

**political  
affairs**

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT  
September/October 1987 \$1

# 24th National Convention

# Communist Party **USA**

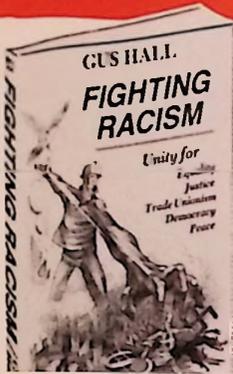


**CLASS STRUGGLE** (from the Main Report)  
and the **SUMMARY** by **GUS HALL**  
**SELECTED DISCUSSIONS** from the Convention floor  
**LETTER FROM MOSCOW** by **CARL BLOICE**



# Class & All-People's Unity

# Two Great Offers If You Subscribe to Political Affairs Now!

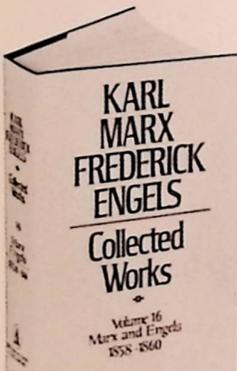


**A \$15 value  
only \$7.50**

## Introductory offer for new readers

One year of *Political Affairs* (regularly \$10)  
**plus**

Autographed copy of *Fighting Racism*  
by Gus Hall, general secretary of the  
Communist Party, USA (regularly \$4.95)



**Value over  
\$350.00  
only \$125!**

## Once-in-a-lifetime combination offer

Ten years of *Political Affairs* (regularly \$100)  
**plus**

All twenty one volumes published to date  
of the fifty-volume *Marx / Engels Collected  
Works* (regularly \$262.50)

(Limited to one set per subscriber)

To: *Political Affairs*, 235 West 23rd St, New York, NY 10011,

☎ (212) 989-4994

Please send me the following selection:

- Introductory sub and an autographed *Fighting Racism* for \$7.50.
- Ten year sub and 21 volumes of the *Marx/Engels Collected Works* for \$125.
- Payment enclosed

Card No. \_\_\_\_\_ Exp'n Date \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# political affairs

**Theoretical Journal  
of the Communist Party, USA**

**Editorial Board**

Michael Zagarell, Editor  
Leonard Levenson, Associate Editor  
Phillip Bonosky, Lou Diskin  
Tom Hopkins, Robert Lindsay  
Carol Marks, James Steele  
James West  
Esther Moroze, Business Manager  
Norman Goldberg, Art Director

**Cover:** Norman Goldberg

*Political Affairs* (ISSN 0032 3128) is published monthly, except combined September / October, by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., 235 West 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011, ☎ (212) 989-4994, to whom all correspondence should be addressed.

**Manuscripts** are invited. If a return is requested, please enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

**Subscription rates:** \$10 for one year (individuals); \$15 for one year (institutions); foreign subscriptions, including Canada, \$11 for one year; single issues, \$1. Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, NY. Postmaster: Send changes of address to: Political Affairs, 235 W. 23 St., NY, NY 10011.



**September 1987 Vol. LXVI, No. 9**

---

**The 24th Convention  
of the Communist Party, USA  
August 1987**

*PA Editorial Board*

**2 Unity Was the Message**

James E. Jackson

**6 Opening Greeting**

Gus Hall

**8 From the Main Political Report**

**19 From the Convention Floor**

**28 From the Fraternal Delegates**

Gus Hall

**34 Concluding Remarks**

---

Carl Bloice

**37 Letter from Moscow**

# Unity Was the Message

EDITORIAL BOARD

"Unity is the only way," was the message.

Bringing together over 1,000 delegates, and guests from across the nation and abroad, the gathering was at once action-oriented yet deliberative, young and yet experienced, concerned about the dangers for our country and yet confident of success, thoughtful yet alive with song and jubulation.

It was, in every sense of the word, a Convention of Communists.

This 24th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA grappled with the perplexing problems facing the working people of our country.

"Everything in this world of ours keeps getting more complicated, more contradictory, but also more intertwined," Gus Hall, general secretary, told the delegates in the main report. This new reality requires "new tactics and strategic concepts . . . new patterns of unity."

"In today's world no people can be an island unto themselves. We are at the crossroads of a choice between two opposites: a war without winners, or a peace without losers." This reality, the convention agreed, calls for a new mode of thinking.

The struggle to save humanity from nuclear annihilation has become closely connected with every other struggle, be it the fight to save democracy or preserve the living standards of our people. Therefore, the Convention concluded, unity against reaction "has become absolutely decisive."

**I**n five workshops, over 400 delegates took the floor to recount their experiences and together draw conclusions from them. Examining the fight for peace, the struggle against racism, the labor movement today, the 1988 elections and the role of the Party clubs, the delegates agreed that building unity against the Rightwing was both possible and necessary to advance the cause of humanity and the working class in

the U.S. and the world.

While the convention agreed that an agreement on the elimination of short and medium range nuclear missiles from Europe was at a favorable juncture, it warned that it would be a serious mistake to sit on the sidelines and watch. Instead, it called for an increased effort to mobilize the peace majority of the nation and the world to compel the Reaganites to back an agreement.

Analyzing the Irangate crisis, the convention estimated that it presented the pattern of a unique U.S. path to fascism—the construction of a government within a government—a transition from government by elected bodies to a corporate-like, police-state structure under the shield of the executive branch.

This path, the convention concluded, was an inherent reflection of the crisis of state monopoly capitalism in the U.S. It was engineered by the most reactionary sections of big business, the military with the support of a broad sector of monopoly, to carry out clandestine policies which, if known, the people would have opposed. This is especially true because these policies are closely linked to preparations for nuclear war which would bring about the destruction of all of humanity.

Concluding that fascism is not inevitable, the report emphasized that the right-wing drive has been turned back for the moment and urged new mobilization to defend the people's democratic rights.

"Working to defend our limited democracy is not a defense of capitalism. On the contrary, it is a challenge to capitalism," said the main report.

For the mass of the people, the two most critical concerns are the preservation of humanity and the democratic structure, the report stressed. These issues unite the overwhelming majority against the policies of the most reactionary, militaristic, racist and anti-labor section of monopoly capital represented by the Reagan-

ites. "Our task is to tap this potential so as to give rise to forms of political independence that will lead toward a new popular mass political party," the report concluded.

**I**f all-people's unity in action against the Rightwing is the goal, a united class front is the locomotive that will pull the train. This leading role of the working class in the struggle for peace and democracy was emphasized. The campaign, for example, for public takeover of many basic industries, is itself a critical factor for defense of democracy because it attacks the key monopolies that stand behind the rightwing thrust.

But for the working class to emerge as the engine of an all-people's united movement it must itself, be united in a class front. In this area the 24th Convention gave a new direction for Communist labor policy, based on the higher level of radicalization in the labor movement reached in the struggles of the present period. It concluded that the great majority of the trade union membership is increasingly receptive to militant class-struggle tactics.

As a result, the convention concluded, there has emerged in the labor movement a broadening Left that has to a great degree replaced the old Center. This development enables the Left to play an enhanced role in the actual structure of the trade unions and thus to be a decisive force in unifying the broad base of the labor movement. The convention placed great emphasis on building and solidifying this broad Left trend as a key link in forging an all-class front.

**B**ecause racism is a critical factor of division within the working class, it is natural that the struggle for unity would require a heightened attack on this ruling-class poison. The convention placed extraordinary emphasis on this, urging all Communists to sharpen their sensitivity to racism and to intensify their struggle against it. A workshop of over a hundred delegates exchanged important experiences in this area. Panels on struggles among Afro Americans and other oppressed peoples also had

wide-ranging discussion. Their exchanges showed that a large number of Communists are involved in struggles against racism and for equality.

Those participating in the discussion expressed firm agreement with the main political report which pointed out that, while ruling-class racism had increased under Reagan, there had also been advances in mass understanding of how this weapon is used. "This should give us confidence to take bold initiatives when racist violence takes place," the main report stated.

Turning to work among Afro-Americans the main report concluded, "The struggle must be directed at demands on the corporations—for shorter hours, for affirmative action programs. They must be interwoven with demands for government-sponsored programs for retraining at union wages, for extension of unemployment benefits." An all inclusive program against racism and for equality, it said, can become the basis of a new level of class unity.

**R**ecognizing that, in all likelihood, the 1988 elections will be a pitched battle between the ultra-Right and the all-people's front and a referendum on the Reaganite conspiracy only partly uncovered in the Iran-contragate hearings, the convention established the Party's policy and role. It declared its goal of ousting the ultra-Right from the White House and increasing the anti-Rightwing forces in the House and Senate.

The convention called on all Communists to work for maximum unity of democratic forces in and out of the two-party system and in all phases of the elections. Conceding that the primary phase of the elections would find the democratic forces divided on candidates, it stressed that this be countered by progressives concentrating on the issues and activities directed towards independence of the old two-party machines.

While warmly greeting the most advanced campaigns unfolding in the Democratic Party, the Convention proudly went on record declaring the Party's intention to field its own presidential slate. Its tactical focus will be, not on

personalities, but on working in and with the broad forces of independence and for programs, policies and slogans that will mobilize masses in an all-people's electoral front to defeat the Reactionaries.

The convention noted the tactical problem faced by Communists who must work on worthy campaigns where independents concentrate. At the same time, they must carry out the difficult job of getting Communist candidates on the ballot.

In order to maintain fullest tactical flexibility, the Party will fight to put its national slate on as many state ballots as possible while giving emphasis to local candidates. "We must especially run local Communist candidates in those states where we may not conduct petition drives," the main report declared. By combining these approaches, "Communist candidates running for a wide array of offices will be on the ballot in more states."

**W**hile the Convention concluded that the Communist Party has made important advances over the past four years in membership and in influence, it emphasized that the gap between the increased influence and growth in membership is still too large. To correct this it called on all members of the Party to put the building of the Party on "the top of the 'to do' list."

"If this convention does nothing else," declared Gus Hall, "but come up with some answers to the question of Party growth—it will be very successful."

In answer to this challenge, many delegates took the floor to give examples of Party building. The consensus was that the Communist Party grows most rapidly and consistently when it shows its uniqueness, when it adds a special "plus" to the mass movement—a unique contribution flowing from its working-class approach and its mastery of the science of Marxism-Leninism. It is this that enables the Party to overcome sectarianism and isolation on the one hand and prevent sliding into reformist opportunism on the other.

While the prevailing theme of the conven-

tion was unity of the working class and all democratic forces, the Convention itself reflected a new highpoint of unity within the Communist Party.

For the working class, unity and democracy is a natural pairing. To exercise consistent democracy it is essential to have unity of all who are its beneficiaries: the oppressed Afro-American, Mexican-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian-Pacific peoples, Native American Indians and all who are victimized by monopoly and militarism, led by its most loyal standard-bearer, the working class in its multi-racial, multi-national totality.

Over 200 articles and letters from Party clubs and individuals were taken into account, as were the discussions and resolutions in the clubs and state conventions, in the preparation of the main report by General Secretary Gus Hall. Over 400 delegates exchanged experiences and voiced their opinions in 19 commissions, 6 committees and 5 workshops as well as in the plenary sessions—a broad, democratic procedure which shaped the final convention documents and influenced the character of Gus Hall's convention summary.

More than 225 members were elected to three national leadership bodies, the Central Committee, the National Council and the Central Review Commission—a broad-based leadership rooted in industry, urban and rural communities, coast to coast. In the convention give and-take through the exchange of diverse experiences and non-antagonistic differing viewpoints, there arose in this dialectical, democratic process a voluntary cohesion based on common outlook.

The 24th Convention proved the increasing vitality and deepening ties of the Communist party to the mass movements of the day. The credentials report made this clear: 60 per cent of the delegates were under 45 years of age; 40 per cent were members for less than 10 years; 43 per cent of the delegates were women; over 75 per cent of the state and district leaders are well under 50 years of age.

The credentials report also showed that 43 per cent were women; 21 per cent Afro Ameri-

can; 4 per cent Chicano; 2 per cent Puerto Rican; 1 per cent Native American Indian and one per cent Asian. In addition 33 per cent of those participating were active unionists with coming from 43 different international unions.

This vitality was also shown by the doubled circulation of the *People's Daily World* in its first year as a national paper and in a significant growth on campus of the Young Communist League.

The convention showed a high level of unity between generations, the lack of which is a major problem in our society. In a moving ceremony, YCL members presented the Unique Achievement Award to Party veterans with words of admiration and appreciation. And old-timers confidently and proudly nominated young men and women to leadership positions. The convention created a new body, the Senior Advisory Council of the Central Committee to enable veteran Party leaders to fully contribute their wisdom and experience.

It was also in song that the excitement of the Convention delegates was expressed. The curtain went up on a surge of people's, grass-roots culture: songs of struggle for peace, democracy, equality, labor's rights, love of the Party.

The sound of unity-in-action found its home in speech and song, in the hearts and minds of the delegates.

This theme reverberated in the memorable Convention mass rally sponsored by the *Peo-*

*ples Daily World*. It was attended by many middle-level trade union leaders, peace and community activists. The growing identification of the Party with the people was epitomized by the program: Gus Hall and Angela Davis speaking for the Communist Party, Chicago Aldermen Danny K. Davis, and Emma Lazano-Rico, chair of the 32nd Ward independent political organization, "Fair Share" and sister of the martyred Mexican-American leader, Rudy Lozano.

The delegates mirrored an active and a reading membership. This was seen in the more than \$8,000 worth of literature bought at the convention. The 2,000 copies of Gus Hall's new book, "Working Class, USA—The Power and the Movement," brought to the convention, were insufficient to meet the demands of many districts.

**A**rising out of the convention is a consensus that the Party is poised on the threshold of greater mass influence and growth. The decisions of the Convention, when carried out, will make history. All who work to carry them out will be makers of history. It is this that will truly mark the 24th Convention as a critical convention in the future of the CPUSA. Boldness and creativity in helping to transform the majorities on separate issues into overall people's unity in action and in building a mass Communist Party and PDW: that is the challenge of the 24th Convention. □

## Opening greeting by James E. Jackson

---

In the heart of our memories each of us re-creates some cherished recollection of that wonderful comrade whose accustomed place on such occasions as this, was before the podium of the speakers' platform, beaming with prideful confidence and bidding us welcome, successful work and comradely good cheer.

The beloved figure of Henry Winston, the National Chairman and long-time Party organizer of masses, is with us no longer but the influence of his works will ever sound—"Presente" when the honor roll of valiant Communists is called.

For more than half-a-century, Henry Winston applied his energies and talented endowments to the building of our Party and working to extend its influence deep into the working class and among the broad masses. He was the consummate Communist. The Party was his life. Through the Party, the values of his life's contribution were multiplied many-fold. He was thoroughly committed to the Leninist concept that the working class leadership of the peoples' struggles for peace, progress and socialism requires the guidance of a Party which utilizes the science of Marxism-Leninism.

