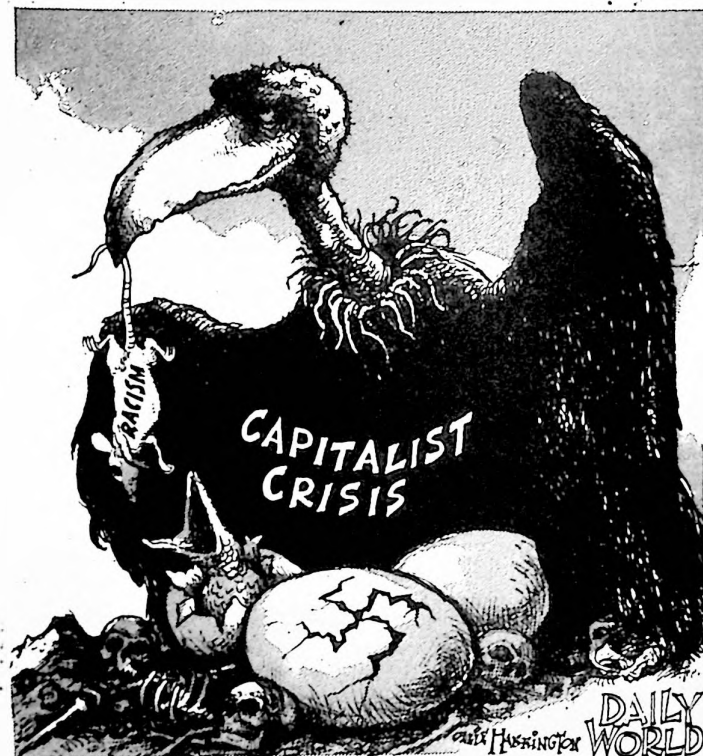
5) Organization, to be effective, must be politically based. It must be guided by the positive. This means that dues payments become the barometer of a member's understanding of the Party. There must be an approach

in which finances are not collected primarily from Party members, but based on mass struggle, mass participation, mass planning.

6) Our Party. - in a short period of time - can double in size. There are two requirements for achieving this objective. First, there must be a total re-orientation of policy. Second, there must be a total reconstruction of our work.

7) The road to mass struggle is first the shop - and then, together with the shop - the community.

8) Our goal - national and district - is to discuss in an appropriate given collective, what is happening in a given shop, a given community; to put on the agenda a given area of concentration; to check up and control on tasks assigned in a given area of work.



FROM THE DISCUSSION:

From John Pittman
U.S. Representative
Editorial Board, World Marxist Review

BEHIND THE FACADE OF PLURALISM
YOU HAVE REPRESSION OF THE CLASS
QUESTION, REPRESSION THAT IS, OF
THE VERY ESSENCE OF REALITY.

BRZEZINSKI AND CARTER TALK
ABOUT DEMOCRACY. WE CANNOT LET
THEM GO UNCHALLENGED. THEY DIS-
TORT BECAUSE THEY IGNORE ECONOMICS
AND AS A RESULT DEMOCRACY IS FUNDA-

MENTALLY DENIED.

THE ESSENCE OF SOCIAL EQUALITY
FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL IS EQUALITY
WITH RESPECT TO THE SOCIAL PRODUCT,
WHICH CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED BY
SOCIAL OWNERSHIP.

WE OWE IT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES TO CLARIFY WHAT DEMO-
CRACY REALLY IS.

**

From Jarvis Tyner
Communist Party Candidate For Governor Of New York
New York State District Organizer

After long struggle our Party is now at a point where it has developed much closer connections with the masses, especially with the working class. The emphasis on the working class, and within this the proletarian core, has given us new life. Sectarianism grows out of moving away from the working class - in life style and in many other ways.

The Main Report, delivered by Comrade Hall, is the basis of mass breakthrough. It requires

study and analysis and a guarantee that it will be brought to every member.

New York is the center of banks. Therefore policies begin here, and then move to the rest of the country. For example, the Emergency Financial Control Board - this unelected body - has kept the labor movement under wraps and has prevented necessary reforms. They are out not only to keep wages down. They are out to destroy the unions. And they are out to spread this pattern to the whole country.

