

For Peace, Jobs, Equality.



**PREVENT "THE DAY AFTER,"
DEFEAT REAGANISM!**

by Gus Hall

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I. INTRODUCTION

Welcome dear comrades, delegates and guests to the 23rd National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

We want to express a warm welcome to our honored guests from other lands, who have successfully broken through the Reagan "window of vulnerability."

As a Communist Party operating in the belly of the imperialist beast we especially appreciate such expressions of solidarity.

Our Party has deep roots in most of the industrial centers of our great nation. Cleveland is no exception. Cleveland was the home base of Charles E. Ruthenberg, who was the first General Secretary of our Party. Ohio can also be proud of such outstanding Communist leaders as Alfred Wagenknecht, John Williamson, Andy Onda, B.D. Amos, Anthony Krchmarck and many more.

It was also my home base during the great organizing drive and strike battles that resulted in the founding of the United Steelworkers of America.

So we not only have deep roots, but a fine record of union and class-struggle traditions that make us a permanent part of especially Ohio working-class history.

We are holding our 23rd Convention here in Cleveland as an affirmation of that splendid history and to continue those proud traditions.

Many of you comrades are delegates to a national convention of our Party for the first time. I know you will enjoy it and that it will be an exciting and memorable learning experience.

You will get the maximum from these next days if you do not

allow the fact that you are a first-time delegate to inhibit you, to hold you back from participating fully in all the activities. You have been elected because many comrades have full confidence in your ability to represent them in every way.

Our Party conventions are different in every way from the Democratic and Republican Party conventions. The parties of monopoly capital come together at convention time to take care of the dirty business of Big Business.

The party of the working class, the Communist Party, comes together every four years to take care of the business of the class struggle.

I am sure you are fully acquainted with democratic centralism. It is the guiding principle for our Party structure. It provides the basis for the democratic participation of all our members. But it also provides for a democratically-decided, political, ideological and tactical unity and cohesiveness. It is a historically developed structure which best enables a revolutionary party to carry out its class-struggle activities in a well organized, efficient and productive manner. Here at this convention is where the process of democratic centralism all comes together.

Our convention is the most authoritative body of our Party. It discusses and decides on all matters of policy, program and leadership between now and the next convention.

The main purpose of the four-month pre-convention discussion period has been to discuss, study and apply the Draft Basic Document. When adopted by this convention, the Draft Document, with any amendments, will become the line and the basis for our work until the next national convention.

The aim of this main report is to elaborate on and to deepen some of the central questions in the Draft Basic Document. It is a further attempt to raise the sights of the Party in our activities in order to measure up to today's realities.

With the honor of being elected as a delegate by our state or district convention we also take on an important responsibility.

As delegates we are here to represent and carry out the thinking and decisions of our state conventions and to give the national convention the benefit of our collective experiences in

the past period.

In that sense, we are not, as in nature, like free-floating atoms in a vacuum. We are not only individuals, but individuals elected to represent collective thinking, decisions and experiences. This is in keeping with democratic centralism.

The World Crisis: War Or Peace

Our 23rd Convention takes place at one of the most grave crisis points in all of human history. Therefore, we must deal with questions and forces that will determine whether there will be a future of war or peace, nuclear arms race or disarmament.

In fact, we are literally forced to deal with the most basic of all questions any human society has ever had to face: whether human societies will make a qualitative leap forward on the road to socialism or a leap backward into the abyss of nuclear oblivion.

For the first time in the struggle between the two great world systems — socialism and capitalism — there is great fear that the worldwide class struggle will not be resolved through peaceful coexistence and competition.

U.S. imperialism has moved onto the doomsday path of nuclear confrontation in its mad drive to re-establish its domination over the world, to alter the world balance of forces once again in favor of imperialism, to undo the military parity between the U.S. and USSR that now exists and to risk nuclear war to achieve its global aims.

The world focal point of U.S. imperialism is the destruction of world socialism and, in the first place, the Soviet Union. It is this fundamental fact which has motivated and guided the Reagan Administration's every move and decision. It is the ideological prop that supports their first-strike nuclear madness. It is what propels them to defy the demands of tens of millions around the world and in the United States for disarmament, a nuclear freeze and detente.

How else can any sane person interpret the Reagan Administration's deadly and dangerous decision to go ahead with the plans to deploy the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe? These are offensive first-strike weapons. There is no room for illusions or wishful thinking. The Reagan Administration is hell-bent on pursuing its disastrous nuclear confrontation course.

Naked U.S. Aggression

The world is shocked and outraged at the brutal, cold-blooded and naked military aggression by U.S. imperialism against the 110,000 people of Grenada. This naked act of war exposes the totally evil intent of the Reagan Administration. This time, even the NATO alliance countries have refused to back U.S. imperialism.

Because of this open, blatant aggression against Grenada, and Reagan's revealing admission that the United States reserves the right to invade militarily any country, any time it sees fit, there is no country in the world — but especially the smaller nations — which can any longer feel safe with the Reagan Administration in the White House.