**O**ur Party is a vigorous supporting and initiating force in the daily struggles of the people against the ruthless economic and political lords of capital. Always we seek to combine the daily fight of the people against the monopolists, robbers, and political reactionaries with the universal imperative of ending the arms race and saving humanity.

Winston's injunction to build our Party, to strengthen it in every way—politically, ideologically, organizationally—and to give it the widest outreach to the masses through our press and all media channels: this is his legacy. We are called upon to receive this injunction, treasure it and guard the unity of our Party and people.

---

James E. Jackson is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, USA.

The great people's poet, Carl Sandburg, celebrated this city as the epicenter of the nation's proletariat. "Chicago!" he sang: "City of the Big Shoulders, Hog Butcher to the World, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads and the Nation's Freight Handler; Stormy, husky, brawling, City of the Big Shoulders: Chicago!"

In this city, founded and named by Jean Baptiste Du Sable—famed Afro-Indian explorer and frontiersman—the present generation of multinational, interracial citizens have made a pioneering stride forward on the democratic path in choosing its civic leader.

The election of the progressive Democrat, Mayor Harold Washington is a significant testimony to the political potential of people's unity when it is based on the class solidarity of the workers of all national identities.

Chicago has been the scene of many democratic battles and class struggles of the labor movement, of the Afro-American fighters for equality and justice, of the women's equal rights cause, of solidarity mass actions for peace and the freedom of peoples the world round. It is the site of constant struggle for furthering democracy and securing the job rights and entitlements of labor, for peace on earth and the destruction of nuclear arsenals.

**O**utstanding among the starred dates in Chicago's calendar of events is that of September 1, 1919, when the birth of the Communist Party of the United States was announced. There is every reason to believe that this meeting of the 24th Convention, in the cradle-city of our Party's birth, will be recorded as a no less notable and historic high point in the life of our Party, in the service of our class, of our nation, and, in furthering the realization of the goal of peace and humanity's ideal of progress.

In this nuclear age, the sacred cause of peace is as universal and broad as the interest of the people for the survival of the human race. In our time, the fight for peace has its profound

social-revolutionary essence. The causes of peace and of freedom, of disarmament and development, are inseparably joined. Peace serves freedom and peace requires freedom.

**I**t is a manifest reality that the most reliable socio-economic basis of freedom is socialism. In the world today socialism is an analog of peace and freedom. It is attested to by the continuous bold initiatives and tireless pursuit of disarmament accords and test-ban treaties on the part of the socialist community of states, the Soviet Union in the first place. The world scene offers a complex pattern with contradictory features of new opportunities and continuing perils.

The Reagan Administration's military adventures in the Persian Gulf, its massive encampment on the borders of Nicaragua and its covert operations on all continents, violates every obligation of responsible conduct in this time of nuclear missile tensions. At the same time, unprecedented rallying of the peoples for peace is taking form the world round.

The great peace offensive initiated by the Soviet Union has opened the curtain for the light of hope to shine upon an expected, historic first nuclear disarmament accord between the U.S. and the USSR. Our Party's 24th National Convention is taking place in the 70th anniversary year of the mighty October Revolution. With the workers of the world we honor the heroic initiative of the Communist vanguard of that revolution led by the great Lenin.

As we reflect on the history of services rendered to human progress as a consequence of the triumph of workers power since 1917, let me cite the prophetic prevision of Frederick Engels

when he wrote in 1894 about earlier revolutionary developments in Russia: ". . . the Russian revolution will also give a fresh impulse to the labor movement in the West, creating for it new and better conditions for struggle and thereby advancing the victory of the modern industrial proletariat."

Our Party reaches out in active solidarity to all who suffer the pain of U.S. imperialism's heel upon their backs. Their struggle for national sovereignty, dignity, and the control and development of their own resources, for freedom from state terrorist acts and armed aggression by agencies and arms of U.S. imperialism is our struggle as well—be it in Latin America, Africa, Asia/Pacific or any other place in the world. We stand with Cuba, with Nicaragua, with South Africa's striking gold miners, and Namibia's coal miners. We stand with the ANC and SWAPO and we will send our heartfelt greetings of solidarity to all.

**W**e want to express profound appreciation for the warm greetings received by our Convention from many Parties and organizations and personalities. To our comrade delegates from 18 fraternal Parties from abroad who have come to be with us today: we want to say thank you for making the long journey. We express our joy and happiness. We welcome you to our country as true envoys of world peace and heralds of the international ties of brotherhood which bind together the unity of the working people of the whole world in the common cause of humanity's salvation and the enrichment of life on earth. Long live the world-wide fraternal unity of the Communists, for the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism. □

---

#### To Our Subscribers

Please note that, in order to adjust our printing schedules, this is a combined September / October issue of *Political Affairs*.

---

# Class Unity, All-People's Unity—the Only Way

GUS HALL

I want to preface this report with a few words about a theme that will run throughout.

Unity has always been the basic source of power for the movements and struggles of the people. In today's world unity has become absolutely decisive.

To the extent people see their mutual interests represented by a movement, there will be all-people's unity. To the extent workers see their class interests in the class struggle, there will be class unity. Unity is a logical extension of the oneness of our multiracial, multinational, male-female, younger and older working class.

But unity does not come spontaneously.

Objective developments and conditions mold and create the need not only for unity in general, but the specific form and content that is in harmony with the new developments.

The objective developments of today call for a reevaluation and a projection of new concepts of unity on all levels and in all areas because these developments are creating conditions in which the self-interests of the people's majorities are coming together —

- the peace majority,
- the anti-racist, pro-democratic majority,
- the anti-monopoly majority,
- the anti-imperialist majority,
- the anti-apartheid majority,
- the anti-contramajority, and,
- the anti-Reagan majority.

Thus, the mutual self-interests of the people's majorities are creating the conditions for unity of the majorities. The changing thought patterns that reflect changing objective developments all require broader forms and concepts of unity.

Therefore, new concepts of unity must be more flexible, more sweeping and less dogmatic. The symbol of unity must be the outstretched hand. The struggle for unity must be

the main ingredient of our tactical and strategic concepts. These new concepts of unity are not only possible, but absolutely necessary.

In this report I have tried to place all questions in the framework of the struggle for new concepts of unity—all-people's unity, Left unity, class unity and the concept of the united workingclass front.

**I**t may seem unnecessary, even out of character, that at a convention of the party of the working class it is necessary to reargue the centrality of the class struggle and the role of our class in it. But it is necessary.

The very heart of the capitalist ideological booby trap is the continuing denial and camouflaging of the very existence of the class struggle. Companion to this is the theory of the deterioration and shriveling of the working class. There continue to be variations on this anti-workingclass theme. They come from the Left, the Right and the Center, each with its own disguise.

We have been hearing a lot about covert operations lately. But the longest running coverup is the ruling class attempt to cover up the main irreconcilable contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction that gives rise to the class struggle and the working class itself.

There are also so-called Left groupings whose main diet is downgrading the U.S. working class. They rehash the old bourgeois nonsense that the U.S. working class is opportunistic, that it is racist, that it has lost its historic place as the central revolutionary force.

To deny the centrality of the class struggle is to deny the existence of the main contradiction of capitalism. The centrality of the class struggle, the main contradiction and the role of the working class are inseparable components of the very essence of the capitalist system. There is no way to replace, to substitute or bypass that hard rock of capitalist reality.

For us, the main point of reference is the

---

This is a section of the main report to the convention by Gus Hall, general secretary of the CPUSA.

multi-racial, multi-national, male/female, younger and older working class, and the struggle it is engaged in.

In our corner of the universe, there are celestial bodies other than the sun that create their own gravitational forces. But it is the power of the sun that creates and regulates the overall system in which the satellite bodies each have an important place.

Like the sun in the solar system, it is the class struggle and the working class that create the system in which all other forces, movements and struggles make their contributions to human progress. The different mass movements and struggles are separate. They have their own specific interests, demands, tactics and contributions. But like the planets around the sun, to be effective they have to relate to the main contradiction and to the class forces it gives rise to.

More than ever, the working class today is the center of gravity for all-people's unity. The working class is bringing into its orbit all the great struggles of today. Thus, the main champion for democracy today is the working class. The working class brings a new content to the struggle for democracy.

For example, in the coming National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings, the question of public ownership is becoming a question of democracy, of curbing the power of the transnationals and guaranteeing the democratic right of people to live and work and have a decent standard of living and quality of life.

The U.S. working class has reached the 100 million mark—some 180 million including family members and dependents—and is still growing. We are a workingclass country. But while our class grows bigger, it also grows poorer.

The 35-40 million poor who live under the poverty level are, by and large, workers. The last ten years have been a decade of increased poverty. The average real wages of young men between 20-24 years old plunged 30 per cent between 1973 and 1984. For young Afro-American workers the drop is closer to 50 per cent.

During the Reagan years, 14 million workers lost their jobs because of plant closings. Sixty percent of the new jobs Reagan boasts

about pay below the poverty level. Fifty-seven percent of steelworkers, 46 per cent of miners, and 39 per cent of factory workers have been laid off, many of them permanently.

Most of the homeless are the millions of steelworkers, autoworkers, construction workers and machinists and their families who have lost their jobs.

Our present generation is the first in decades in which young workers have a lower standard of living than their parents.

**T**he syndrome of downward mobility is a product of the Reagan-corporate offensive. When asked whether the American people should have the right to the basic necessities of job, food and shelter, Reagan's Labor Secretary replied: "I think they have a right to seek these things. But I don't think they have a right to demand that they be provided. I don't recall anything in the Constitution about the right to a job."

That says it all—about the Reagan administration and the limitations of the U.S. Constitution. Incidentally, the constitutions of the "evil empire" and all the socialist countries have such lifetime guarantees as a job, food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care, child care.

While it is not possible to set an exact date for the next cyclical crisis of overproduction there can be no question that it will arrive. It is inevitable. It will strike all the major capitalist countries and have its impact on the whole capitalist world.

It is also possible to say with some degree of certainty, that this next one will be about 7.5 on the economic Richter scale. And there will be a period of prolonged economic aftershocks.

Some factors that will usher in the crisis are the continuing decline in real wages, the increased rate of exploitation of labor and the Reagan reductions in all socioeconomic programs—in short, the declining standard of living for the majority and the pile-up of extreme wealth at the very top. The boom phase of the automobile production cycle has passed its peak. The housing boom is over and is shifting into a declining phase.

Like the people in Florida and Louisiana who board up their glass storefronts to prepare for oncoming hurricanes, the big banks all over the country are setting aside billions as insurance against defaulting loans that come with economic storms.

There is no way to end the decline of jobs in industry or to restore the employment to earlier levels without a major reduction in the work week with no cut in pay. There will be no economic turnaround without wage increases. Hurricane prevention measures must include an end to overtime and a meaningful increase in the minimum wage.

**P**riate enterprise is the cause for plant closings. It is the obstacle to reopening them. This obstacle can only be removed by public takeover.

There is no way to end the decline in affordable housing construction without a massive program of government housing construction in the millions of units per year. Such a program is needed to house the homeless, to clear the slums, to provide jobs and to restore the steel, cement, construction equipment and trucking industries.

The corporate solution to the increasing international competition brought on by the structural crisis is to dramatically reduce labor costs. For example, the head of GM went to Wall Street to announce that GM will cut its work force in half—more production overseas, cut U.S. production, make more profits by selling less cars at higher prices.

A recent *New York Times* Business Section editorial argued that profits and wages rise and fall together and any union activity that impairs profits will cut wages, jobs and living standards.

In the article, "On the Eve of the Auto Talks: Putting an End to Adversarial Unionism," the chief economist for USX, who is also a senior Heritage Foundation ideologue, put out the line:

American labor should look within itself for answers

to its problems and not to outside factors. Its philosophy of ever shorter hours, narrow job classifications and artificial work load limits is at odds with the work ethic and drags down the nation in its fight to stay competitive.

He suggests that,

Labor should drop adversarial unionism and practice enterprise unionism, like the Japanese and Swiss. They should defend and nurture the golden goose of profits. Only profitable and competitive employers create employees—and, quite possibly, union members.

The corporate campaign to win these arguments takes the form of the old wage and benefit concessions. But new and more insidious forms have emerged in the recent period which can have the effect of destroying unions or turning them into "company unions."

Going under the names of "quality circles," "teamwork," "Employee Involvement Programs," or "Labor-Management Participation Teams," the new corporate strategy is to radically alter the production process in line with new "flexible manufacturing systems," in order to simultaneously boost profits and productivity as they reduce the union to impotence on the shop floor. This has become a critical battleground in basic industry.

Usually combined with "profit-sharing," or "gain-sharing" plans, these new forms of workplace organization are designed to increase the rate of exploitation while, at the same time, they undermine national industrywide union contracts and shop steward systems. They seek to turn local unions and workers into accomplices for increasing profits in the name of "competitiveness."

Where it becomes necessary and feasible, the tactic should be to turn these negative corporate forms into positive instruments of struggle. But workers must never forget that these groups with "neutral" sounding names are instruments of the bosses.

These new corporate systems are a direct attack on industrial unionism at the very time when the trade union movement must make a

stepped-up effort to strengthen industrial unionism and broaden its forms to take account of new types of corporate organization—such as increased conglomerization and internationalization. These new corporate systems of organization are designed to set workers at different plants in the same company and same unions against each other.

The trade union response must include:

- Increased wages and guaranteed employment to compensate for the increase in exploitation;

- Redoubled efforts to preserve the integrity of industrywide master contracts which deal with so-called "local" issues as well; and,

- New thinking on how unions can take control over these new types of workplace organization through innovation in steward systems and new forms of in-plant struggles.

**F**rom all this it is clear the question of workingclass unity is the most critical of all the important questions we must deal with.

Inequality is not only an instrument of superprofits, but a direct instrument of disunity. The many-sided struggle for equality is a necessary prerequisite for workingclass unity.

The struggle for equality must take on the specific cases of inequality. But it must also create an atmosphere of equality. It must be concrete. But it must also be educational.

It must fight for economic equality. But it must also be political and ideological. The struggle against inequality must fight for a program, for demands. But it must also project slogans.

We must help create a new mode of thinking about class unity. We must imaginatively link the issues that will promote and build new levels of class unity that are needed to go from defensive struggles to offensive struggles.

We must project class unity as a precondition for the working class to be able to fulfill its historic role.

We must do more in the struggle to eliminate racist influences in the ranks of the working class. In this struggle we must learn how to use objective developments as a framework for

the struggle against racist influences. We must build on the advances. We must see the remaining influences of racism, but also the declining influence of the poison.

Following are a few examples of the declining influence of racism.