The connection of economic and political questions has grown much closer. Economic questions can't be solved without tying them to politics. People recognize this and are saying so. The fight for democracy and for wages have become closely intertwined. The reason for this is that with the crisis of capitalism there is a direct attack on the working class.

This situation requires - and offers opportunity for - the development of a powerful movement not only on economic questions, but an all-around defense of the class and of all who are increasingly ground down by decaying state monopoly capitalism.

**

From George Meyers
Political Bureau Member
Labor And Farm Department Chair

LABOR AND FARM DEPARTMENT MEETING REPORT (IN PART).

The meeting issued a call for comrades to get into the fight for the shorter work week, and the fight for the Transfer Amendment - a fight which is bringing unions into leadership of the whole fight for peace.

The Department is self-critical. It is not responding adequately on the forced overtime issue. It is a crime that there is no real struggle, especially in places like Detroit. Auto workers - and miners - are forced to work a six day week. Actually, government figures show that many, many millions are working overtime, taking workers as a whole. This is directly tied with the fight for affirmative action. The fight against forced overtime will also strengthen the fight for the shorter work week. It is the basic production workers in auto, steel and mining who are forced the hardest to put in overtime.

REPORTS OF RISING STRUGGLE:

- From Pittsburgh: Many fronts of struggle - the miners, the unemployed, the tax struggle, the Utility fightback.
- From Detroit: The shorter work week is the issue. Workers are waiting to be recalled. There are more layoffs, more closing of plants. For those who still work the issues include overtime, speedup, safety violations, unsettled grievances.
- From West Virginia: The Party was definitely in the strike. Miners responded to the effective support given the strike by our press.
- From Minnesota: The unprecedented farm strike continues. It has been on since December 14. The key issue of the strike - 100% parity.

- From The Steel Industry:

There is rising struggle in the steel industry. It will focus at the steelworkers' convention in September in Atlantic City. There are tremendous violations of the contract. There are crackdowns. Grievances this year in one plant were filed at the rate of four times last year, twice last year in another. A number of large mills are on the verge of strikes or slowdowns. The program of the Left - thanks to the struggle and mass campaign stimulated by Comrade Gus Hall getting into the fight on the steel crisis - includes the demand for nationalization. The Party is getting out its own program in the form of a pamphlet. **

RIGHT ON !!!

- From Connecticut: We need a manual on mastering the politics of organization, with good and bad examples. We need educational forms to teach what the Party is, and how it mobilizes for the working class. We need special cadre training for industrial concentration.

- From Northern California: I have never heard reports that struck me like those here today by Comrade Hall and Comrade Winston. They are a critical evaluation of where we are - and where we must be.. The workers voting for Proposition 13 did not believe that when it passed there would really be cuts in services.

- From many speakers: The Hall and Winston reports have been both inspiration and challenge! They will change the character of the working class movement and of our relation to it! **

GUS HALL: RESPONSE TO THE DISCUSSION

THE NEUTRON BOMB

The Pentagon keeps repeating that the neutron bomb is a weapon only for Europe. That is as big a lie as there can be because the neutron bomb is not an effective weapon against an opponent that has nuclear weapons. The use of any kind of a nuclear weapon will get a nuclear response. Therefore, to say that it is a weapon only against the Soviet Union is nonsense. It is a weapon suited for use against an opponent that does not have nuclear weapons. It is a weapon suited for the kind of wars the U.S. has been conducting -- wars of aggression such as Vietnam. It is a weapon that can be effective in South Africa or in Korea. It is a weapon for wars of aggression against people's liberation armies who do not have nuclear weapons.

"DUMP BRZEZINSKI"

At times a personality symbolizes a policy. Brzezinski is such a personality for this period. Therefore the movement that has started to dump Brzezinski is very much in order. He is a danger to the security of the U.S. and to the peace of the world.

TAXES

On taxes and especially the question of Proposition 13 I want to emphasize again that if we do not find the ways to raise the question of real and immediate tax cuts for the people we are not going to be able to turn the Right-wing tide that demagogically misuses the slo-

gan of cutting taxes. We have to provide vehicles for the legitimate grievances of the people on taxes. Otherwise we're not going to be very effective. We have to direct the movement to increase the taxes on the rich, to slashing military expenditures, and to cutting the taxes people have to pay. Transfer the tax load to the rich and the corporations; transfer the military funds to the needs of the people.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

We have not solved many of the problems in the struggle for affirmative action. But with each meeting we are coming closer to better approaches. We have to keep probing.