There is a serious danger that the undeclared war against the people of El Salvador is about to escalate. The puppet military government in El Salvador is falling apart. The U.S.-financed, -trained and -led counterrevolutionary forces in Honduras and Guatemala are now moving towards the borders for an invasion of El Salvador. As in Grenada, the cover for the invasion will be a request from some stooge in the government of El Salvador.

The 6,000 U.S. troops in Honduras and the U.S. warships and aircraft carriers are aggressively surrounding Nicaragua. As in Grenada, the invasion is planned to coincide with some internal provocation or disruption in Nicaragua.

The purpose of the U.S. military buildup, the designated role of the rapid deployment force, all the demagoguery about the "Soviet threat," the goal of all the military maneuvers and the continuing increase in the number of U.S. overseas military bases — all are part of the U.S. imperialist counterrevolutionary force.

This is an intervention force built up to stop and reverse the worldwide historic revolutionary process of peoples and nations liberating themselves from foreign domination and oppression.

This is the second track of a two-track offensive. The other track is the building of a first-strike nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, with the aim of defeating and destroying the socialist community of nations. It is doomed to failure. But it could end in a nuclear doomsday if the U.S. nuclear maniacs are not stopped.

What's At Stake In 1984

To reverse this insane U.S. imperialist course is the main task facing the world and the American people. All these questions will come up for discussion and debate in the presidential election campaign and for decision on Election Day 1984.

Therefore, the next twelve months may be the most critical in the history of our country. We must mobilize the 76 per cent majority peace sentiment in our country to stop the Reagan war machine and turn our country back onto the path of peace, disarmament and detente.

In the 1984 election booth our people will decide whether our country will continue to travel on the crisis course of Reaganomics — with its ruthless wage cuts, social security cuts, food stamp cuts, public school cuts — with all the cutbacks, takebacks and givebacks.

Our people will decide whether there will be more hunger, homelessness and poverty or relief and massive federal programs and restored cuts; whether there will be millions of new jobs rebuilding our crumbling cities and industries or millions more permanently unemployed; whether there will be more plant closings and devastated communities or public takeover, nationalization and rescued, revitalized communities.

Our people will determine whether racism will continue to run rampant across our land, leaving in its wake skeletons of scuttled affirmative action programs, desegregation plans and anti-discrimination laws. One of the new skeletons is the destruction of the Civil Rights Commission by firing the three members who were pro-civil rights.

Our people will determine whether farmers and their families will continue to be thrown off the land and onto the welfare lines or go back into the fields and barns to grow the food and fabrics that feed and clothe the nation.

This crucial election period ahead will determine whether our young people will continue on the path to hopeless, homelessness and joblessness, cast aside as a checkless generation — without paychecks, bank checks, unemployment checks or welfare checks.

The 1984 elections will determine whether our senior citizens will continue to sink further into insecurity, destitution and de

spair or live the last chapter of their lives in dignity and security.

The next twelve months, culminating on election day, will determine whether the Reagan-corporate offensive will be permitted to continue ravaging our working class and people or whether the struggles, actions, coalitions and movements will crystalize into an anti-monopoly people's offensive against the corporations that will set the stage for turning our country around.

It is not every election campaign that has the powerful potential to influence the course of history. The 1984 election does. The 1984 election can become such a powerhouse because all the forces of the broad all people's anti-Reagan coalition are present and ready to move into action.

The challenge is to find the path of unity, the forms of mobilization and the issues that will bring people to the ballot box on November 6, 1984.

Raising our Sights

We must raise our sights to be a factor in a total mobilization to give all the pro-Reagan, ultra-Right forces a sound beating on Election Day.

We must raise our sights based on the assessment that there is such a potential, because the broad people's forces are coalescing and organizing for the final ballot-box battle.

Possibly no election in the history of our country offers more promise of people's victories or threatens more defeats, portends greater good or more evil, than the 1984 presidential elections. The people of the United States have the power to decide for good or evil.

II. THE TRIPLE-LAYERED ECONOMIC CRISIS

The four years since our 22nd National Convention has been a period of significant and dynamic developments, especially economic developments, which have had great impact on our working class.

At our 22nd Convention we predicted:

The economy can and most likely will develop into a full-blown economic crisis. It will be severe and can be of long duration. (*Labor Up Front*, main report to 22nd National Convention, August 23, 1979, Detroit, p. 6.)

And,

The economy suffers from a mixture of short-range cyclical and long-range chronic problems. There is a continuing deterioration in the overall structural framework of U.S. capitalism. (*Ibid.*, p.6.)

On the impact, we projected:

The new round of layoffs and plant closings has just begun. (*Ibid.*, p. 4.)

These forecasts made four years ago have turned out to be devastatingly correct.

The economic developments are the product of three layers

of separate, but overlapping and interrelated crises — the general crisis, the structural crisis and the on-again, off-again cyclical crisis.

The General Crisis

The general crisis of world capitalism increasingly has a more direct and deepening impact on U.S. economic developments. The universal law of uneven development of capitalism continues to impact negatively on the U.S. sector.

U.S.-produced goods continue to get a declining share of the world market. The 700 billion dollar debt strangling the developing nations which are teetering on the brink of bankruptcy adds a growing dimension to the depth of the general crisis.