- After a racist incident, on the initiative of a white teacher, a local union of teachers in Pontiac Michigan—all white—unanimously voted that the state legislature should ban distribution of Nazi and other hate literature.

- In St. Louis, white autoworkers issued a statement condemning a racist attack on a Black worker running for a local union office.

3) In Oakland, pipefitters, faced with a plant closing and reopening in South Korea, joined a demonstration called by Korean Americans in support of democratic struggles in South Korea.

These and the many more experiences that I'm sure will come out during the plenary, workshops and commissions at this convention, are examples of actions and advanced consciousness that concretely build class unity.

It is in this framework that we must examine whether we can be more helpful to the trade union movement, as the pivotal mass organization of the working class.

**T**he new fresh winds that our trade union program correctly forecast continue to blow. As with all winds, there are gusts up to 60 miles per hour, and there are also moments when one has to wet one's finger and hold it in the air to determine whether the wind is still blowing.

What is new is that the gusts are stronger and come more often and that the winds do not reverse themselves.

But there are strong forces in the leadership of the AFL-CIO that are very actively working to reverse the direction of the fresh winds. In the recent months they have become better organized, more persistent and outspoken. The International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO, under the Rightwing leadership of Tom Kahn, with the backing of Lane Kirkland, Albert Shanker and others, has gone all out to revive

some of the old class collaborationist policies, especially in giving support to the Reagan policies of imperialist aggression.

The ideological departments of the CIA and the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO are two sides of the same coin. They are spending huge sums of somebody's money to mobilize their forces to tip the scales at the upcoming AFL-CIO convention in October.

The struggle over labor's participation in the April 25th demonstration was a trial run for the longer-range struggle. The class collaborationists lost that one. The largest contingents in both Washington and San Francisco were the trade unions.

**W**hile the Rightwing forces in the AFL-CIO are becoming increasingly isolated, it is still necessary for us to look at their activities in detail.

It is one of those U.S. peculiarities that this inner-department of the trade union movement operates mainly covertly with its secret sources of money, like the CIA. None of its personnel are elected and it supports an administration that is totally anti-union, both at home and abroad.

Almost all the governments that were involved in the Iran-contragate conspiracy do not hesitate to murder trade unionists. And yet there is evidence that the International Affairs Department played its usual supporting role.

There are more and more exposures linking the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department with the gang of gun runners who have been operating for years out of the White House basement. More and more evidence is coming to light, linking together International Affairs Department officials, members of Social Democrats, USA, and the Poindexter-North operations.

These connections are becoming a growing embarrassment and threaten to expose further those in labor's ranks who—in the name of anti-communism—secretly and not so secretly cooperated with the CIA and State Department in sabotaging labor and people's movements here and abroad.

The National Endowment for Democracy, the labor arm of White House contra-funding operation, together with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) are almost extensions of the U.S. State Department. They are directly implicated in both fund raising for the contras and in the illegal use of public money to target, pressure and defeat Democratic swing votes in the House of Representatives.

The Reagan bootlickers in labor support an administration that not only went all out to break a strike, but destroyed a union, PATCO, in the process.

They are in cahoots with an administration that is proposing to take over the Teamsters Union, to put it under Mussolini-like government control. Then it can be used as a precedent for taking over the trade union movement as a whole—a proposal that is disturbingly similar to the Administration's policy of replacing governors and mayors with Lt. Colonels and Admirals under a so-called national emergency.

The Rightwing forces in the trade union movement have launched a new effort to gather their forces, and are therefore a greater threat. But the fresh winds that blow in opposition to the Right-wing continue, and they have many currents.

The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO has launched a major counterattack on overall questions of jobs, wages and the right to organize. The "Jobs With Justice" drive, which grew out of the April 25th demonstration, calls for rallies, picketlines and lobbying. This is an important initiative because there has been a loud demand in the grassroots for such leadership. It is an effort to mobilize both the organized and unorganized, an effort to build a political and ideological base for offensive struggles. It is seen as a campaign to mobilize, agitate and educate.

The fresh winds are getting strong support from such organizations as Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). On many questions CBTU and CLUW take more advanced positions than the trade union leadership as a whole.

The forces that welcome and support the fresh winds are not of one mind. They do not always support all the currents. At times some are momentarily affected by Rightwing countercurrents. Therefore, the overall tactics must move in the direction of achieving a unity that can encompass differences. That should be the very essence of the tactics of a united class front policy.

**T**he fresh winds and changing thought patterns are creating a new magnetic force by which to adjust the workingclass compass. A united class front policy must be the approach to all struggles, from economic struggles on the shop floor to the contract negotiating table.

A united class front policy must be the underpinning for the trade union PACs, for the electoral tactic of political independence.

There are some new factors that have a negative impact on the unity of the working class. The structural crisis—plant closings and the relocation of manufacturing facilities to non-union areas—has all but wiped out whole sections of the trade union movement.

Since Reagan came into office, almost two million union jobs have been wiped out. The number of union construction workers has fallen by about a half-million, and the number of non-union construction workers has increased by about the same number. Unorganized auto plants, steel mini-mills and whole sections of the electrical industry are unorganized.

This non-union bridgehead presents a serious problem for the trade union movement and for our Party. It saps the strength of the unionized sector. It is a serious challenge to the unity of the class. In its overall class interests the trade union movement must find the resources to set up a well-planned program of organizing the unorganized.

Another new and growing factor affecting workingclass and trade union unity is the permanently unemployed, millions of whom are homeless and hungry. The number of permanently unemployed workers grows even during

the boom phase of the economic cycle. These are also unorganized workers.

The trade union movement can ignore the growing army of unemployed only at its own peril. The corporations discard workers, but the trade unions must not. We must help to find ways to create the organized link between the three components—unity between the unorganized, unemployed and the trade union movement. That which challenges the working class and trade union movement is as much a challenge to us Communists. It is a challenge to all Left forces.

We cannot meet our responsibilities by lecturing or pointing the finger at trade union leaders. We must help to find the path to workingclass unity that will include the sections that are now drifting.

**B**ecause of the fresh winds in the trade union movement, it is necessary to update our assessment of workingclass mass thought patterns.

Objective developments have narrowed down the influence of the Right-wing. Thus, in the grassroots the influence of the Right-wing on most questions has become rather thin. This is a most important development.

An important section of the top leadership is still very much Rightwing and class collaborationist, both in domestic and foreign policy issues. But a growing section of the top and especially the middle layer of leadership is moving in a progressive direction, in both domestic and foreign affairs.

Because of the changing thought patterns, the membership—and the workingclass grassroots in general—increasingly respond to tactics of class struggle, class unity and class political independence.

They join in the struggles for ending the nuclear arms race. Twenty-seven internationals are officially part of the Freeze movement. They join in the struggles against U.S. policies that support the racist regime in South Africa and the contras in Central America.

The initiative by *Labor Today* and Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) to

organize a National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings can develop into a broad-based movement for a militant fight against plant closings.

The Jobs With Justice campaign is a direct challenge to class collaboration and is already capturing the imagination of many trade unionists—membership and leadership—as well as grassroots workingclass community organizations.

On most of the big issues, to one extent or another, the grassroots take issue with the Rightwing positions of the Kirklands and Shankers. To a large extent the grassroots has moved to the positions that were thought patterns of the Center forces in past years.

Then there is the growing broad Left sector in the ranks of the leadership, but even more so in the grassroots. This broader Left element now encompasses much of what also were called Center positions.

Because of these changing thought patterns it is more difficult—and unnecessary—to speak of a Right, a Center and a Left. Making a distinction between the bulk of the membership and those who are Center forces has largely lost its meaning.

In today's context, the old Center concept does not leave enough room for the broader Left development. And the thought patterns which were considered Center in the past have now become the thought patterns of the bulk of the trade union membership and much of the leadership. And the broader Left now occupies part of that domain also.

In other words, it seems to me the thought patterns have changed to where the bulk of the trade union movement is reaching the point where it is not necessary, or even correct, to distinguish the great majority from a separate, designated Center section.

Therefore, what is called for as the main tactical approach is the organization and mobilization of the united working class. Thought patterns have changed enough so that the appeal on most questions can be made to the whole class, to all members of the trade union movement.

Hence the concept of a united workingclass

front. And, associated with and an integral part of this united class is a Left sector that has grown and is still growing—thus, an appeal to a united Left to give leadership to a united workingclass front.

This shift in tactics raises the importance of and makes it possible to work more within the trade union structure—to work within local unions, within central labor and state bodies.

Thought patterns have shifted to where most of the issues that unite the Left forces can be raised within locals, within central and state labor bodies. The united Left forces should now think in terms of moving the whole trade union movement. In fact, the whole trade union grassroots can be mobilized in the struggle against the Right-wing.

These new thought patterns are not yet fully developed, but the direction is clear. They will continue to refresh the fresh winds.

**F**or millions of workers up against incredible odds in their battles with the transnationals and finance capital, with the union busters, corporate takeover thugs, it is becoming clearer every day that unity—a united workingclass front—is the only way to beat them.

The idea of unity is now heard everywhere in trade union circles. It is both a product of and a spur to the fight against racism. It is also a product of and spur to the decline of anti-communism in the labor movement.

What is heard more and more in discussions with trade unionists is the idea that "I may not agree with you on everything, but we can and must work together."

There is an enormous respect for the history of the Left in our trade union movement. The period of the CIO and the militant leadership provided by the Left is looked upon as the example of what we should be doing today.

More and more the Right-wing—Kirkland, Shanker and the Rightwing Social Democrats—are seen as the saboteurs of unity in the trade union movement, not the Left. This desire to close ranks in the battle is a powerful force. And it includes not only the desire for unity within the trade union movement, but also unity with

the broader forces represented by civil rights, church, women's, seniors and youth organizations.

What developed around April 25th, the coalition of labor and the churches, is a good example. Now the Jobs with Justice campaign that calls upon all who can be part of the anti-monopoly fight to join with the labor movement is the continuation of this. The dozen international unions and the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO who have formed this campaign are responding to the Left thought patterns among their millions of members.

As a result of all this, we are seeing a deeper class consciousness developing among the working class, and particularly among the organized sector of the class.

By and large these are Left thought patterns. How else would you describe the thought patterns of the nearly 175,000 trade unionists who marched on April 25? These trade unionists clearly made the connection between their own bread-and-butter issues—their battles against the transnationals—and the anti-imperialist fight of the people of South Africa and Central America. They represent the outlook of millions of other trade unionists.

When we broaden our sights to include the enormous 100 million strong working class we can begin to see that we are dealing with a different workingclass population today, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

At our last convention in 1983, in the section of the Main Report on "Building the Left and Center Unity," we said:

Left-Center forms are now increasingly possible and necessary. But without Left forms even such important concepts have nowhere to go. A trade union movement without Left forms is like a person trying to jog with only one leg.

The Center forces continue to be a viable force in the ranks of the working class and trade union movement. The Center forces of today are not the same as those of years ago. Generally, they are less influenced by Rightwing elements. They waver on foreign policy issues. Many are still influenced by anti-communism and racism. They are more militant on domestic is-

sues. . . Nothing moves in a vacuum. Forces move either because they are repelled or attracted. Today, the Center forces are increasingly repelled by the Rightwing forces.

Therefore, it is clear that while they are stimulated by objective factors, while they are reacting to issues, how fast they will move, on what issues they will move and what forms the movement will take depends largely on their relationship with Left forces.

In working for Left unity we are working with, and giving direction to, trends that are already in motion. We are not inventing these trends.

This process we described so accurately four years ago has now come to fruition. It is a much more clearly defined development.

The Center forces have continued to mature to the point where they are now much of the membership. The Left forces, "moving with trends already in motion," have grown, given leadership, developed organized forms and moved towards greater and greater unity with other forces and movements.

Thus, the terms we use, our definition and description of Left (as well as Center) has become too narrow. Today the Left is different. If we continue to see the Left as a small, narrow group then there is no room for the Communist Party.

As a matter of fact we can only see the united workingclass front if we see the Left more broadly. To match the shift our programs, slogans and tactics have to be looser, broader and more flexible. The loosening up of our tactics must be based on our assessment of changing thought patterns.

**L**et me now discuss how we see this shift in relation to Left unity in all mass movements and people's struggles.

We are for unity of the Left forces in the peace movement. It is obvious that large sections of the population who are for ending the nuclear arms race now identify with and relate to the more advanced Left positions.

Therefore, the Left peace forces must break out of their narrow, sectarian, cloistered isola-

tion. Only in this way can it also break out of the crisis of inaction on the peace front.

We are for Left unity with the Left forces in the Afro-American community and movements. On issues directly related to the struggle for equality, the great majority of Afro-Americans relate to and support Left positions. This does not mean we do not need organized Left forms. Without Left forms the organized power of advanced positions on issues cannot be molded. There is a need for organized Left forms working with the Afro-American movements.

The same approach and the forms to fit are needed to organize the Left forces among Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, American Indian and Asian Pacific peoples.

National oppression, especially with the devastating effects of Reaganism, has created an anger and militancy and with this a growing anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and class conscious sector in these movements.

Thus, there is now a Left and the basis for an organized Left and Left unity in the movements of the nationally oppressed.

We are for Left unity in the youth movement. Because of the objective developments that are destroying all hopes for reaching "the American dream," it is necessary to think now in terms of all-youth unity. A united Left sector must be a part of and work within the concept of unity of the young generation.

As the struggles for women's equality have moved into the arena of the class struggle and politics, the women's movement has become an important political force. Women have become a greater force in the molding of workingclass unity. Women have become a recognized force in all other areas of struggle.

But today there is a broad movement and an even broader consensus that takes in the great majority of women. Within this broad consensus there is a growing Left sector. Therefore, there is the need for a united Left force.

More Left forces are gravitating toward organizations like Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The breadth and

depth of the 200-member U.S. delegation to the recent international women's peace conference in Moscow was a demonstration of the changing thought patterns.

Thus, it is now necessary for the Party and other Left forces to take a new look to see whether the present Left forms in all the movements and struggles are broad enough, whether they are still adequate to give leadership to both the expanding movements and to a united Left.

The same kind of examination is called for in our work among farmers. The farm crisis has had a deep-going effect on the thought patterns in the farm communities because it has caused so much personal suffering to so many farm families. There is a rising anger and the kind of militancy that leads to action.

What is most important is that the farm organizations have taken the initiative in the efforts toward farmer-labor unity. As a result of hard times, struggle and protest, there is a growing Left sector among the farmers. Our comrades working in this area must take initiatives to help give organized form to this growing Left farm sector.

We can see an emerging Left sector in most mass movements today, in the seniors movement, health care, public education, in the church movements and among the growing sector of the permanently unemployed. As these sectors blossom we must help give them form and tactics so they can become a recognized leading force in advancing all movements and all-people's unity. The united majorities can develop their full political muscle only if there are organized Left forms working with them.