Because we are concerned about working class unity, and because we have a special concern about the problems of those who suffer as

victims of racism, we place emphasis and direct our efforts to convincing white workers in our country ideologically, politically and from the point of view of their best self-interests, that they should and must cut themselves off from and reject the corporate injected poison - the bosses' tool of racism. We place this emphasis because we are convinced that we can win, and because there is no other path to victories against racism.

It is most important in the struggle against racism that we keep a sharp point on the exposure of the prime advocates of racism, state-monopoly capitalism and the military-industrial complex.

THE PARTY

I want to say a few things about the Party which are very much in line with some of the points which Comrade Winston so ably raised in his report.

Because there are pressures and difficulties, because the Party is not yet politically legal, some weaknesses crop up. As we know today there are no laws against the Party, or against being a member of the Communist Party. But life has not yet fully legalized us politically. And that's where the problems arise.

An idea has been expressed that because the Communist Party can not function openly the emergence of a Social Democratic Party is inevitable, and even necessary, in the U.S. This thinking concludes that it is a necessary stage before the Communist Party can become a mass party. In my opinion, life does not give evidence to sustain such concepts, either in the U.S. or in the experiences of foreign countries. Comrades who have such ideas as a rule do not recruit or build the

Communist Party. These concepts are substitutes for building our Party. In a basic sense they are liquidationist. The base of such ideas is right opportunism. We must reject such nonsense. Our objection to such an idea has nothing to do with working with honest social democratic elements. Our united front policy is applicable, including working with some public figures and some trade union personalities who affiliate with such groups as a means of making it possible for them to speak out openly for socialism. There are some honest people who want to take advantage of such openings. Many are people who would prefer to do this through our Party, but because of the political restrictions cannot. We have to work with these people and establish comradely rapport and working relations with them.

Because of the same pressures there are also some other wrong ideas. There are some questions raised concerning whether we can or should be a mass party, or whether we should be a party with mass influence. Just placing the question that way assumes that we cannot become a mass party. If we are convinced that we can be a mass party the question would not come up. When the question is placed in that manner many questions emerge, including whether we are and will remain a cadre party, a party mainly of cadre. The concept also sets certain standards. There are different standards for the cadre and for membership in such a party. It is not a party of great numbers and therefore you set wrong standards for recruiting. You set wrong standards of who can be members of such a party.

I want to argue that we can be both, a mass party and a party with mass influence. And there really is no contradiction. The argument that some parties have gone off the track because they are mass parties does

not hold water. The roots of the weakness are not in size. There are big parties which are not off the track, and there are small parties that are.

Let me indicate a few related concrete problems. The comrades, especially in basic industry, emphasize that we have to keep in mind that most new members come into the Party on a trial basis. They are going to give the Party a try. They don't know everything about the Party, but they're going to come in and learn. We have to be conscious that we have not yet won them for the Party in the full sense of the word. The task of winning them fully to the Party comes after they have agreed to join. If we understand that we will organize many more new members' classes and discussions. If we keep in mind that new members come in on a trial basis, what we ask of them and what we give them becomes an all important question.

In that regard, some comrades have raised questions about a sentence in the report to the effect that "every member can and should go into the streets and become a professional revolutionary." These comrades say, "How can you demand that of new members?" I think that is a very legitimate question. We can make that demand if we are a cadre party. We cannot demand that from new members, or even from all of the members who have been in the Party a longer time.

Another comrade who works in a basic industry asked me: "How do you think a worker reacts when he/she comes into the Party on a trial basis, and one of the first things they confront is the request for one week's pay as a part of the fund drive?" That's a legitimate question. In many cases the "trial period" is over at that point. Therefore, we have a problem. And we

don't yet have full answers. There are great pressures for money in our movement. These pressures for money are an obstacle that keeps especially workers out of the Party. For people who are better off it is not as serious a problem. But for workers it's one hellava problem. It seems to me the Party club chairperson has to use good judgment and flexibility. We have to make it clear that donations are on a voluntary basis, that their membership is not determined by how much they donate. We also have to find better ways of raising money, ways that will broaden the financial base of the Party.