More than 40 countries have reached the point where they can not even keep up with the interest payments on their loans, much less pay back the principal.

The Structural Crisis

The structural crisis is the newcomer on the economic scene. It is playing havoc with our basic industries. It is a direct result of U.S. monopoly capital's export of basic industries to low-wage, higher-profit areas.

It is a product of the long period of capital investment slowdown in domestic basic industries. It is a byproduct of the transfer of capital to short-term, quick profit, industrial investments.

The structural crisis is a direct consequence of the fact that capitalism, in its period of decay and general crisis, is not willing or able to adjust to the new level of advanced technology.

It is further negatively influenced by the changing relations between the industrialized imperialist countries and the developing countries. For the past ten years the relative growth of industrial development has been greater in the developing countries than in the industrialized countries.

The closed steel plants and auto plants, the devastated industrial communities, the long unemployment, welfare and soup lines are living testimony to the destructiveness of the structural crisis. And there is no light at the end of the structural crisis tunnel.

Cyclical Crisis

The back-to-back cyclical crises are a result of the anarchy of capitalist production. There is the gap between actual production, production capacity and the buying power of the people. This results in a periodic distortion of the economy that the system of class exploitation creates. It is a byproduct of increased mass production, while there is a decrease in standard of living with an accompanying increase in hunger, poverty and deprivation.

The "Recovery" Hoax

While there is some upward movement in some industries, much of it is in non-productive, wasteful war-related industries.

While there is much ballyhoo about "economic recovery" and "re-industrialization of America," the truth is that the so-called upturn is spotty and faltering. And it is taking place on unstable, crisis-ridden capitalist quicksand. At this moment, therefore, we can not speak of a stable, lasting economic upturn.

For the working class and people it is a recovery in which poverty and privation increases as workers reach the end of their unemployment checks.

It is a recovery during which hungry men, women and children begin to starve, as prices and rents keep climbing out of reach; while the welfare, foodstamp and aid benefits keep getting slashed and millions are cut off from their slim lifeline completely.

It is a recovery in which there is hardly a dent in unemployment and permanent joblessness.

It is a recovery in which those still working are still being forced to accept takeback concessions and wages are still being cut.

It is a recovery of evictions, mortgage foreclosures and repossessions as the number of homeless keeps growing.

It is a recovery in which one-third of the Afro-American people are forced to live below the poverty level.

It is a recovery in which 40 per cent of all Reaganomic cuts are cuts below-the-poverty-level-belt.

It is a recovery which is destroying young people and the young generation's hopes for a future.

It is a recovery in which our senior citizens are increasingly falling through the "safety net."

It is a recovery during which the farmers are being hard-hit by foreclosures and bankruptcies.

It is a recovery in which the crumbling of our cities has become a dangerous daily disaster of falling bridges, sagging tunnels, potholed streets, busting water and sewer systems, unlivable housing and unsafe transit systems.

It is a recovery in which the overall quality of life continues to deteriorate, a recovery resulting in the addition of more than 10 million to a below-poverty standard of living, which now accounts for more than 15 per cent of our total population.

It is, on the other hand, a corporate profits recovery without precedent. It is a recovery for the triple-layered structure of monopoly capital.

It is a recovery in which insecurity and fear has gripped the masses of people. There is insecurity on the job, on unemployment, on welfare, on disability and aid to dependent children. There is insecurity on old age pensions, on social security, on Medicare and Medicaid. There is insecurity in the schools, at home and on the streets. There is insecurity and fear in the cities and on the farms.

The greatest insecurity and fear is about life itself because of the nuclear cloud that hangs ominously over the whole world.

Law-Governed, Programmed Crises

The triple-layered crisis is a programmed, law-governed outcome of state monopoly capitalism, further sharpened by the growth and increasing dominance of finance capital, the most parasitic sector of monopoly capital. Thirty years ago the interest payments alone to this sector totaled a whopping \$32 billion dollars per year. Now the interest profits are over one trillion dollars, or 32 per cent of the gross national product skimmed off by the financial bloodsuckers.

The crises are further intensified by a one-and-a-half trillion dollar government debt that is now growing at the rate of 200 billion dollars per year. These same financial swindlers take over 100 billion dollars as interest on the federal debt. There is no end to their plundering of the working class and people.

The dominant position of finance capital reached its present level because the majority of business transactions —of industrial corporations, small business and government — are now being conducted with borrowed money.

But not even the banks are immune to the triple-threat crisis. Many banks have either been forced into bankruptcy or have been taken over and swallowed up by bigger banks. Over 600 banks are now teetering on the brink, facing the same fate as the farms and homes they are foreclosing.

Moment of Truth

The period of the triple-layered crisis of world capitalism has been a moment of truth for the two world socio-economic systems.

In the world marathon of marathons, old-world capitalism is quickly running out of steam and getting out of breath. It has now slowed down to a halt, is limping badly and looks like it won't even get to the finish line.

The young, world community of socialist states has taken the inside lead, increased their speed, passed the finish line and is not even winded. Out-classed and out-run, capitalism is the loser. Socialism is definitely the world champion in this race.