**I**n our consideration of these developments it is necessary to take into account that there are still some obstacles to Left unity.

Anti-Sovietism has long been such an obstacle. However, with the new U.S. peace majority, the decline in anti-Sovietism and the new interest in socialist developments, the possibilities for a broad Left unity have increased greatly. Today, those who stand in the way of such unity are becoming increasingly isolated.

Anti-communism is not as effective now. It

has lost its ability to separate labor from its allies and to maintain longstanding divisions in labor's own ranks. Those who continue to make anti-communism the primary question for labor in place of the battle against the transnationals will either soon become irrelevant or will get thrown out of the path of progress.

As is the case with all alliances or coalitions, in order to build Left unity there has to be an underlying basis of agreement, a common understanding about the issues on which the foundation for unity is laid.

The purpose of a united Left alliance is to help give effective leadership to broader forces and to organize more advanced forms of struggle. However, this Left leadership must be constructive—not provocative, destructive, divisive, manipulative or anti-Communist Party.

For the time being many of the small "left" groupings have pulled in their anti-Soviet horns. For most this is a tactical maneuver. Because of the overall decline in anti-Sovietism and because the base for these sentiments has narrowed down, it is now difficult for a phony left grouping to be anti-Soviet and maintain any credibility with broader forces.

There are phony left groupings that come and go. They are phony because on the one hand they use Marxist phrases but on the other hand they are anti-workingclass and anti-Communist Party.

They take opportunistic positions with Left covers on most questions. But they spend most of their time attacking the positions of the Communist Party, USA. Their attacks on the Communist Party are an opportunistic concession to the reactionary forces.

These groupings have no real following so they become leeches, attaching themselves to organizations and movements, making provocative appearances at mass meetings, distributing their anti-Communist Party diatribes.

Most of these grouplets continue the old Trotskyite tactic of disrupting united movements. Most still pursue the policy of "takeover and destroy."

Some now say they want to work with the Party. But that is also phony because at the very

time they are talking about working with the Party, they are working to take over and destroy it.

Anyone who is honest and has honest differences with the Party, but is not out to slander or disrupt the Party, will have no problems working in mass movements with Communists. However, dishonest or enemy class forces express their so-called differences in ways that aim to divide and destroy.

Anyone can work with the Party. However, we want to make it clear that we will not permit anyone to use the Party for narrow, sectarian, disruptive purposes. In fact, if some honest Left forces have no basic differences with the Party, then really the natural thing for them to do is join the Party.

At times like these, when the conditions and sentiments are crying out for Left unity, we will not permit these small dishonest, destructive, provocative sects to place obstacles in the way of working toward a united workingclass front.

**T**here are continuing changes in thought patterns related to racism.

On the one hand there are the violent racist outbursts that are stimulated by the atmosphere created by Reagan-Meese racist acts and agitation. Reflecting this same atmosphere is the rash of racist police violence and police killings.

On the other hand, according to recent public opinion polls, the majority of white Americans are against inequality. All do not yet see affirmative action as the solution to undo inequality—a weakness we must relentlessly struggle to overcome. Nevertheless, it shows how white people are moving leftward, including against overt racism, but like swimmers moving with the current in a rapid river, they sometimes get caught in whirlpools.

Tens of millions of white workers have now had experience in working side by side with their Black counterparts. The days of legal Jim Crow mines and mills, schools and public facilities have been gone for quite awhile. This interracial contact has added to the developing anti-

racist consciousness among white workers.

Thus, organization of the struggle against racism, especially acts of racist violence, is essential because large sections of white masses do not have generations of experience in being against racism.

The experiences in Cleveland, Detroit, Howard Beach and Atlanta prove that it is now possible to move white workers to challenge the racists directly. And when this happens the racist elements retreat.

This should give us confidence to take bold initiatives when racist violence takes place. But it also raises questions about preventive actions. There is a need for broad movements against racism. And there is also a need for organized Left leadership, program and forms.

**T**he rise in national oppression is reflected in the increase in national chauvinism against Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Asian-Pacific, American Indian and all nationally oppressed peoples.

It is expressed in rising incidents of violence and harassment, in the slave labor sweatshops, brutal home industries and farm labor conditions, in the implementation of the anti-labor, racist aspects of the new immigration law.

It can be seen in the terrible poverty and suffering in the barrios, ghettos and on the reservations across our land.

On the other hand, there is the growth of movements and organizations taking on the violence, harassment and brutal working conditions imposed by the superprofit-seeking corporations. And, there is the growing coming together of the nationally oppressed and the trade union movement. This adds an important

new dimension to political independence.

Partly because of the public response to Israel's role in Irangate and the Pollard spy case, there is a rise in incidents of anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic sentiments that are being used as a tool by the ultra-Right—for example, in the farm belt in an attempt to blame the farm crisis on "Jewish bankers." The *Wall Street Journal* keeps pointing to the ethnic background of the Wall Street insiders.

Bigotry and prejudice against Jewish Americans usually accompany a rise in racism and an atmosphere that feeds racism and anti-Semitism. Therefore unity, which has been historically the case, is natural and necessary.

The recent convention of the progressive New Jewish Agenda stressed the need for unity with labor and with all sections of the nationally oppressed, challenging the influence of Zionism. This is the kind of Left unity that can give the lead in building all-people's unity against racism, anti-Semitism and all forms of discrimination.

**T**he more concrete, definitive forms of unity will materialize as we work among Left forces in all the movements. It is clear there is a new basis for unity of all Left forces in all movements and struggles—on the basis of issues, positions, actions and honesty.

With this understanding, our Party must and will become an active, constructive and mobilizing force in organizing the new concepts of Left unity, a united all-people's unity, with a united workingclass front bringing to the fore the power and oneness of our multiracial, multinational, male-female working class. □

## ***From the floor discussion***

---

*Over 400 delegates at plenary sessions, panels and workshops, in total, contributed many hours of discussion to the proceedings of the 24th National Convention of the CPUSA. The following have, somewhat randomly, been selected for publication to illustrate how the Main Report was received, confirmed, and enhanced by the delegates' participation.*

### **Alicia**, community activist

Our club works in the poorest neighborhood in the poorest city in the United States—Hartford, Connecticut. The people are poor but the land is very valuable because it borders the downtown district and the Connecticut River. Developers have bought land and tried to evict people from it. They tried to divide Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans.

Our club led the battle to stop these evictions. We united Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans and won a new law. The law says that any low-income housing torn down must be replaced with new low-income housing. We established a group called the Committee to Save Huyshope. This committee is respected in the neighborhood and is known by many to be Communist-led.

Our next big battle is with Colt Industries, which forced its workers out on strike. We were able to unite the neighborhood with the strikers by showing that the city was providing expensive police services to the Colt owners and no service to the neighborhood. We collected over 400 signatures and marched to City Hall with the strikers. That march helped to unite several neighborhood groups in the city with the strikers. As a result, next November, several neighborhood groups together with several unions will run three candidates for City Council on an independent slate. The Republican Party is afraid of losing its three positions on the City Council.

We are now in a battle to prevent the public housing authorities from evicting entire families because one family member has been convicted

of selling drugs. On this issue, we won the editorial support of the major Connecticut newspapers. It was our young Pioneer Group which marched with the families in a demonstration we organized that brought TV and newspaper support to our side.

Our club was started by three comrades who did not live in our neighborhood. It was done by setting up a large *People's Daily World* route. After four years of delivering the newspapers, readers began to join the Party, which now is a 23-member club—the biggest in Connecticut's history. It is one-half Puerto Rican and one-half Afro-American and white comrades. Most of the club members have joined because of the *People's Daily World* route. Our route continues to grow. It provides the contact between our club and the struggles that must be fought to save our neighborhood.

### **Clyde Grubbs**, Massachusetts District organizer,

I want especially to greet the projections for developing and upgrading our tactics. This is a constant process in our Party but we are becoming better at projecting the "next stage." I especially welcome the idea that a united trade union Left must be developed and that it must assume the role of giving leadership to the trade union movement. This is a concept whose time has come.

The idea that those forces that we used to identify as the trade union Center have, through their experiences, developed more of a consistent class-struggle stance and now take positions that unite them with the Left, corresponds with what has happened with the most active and concerned trade unionists in the Boston area.

The implications for the new estimate can be positive and move the class forward, particularly if we grasp and put into practice the new tactical policy of the Report. I don't think that will be easy. There will be some feeling that the Report is overly "optimistic" about the Center's

mergence with the Left. There is an idea current in the Party and the more advanced Left that equates "Left" with socialist consciousness and consistent anti-imperialist positions. These comrades would argue that the newly projected trade union Left does not measure up to these standards. It is, therefore, not yet "Left." This is dogmatic and fails to see how forces develop through struggle. It is also not how we should use the concept of "Left."

What was this concept of "Left, Right and Center"? It described forces of the trade union movement, forces that were and are in motion generated by the two polar tendencies: class collaboration versus class struggle—the collaborationist Right versus the class-struggle Left. They were positions relative to the demands of the trade union movement and the class struggle. It was trade unionism that defined the Left.

The "Center" was used to describe those forces that vacillated, that were not sure of whether the policies of class struggle or class collaboration were best suited to their interests. Now, in many local situations, the Right—the conscious class-collaborationist forces—don't have much of a base. That is a new reality. They do not have a base because the experience of active trade unionists finds class collaboration a failure.

What had been the Center forces have undergone more experiences in struggle. The Reagan-corporate assault has seen to that. And they see the need for a class-struggle oriented approach. The growing solidarity on the picket lines and the new tactics of political action, lobbying and sponsoring legislation are indications of that.

Tactical policies point the road to be pursued. They have to be implemented in the concrete situations. The road may have some zigs and zags and even an occasional hill. These zigs and zags and inclines may be used to argue that the entire road has problems. For example: While the influence of the Right has declined, there remains a trade-union Right-wing. This is a force that orientates toward collaboration with the company. They see moving into company management, state and college labor programs as career options. They get aid and support

from the national AFL-CIO and some of its state affiliates.

It is also true that some in the trade-union Left have ambitions to be full time union officers, to be staffers—anything but rank-and-file leaders. This can be a problem.

The trade-union Right has, as the Report states, "much less influence" at the base. Among the most active forces of the rank and file, such class collaborators are in fact rejected. But they do have the ability to manipulate the least active members of the unionized workforce, to work on those who have not been fully drawn into the class struggle.

There have been advances in several big shops in Massachusetts, with Left and Left-leaning forces uniting and winning local victories. These may best be described as class-struggle forces, forces that lean toward class-struggle positions. They are not really Center forces, nor fully consistent class-struggle forces. They suffered setbacks at the hands of the Right-wing in union elections because of insufficient attention to mobilizing, educating and working with the less active membership. They lacked a rank-and-file, a united-front-from-below orientation.

These experiences show that the Right has no base, or at best a receding base. We have to help the emerging broad Left understand the need to win the whole class, to win the entire rank and file not just those who come to membership meetings. The key to this is the shop steward system. It must be strengthened where it exists and rebuilt where it does not. The orientation of some within the Left toward offices and staff positions must not become the style of the emerging Left.

**Joe**, shopworker

I work in a UAW shop. I want to talk a little bit about the Press and its effect, how quickly the *People's Daily World* has gained acceptance in our plant and how it makes it easier for people to accept the Party and the Party's perspective.

We started out with people from outside, from the community, distributing the paper at the plant gate. In a little while, since we have two Party people in the plant, we were able to

bring it in at the same time every week. While we were distributing it at one gate, we were able to bring in more than another 100 copies and distribute them in the back part of the plant to reach the workers who didn't come through the front gate.

Pretty quickly, the paper takes over and it sells itself. Auto workers want to hear about the bargaining in their industry and nobody minds that it comes from the Communist Party. No one's ever said this paper shouldn't be in here, it's a Communist paper. I haven't heard that in my plant. It was so accepted that I wrote an article for it a couple of months ago discussing the state of the job bank in our plant—we had 600 members in the job bank—and the whole joint UAW-GM team approach, whatever it's called.

I wrote that article stating the way things were, as I saw them—that we hadn't gotten this management cooperation after two and a half years, although our local was one of the early ones to buy into this. The union local vice-president came over to me and said, "That's a good, fair article and you didn't attack anyone personally; I appreciate that."

I took the text from him. He was the one who had said to me, "We've been doing this for two and a half years and we're not getting anything out of it."

The shop chairman is the one who is most committed to these joint programs and he's the one who told me it's like a bee stinging him. He started a series of arguments and I said, "Well, what if we got some more jobs."

He walked away saying, "Sure, there's something coming in but I can't really promise you that; I'll talk to you about this later."

But he never got back to me. He's still, so far as I know, committed to these programs but they seem to be coming down around his ears.

The employee "involvement groups" are folding up. People are leaving them because they never were anything but an elaborate, sophisticated speedup. More and more people are backing away from these things which they first got into with a lot of enthusiasm."

What makes it so easy to discuss these things is getting the paper into the shop and distributing it in large numbers.

We haven't as yet started a shop paper and that's our next step. I don't think we will encounter the resistance to a Communist shop paper that we would have had, had we started without the established presence of the *People's Daily World* presents. People know it's a Communist paper; if they have any reservations about it, they don't make a big deal about it. So, all I can say is the more papers you get in to your plant, the easier it's going to make your work.

**Tony**, college professor

I would like to address myself to that part of the Report which deals with the concept of an anti-racist majority in the country. I think Comrade Hall is absolutely correct.

It appears to me that what is argued is that the intensification of the class struggle leads to the most positive development in the fight against racism within the country as a whole especially for the working class itself. Furthermore, this notion firmly separates our Party and its theory of the working class and of the class struggle from all others in our country. It separates us certainly from the ultra- and phony-"left" who argue the very opposite, for instance, that rather than an anti-racist majority, there is a racist majority.

Such a proposition is not new in essence, only in form. It can only lead to a strategy that the Afro-American people and Afro-American workers must fight racism, in fact monopoly capital, alone. This is fundamentally the line of the New Alliance Party and the Line of March. It is "left" in sound, in words, but pseudo-revolutionary, reactionary in essence.

I would like, next, to address the problem of the historic strike of the South African mine workers. Today it is reported in the newspapers that some 78 mine workers have been shot down. Probably we can double that number. We do not yet know how many have been killed but what we do know is that this is a historic strike; over 350,000 miners are part of the strike; over 40 mines, coal and gold mines, have been shut down; the miners are hitting at the very heart of the South African economy, the very

basis of monopoly capital in South Africa. And in so doing are striking at the heart of the transnational corporate support of apartheid in South Africa.

I believe that our Convention resolution must call upon the entire labor movement and the entire American people to come to the support of the South African miners because, in my opinion, the strike is now ushering in a new stage which will quicken the pace for the eventual liquidation of apartheid in that country.