It is true we must fight against liquidationist ideas. But we must take into account the reality that a great majority of our comrades in industry cannot now be publicly identified as members of the Party. This is a reality and we must accept it. If we don't we're not going to recruit. And this includes the comrades who are assumed by the enemy to be members of the Party. There is a big difference between the enemy assuming or even knowing and establishing a public record of membership. The responsibility for this is with the leadership of the Party. We must not present our comrades with accomplished facts by doing something that makes a public record, without consulting the comrade involved first. That must not be done without a discussion with particular comrades, especially in basic industry. And we must not put unnecessary pressure on comrades if they feel their situation is such that they cannot go public. We must be concerned about their difficulties. That's one kind of problem.

The other kind of problem comes when we have new members who are coming to the Party, especially from industry, on a "trial basis." What do we do with such things as the application cards? Can they use

a different name on such an application? Do they immediately attend regular club meetings after joining? Should comrades call them on their home phones? The question is: do we give sufficient consideration for the security of these new members, especially till they are past the period of "political consolidation?" That's an important and practical question that we must face. We must give the leading comrades in the plants and mills leeway and flexibility. They will find practical answers to this problem. Policy-wise we have to give the leading comrades, especially in the plants, more flexibility, more leeway on how to handle specific questions, specific people, in a very specific way.

In some industrial centers secondary organizations are very important, such as regular forms where both Party and non-Party people attend, without designation, educational meetings to which both Party and non-Party people are invited.

SOME THOUGHTS ON LEADERSHIP

Sometimes it is difficult to put one's finger on, or to zero in on some problems, especially when the problems themselves are not in clear focus. This is the case with some weaknesses in our Party's work. Without attempting to label them, there are a number of weaknesses in the area of "the art of leadership" --the art of influencing people in and outside of our Party. These same weaknesses appear on all levels of our Party, from the national to the club, and in our relationships with non-Party people.

It is obvious there is much more to leadership than to be able to state a correct political line, because even a correct political line becomes meaningful only when it is dealt with in human terms.

The weaknesses that I want to talk about do not as a rule flare up into boisterous scenes, although even this happens sometimes. As a rule these weaknesses remain in a lower key. But the fact is that they are much more damaging than even the flare-ups are.

Many of these weaknesses can be put into the sub-category of "paying no attention to other people's feelings." Very often the silent sufferers, who are the victims of such behavior, feel like saying what my young granddaughter once told me: "Who the hell do you think you are anyway?" She was right. I had not taken her feelings into consideration.

For a Communist, the human element cannot be separated from the political because we deal with human beings as they are. In fact, for a Communist the human element emerges even more precious, in a more comradely and warm attitude because we have a deeper concern for our fellow human beings. Not to be friendly is contrary to our very being as Communists. When we are not concerned with other people's feelings, when without thinking we are abrupt, when we brush people aside, our criticism becomes unnecessarily sharp, personal and subjective. When we are not concerned with other people's feelings we say things not to correct or to help, but because it makes us look good. Such criticism is not motivated by helping or correcting. In some cases we are satisfied if the person we are criticizing leaves the Party or YWLL, when the fact is that if such a person is not an enemy agent such a negative result is a defeat, not a victory for our criticism. To take other people's feelings into account means we should be concerned with their problems, personal as well as political. This is an essential ingredient of Communist leadership. We cannot have a worker-boss attitude

or relationship. Ours must be a worker-to-worker relationship.

To be in a position of leadership on any level is to accept responsibilities. But a position of leadership and the responsibility does not give anyone the right to abuse one's co-workers. With a position of leadership does not go the right to command, to order, to yell, or even to tell others what to do. The "art of leadership" is the ability to discuss, to convince, and to show how, patiently, comradely and creatively.