As in any marathon, what really counts is a healthy, well-run system and lots of staying power. Capitalism doesn't have either a well-run system or staying power. Capitalism doesn't have a chance in the world.

All the obstacles thrown on the running track by the Reagan team have been of no avail —the oil pipeline sanctions, the grain embargo, and other boycotts. Only the running dogs of U.S. capitalism have stumbled over them.

The socialist states, unaffected by the general crisis, structural crisis or the cyclical crises continue to advance and win all the races.

There is a steady growth in the socialist economy. The standard of living continues to rise. In 1922 the Soviet Union was producing one-hundredth as much as the United States. Now it is producing over four-fifths as much as the U.S. economy. This, in spite of two devastating wars. The socialist marathoners are alive and well, and running a winning race.

We Have To Raise Our Sights

To measure up to the problems faced by our people, to make our actions correspond to our estimates, we have to raise our sights.

We have to raise our sights —

- In the organization of the unemployed;
- In organizing and working with people on welfare;
- In moving the unemployed into the “Dump Reagan” campaign.

III.

THE WORLD IN CRISIS

At our 22nd National Convention in 1979, one year before Reagan's election, we said:

This is precisely the reactionary purpose in their opposition to SALT II: to end detente, create a new cold war, fuel the arms race and build a nuclear first strike capability. (*Labor Up Front*. Report to 22nd National Convention, CPUSA, Detroit, August 23, 1979. International Publishers, New York, 1979, p. 23.)

And,

This is the meaning of the drive for still newer nuclear missile systems, like the MX, Trident submarine, Cruise missile and neutron bomb. (Ibid.)

After one year in office, we characterized the Reagan Administration as:

... an extremely reactionary, anti-labor, anti-people, racist, pro-big business, imperialistic administration. (*Join the Fightback-Organize!*, Report to Central Committee, National Council, June 13, 1981.)

In our Draft Basic Document for this Convention we affirmed our initial assessment:

In all parts of the world U.S. imperialism continues to be the main support base for all the forces of reaction who are fighting to turn back and stop the clock of the world revolutionary process.

More than ever, the Reagan Administration's policies, based on the Big Lie of anti-Sovietism, are on a collision

course with the main currents and trends both at home and abroad.

With the brutal invasion and occupation of Grenada the Reagan Administration has sunk to a new low. The news that the first target of the U.S. bombing of Grenada was a mental hospital in which 50 patients were killed reveals the utter brutality and terrorism of the attack on this tiny island nation of 110,000.

This criminal action followed by only days the arrogant assertion by Reagan that U.S. imperialism reserves the right to attack militarily any country that he determines threatens U.S. "national interests."

The Most Critical Challenge

With each passing day the Reagan-Weinberger rhetoric becomes more bellicose and the actions more warlike. The Reagan Administration and Reagan himself have become the most insane, rabid warmongers, the most arrogant, chauvinistic, fanatical, imperialistic, big lie anti-Sovieteers in history.

With Reagan, the ideological offensive of U.S. imperialism takes the form of a "crusade against socialism," against all progressive forces of the world.

The Reagan Administration has pushed the world to its most serious crisis. Because of the escalating war danger, the struggle to preserve peace and prevent nuclear catastrophe has literally become a struggle to preserve the world and all humanity. This has emerged as the most critical challenge facing humanity.

And now we are but days away from the critical crossroads of the crisis because the Pentagon is determined to go ahead with deployment of U.S. Pershing II and cruise nuclear missiles on European soil. This move is but a shadow away from an act of war because these missiles are first-strike weapons.

Gunboat Diplomacy & Acts of War

The acts of intervention, aggression and undeclared wars by the Reagan Administration have greatly increased the dangerous flashpoints that can explode into global conflicts. Reagan has replaced diplomacy with acts of military aggression — gunboat diplomacy.

The U.S. troops in Honduras, the warships and aircraft car

riers surrounding Nicaragua, and the arming of counterrevolutionary forces in Central America is an undeclared act of war against Nicaragua and the people's revolutionary forces of El Salvador. The U.S. marines, the warships and the use of bombers in Lebanon add up to an undeclared war against Lebanon.

The CIA-funded and -directed counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan, and the warships and aircraft carriers off the coast of Africa, the troop buildup in the Middle East all add up to an undeclared war against Libya, Angola, Ethiopia and Chad.

The racist fascist military regime of South Africa, supported by and in alliance with U.S. imperialism, has become a continent-wide counterrevolutionary shock force, working to overthrow the popular, democratic governments of Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique.

The Reagan Administration continues to escalate its colonial-imperialist policies in the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Chile. It continues its subversion and boycott of Cuba. The danger is indeed grave. However, we are not in a so-called "pre-world war" period. To speak of a pre-war period is to accept the idea that war, including nuclear war, is already inevitable. This concept promotes a fatalistic, nothing-can-be-done attitude. Such fatalism itself adds to the danger of war.

We have said that war is not inevitable. This remains so. But I think there is a new element we must add now in the present situation that calls for an elaboration of this concept.