**Evalina Alarcon** Southern California district organizer,

I want to focus on the question of the united working-class front. I think this is a tremendously important new tactic. It confirms our experience in Los Angeles of what is needed now. I want to do this in reference to our concentration on one auto shop—the last of the auto shops in Southern California. You can imagine the pressures on these auto workers. They have watched auto plant after auto plant close down around them. General Motors tells them that to keep the plant open they must accept the “team concept” and work together with GM as one big happy family.

“Team concept” was accepted in this local by a very narrow margin. In life, “team concept” has meant speed-up, less safety, fewer breaks, more injuries, ignoring grievances, etc., etc.

We have distributed the *People's Daily World* here weekly for over a year and we have issued shop papers. There has been a good response.

We have one comrade in the shop and, prior to the weekly distribution, this comrade was not known by many as a Communist. He was very worried about what would happen if his fellow workers knew. As this comrade saw the response to the *People's Daily World* in the shop, he grew less and less worried.

The comrade went to the union hall one day and, as he was standing there talking to fellow workers, a woman shop steward came up and enthusiastically handed him and the other workers a leaflet. She said, “read this, it's great;

I xeroxed it and I'm handing it out all over the shop.”

The comrade couldn't believe what he saw and heard. This woman worker had handed him the “Shop Talk” article he had written in the *People's Daily World*.

She continued, “I wonder who wrote it.” And the comrade gulped and said, “I did.”

We recently had the big test in the shop around our work in the local's elections. There were two slates, one based on the pro-team concept and one on the anti-team concept.

Our comrade ran for the Executive Board on the anti-team-concept slate. The phony “left” is active in the shop and backed that slate. But their line was to blame the UAW International for the crisis in the auto industry and to place that burden on the pro-team slate. That was their focus. Unfortunately, this influenced the anti-team slate. We decided that it was important for our comrade to stay on that slate and pursue an independent role aiming to unify the entire membership of the shop. It was a very complex and difficult situation with each slate attacking the other in daily leaflets on this question of “blame” for the industry crisis.

We decided that our comrade should issue a leaflet making three points: first, it placed the blame for the crisis in auto on General Motors; second, it raised the need for unity of all workers across the country in leading a movement against plant closures; and third, it developed a program to fight plant closures.

Thousands of this leaflet were distributed. The response was electrifying. The workers in the shop said, “Your campaign piece was the best. No mud slinging against the union. That's great. Yours is the only leaflet that gave us answers.”

Auto workers that didn't know our comrade were shaking his hand and slapping his back, saying, “Good job.”

I want to add one more factor. He was red-baited in a leaflet. He was called the “People's World candidate.” Clearly, the one who put that leaflet out hadn't read the *People's Daily World*.

Our comrade won the election.

I think that this is a prime example of the

need for us to be champions in developing tactics which are directed to unite and win over entire union memberships and our class as a whole—the united working-class front.

### **Rudy**, hospital worker

This story is actually a minor success story of the application of the Communist *plus*. Approximately a year ago I spoke to the [Party's] Mid-term Conference and I described a wonderful rank-and-file victory that we had in our local. I mentioned that the Party club played a major role in it and I made the statement that we had a potential for recruiting out of this struggle. Of course it's much easier to have potential than to realize potential. I'm happy to say that we have realized potential and I'd like to describe exactly how we did it.

In the process of this militant class struggle for democratic trade unionism, we came into contact with rank-and-file activists and we immediately started mixing it up, as you would say. We used a variety of methods to introduce them to the Party.

Let me go through some of the things that we did. We had a number of open forums. These were forums that were by invitation to the people we were close to, but they were explicitly forums sponsored, not by the *People's Daily World* but by the Hospital Workers Club of the Communist Party. They were very well-attended, the best one being a forum on Marxism and religion that was just fantastic. And we recruited out of that.

We had classes for people who had just joined the Party as well as individuals who were close to us, plus individuals who were only thinking about the Party, not necessarily being recruited. They were four-session classes: the first on general Marxism; the second on the Party's view of racism and the unity of the class; the third on socialism; and, the fourth on the basic strategy of the Party and the anti-monopoly alliance.

Out of these classes we also recruited. We had a few dinners: some—general recruiting dinners; some—directed to specific questions that we knew individuals were concerned

about. We would invite potential recruits along with other people and talk about those questions. And out of those dinners we also recruited.

Although we have been weak in our work with the *People's Daily World*, we have started a "reciprocal route," exchanging distributions with a community club, and have sold about ten subs.

To sum it all up: in the last year, we've recruited seven workers into the club and we have another seven people in the recruiting hopper.

The emphasis of our recruiting activity was not primarily on getting progressive resolutions passed. It was rather in the day-to-day struggle in the shops.

Although we have improved the composition of our club, we have not fully solved our weakness in this area. I think we will only crack that problem and recruit even more if we start recruiting at the level of the shop. In that regard, I think, we have the potential of one shop club, maybe two in the making, and when we build these we'll have the potential for a real mass Communist Party.

A year ago, I thought the greatest thrill of my life was the rank-and-file victory in the union elections. But our seven Communist recruits, the building of the Party is ten times a greater thrill for me because, although union victories may come and go, but what we've built in the Party is always here.

### **Bobbie**, shopworker

Maybe we should have conventions more often because it is such a wonderful feeling to be a part of this organization. I want to speak about the *plus* in the struggle against plant closings and I am a worker at a plant slated for a shut-down.

For us, as Communists, it's not enough to just talk about the horrible effects on people and their families of plant closings. It's not enough to participate in stress workshops just to help people get retraining. It's not enough for us to deal with the day to day crisis of living. It's not enough for us to oppose concessions or to oppose whipsawing.

I think we have something special to bring and the essence of that is the fight for unity—the fight for unity that Comrade Gus dealt with in his report, to show the workers that unity is the source of the strength of the class, and the *plus*, for us, is to show how to fight.

I agree with the assessment of the thought patterns and I think the fresh winds that are blowing throughout the working class are even building up to a storm. The companies may be more aware of this than we are. In my plant, you could say, that they're putting up wind-breaks against this rising storm.

Just to show you how important they think it is. Every week they put out a propaganda piece, just for our plant, called the "79th Street Journal." A particular issue came out after they announced the plant shutdown. It quoted the president of GM on how good globalization is. He said that it means that factories can open up anywhere, jobs can be created, standards of living raised and the actual sources of war, hunger, illiteracy and poverty combatted.

Then every month we get this paper, called "Working." It is supposedly put out as a joint publication of the company and the union. It has things like this, quoting a worker: "If we do something and we do it jointly, we get job security out of it. We may not be able to save all of our jobs but we sure can save most of them."

The conclusion of all this is that they try to show that the union is the enemy because it's the one who keeps you competing with the other people. Well, the workers want to stick together. They have strong feelings of solidarity with workers in other countries and other plants and they want to find a way so they can all fight together.

I think the *plus* that the Party can give to workers like those in my plant is the idea that we can win if we stop the corporations from exporting our jobs, that these companies can be nationalized, that we can shorten the work week and that there are solutions that are possible without stabbing the other guy in the back—that if we fight together we can win.

I agree with the continued focus in Gus' report on industrial workers and, of course, the workers in the plants that are closing. When

they are in other plants, their experiences, the struggles they have gone through, will be like seeds scattered and sown in many other work situations: to organize unorganized workers, to build the unions. And it would especially be good if some of them were Communists and would take that too to other parts of the working class.

A friend of mine at work found out that I was a Communist, and when some redbaiting leaflets appeared, asked me just what was it I was doing and why did I put myself in this embarrassing position. He knew it must be uncomfortable to have these leaflets put out about me. So we sat down in the cafeteria and I explained the whole thing to him. When I finished he said, "Well, that's nothing, everybody believes that. You like to write, why don't you write this up so people can understand it."

Later, when we were in the locker room, a woman worker came in and complained about Reagan. She griped, "Reagan is so bad, this country is getting to be like communism."

I didn't know what to say, but my friend right away said, "Oh, no, Reagan is the opposite of communism."

The woman said, "Oh, I didn't know that, I thought they had a czar and everything." And my friend answered, "Oh, yeah, they got rid of the czar, the czar was just like Reagan, and now the workers are in charge." The other woman reacted with, "Oh, that's interesting," while I just stood there with my mouth open.

I think people are readier for the things that we're ready to give them. We need the *People's Daily World* in plants like mine. The people love it, they're so happy to get the information. They really need that to be able to do the things they are called on to do.

**Alva**, teacher

The Convention Report has challenged us to reassess our areas of work in the light of the scientific-technological revolution facing both socialism and capitalism.

Simply put, the report describes this revolution as a blessing for socialism and a death warrant for capitalism. The challenge for the

Teachers' Commission has been clearly placed: How does this new development affect the class struggle in public education?

Education should mean the preparation, training and equipping of all children and youth to live meaningful lives with useful jobs. Socialism guarantees this. Capitalism is only interested in training those sectors of the population that it needs for profit-making.

The economic revolution for capitalism requires fewer workers in the skilled and semi-skilled levels of production. Capitalism now requires workers who are highly trained and skilled, workers who have more flexible, inventive, problem-solving skills, but capitalism only needs a few of these workers. The society we seek—socialism—necessitates that all of its citizens be equipped to utilize creative thinking and problem-solving skills. The development of curriculum and of teachers to better equip our students in these skills is a must for Communist teachers.

Fighting to implement a curriculum that equips all students for today's and tomorrow's world is in our immediate self-interest. The "educational reform" movement is the opposite. It is in many ways the creation of monopoly capital. It is an attempt to remake the educational system to meet the needs of monopoly. As teachers, parents and as Communists we must fight to assure democratic content to that movement. We must work to change its direction to suit our class—the working class.

The new challenge affecting the class struggle in public education is to make education serve the interests of the whole multiracial, multinational working class. Teachers cannot afford to limit their trade union fight to narrow, economic interests. We cannot isolate the economic demands from the fight for democratic education for all—with all its implications. To narrow that fight is to fight a losing battle. When we Communists struggle that way, we lose. We are trade unionists because we recognize trade union organization as essential to the working class's ability to win its needs and demands.

As Communists, teachers and trade unionists we must fight to unify the teachers' unions—both National Education Association and

American Federation of Teachers—around progressive actions and demands that will guarantee quality, integrated education. Only with this perspective can teacher interest and teacher conditions be served.

Our self-interest is the self-interest of the workers' children we teach; our self-interest lies with partisanship to working class struggles. To unify NEA and AFT means to defeat Shanker's Rightwing social democratic policies. Every unifying action on issues and actions is a blow to Shankerism's class collaboration. Such unity strengthens the whole labor movement and strengthens the Left and progressive trends in all of labor. In this sense, our teachers can play a strategic role in the U.S. labor movement.

Shanker now touts joint efforts between business and education in curriculum. He supports elitist programs geared to middle strata and those working-class children fortunate enough to be labeled "gifted." Shanker's class collaborationism allows him to blame the children for their poor skills. He encourages and works with the monopolists, pushing their policies in the name of educational reforms. We want monopoly out of our schools and classrooms.

Key to defeating Shankerism is unity of the Left forces within NEA and especially within his own AFT. We must take a good hard look at our policies, methods, and tactics of building a rank and file among teachers. We can no longer afford to function only at conventions and during elections. It is this weakness that makes us appear to be an opposition, a counter-leadership force within the union. We must instead be seen as a pro-union, pro-teacher, pro-Left force. We must be action-oriented in a unifying rank and file movement, thus strengthening the union while winning positions of union leadership.

Unity for Communists must also mean finding ways to coalesce struggles and actions of NEA and AFT with CLUW, CBTU, and other trade union forms and struggles. There are numerous opportunities for joint statements on issues and for actions that we can initiate independently and in conjunction with others.

Unity means the unity of Black, white, Puerto Rican and Chicano teachers within our

schools: struggling on schoolwide and trade union issues, unity of teachers with school staff and unity of teachers with parents and committees. Unity means examining the open, independent role of the Communist Party.

It's about time we have more Communist teachers able to say publicly, "Yes, I'm a Communist—that's what makes good teachers and good trade unionists."

We accept the challenge of this 24th Convention to build the Party and to be Communist teachers with a plus.

### **Debbie**, labor organizer

On the 24th of October, the Organizing Committee for a National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings and Fight for Jobs, met for the first time in Detroit. I think that Gus Hall's report helped to explain a lot about what took place at that meeting and the steps we need to take to go forward.

Over 40 local union presidents, unemployed organizations and victims of plant closings, supported this initiative for the first meeting. And many of them were Left, but many of them were forces that never participated in any kind of Left initiative before, and the response was tremendous.

The trade unionists who came together in Detroit essentially came to see where their common ground lay and on what level they were willing to fight against the plant closings and for jobs. Afterwards, one of our trade union comrades asked me, "So what made this different? What was so special about this meeting? How come it was a spark?"

Well it certainly wasn't the analysis that we are in a crisis situation with plant closings, and it certainly wasn't the reiterating of the kinds of problems that workers face, because everyone there agreed and has agreed about that for a long time. Part of it was that the trade unionists there had come to feel that this kind of struggle couldn't be won on a plant-by-plant, union-by-union or an industry-by-industry basis. That it needed a national movement with a national solution.

But, I think even more was that it helped

point the finger at the causes of the problem which are the transnational corporations and the policies of the government that allow them to bleed the workers dry both here and abroad. And, even more, I think that what was unique about this meeting and these trade unionists and the discussion was that they felt that it could be done and that it has to be started in order to be accomplished.

At this meeting, held prior to the actual organizing meeting, there was discussion that some of the solutions presented were too far "left." But at the meeting this was the common ground. This was the highest common denominator that came out. It covered: the struggle for eminent domain, public ownership, nationalization of basic industries; even deeper and broader, independent political action by the labor movement especially in the 1988 Congressional and Presidential elections; a workers' bill of rights that would unite the entire working class to fight against not only plant closings but for jobs and health care; to stop the whip-sawing of one plant against another, and so on.

Action! Action now! In the shops, at the collective bargaining table, on the street, in the legislature. A guarantee for the right to a job. These were the things that were the common denominator. And, in fact, all of them amount to a switch—to wanting to find the offensive position not the defensive position in the labor movement. The name change from "A National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings" to "The National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings and to Fight for Jobs," I think, attempted as well to put the labor movement on the offensive.

The brother who chaired the meeting is the Financial Secretary of a large local in Flint, Michigan and he put to rest a lot of this hesitancy or tendency to tail what is really out there right now. He said, "Look, this is overdue we needed this for a while already. Somebody has got to try to turn this thing around. And if it starts here with this committee well then so be it and God help us!"

And we certainly aren't closing the doors to anybody. The doors are wide open for any constructive and positive, forward-looking solutions to these problems.