In his memoirs, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, speaking about the work of Communists in the building of socialism discusses this question. He wrote:

"The political worker...in his everyday work, must not order people around - only explain and persuade. And that also has to be done with a measure of intelligence and tact. Even when a person makes a mistake no one has the right to insult him by shouting at him. I deeply abhor the habit, and though instances are few and far between, there are individuals who still persist in doing so, of shouting at other people. The executive and the political leader must never forget that those working under their direction are subordinate only during working hours, that they don't serve the director or manager, but the cause of the Party and the State. And in that respect everyone is equal. Anybody who allows himself to deviate from this ironclad (law of our society) compromises himself absolutely, and lessens himself in the eyes of others..."

There are some cases of leading comrades going to club meetings, and meetings of other Party bodies, and instead of giving leadership inadvertently become disrupters of the meeting. In such cases the comrade

walks in, does not ask what the meeting is about, what the committee or club leaders had planned, but simply states: "I have a number of important things to take up." Often the "important things" have very little directly to do with the work the club or committee is concerned with. Such behavior does not take into account either the personal or political feelings of the members of the committee or club. After such behavior it is not difficult to imagine what happens to the prestige and the standing of the leaders of such committees and clubs. It is disruptive of the work and development of our cadre.

With a position of leadership goes the responsibility of listening. There is a fundamental difference between hearing what is said and listening. To listen means to give serious consideration, to weigh what is being said. In fact, we will never learn from other comrades' experiences without listening and weighing.

Criticism without proposals for correction becomes carping and an exercise in negative futility. It shows a lack of concern for the real difficult problems.

A position of leadership does not give one the right to take out one's frustrations (which we all have now and then) on others. Such behavior in most cases is subjectivity, and most often becomes petty griping. It is easy for us to see the egotistical self-centeredness in others. It is much more important, but much more difficult, to see it in ourselves.

The use of sharp, caustic, acrimonious and bitter expressions is an obstacle to constructive Communist-like criticism. It discourages and destroys cadre.

Criticism is an important ingredient in the work and life of our Party. But it is not the only ingredient. And criticism that is only negative is one-sided, wrong and counterproductive. In our mass work such an approach gives people an image of the Party and of Communists as being "against everything" including against anything that anyone else says. To be against everything, to respond negatively to everything, is to cut oneself off and to isolate oneself. It turns into sectarianism. Instead of responding negatively to everything we must make the maximum effort to seek for points and areas of agreement, to seek for the positive element in the situations or discussions. To seek points of agreement or the positive side is not fakery. Rather it is a correct reflection of reality. There

are points of agreement in every situation.

Finally, a word about the question of the report-back meetings. How can we get the content of this meeting to every member and to people in general? The report-back meetings should be at the level of this meeting. Most important is the question of organizing the discussions and the probing on the level that this meeting of the National Council has been.

We have a reach-out problem externally on how to reach the millions. But we also have an outreach problems internally. If we do not reach our membership we will not go very far. The clarity, the understanding and the power generated at this great meeting will make history if we reach out with its message.

REACHING OUT WITH OUR MESSAGE...



Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. distributes a Party statement in his hometown, Yonkers, the only city in the country outside New York City whose finances are controlled by an Emergency Financial Control Board. The statement calls for compelling the banks to accept a bank moratorium, abolition of the EFCB, and a federal grant of \$10 million, as well as an end to layoffs, to cuts in services and to tax hikes.

HALL/WINSTON REPORTS: CLUB EDUCATIONALS

Dear Comrades,

The Section on Club Education has prepared the attached discussion guides on the reports presented to the National Council meeting of June 17-19, 1978 by Comrades Hall and Winston. These reports were very enthusiastically received for giving clearcut leadership in setting a course for our Party in the economic struggles of the working class, especially in basic industry, against monopoly capital's vicious, racist assault upon our living standards.

In order for all of us to make this very necessary turn in our daily work, these reports must be very seriously studied. We ask that each club decide on the form in which the discussion of both Comrades Hall and Winston's reports will take place. There should be enough time for full discussion and probing. These are three suggestions on how to handle the time factor: 1) Spread the discussion out over several club meetings, perhaps an hour educational at each; 2) Devote an entire special club meeting to each report; or 3) Have a special seminar on a weekend. Also, the club might wish to discuss inviting non-Party friends and contacts to join in the discussions.

Comradely,

Sylvia Newcomb
Sylvia Newcomb, Chair.
Section on Club Education
National Education Dept.