That is, if the Reagan foreign policy is not reversed, if moves like Grenada, Lebanon, El Salvador, the mobilization of Japan, South Korea, the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles, the MX and Tridents, the development of "star wars" weapons, and the trillions for first-strike nuclear superiority are not reversed, we will reach a point of no return, or a point where nuclear war will become inevitable.

War Danger Spurs Anti-War Movements

The fact is that while the danger increases the very acuteness of the threat is giving rise to a more powerful opposition to war. The millions who are involved in perpetual mass actions in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, England and Italy are without precedent.

In spite of some setbacks, the forces of national liberation

continue to grow and mature. The armed struggles in El Salvador, Guatemala, Namibia and South Africa have become all people's majority movements. The broad people's movements in Chile and the Philippines are reaching the decisive phases of their struggles against fascist military regimes.

Never before in U.S. history have such a great number of Americans expressed opposition to a government war policy. The 400,000 who marched in Washington on August 27 are the most determined and conscious of the tens of millions who oppose the Reagan war policy.

A clear majority of our people favor a complete freeze in nuclear weapons testing, production and deployment, as was shown in numerous referenda across the country.

The millions who took part in Labor Day actions throughout the country came out against Reagan's policies, including his policies of war.

The mass demonstration against the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada on November 12 expressed the outrage and mounting fear of nuclear war if the Reagan war moves continue.

Twenty international trade unions have taken a solid stand against the Reaganite policy of aggression in Central America.

The October 21-24 days of protest against deployment of Pershing II and cruise nuclear missiles in Europe were sponsored by all the major U.S. peace organizations and involved hundreds of thousands in 300 major cities.

And, in spite of unprecedented efforts, led by Reagan and the mass media, to incite hysteria over the Korean spy plane provocation, the majority of the American people remained firm in their opposition to the Reagan policies of war and aggression.

A Global Crisis

The Pershing II and cruise nuclear missiles are destined for Europe, but it would be a grave mistake for Americans to think of this deployment as a strictly European crisis. The installation of these strategic weapons will intensify the war crisis on a global scale.

The launching of nuclear weapons from European soil would inevitably involve the United States in a full-scale nuclear war. That is why the attempt to escalate the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in any part of the world is, from the beginning, a glob-

al crisis.

The deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe will greatly escalate the war crisis. The struggle will change, but it will not come to an end. The struggle will continue, but the demand, the goal will be to force the withdrawal of the missiles.

Who's to Blame

The Reagan Administration continues its arms race policies and the production of ever deadlier weapons for a nuclear first-strike superiority over the Soviet Union.

On the very day the CIA announced its latest study showing the Soviet Union is reducing its military budgets, the U.S. Congress voted for the biggest U.S. military budget in history.

In the Geneva disarmament negotiations the Soviet Union has gone more than half way toward reaching an agreement. Their proposals for arms reductions pile up, with no response from the United States side, except to keep repeating "they are not serious," or "not enough details," or "we're studying it."

The U.S. negotiators have not taken even a first step toward serious talks. They continue to act as if the 162 so-called French and British — but in fact U.S. — nuclear missiles do not exist.

There can be no serious arms reduction negotiations as long as the Reaganites refuse to recognize the 162-nuclear-missile arsenal and as long as their underlying policy is to keep building a first-strike nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union.

Election Campaign Can Become Peace Campaign

As Election Day approaches there will be more demagoguery and more maneuvering in an attempt to transform Reagan's image from a man of war, from a trigger-happy president, to a man of peace.

A typical example was Reagan's transfer of his crony, William Clark, from National Security, where he has been exposed as a fanatic warmonger, to the Interior Department. But I think we can assume that there will be no basic change from the path of confrontation and aggression.

However, with the buildup of struggles and movements it is possible to stay the hand of aggression from further escalation.

As we approach the 1984 elections, there is, of course, the danger of some new provocative acts of war. However, there is

also the opposite tendency. There is a growing concern by the politicians that the peace sentiment will defeat candidates who support the Reagan war policies. Therefore, the election campaign that is now beginning to heat up can become a powerful movement to block the war drive. The 1984 election campaign can become a peace campaign.

Raising Our Sights

We must see the mounting struggle against the Reaganite war policies as an on-going, twelve-month emergency.

We must raise our sights and efforts to turn the broad, majority peace sentiment into mass actions. And we must not wait for national actions to be organized.

We must raise our sights to make the struggle against Reaganism a block-by-block, neighborhood-by-neighborhood, city-by-city and day-by-day struggle.

IV.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The great economic, political and ideological divide of our capitalist society continues to widen and deepen. As a result the main contradiction between capital and labor continues to sharpen. And the main struggle, the class struggle, continues to intensify.

This report, and especially this section, is intended to be a guide in helping the Party focus and rivet concentrated attention on this centermost question.

Unemployment Up—Quality of Life Down

It is now clear that the Reagan-corporate, anti-labor, anti-people racist offensive will continue. As the election approaches there will be more demagoguery and more maneuvering, but no basic changes or shifts.