Gus used the phrase "mix it up" and I've heard a lot of our trade union comrades and leaders using this phrase. We can't mix it up if we're not in the ring to do it. Otherwise we are just shadow boxing, that's all.

We can't test the waters and we can't test the current if we're not swimming in that river. And we certainly can't consolidate this Left thinking of the trade union movement and build on it and give leadership to the entire class if we don't have an initiative of form and organization to do it. I think that this "Plant Closing Assembly" provides us with that opportunity.

The bottom line is really this. There are 14 million workers who have lost their jobs because of plant closings. There are 20 million workers who are unemployed. There are 40 million workers without one single bit of healthcare coverage in this country. And to bring it a little bit closer to home, 700 Wisconsin steel workers have died in the last 7 years, before they ever received their final pay check from Wisconsin Steel, before they ever got their pensions, and before they were ever able to see a victory in that struggle.

I think that we can say that this National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings taps the mass thought patterns of these millions of workers and that it seeks to find, not the lowest but the highest common denominator for struggle. The Assembly will take place October 17th and 18th in Detroit. The Call will be out by the first of September and it will be a call that not only tells of the suffering and the disappointment of our class but its dreams and demands for justice. I don't know any call to action that is more compelling for our Party and our Class.

**Sam Webb**, Michigan District organizer,

I have been asked to present a banner to another district for its exemplary work in the past year. In all honesty, I do it with mixed emotions. Let me explain.

For the past year the Michigan district has proudly held the banner presented to us a year

ago at our Party's Midterm Conference in New York. Now, we have to give that banner up, shelve our plans for a district dynasty, and pass the banner along to another district which led the way this year.

Like the disappointed football fans in Chicago and the downcast basketball fans in Boston, we now know that it is difficult to repeat as champs from one year to another. The competition just keeps getting tougher and tougher.

It sounds like a cliché, but it's true.

We did not, nor did most districts, coast along or rest on our laurels for the past 12 months. All of us worked hard.

The problem was that one district worked a little harder and better. They were a little more deeply involved in the working class and people's movements and struggles; they opened up new *People's Daily World* routes at shop gates and in working class neighborhoods; they issued shoppapers and leaflets in response to the most urgent and difficult problems confronting the people of their state; and they built a bigger Party.

In a few words, they were the outstanding Plus Busters and Party Builders.

I suppose most of you know which district I am talking about, but for those who don't, the new recipient of the Party banner for outstanding allround Party work is Connecticut.

This beautiful banner is, at once, a token of the entire Party's appreciation to the district for setting the pace and the standard for the past year and a symbol of the district's devotion to our Party and class.

To Joelle Fishman, the district delegation at this convention, and all the Party members and supporters in Connecticut, I say: enjoy the banner, take pride in it, but don't get too comfortable with it because there are 27 other districts in this hall that are saying to themselves right now that this banner will be hanging on their wall when the people's movement sends Reagan and Reaganism to political oblivion in November of 1988. □

# ***From the fraternal delegates***

---

*The following are excerpts from the speeches of the fraternal delegates to the 24th Convention of the CPUSA.*

**John Sutton**, Member National Committee,  
Association for Communist Unity, Australia

The Association for Communist Unity salutes your achievements in the face of your difficulties. We particularly applaud the high degree of organizational and ideological unity of the CPUSA, which has won it wide respect throughout the international working class movement.

The struggles you are fighting on a day-to-day basis are not so different from those in Australia. There is a mutual understanding that the paramount struggle we face in these dangerous times is the threat of nuclear holocaust and the extinction of humankind from the planet.

It is impossible to divorce the peace struggle from the craven greed of the U.S. military-industrial complex and its ultra-Right policies, wherever they are expressed in the capitalist world.

**Nikolai Arabadjiev**, International  
Relations Department of the Central Committee,  
Bulgarian Communist Party

Bulgarian communists cherish feelings of respect for the Communist Party, USA which set upon its historic path here, in Chicago, and which is the epitome of the most outstanding virtues of the American working class movement. We are in solidarity with your consistent efforts in defense of the interests of the working class and all working people. We highly value the struggle of the Communist Party, USA for peace and disarmament, for the reassertion of a new political thinking in the nuclear age

The new realities require of the communists new theoretical and practical approaches to the solution of the major problems facing mankind. The processes of radical reconstruction in the

Soviet Union and other socialist countries impart new impulses to the struggle for peace and social progress; they extend the opportunities for unity of action of the communists, for their cooperation with all democratic and peace forces.

**Nan McDonald**, Member of the Central  
Executive Committee of the Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Canada

The future of humanity is at a cross roads —our Parties are dedicated to help our peoples choose the path of detente, nuclear disarmament and social progress for all; to reject the path of Reaganism which means a continuation of deprivation of human needs and rights, the acceleration of the arms race which could lead to a nuclear holocaust.

In Canada, the pro-Reagan, neo-conservative Mulroney government, while posing as peace makers, has undertaken a wide range of measures to integrate our country into the U.S. strategy of nuclear superiority based on a first-strike capacity. This dangerous military course is complemented by the proposed continentalist free-trade deal with the U.S. This is seen by growing numbers of Canadians as a further plan in Tory policy aimed at integrating Canada militarily and economically in the U.S. empire.

The trade union movement has taken the lead in the fight which in turn has accelerated the fight for all round Canadian independence.

**Michal Stefanak**, Member of the Central  
Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia  
We are very proud that here in the USA, in the very lap of imperialism, a vanguard Party is working, fighting for the rights of the working people, against racial oppression, for equality, social progress and justice. We admire your untiring struggle for peace

In our country we are building socialism in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and

other socialist countries. We often hear all kinds of "advice" from the West, including this country, that we should weaken our alliance with the Soviet Union, that we are a satellite, not a free and sovereign state.

This advice is not new. It was given to us and even acted upon prior to World War II. It was our allies, Great Britain and France, which eventually sold our freedom and sovereignty as well as democracy. That's why we have chosen, once and for all, the path of firm and unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union, the path of socialism, freedom and independence.

Our ship has found a reliable and enduring harbor for the present and also for the future. Even today we receive "advice" and criticism from bourgeois propagandists that we "trade down democracy," "don't secure human rights." Today we do not have to adopt proclamations about human rights. We are implementing them in everyday life. We guarantee social certainties and all-round development of personality to every citizen.

Our young people know only from heresay what is economic crisis, unemployment, and the loss of life's prospects. Placed outside our law is the promotion of violence, racism, fascism, propagation of war and oppression.

**Francette Lazard**, Member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party

We carefully watch your struggle to change the disastrous consequences of the policies of U.S. capital and against the arms race and for peace and fraternity. The French government has close relations with the U.S. administration, working together, to assure their hegemony during the capitalist summits.

In France, social struggles are increasing: against the policy of industrial destruction; against social setbacks and attacks on workers rights; and the national decline started 15 years ago. In our 25th Convention we analyzed the lessons of our difficult experiences and are now working to build a new unity by bringing together the broadest forces in action on anti-capitalist objectives.

For the first time in the history of humanity the possibility exists to destroy nuclear weapons, starting with medium range missiles.

In France, all the political parties, except the French Communist Party, have just voted for an increased defense budget but we are showing there is no security without disarmament. Today it is a concrete necessity to have a world without nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The CPUSA and the French Communist Party have a long common tradition of struggle against imperialism. Strengthening our friendly relations and cooperation is important to move forward to socialism.

In the name of the French Communist Party, let me salute the struggle of all progressive Americans. In the difficult conditions of your struggle, we know the decisive role played by your Party.

**Fritz Noll**, Secretary of the Political Bureau, German Communist Party

It was from this city, from Chicago, that May Day started round the world. Sacco and Vanzetti, not the Norths of this world, were American heroes, as history will show them to be, and America's future does not lie along the Persian Gulf, nor in Libya nor Nicaragua. America's future is in the hands of the American people, which, freed from exploitation and oppression, will have better things to communicate to the world than the sight of a U.S. president cowering in view of SS men's graves in Bitburg.

You are this other America, those many women and men working in the peace movement, struggling in the civil rights movement, standing up against racism and chauvinism.

We in the Federal Republic are facing similar challenges. In our country the domineering monopolies are destroying the steel industry. Entire regions are doomed. Millions of unemployed are suffering from new poverty. So we communists give priority to organizing resistance against the eradication of social gains and to developing alternatives.

We, the communists in the major imperial-

ist countries, carry a great responsibility. That is why we should cooperate even more closely, exchange our experiences in the struggle even more conscientiously, try to learn even more from each other. In our Party we shall evaluate the proceedings of your Party Convention thoroughly.

**Gunther Sieber**, Member of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

It is with great respect that we follow your difficult and strenuous struggle against imperialist exploitation, arms buildup and reaction, and for peace, social justice and social progress. Irrespective of all anticommunist slander and discrimination, your Party has always been faithful to the ideals of socialism, has strengthened its ranks and has further increased its campaigning strength.

As a battle-hardened Marxist-Leninist party of the American working class, the Communist Party USA represents a political factor which has to be taken into account by the ruling circles and which enjoys great respect in the international communist movement.

We esteem the unremitting striving of the American Communists for a realistic policy to be pursued in their country, for a shift from confrontation and arms buildup to a policy of detente and peaceful coexistence.

Being a socialist country situated on the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, between capitalism and socialism in Europe, the German Democratic Republic has a particular interest in peace and detente. It was, is and remains the supreme maxim of our policies to do all we can to ensure that no more war ever emanates from German soil.

Aware of the fact that the socialist community is the decisive factor in safeguarding peace and social progress, we Communists in the GDR put all our weight behind strengthening socialism as it has taken concrete shape on German soil and in reinforcing our fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Even if we say that modern technology has

a key role to play in strengthening socialism, human beings with all their interests and creative abilities, the development of their personalities to the full, remains the measure of all things.

**Stratis Korakas**, Alternate member, of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece

Your Party is fighting today in the vanguard of the working class and all the working people, against the anti-labor policy of the Reagan Administration. We are glad of your successes and your increasing strength.

Millions of your people live in desperate conditions while tremendous sums of money are spent on armaments preparing a nuclear catastrophe.

In the center of attention [of the Communist Party of Greece is] the fight of the Left-progressive forces for a change towards socialism. Greek communists work to strengthen their struggle for peace, for building the alliance of all social forces hit by the consequences of the crisis, for our country to follow a consistent policy of national independence and peace.

The CPG, as well as the CPUSA, faces the future with optimism. This year we will celebrate the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The repeated peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary changes being realized in all sectors of social and economic life raise the authority and reinforce the attractive force of socialism among all the peoples and encourage them in their hard struggles.

**Miklos Horvath**, First Secretary, Vas County, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

The Convention of American communists is held against a background of an era in which it has become a more imperative demand than ever to prevent the extension of the arms race into space and to advance the process of arms control. It is our conviction that if there is a sufficiently strong political will, there is also the possibility to work out mutually acceptable agreements providing for an easing of tensions,

towards a world free of nuclear weapons.

The Central Committee [of the HSWP] approved, on July 2, 1987, a comprehensive program of problem-solving and socioeconomic development with the basic aim of providing for an across-the-board renewal of our economy and, thereby, for a fresh impetus for building socialism.

We wish you every success in your struggles—well known and highly appreciated by Hungarian communists, in your efforts to promote a broader cooperation among Communist Parties and in your activities to advance the cause of socialism and peace.

**N.E. Balaram**, Secretary National Council,  
Communist Party of India.

[India] has become a special target of imperialist ire. India is following a foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and support for national liberation movements. Hence, a consistent crusade has been organized by aggressive imperialist circles.

We are facing a veritable destabilization of fensive of imperialism aimed against the unity and integrity of our country. Our Party has been a special target. [In] the last six months 30 leading Communists have been brutally killed. Undeterred, our Party has stepped up a huge campaign against pro-imperialist, secessionist forces.

The CPUSA is playing a very important role, under extremely difficult conditions to mobilize the workers and other democratic sections of the people for peace, defense of democracy and for social and economic advance. You are in the thick of the battles.

On the question of peace and disarmament, on the question of establishing a new economic order and the struggle against TNCs, and easing the international situation, the people of the USA and the people of India are united.

This unity will be the biggest factor in the coming period.

**Wolf Ehrlich**, Chairman, Central Control  
Commission, Communist Party of Israel.

The Administration of your country and the Government of ours are connected by a thousand ties, by a fiendish strategic agreement, openly hostile to the Soviet Union, hostile to the Arab national movements and anti-imperialist states, hostile to peace.

Israel plays a major all-sided role in U.S. Middle East policy, also in U.S. global policy. These close ties between the ruling circles of our two countries demand of our two parties a close cooperation—thinking together and working together.

The USA fulfills the central role within that part of our planet that is still capitalist and imperialist. It is, therefore, of special weight that your party plays such an important role in the worldwide struggle for disarmament and detente, for mobilizing the people of your country against those forces that want to go on reaping high profits, producing means of destruction, including those intended to transform heaven into hell.

Your work and struggle for peace encourages the Communists in many lands, and strengthens our optimism regarding the future of mankind.

The core of the Israeli-Arab conflict remains the Palestine question. It can only be solved on the basis of mutual recognition of the rights of each other to self-determination.

**Osiris Cantu Ramiriz**, Member of the  
National Coordinating Commission, Mexican  
Socialist Party.

The resolutions discussed here are of extreme importance and interest, not only for the people of the United States, but also for the international Communist and Workers movement and for all forces that struggle for peace, progress and democracy.

There is a necessity to increase the struggle and solidarity against the 1986 U.S. immigration reform law which affects millions of workers and farm workers. This law is a direct attack

against the working class in the U.S. and is a form of pressure against Mexico with the objective to continue dictating internal policies and modify Mexican foreign policy. [It] is tied to the struggle for peace and against the arms race.

Together we can confront these interventionist policies of U.S. imperialism, not only in Mexico but in Central America and the Caribbean.

**Paavangiin Damdin**, Alternate Member  
of the Political Bureau, CC, Mongolian Peoples  
Revolutionary Party

The hard and glorious path of struggle traversed by the CPUSA, the faithful adherent to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, one of the oldest and militant detachments of the world communist movement is well known to communists and working people of Mongolia.

In a comparatively short historical time we turned Mongolia, formerly one of the backward countries of Asia, into a socialist country with modern, rapidly developing agriculture and industry, flourishing science and culture. [It is] the result of the correct guidance of the MPRP, the hard and selfless work of our people, as well as the fraternal internationalist assistance rendered to us by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

The recent Consultative meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties of the Asia-Pacific region countries, held in Ulan Bator was the first multilateral undertaking in the history of the regional communist movement. It has importance in bringing the joint struggle of the Parties for peace and security in the region to a new level. We express our appreciation to the CPUSA for its valuable contribution to and for its active participation in the preparation and holding of this meeting.