Discussion Questions for Gus Hall's Report to the

National Council/Central Committee Meeting - June 17-19, 1978

1. The Party leadership considers the Party's work on economic struggles to be seriously weak. Comrade Hall makes it clear that this is a self-critical appraisal and that this weakness exists from the very top leadership on down to the clubs. How has this weakness been manifested in your area and in your club? How much time is spent in your club on questions related to economic struggles? To trade union struggles in particular? How do you explain the tendency to set low priority for involvement in economic struggles? What kinds of work can your club take up, or what kinds of changes in approach to your present work need to take place in order to get your club and members involved in the economic struggles of the people? What economic struggles in your area could lead to political and electoral activity and what mistakes can keep this from happening?

2. The fight against racism is inevitably linked to economic struggles. Discuss this in terms of the fight around the shorter work week and affirmative action programs. Why do we say that the Bakke decision is a crucial aspect of monopoly's attack on the living standards of working people? What new ideological forms of racism are being thrown up to hinder the development of class unity? What are the ways in which racist seepage can affect the work of club members?

3. Gus Hall states: "There is a noticeable coming together of the Left and Center forces. This is the most significant and meaningful development in the national scene in this period." Discuss the meaning of this estimate and why it was made. Do you agree with it? How is this development reflected in your local area? In the particular industry that your club relates to?

4. To quote Gus Hall again: "What is the nature of the problems of Left-Center unity?...What are the forms, the issues, and who are the people" that will help develop Left-Center unity? How can this concept help advance our trade union work? What kinds of things need to be analyzed and understood about Center forces in order to successfully work with them to build Left-Center unity? Comrade Hall defines the "Left" as "... a broad, growing healthy sector that is militant, increasingly class conscious, with deeper understanding of the role of racism. In most cases, they are political activists, and a sector that rejects class collaboration and the exclusion of Communists." How does all of the above (in question 4) apply to forces in your area, and in the industry that your club relates to?

5. Comrade Hall lists two main causes of inflation: "the \$10 billion per year rise in the military budget," and the "\$135 billion per year nonpayment of taxes by the corporations and the rich." Super profits are another cause of inflation. How can these facts be utilized in the struggles around tax cuts (as in Proposition 13), utility rate hikes and unemployment?

6. In Gus Hall's summation to the section on the international scene, he says: "We must guard against the notion that the current move toward cold war has to produce the same results as the first one, thirty years ago. To hold such a view would be a serious mistake. Many things are different now." Discuss this statement, particularly with regard to developments in Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, and the role of Maoism, anti-Sovietism and "the human rights campaign" as they are used both internationally and to influence thinking of the U.S. people. Also, discuss these developments in light of Carter's duplicity and maneuvering in foreign policy and in terms of what kinds of movements need to be built in order to move him away from Brezinski.

7. In his report, Gus Hall states: "The changes that have taken place during the past year in a number of areas are of such a nature that they add up to a new situation. There is a new quality to the present moment." Why does he have this assessment? What are the kinds of changes that he is referring to? Is this present period one of a "drift to the right" by the people or increasing class struggle? Discuss this both in national terms and in terms of your own local and state situations.

8. In terms of electoral activity, what kinds of initiatives is your district taking in order to help develop independent political action or electoral forms? Are there such movements already developing in your area that can be worked with and encouraged? Have there been manifestations of sectarianism in your approach to potential campaigns within the two-party system in your area? How does the running of Communist candidates help the development of independent forms?

9. Gus Hall defines sectarianism as "a reaction to wrong estimates of the the readiness of masses to respond, and an underestimation of our ability to influence the thinking of millions." Discuss this in terms of our weaknesses, both nationally and at the club level in the use of the Daily World, Party literature and leaflets, public speaking, etc. Discuss this in terms of our weaknesses in putting forth our ideas in the struggle against racism, in the field of electoral politics, and in the field of ideology, and in other areas of mass work.

10. How can the struggle for women's equality be linked to the major economic questions of today? What kinds of organizations of women already exist in your area that we can get involved in and/or influence around economic struggles?