The overall quality of life and conditions of our class have been deteriorating for more than a decade. But the decline has been especially severe in the past five years.

Unemployment afflicts some 20 million and remains in the 10 per cent range. And there are two million "discouraged" unemployed, who are the most poverty-stricken workers because after years of trying they have given up even looking for work. The majority of these workers are racially oppressed, women and youth.

Unemployment among workers in manufacturing remains at 15 per cent and in basic industries 17 per cent. The rate of unemployment for Afro-American workers is officially 20 per cent and for Black youth it remains over 50 per cent. In the present situation, using official averages becomes a coverup for the reality. For

instance, the 20 per cent average unemployment among Black workers becomes 30-40 per cent in the major urban centers.

In the disaster areas, which are the result of the structural crisis, unemployment rates zoom off the charts. For example, in many of the steel towns like Youngstown, Birmingham and Buffalo and in the case of the Mesaba Range in Minnesota the rate jumps as high as 85 per cent. There is absolutely no recovery in sight for these industrial disaster areas.

For those who are still working, 25 per cent of all trade union contracts negotiated during the past two years included wage cuts, some as much as 50 per cent. An additional 20 per cent of the contracts included wage freezes, which, due to continuing inflation, are also wage cuts. According to the AFL-CIO, real, spendable earnings of workers have dropped by 14.3 per cent since 1977.

And there are even bigger cuts in the area of so-called fringe benefits, which include such basic necessities as health and safety, vacations, insurance and pensions. Even where contracts included increases, they are much lower, like the 1/2 of 1 per cent offered to Chicago's public school teachers.

New Challenges to The Working Class

In many cases, the union shop steward and grievance machinery are now only skeletons, having lost the personnel and power to deal with the millions of piled up, unsettled complaints. The grievance system has become a butt of cynical jokes by corporate big wigs.

Union-busting and strike-breaking have emerged as serious challenges to the trade union movement. We are witnessing a throwback to the pre-CIO days.

The brutal attacks by city, county and state police against the Phelps Dodge strikers in Arizona are not an isolated case. The use of scabs protected by police is increasingly commonplace. The well-planned and nationally coordinated drive to break the strike and destroy the union of the Greyhound bus drivers is but the latest example of the corporate-Reagan, anti-working class offensive.

The growing number of closed plants has made even the threat of a plant closing an effective wage-cutting, anti-union weapon. And the new corporate merger schemes all include spe

cific plans for union-busting and more plant closings, resulting in more layoffs. For example, the latest mergers — Republic-LTV and Santa Fe-Southern Pacific — will result in the closing of many steel plants and the loss of thousands of steel and railroad jobs.

At a rare moment, when the night editor must have fallen asleep, the *Wall Street Journal* printed an article about the Republic-LTV merger, with the following prediction:

It seems to foreshadow further painful rounds of plant closings, employee layoffs and damage to local communities. . . . Above all, it dramatically illustrates the accelerating shrinkage of basic industry in the U.S. and a new search for solutions by ailing companies. It suggests that despite all the talk about reindustrialization of America what is really occurring is a continued, rapid deindustrialization, not only in steel but also in machine tools, foundries, rubber, mining and industrial equipment. (*Wall Street Journal*, September 30, 1983.)

It is obvious that even someone in the *Wall Street Journal* reads our reports.

The very newest union busting tool is the use of phony bankruptcy laws. The corporations use this law not only to wreck unions and lay off workers, but also to avoid making pension fund payments to workers and to avoid responsibility for polluting the environment, as in the case of Johns Mansville Corporation.

Here again, enough corporations have been successful in busting unions with the simple threat to use the bankruptcy law that it has become another effective anti-labor weapon.

The courts have reverted to pre-New Deal days by issuing anti-picketing injunctions, especially against government workers, including teachers.

Most of the small high-tech steel mini mills are non-union, which has opened up a new gap in union strength. In fact, most of the new high tech industries are unorganized.

Sweatshops are reappearing and spreading like a plague in almost every major city. They are union-busting enclaves with minimum and below-minimum wage levels and unbearable working conditions. They weaken union bargaining strength at organized shops and reduce the number of unionized industrial

workers.

Increasingly, attorneys for the Department of Justice smile and wink at gross violations of affirmative action agreements, of federal health and safety regulations, of minimum wage laws, of pension funds, of seniority rights and union contracts.

These all add up to a serious new challenge to the working class. It is a many-sided attempt to gut and wipe out all the victories won and progress achieved in the heat of class battles in the last fifty years.

Triple-Layered Crisis, Many-Pronged Attack

It is clear that the lot of our multiracial, multinational, male-female, young-old working class is anything but a bed of roses. The working class is a victim of the triple-layered crisis; the sharpening of the general crisis, the spotty nature of the cyclical upturn and the continuation of the structural crisis.

The structural crisis will continue unabated because, among other reasons, the steel, auto, machine tool and other industries are not setting aside any capital for re-tooling or for new technology, which is a necessary ingredient for any basic change. And the big banks continue their investment capital boycott against the sick industries.

When you add to this the many-pronged corporate offensive and the all-out, anti-labor, union-busting policies of the Reagan Administration, it is clear the working class is up against a formidable adversary.