**Hinyangerwa Asheeke**, Deputy  
Representative, Southwest African Peoples  
Organization of Namibia

It is no coincidence that your Convention is being held in Chicago, a great city with a longstanding and proud history of working class resistance against capitalist exploitation. It is here where May Day has its roots and origin.

In Southern Africa today, we experience the most vicious and brutal repression of our peoples by the racist regime in South Africa with the active support of the Reagan Administration.

Our peoples are more than ever before determined to defeat colonialism and apartheid and to end oppression by every means necessary. Our struggle for national liberation has reached new and decisive heights. This is true in both South Africa and Namibia where our two sister liberation movements, the ANC and SWAPO are leading the masses of our people to inevitable victory.

The workers, who have always been at the center of the liberation struggle, are highly mobilized and currently engaged in strike actions against racist South Africa and western transnational corporations, including those from the U.S., who exploit them.

Let me express our firm solidarity with the workers of this country and all progressive forces who labor for freedom, justice and peace.

**Janusz Urbaniak**, Member of the Central  
Control Commission, Polish United Workers  
Party.

The report delivered by Comrade Gus Hall and the course of the Convention eloquently confirm that the CPUSA is creatively continuing the magnificent history of the internationalist, Marxist-Leninist current, which crystallized 68 years ago in the American workers' movement.

Last year our Party entered a new period. The resolutions of the 10th Congress were concretized in the plan of the country's socio-economic development for 1986-1990. We have been scoring ever greater points, seen even by

our enemies. They are the most convincing proof that the anti-Polish policy of restrictions and economic discrimination as well as political isolation, once proclaimed and pursued for several years by the West, failed.

We live under the conditions of the arms race imposed on the world by the USA and other NATO countries, developing ever new generations of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons. The Soviet Union, first of all, and the other socialist countries submitted many important peace initiatives, all of which provide sound grounds for further expansion of the already existing, great anti-war front, uniting all communists and all peace-loving people of our globe.

**Gheorghe Tanase**, Member of the Central Committee, Romanian Communist Party.

We watch with interest and sentiments of solidarity, the struggle carried on by your Party, within complex conditions, for promoting the political and economic interests of the working people, for defending their fundamental rights and freedom. We cherish the activity of the U.S. communists dedicated to widening the public consciousness and mass activities towards disarmament, thwarting a nuclear war and consolidating the bases of preserving peace in the world.

[In Romania] there are complex issues to be solved in fulfilling our programs of socio-economic development, but we look to the future with optimism as we have already created solid technico-material and socio-political premises to foster the continuous progress of the country.

The foreign policy of the Romanian Party and state is constantly directed towards defending peace and fulfilling disarmament.

**Karen Brutents**, Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Your Convention is taking place in Chicago, a city with militant labor traditions, the city where the worldwide holiday of proletarian solidarity,

of the workers' international brotherhood, first came into being. It is the city, too, where the Communist Party, USA, champion of the vital interests of the U.S. working class, was founded 68 years ago.

Soviet Communists have always deeply respected the staunch internationalism of the U.S. Communists and their unfailing solidarity with all those forces that are working for national and social emancipation.

One of the most important sources of the ideological unanimity of Soviet and U.S. Communists is their understanding that active and persevering struggle for peace and against the arms race is vitally necessary. The supreme interests of our two nations, the very future of humankind, call imperatively for a radical about-face in international relations.

Away from nuclear confrontation to a nuclear-free world is the thrust of our Soviet philosophy in foreign affairs. The new political thinking requires that all governments, all nations, all people should take concrete practical action in the name of survival.

Our two countries bear a special and unparalleled responsibility to all humanity for averting nuclear disaster.

Our Party has worked out the concept of renewing socialist society and accelerating its development in all spheres. To fully bring out the potential of socialism, Soviet Communists consider not only their national, but also their international, task.

On the threshold of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the CPSU and the Soviet people have traveled a long, difficult, but magnificent and impressive road. As comrade Gorbachev said, "We are proud of each of the days we have lived. And each day is dear to us even if it has been hard. Because that was our school of history, our history lessons."

**Stefan Isensee**, Member of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

Since your last Convention, your Party was quite successful. You made an important contribution.  
(Continued on page 40.)

## Summary by Gus Hall

---

A great convention does not need much of a summary. And everyone seems to think it was great. Some of the delegates' comments sum it up: "Great," "beautiful," "the most united and the most democratic ever," "enthusiastic," "optimistic," "confident," "uplifting, inspiring."

Of course, history will be the final judge of how great this convention really was. But even before history grades us, there are some things we can say now:

Our 24th Convention has been rich in many ways—rich in theory, tactics, strategic concepts, spirit, humor, culture—rich all around. For the first time ever, Party and YCL songs and entertainers became a part of the convention itself. But above all, it was rich in practical experience, in concrete examples of mass and Party work.

It is only at a national event that we can get an idea of how active the Party is, how active in mass work, especially in shops and neighborhoods. And it is amazing to hear—I must say it surprised me! There are literally hundreds of examples that came through in the plenary, in workshops and commissions. More clubs have gone public. More clubs are doing outstanding work with the press.

The age composition of our Party is more balanced. We have more shopworkers, more women. Most of the Afro-American comrades are workers. More of the women delegates are workers. There are more concrete experiences in the struggle against racism, cases where our comrades are active in specific struggles against racist violence.

The five workshops added an important element to the convention. They focused attention on the main areas and gave comrades a chance to discuss their work in detail.

The 19 panels and commissions, in such areas as Afro-American equality, women's equality and work among seniors, as well as many others, added a broader, democratic participation by many more comrades than would have been possible without them.

Altogether over 400 delegates spoke at this

convention, mainly because of the workshops and commissions. Discussions were especially on concrete exchange of experiences. More of this concreteness came through at this convention than ever before.

Our membership was amazingly well-prepared, politically and ideologically, for this convention. The preconvention preparations around the four draft resolutions, the weekly political update tapes, district organizers' meetings, Political Bureau/Secretariat and Central Committee/National Council meetings, club conferences and district meetings, all laid the foundation for the high level of discussion at this convention.

The convention was well organized. It looked good, ran smoothly and everything fell into place—this means good organization.

The foreign delegates added an important quality to the convention. Some 38 parties and liberation movements were invited. Eighteen were able to get visas and attend. They were genuinely impressed with the convention and said they learned many things from us. They were especially impressed with the democratic atmosphere, a business-like openness. They particularly noted the way the convention honored older, experienced comrades through the Unique Achievement awards and the establishment of the new Party leadership body—the Senior Advisory Council of the Central Committee.

**T**here are now important cracks in the cold war wall, cracks in many places. There is a possibility of agreement on short- and long-range missiles. The treaty will be the first real breakthrough in the struggle against the nuclear war danger. And once there is a break in the wall, it is possible to go through it.

The momentum has slowed and the world has stopped short of going over the brink. This is a moment humanity has been working toward.

The peace plan signed by the five Central American presidents is also a breakout of a

seven-year stalemate. It has cornered the Reagan Administration. The Reaganites have serious problems now on how to deal with this. There is confusion in their own ranks. They thought their play would work but it didn't. The moment is presenting new possibilities of putting an end to the policy of intervention and the plan to destroy Nicaragua.

The Iran-contragate hearings have damaged the inner workings of the Reagan Administration. It is a crippled administration. For the moment, the underground police-state structure has been smashed. The secret underground activity has to be reorganized and this can not be done overnight.

The people are aroused. There is a new possibility for advancing democracy and building a democratic people's vigilance that will make it impossible for the fascist fringe, ultra-Right covert network to recoup and regroup.

This then leads to the importance of the 1988 elections, where the two main political currents, the concern for peace and concern for democracy, will come together.

On South Africa—the miners strike creates a pivotal moment now in determining the fate of the apartheid regime. The struggle against apartheid is now focused in the class struggle.

Total mobilization and full support is called for, especially by the trade unions in the United States. If the U.S. trade unions move with all their power into solidarity actions with the South African miners, this will add a new dimension to the struggle in South Africa.

We have a new objective situation in South Africa, but also in countries like South Korea, the Philippines and Haiti where the working class and class struggle are now front and center. In these countries there are new possibilities of pushing developments to their full potential. This calls for mobilizing actions in the United States that will demonstrate solidarity and support for these developments.

On a strike struggle closer to home—the U.S. paperworkers' strike is an important national strike. It started in Maine but has spread to the South. It is a testing ground on many questions. We have to begin a campaign of sup-

port similar to what we did around USX and Wheeling-Pitt. We need to initiate a national focus now.

**O**n the question of how to draw conclusions from specific experiences: our individual experiences are very important, but one should not place them necessarily as a lesson for everyone, especially when the specific experience is in opposition to general conclusions. We must always put individual experiences on the scale with the many, in order to make a determination as to whether we can generalize and draw conclusions.

The unity of our convention is a reflection of objective developments. Our Party is not separate from the people. There is a growth of unity among the people and the deep, firm, unprecedented unity of our Party reflects this overall unity. It reflects the growing unity of our class and people.

This unity came through in the election of leadership. It came through in the understanding and acceptance of the concept of the Communist *plus*. It came through in the tremendous display of love for and dedication to the Party. It came through in the confidence and optimism about our class, our Party and our country's future.

But we should never take this precious unity for granted. Unity in the Party is forever a question of vigilance. We can not leave this to anyone else. Unity is everyone's responsibility.

Unity is always related to the question of what the enemy is doing. The enemy has been very active, directly and indirectly. The problem is that we must always be able to differentiate between the enemy and honest comrades. When comrades say and do things that make it difficult to distinguish between them and the enemy, this becomes a big problem.

We must be conscious that our behavior always be distinguishable from that of the enemy. This goes into the question of being conscious about factionalism. We must guard against any factional tendency in ourselves, but we must also challenge it when we see or hear it in others. We must never let it go by without chal-

lence. We can never take our unity for granted. We must always keep our eyes on that prize.

**T**he People's New Agenda rally showed that the Party has become a magnet for people, for trade union leaders and activists, and for other mass leaders. More and more people want to know what our Party is saying. There was a new quality to this rally. Important peace and trade union leaders and personalities came to hear our message. This is new.

Also, this rally showed that the Party now draws from the streets. For example, a taxicab driver came because "someone left a leaflet in my cab."

The rally matched the quality of our convention. The response to it showed that the Party's message and timing are right on target. The Party is expressing the correct level of the people's frustration and radicalization.

The rally was also a great mix of politics and entertainment.

Our Party received great attention from the mass media during this convention. We spoke to millions through the press, radio and TV, including the Associated Press, Cable News Network, National Public Radio and local Chicago news outlets.

In the Party resolution on the meaning of

the Bork nomination it was projected that every district should move to initiate campaigns and actions to block Bork. The Bork nomination must be seen as a most serious challenge to democracy, to the struggle against racism and for affirmative action, and as an attempt to maintain Reaganism through the stacking of the Supreme Court with ultra-Right arch-reactionaries.

**I**n my summary to the 23rd Convention, I quoted Lenin that: "Conventions should not so much start something new, but consolidate what has already been achieved." Our convention did just that.

At this convention we should set new standards for ourselves—new standards of what it takes to live up to being a Communist.

Now there is a new challenge we will face. How to take the new high level of unity, enthusiasm, Party consciousness and commitment, ideological and political understanding, and transfer all this into a new, higher level of activity. The challenge is how to translate our convention into mass recruiting, how to establish the *People's Daily World* as the centerpiece of our work, and how to build a mass circulation.

If we do all this, surely history will give this 24th Convention of our Party an *A-plus!* □

# Letter from Moscow

CARL BLOICE

Six months in Moscow and one grows accustomed to not seeing homeless people in the streets. In fact, one can forget poverty altogether. There simply are no people here deprived of the basic necessities of life—no people sleeping in doorways, parks and train stations, no ragged children, none of the beggars that are so common on the streets of major cities back home.

After a while one tires of certain frequent visitors from the abroad. They notice quite readily, and with considerable indignation, that some people here enjoy a somewhat higher than average standard of living, that officials are chauffeured around, that there are specially stocked stores for spending hard currency, that the airlines have a first class section. But they do not notice the absence of the poor. Some come here from cities where women and children camp out on the street at night and they complain that the vast new, very open-spaced apartment complexes, sprouting like mushrooms on the outskirts of the city, don't come in a variety of colors.

Yet the fact is that in this country where there are no homeless, the people talk about an "acute" housing problem and of solving it by the year 2000. While at the same time there are at least three million homeless in the U.S. and current governmental policies and private real estate practices can only steadily make matters worse.

Six months here and one could almost forget about racism. Discrimination in housing or employment, violence against people because of the color of their skin is something one does not see and, upon inquiring about, can not find. Twenty years ago, when the number of African students had increased, the appearance of people of African descent was somewhat of a curiosity. Today, almost nobody takes notice.

The point here is not the comparisons.

---

Carl Bloice is Moscow correspondent and Associate Editor of the *People's Daily World*.

There are things wrong with Moscow, exasperatingly so. There are things in New York and San Francisco that make life easier and more enjoyable but are, for often unexplainable reasons, missing here. And vice versa (an efficient subway, for instance). Yet, socialism is a reality. The social guarantees are its proof.

Three decades ago, the late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois returned from a trip to the Soviet Union and told audiences across the country: I have come from a land where none need worry about being unemployed, about not having a roof over their heads, about their children not getting an education, about getting old or sick.

One can make the same statement today. But today there are two differences. For one, all the things DuBois said are *not* worries under socialism are daily realities for millions throughout the capitalist world and the situation worsens. In the developing world they are perpetual nightmares.

For another, the Soviets are not satisfied. They have launched an historic, massive, revolutionary process, known as perestroika, to raise socialism to a new level. Things are far from what they can or should be, either in the factories, schools or hospitals. Almost everyone recognizes the problems and nearly everyone is in a hurry to do something about them.

It is undeniable that in the year and a half since the historic April 1985 sitting of the Communist Party Central Committee, Soviet life has acquired a new dynamism. The pace and vitality of public and political life has quickened. It has picked up fresh momentum, especially following the 27th Party Congress.

The first task the leadership set was to put the economy in order. Negative phenomena visible elsewhere were pronounced there. Labor productivity was lagging. A shortage of quality consumer goods persisted. Meat scarcities continued and the distribution system for other food products remained chaotic and unreliable. Most seriously, for a number of years, the rates of economic growth had slowed progressi-

vely, bringing the economy close to stagnation.

Another integral and immediate objective of restructuring is the expansion of Soviet democracy. That the society has for seven decades acted in the interest of the many and not for the benefit of the few is testament to the democracy of the system. No such claim can be made for the societies of the capitalist West, where great wealth inevitably rests side by side with and benefits from great poverty and where those with the least wealth have the least power to change anything.

But in the view of the CPSU, the participatory side of democracy is not what it should be; is not what it must be if the initiative and innovative drive of the people is to be realized, if perestroika is to succeed.