11. Examine local Party-YWLL relations. How can the Party help the League to grow into a mass, youth organization leading thousands of youth in struggle? How can the Party strengthen the leadership of the League in order to accomplish this?

Discussion Questions for Henry Winston's Report to the
National Council/Central Committee Meeting-June 17-19, 1978

1. Henry Winston refers to Gus Hall's report as a potential weapon in the hands of all components of the working class in our country. He makes the analogy of the Communist Party as the carrier of oxygen or Marxism-Leninism to the movement. What is it that the Communist Party brings to an economic struggle that is different from other elements involved in those struggles? How can the Party take these struggles to newer, higher levels? In particular, what kinds of disorders can result in various movements when the Party is absent from participation? Discuss these problems in relation to the labor movement, Carter's anti-Soviet campaign, the threat to Affirmative Action and other new forms of racism.

2. Why do both Comrades Winston and Hall stress the primacy of economic questions? What, in your experience, validates this? How does one use economic struggles to advance the class struggle? How does one move from economic struggles to broader political questions and how does this relate to the building of left-center unity? How do the struggles for peace and detente, solidarity with national liberation struggles, defense against repression and the fight for women's equality flow from work around the economic crisis?

3. What changes need take place in the Party as a whole and in your club in particular to bring about the basic reorientation to economic questions that Comrade Winston calls for? Particularly relate this to your club's work in industrial concentration. How often is this work placed on the agenda and discussed in the club?

4. Comrade Winston makes a distinction between Party building and simply recruiting into the Party and calls for the "total reconstruction of style of work." What is meant by this? How is this related to a more serious approach to economic struggles in both shops and communities? What changes have to take place in the style of work of your club and members to be more effective and to build the Party? How could these changes dramatically affect recruitment?

5. Comrade Winston said: "Building the Party must proceed from a struggle to understand the concept of the working class. Our concept of this class cannot be one which equated light industry with basic industry." What is basic industry? Why are the workers in these industries the key to the class struggle? Because, as Henry Winston states, Black workers are an integral part of this class, affirmative action must have teeth (quotas) in it in order for it to mean anything. How can white workers be convinced that such quotas are not a threat to them, but an aid in their struggles? How is this struggle for quotas linked to the struggle for the Transfer Amendment and the shorter work week?

6. In his report, Comrade Winston puts a great deal of emphasis on club life and education of individual members. He includes the consolidation and education of members as part of Party building. Does your club have a plan of work that will implement the content of the report? If yes--elaborate. If no--how can you proceed to develop one? Do you have an education director for your club? What kind of educationals need to be planned in order to give each member the confidence to implement the plan of work of the club and the Party as a whole, and the confidence to be able to "answer the little Brzezinskis as well as the big ones...the little Shankers as well as the big ones?"

A community club example: How does your club relate to a certain industry? Has your club had an educational on that industry and why is it important? What is the history of struggles in that industry? Where do the workers live, and what kind of conditions do they work under?

An industrial club example: What are the economics of your particular industry? What is the racial and ethnic composition of the industry? Of the trade union leadership? If it is unorganized, what barriers stand in the way of organization? If organized, how can a rank and file group be built? What is the history of the trade union or organizing efforts in that industry? What is your analysis of the trade union leadership in light of left-center unity? What steps are needed to start to form shop clubs out of industrial clubs? What kind of educational program would help this? How can the security of industrial members be protected?

FALL PRESS DRIVE: INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION EMPHASIS

By Pat Barile
Org Bureau Member
Daily World Drive Coordinator

We made 1977 into The Year Of The Press. We set out to get 10,000 new readers to the Daily World. We exceeded that goal.

In 1977 we sought a *quantitative* breakthrough, with at the same time some emphasis on reaching out to shop workers. This year our main emphasis is a fight for *qualitative* breakthrough.

We seek to win new readers in very particular areas as a key part of our Party Building Campaign. We seek to build consistent shopgate distributions at foundries, coke ovens, key auto plants, in coal mining areas.

Further, we seek to develop new community press routes in the communities where these basic workers live.

An industrial concentration community route is a very important press form. It is a special added way of making contact with the workers who get our paper at the shop gate. It is a way of being able to join with them to launch struggles on rents, utilities, food prices and on electoral issues and candidates. And it is a way of surrounding them with the strength of a group of informed readers and class conscious fighters able to chart and organize victories.