It will take a great, united effort to move from a defensive, retreating position to battles that take up the challenges and move to issues and struggles that are on the aggressive and offensive side of the class struggle. This struggle, however, is already heating up.

Resistance and Fightback

Since our 22nd National Convention, these developments have greatly sharpened the edge of class relations. The resistance to concessions and takebacks continues to grow, especially among the rank and file and middle-level leadership. This shift has taken place because it has become clear and widely recognized that none of the big concessions has saved a single job or prevented a single plant closing.

For example, U.S. Steel in Chicago threatened to close the South Works plant if it did not get concessions. To put bait on the hook U.S. Steel said it would build a new, modern rail mill.

Anticipating this, U.S. Steel was given all the concessions, incentives and subsidies it asked for — wage cuts, local and state tax cuts (it pays no federal taxes). It was exempted from pollution controls.

After all the concessions, U.S. Steel announced it will probably close South Works anyway. And, the promise of a rail mill is going up in the last puffs of smoke from South Works. That is, unless the growing movement to save South Works and the steel industry becomes big and powerful enough to stop U.S. Steel in its tracks.

The plan to shut down South Works is seen by steelworkers and the steel communities as the beginning of the end of basic steel production in the United States. Whither goes South Works, so goes the U.S. basic steel industry!

Saving the jobs of 300,000 steelworkers by saving the basic steel industry must become a key feature of our industrial concentration policy.

A Year of 'Don't Give Back, Fight Back'

In surveying this past period it is important to keep in mind that it has not only been one of concessions, givebacks and retreats by the working class. There have been a growing number of militant strikes, protest meetings, demonstrations, rallies, picket lines and marches.

This year the trade unions were a significant part of the August 27 March on Washington. In the Labor Day events around the country an estimated two million marched against the policies of the Reagan Administration. There were Labor Day parades and marches in cities and towns where there had not been one for fifty years.

The members of the Teamsters union, by an 85 per cent majority, rejected a concession contract pushed by the union's new president.

Eight thousand GM Packard Electric workers refused to accept a company demand for a wage structure that would have drastically and permanently lowered the wage of all new workers. They turned it down by 5 to 2, signaling "we will not vote

against the interests of our own children."

The militancy and anger of the Chrysler workers forced the corporation to give back some of the concessions made in the previous contract.

The solid strike by all the unions in the Chicago school system ended in a victory for the teachers.

There are also many other signs of the new militancy, of open dissent and readiness to act, especially against the give-backs and the new wave of "corporate prerogatives," many of which are being asserted under the guise of "worker control."

The growing mood of fightback and struggle is expressed on the new decal put out by the Machinists Union that displays the clenched fist of unity and says 'Don't Give Back; Fight Back.'

Countering 'Corporate Prerogatives and Workers' Control'

There are new elements entering the class struggle arena. There is a marked shift in workers' attitudes toward "corporate prerogatives." This is a response to the cruel and arbitrary decisions of corporations to close plants and eliminate millions of jobs.

The continuing scientific and technological revolution, with its chips and robots, its computers and other high tech advances, is forcing a new approach by the working class because corporate control of these new advances is costing millions of jobs. These advances, under corporate control, are superceding and eliminating many skills acquired through years of hard work.

"Contracting out" is another corporate gimmick that has reached epidemic proportions. After signing union contracts, employers in both the public and private sector simply turn around and "contract out" the work to outfits with low wages and no unions. This has now reached the point where the very concept of industrial unionism is at stake.

Forced overtime has become a major instrument of decreasing the number of jobs, increased exploitation and union-busting. The AFL-CIO estimates that forced overtime steals two million jobs per year and adds billions in corporate profits.

A significant aspect of the struggle to curb "company prerogatives" is the need for a strong challenge to the racist and discriminatory corporate policies in hiring and upgrading. The discarding, disregarding, violation and gutting of affirmative action agreements and contract clauses has become an epidemic. Monopoly capital regards racism and inequality as "corporate prerogatives."

The ESOP Hoax

We also have to deal with the growing number of Employee Stock Option Plans (ESOPs). In the case of Wierton Steel, West Virginia, it resulted in an immediate cut of 28 per cent in all wage categories, averaging over \$300 per month in lost income and the cancellation of many earned, accumulated pension plans for older workers.

This obsolete steel mill will have to be modernized at a cost of one billion dollars. This not only will be a bankers' bonanza with high interest rates on the loans, but will effectively turn the controlling and decisive voice in the operation of the mill over to the banks.

In fact, in most ESOPs the controlling votes never leave management because the plan makes sure that workers never get more than a very small percentage of votes, never enough to control the company.

ESOPs give the illusion that the way for workers to save their jobs is to buy out the company. In every case — Wierton, Rath, Hyatt-Clark Industries — workers have taken substantial wage cuts and find themselves deeply in debt to the banks. It is another criminal corporate hoax to bleed the workers and feed the corporations. The Rath Corporation, with its ESOP, has now moved for bankruptcy.