A major, and perhaps decisive step is being taken with power being vested in the hands of work collectives at factories, mines, shops, offices and institutions. There, with the direct election of management, democracy at the workplace is being made a reality. Such a system exists nowhere else on the planet, except under socialism. Other important developments are: contested elections in localities and more direct forms for the election of party leadership.

What other forms the democratization will take are not yet fully projected. The outlines should emerge soon, however, for it is one of the major subjects to be taken up at the extraordinary CPSU conference scheduled for next June.

Perestroika is not simply a scheme which, once set into motion, will either produce the desired results or not. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has referred to it as "a complex and contradictory process." It is also a rough and multifaceted political struggle. The Party leadership insists there is no political opposition to restructuring. By that they mean no one has offered another program for the country. But there is real resistance and it is spoken of openly. It comes mainly from an enclave of entrenched bureaucracy which simply does not want to, or is incapable of, change.

There is also a problem of public passivity,

or cynicism that reflects itself in a widespread "show me" attitude. The best informed people here often make an important point that an outsider, especially one not versed in the language, would surely miss. As important as openness is, as welcome as it is that books are published and movies screened, that would not have been before, it is not upon the popularity of such things that the prospects of perestroika rest.

Gorbachev told the Central Committee:

Soviet people are aware that many of the goals of restructuring will take a long time to achieve. But they just ask the following question: Why are urgent and relatively simple tasks, which would substantially improve working and living conditions and make the moral and spiritual atmosphere healthier, not being tackled today?

The contribution of the intelligentsia to the restructuring effort is clearly critical. However, Gorbachev said:

From the standpoints of theory and practice, the interest of working people as the masters of production comes foremost and represents the most powerful force for expediting social, economic, scientific and technological progress.

Another important part of the equation is the open challenge to some basic principles of socialism arising in the new atmosphere of "glasnost" or openness. Ideas are being expressed and argued that in past periods would have been labeled rank revisionist.

The Soviets are not much into labeling these days. However, much consternation has been caused by the proposal broached—in varying degree of straightforwardness—to deliberately create unemployment (as a mechanism to induce work discipline), raise rents, drastically increase the prices of basic necessities and create a two-tier health system (with better care for those who can afford it). Despite suggestions to the contrary, appearing regularly in the U.S. major media, there appears little likelihood of any of these things happening. Still there is no question that perestroika's opponents try to reap political capital out of the apprehension the discussions produce.

It is also clear that foreign intrigues and anti-Soviet propagandists have stepped up activity designed to create strife amongst the country's many nationalities and ethnic groups. The disturbances, last August, in the Baltics could have been easily predicted. The groundwork was being laid in June by the Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and Vatican Radio.

What are being openly cheered and championed in the U.S. media as expressions of resistance to national repression are, in fact, campaigns by rightwing, reactionary—sometimes anti-semitic—forces inside and outside the country. This is not to suggest there are no problems in this area. Behind the demonstrations of the Crimean Tartars and the violent incident last year in Kazakhstan are real grievances and weaknesses that have been allowed to pile up. Today they are spoken of here openly, and observable steps are taken—starting at the Party level—to deal with them.

There is little chance of putting the many little (some ugly) genies back into the bottle. Glasnost is an essential feature of perestroika and is supported by the people. However, the Party leadership has gone to considerable lengths over recent weeks to make clear that the changes underway are within the context of socialism.

A corollary has been the spelling out in clearer and clearer terms in just whose interest perestroika is being carried out.

Gorbachev told the June, 1987 Central Committee meeting:

The working class is boldly marching along the road of renewal. I would say that in all matters the working class is in the vanguard of the restructuring.

Against the background of the truly civic stand taken by the working class, the behavior of those who for the sake of their personal advantage are impeding social transformations and standing in the way of the renewal drive is particularly unseemly.

The Party general secretary went on:

We take pride in the high degree of social protection given to people in our country. This is what makes socialism what it is, a system of working people and for working people.

Every night, seven days a week, all over the country, at 9:00 PM everything on television stops for the nightly news. On July 14, the broadcast began with two speeches. Both were rather frank discussions of the progress of perestroika. Gorbachev made the first to editors of major publications, warning that the Party leadership intends to make clear its response on proposals that divert from socialism:

... if some people begin searching for and offering us values and discoveries beyond the bounds of socialism, the Central Committee will publicly criticize and assess this and—within the framework of democracy and glasnost—voice its stand in as principled a fashion.

The second speech was an equally significant one made by Central Committee Political Bureau member A.N. Yakovlev. He told party activists in Kaluga:

Restructuring has now become an integral part of our everyday life. It did not just appear. There was no smooth sailing. The reform has aroused not only enthusiasm and hope; it has also brought on its own contradictions which underscore the depth of the social process, and induce people to live and work according to their consciences and to overcome passivity and indifference. It raises quite a few difficult, unpleasant, sometimes even painful questions, but inspires us with its prospects.

The Great October Revolution was prepared as a moral revolution of protest against the crying injustices of the old world. It was inspired by the passionate desire to make social patterns worthy of human nature, to enable those patterns to liberate conscience, not suppress it. Ever since, socialist progress has had not only material, political and social but also ethical purport.

So when we wonder if our social, political and economic situation corresponds to socialist moral ideals not only in historical but in everyday terms, we raise the question of questions. By doing this we verify our fidelity to the sources of socialism, hence to its prospects. New civilization rests on that fidelity in everything we do.

Seventy years ago the Russian working class broke with the past, with the autocracy,

exploitation and oppression. It embarked on a new journey toward a new type of society. It was equipped with the science developed by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V.I. Lenin as a compass. But there was no map; no one had made the journey before them. And, they were not allowed to proceed in peace. The forces of the old, the exploiters, the landlords and the monopolists hatched a conspiracy against them that continues in force today. Against these odds and at the cost of great sacrifice, socialism has endured.

West European media is even franker than its monopoly-controlled counterparts in the U.S. when it comes to assessing the vast changes underway in the USSR. They openly voice apprehension that the restructuring process might succeed. They express the view

shared by many visitors here these past few months that not only in theory but in obvious fact, "historical initiative" has shifted to socialism.

Twelve years before the onset of the 21st Century, real existing socialism has entered a new stage. It is not the stage of heroic struggle to end capitalist exploitation and replace it with workers' power. It is not the stage of arduous work to defend and consolidate the new system. Nor is it a stage of great sacrifice, setting aside everything to prevent the conquest of the world by imperialist reaction in the form of fascism. These stages have passed. The new stage is that of extending and unfolding the might of socialism, of realizing its great potential, of bringing into full bloom the lofty values and real humanism which are intrinsic to it. □

---

*(Continued from page 33.)*

tribution to increasing the pressure of the peace-loving forces on the Reagan Administration. You made an important contribution to the growth of the forces of political independence. You also strengthened the influence of your Party.

Let me congratulate you on the birth of your first nationwide daily newspaper, the *Peoples Daily World* last year.

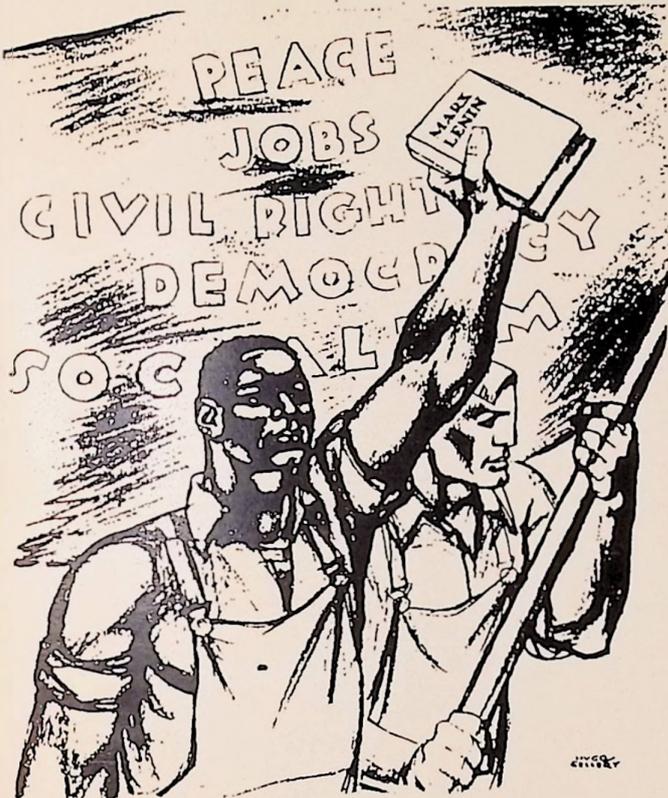
Your forecasts came true. Today the crisis of Reaganism is deeper than ever before.

Like in the United States, the workers of our city are hard hit by the consequences of capitalist crisis sharpened by the effects of the increasing rearmament. Today [people] everywhere have the same face—in Chicago, New

York, Manchester or West Berlin. There is an increasing mobilization of workers in West Berlin.

[We had] the most powerful May Day Demonstration for workers interests since 1945.

For both our Parties, the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is of decisive importance. We always carried it on, even under the worst conditions. More and more people recognize the social gains in socialist GDR, the peaceful policies of the socialist countries, the revolutionary reconstruction of Soviet society. This presents for us new chances to propagandize on the socialist system as the only real alternative to imperialism, new chances to strengthen our influence. □



# political affairs

Journal of Marxist Thought

## BOOKSTORES

where *Political Affairs* is available, along with a broad selection of books, magazines and pamphlets in all the areas of people's struggles.

LONG BEACH, CA 90804

*International Book Shop*  
4120 E. Anaheim  
☎ (213) 494-1694

S' FRANCISCO, CA 94110

*The Book Center*  
518 Valencia St.  
☎ (415) 626-2924

SAN JOSE, CA 95110

*Bread & Roses Bookshop*  
950 S. First St.  
☎ (408) 294-2930

LOS ANGELES, CA 90019

*Progressive Bookshop*  
1251 S. St. Andrews Pl.  
☎ (213) 732-8435

CHICAGO, IL 60608

*Modern Book Store*  
1642 S. Blue Island Ave.  
☎ (312) 942-0800

BALTIMORE, MD 21201

*New Era Book Shop*  
408 Park Ave.  
☎ (301) 539-6364

CAMBRIDGE, MA 02139

*Ctr. for Marxist Education*  
550 Mass. Ave., 2nd fl.  
☎ (617) 868-5620

DETROIT, MI 48203

*Global Books*  
16145 Woodward Ave.  
☎ (313) 883-4940

MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55414

*Paul Robeson Bookshop*  
424 13th Ave. S.E.  
☎ (612) 379-2881

NEW YORK, NY 10011

*Unity Book Center*  
237 W. 23rd St.  
☎ (212) 242-2934

CLEVELAND, OH 44113

*All Peoples Books*  
4307 Lorain Ave.  
☎ (216) 281-7141

PORTLAND, OR 97204

*John Reed Bookstore*  
519 SW 3rd Ave.  
☎ (503) 227-2902

PHILADELPHIA, PA 19143

*W.E.B. DuBois Bookstore*  
601 S. 47th St.  
☎ (215) 724-2672

PITTSBURGH, PA 15224

*Careathers/Foster Bk. Ctr.*  
5024 Penn Ave.  
☎ (412) 661-3839

PROVIDENCE, RI 02905

*Center for Workers Education*  
P.O. Box 25015

SAN ANTONIO, TX 78292

*All Points of View*  
P.O. Box 321  
☎ (512) 732-6660

SEATTLE, WA 98122

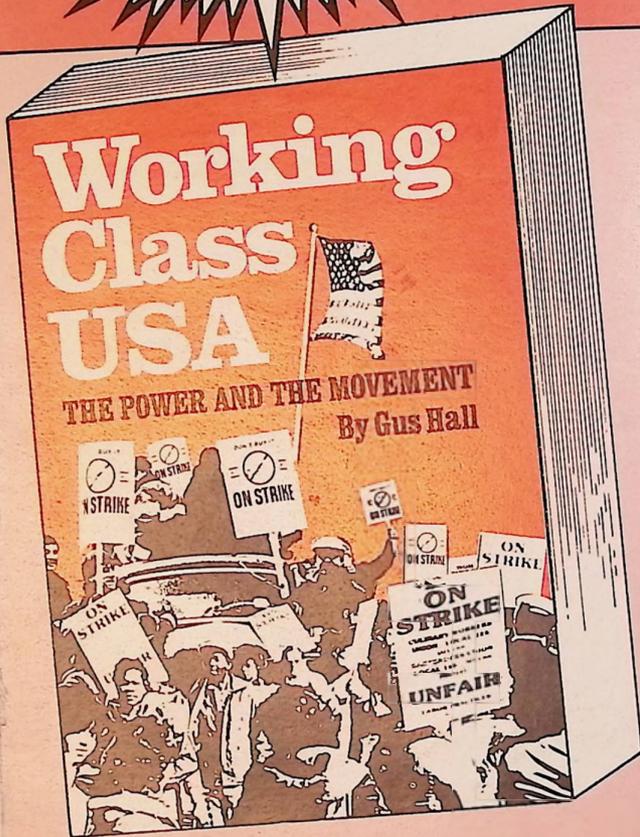
*Co-op Books*  
1406 18th Ave.  
☎ (206) 323-5077

MILWAUKEE, WI 53203

*Forum Books*  
606 W. Wisconsin Ave.  
☎ (414) 271-2910

**NEW!**

**A POWERFUL WEAPON  
IN THE HANDS OF  
EVERY WORKING  
MAN AND WOMAN!**



*Working Class USA: The Power and the Movement* — a book for these times by Gus Hall — gives deep insight into the problems facing labor today, and how to solve them. . . .

*The most important book on the labor movement since William Z. Foster's "Pages From a Worker's Life."*

This is the book that many in labor are looking for, with basic answers and new ideas. It can greatly influence today's upsurge in the working class.

*Includes these features:*

- **Development of the Class Struggle in the USA** — Rise of industrial trade unionism; Big Business's counteroffensive; The emerging Left; Today's new militancy.
- **Basics of the Class Struggle** — Science of the working class; The Party; Workingclass unity.
- **U.S. Working Class in Today's World** — Fighting the giant corporations; Socialism: workingclass solution to today's problems.
- **Worker's flashbacks** — Insightful reminiscences about workers and their struggles.
- **Gus Hall: A Worker's Life** — By the distinguished writer Phillip Bonosky, on Gus Hall in the context of his explosive times.

Write for free catalog

**International Publishers**

☎ (212) 685-2864

381 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10016

Send me \_\_\_ copy(ies) of *Working Class USA: The Power and the Movement*, by Gus Hall.

Paperback (0659-6) \$6.95

Cloth (0660-X) \$14.00

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Apt. # \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_