Our work in steel proves the correctness of this industrial concentration policy. South Chicago is brilliant proof that it is a winning policy. Our work in steel made possible the solidarity actions we were able to bring to the support of the embattled miners. And our correct work brought new success in expanding our circulation in the ranks of the miners and their families and in the mining

communities.

What we have done in steel we have barely begun in auto. Auto must be urgently accelerated. One step in this direction is the expansion of distributions at the Ford Mahwah plant and the GM Limden plant, which will be accomplished by combining forces from New Jersey, New York and the Daily World circulation team.

Our 1978 Fall Press Drive begins on Sept 1 and ends on December 31st. In that period we will fight to achieve three *quantitative* goals: (1) Increase bundle circulation by 3,000; (2) Secure 2,000 mail subscriptions; (3) Make 100% contact and 75% or better renewal rate with all who need to renew.

We propose that the Drive be given a collective political launching at Readers' Conferences to be held on a regional basis on the weekend of September 16-17.

Without waiting for September First the fight to get the press drive under way is on. In North Carolina Daily World supporters are in the midst of an ambitious campaign of press building. New York has already set the goal of getting at least 100 of its new readers in Harlem this year. They will fight to get the paper on fifty newsstands, stores, barber shops and other key outlets in the concentration area. They are developing their plans to give militant support to the State's electoral efforts this fall.

These examples demonstrate that we have all the necessary tools to achieve our qualitative breakthrough goals in readership of our press in the ranks of basic sections of the working class in this fall's Daily World press drive. Our task is to take these tools, use them to organize and implement, to plan and to check up, to guarantee the operative leadership that will put us over the top in the realization of plans. **

ABOUT THIS ISSUE:

The Working Class

From Page 2 -

reorientation of the work of our Party toward our class and particularly its basic sections on the immediate issues in the crisis of everyday living. The meeting further agreed that this important Main Report with its self-criticism be taken "by every means possible" to the entire membership quickly.

And therefore this issue of the Party Organizer is a special issue on the NC/CC Meeting. It contains an extensive summary of the Main Report; a summary of Comrade Winston's special Party Building Report; Comrade Hall's remarks in response to the discussion at the meeting - and special club educationals on the two reports.

All these have the aim - in no way substituting for the Report itself - but rather the aim of stimulating and assisting the most thorough study of the Report, and assisting in stimulating the organization of the widest mass distribution of the Report. Comrades are certainly aware of the fact that the Report has been pub-

A pamphlet of the Steel and Metal Worker's Commission

Communist Party USA 25¢

SHAME-OUT IN STEEL

By Rick Nagin

lished in full under the title: "THE CRISIS OF EVERYDAY LIVING - AND THE WINNING FIGHTBACK."

We include in this issue a report by Pat Barile on our Fall Press Drive. Our press is of course a most important, indispensable instrument for making the turn to relate to our class on the immediate economic issues.

With permission of the Daily World we have used a number of the political cartoons of the incomparable Ollie Harrington to illustrate the concrete issues of struggle that are among those at the center of our attention today. We believe that their inclusion will assist our fight to master the politics of the turning point, as well as to contribute to the success of the Fall Press Drive.

BY JOE FORD

HERE IS ANOTHER "How To" SUGGESTION FROM OUR COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA DEPARTMENT: JOE FORD'S EXCELLENT AND INEXPENSIVE BOOKLET ON HOW TO DO LEAFLETS, NEWSLETTERS AND NEWSPAPERS.

WE REPRODUCE THE TABLE OF CONTENTS AND THE INTRODUCTION.



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PLUS 16 pages of traceable drawings and headings, with more layout ideas.

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Introduction

You can build on the ideas presented in this booklet by becoming more aware of everything written and/or designed around you. How are words, type, space, etc. used? What attracts your attention? Try to figure out why some things work as communication and others don't.

This booklet uses some words which only those familiar with publications could be expected to know. We think that these words are useful enough to learn. They are defined in the text, usually at the first appearance. In other uses of the same word, you are referred to the page where it is defined. And finally, the terms are indexed alphabetically on the back cover.

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