The growing challenge to all these company prerogatives is adding new dimensions to the challenge against monopoly control. But there is always the danger of an attempt to divert this struggle into class-partnership channels.

We have the responsibility to help develop comprehensive programs which will guarantee that the struggle for workers' control is firmly grounded in the principles of class struggle trade unionism. Class partnership tactics will only doom it to an early and dismal defeat.

The Import-Export Crisis

We also have to deal with what has become an import-export crisis for the working class, a crisis which has grown to the point where it is a major factor in creating unemployment and pressures for wage cuts.

In this crisis situation we have to formulate demands that will meet the needs of U.S. workers under such severe conditions.

The import-export crisis is fed by the new aspects of imperialism. It is fed by the high debts and interest rates that are strangling the economies of developing countries.

As conditions for loans, U.S. banks dictate wage cuts, price reductions, cuts in economic and social programs, and impose severe austerity and poverty on the working people of the debtor nations. Then the bloodthirsty transnationals move in to take advantage of the high-profit, low-wage conditions.

Therefore, it is not a crisis for the transnationals or the banks. The International Monetary Fund pours billions, especially into the military-fascist dictatorships. Most of this money goes to pay the interest on loans from U.S. banks. With each new loan the imperialist noose tightens. What is happening in Brazil is a perfect example of this. U.S. finance capital is ripping off the people of both the United States and the developing countries.

Protecting Corporate Profits

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

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

Therefore, why not launch a worldwide offensive against the role of U.S. transnational corporations and banks to protect jobs of workers in every country?

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

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

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

Why not tax the superprofits from foreign investments?

Why not a law that restricts transnational imports, based on human and working-class rights? Bar their imports from countries where trade unions are outlawed; where trade union leaders are murdered and jailed; where racist violence exists; where there are no minimum wage standards.

International Labor Contracts

There is internationalization of capital. Why not a struggle for internationalization of labor? Why not international labor contracts based on all plants and subsidiaries owned by a single transnational corporation or funded by a bank or financial institution? The labor contract would include affirmative action clauses to wipe out wage and all other inequalities, both at home and abroad.

Therefore, the question is not whether to regulate foreign trade, but how to regulate it and in whose interest. Present regulations are all to the advantage of the most powerful monopoly groups and pro-war forces. There are no capitalist countries in which workers' interests are taken into consideration.

In many cases, efforts by well-meaning trade union leaders to protect particular industries are actually diverting workers from crucial struggles that are necessary to solve unemployment problems, struggles that promise many times more jobs than protectionist measures pretend to offer.

Creating New Jobs

For years, the auto workers instructed their leaders to bargain for a shorter work week and limitation of overtime, which would have provided millions of jobs. Instead many UAW leaders directed their efforts into protectionist channels.

Today, mass support is needed to fight for the passage of the Conyers Bill, introduced by Congressman John Conyers of Michi

gan. This bill calls for a 32-hour work week with no cut in pay, double pay for overtime and the banning of forced overtime.

In addition, slashing the bloated military budget and using the funds to provide construction of decent, affordable housing, to repair and expand the country's infrastructure, would add many millions of jobs.

A panel of top trade union leaders and some corporate people have just come up with a 38 billion dollar plan for the rebuilding of our national infrastructure — bridges, water supply systems and waste treatment facilities. They could have added another 38 billion dollars for pollution cleanup.

All these measures, which would have to include radical affirmative action programs, would add millions of new jobs and begin to undo the years of discrimination and inequality.

The Trade Unions in the Electoral Arena

The continuing many-sided offensive against the working class is conducted by state-monopoly capitalism.

As Lenin so clearly foresaw:

State-monopoly capitalism combines the power of the monopolies and that of the state into a single mechanism whose sole purpose is to enrich the monopolies, suppress the working-class movement and the national liberation struggles, save the capitalist system and launch aggressive wars.

If Lenin never said another word that assessment would have given him a place among history's greats.

Under the Reagan Administration, the role of the state as an anti-labor force has been greatly expanded. It is difficult to separate it from the corporate offensive. Therefore, it is in this framework that we must place the important shift that is taking place in trade union electoral tactics.

In the Program of our Party we state:

It is crucial for labor to assert its political independence and confront its corporate enemies as a class in the political arena. (New Program, CPUSA, New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1982, p.48.)

The shift in trade union electoral policy started with the 1982 congressional elections. The trade unions became an important

factor in defeating some of the Reaganite candidates. Emphasis was placed on working-class congressional districts.

Further Development of Shift

The endorsement of a presidential candidate in the primaries by the AFL-CIO convention was a continuation and further development of this shift.

The Mondale endorsement should not blind us to the broader meaning of the convention's action. The criticisms we and others make of Mondale's positions are correct and necessary.

However, the action of the Convention places the trade union movement squarely in the middle of the Dump Reagan movement. It also opens the door for the other forces in the dump Reagan movement to become a force against the anti-labor, monopoly-capital offensive. This sets into motion the processes and forces that will continue to pressure the trade union movement toward a more clearly class struggle path in all areas of struggle.

The Dump Reagan movement is becoming the starting point for unity of the different forces that has the potential of a united front, all people's movement far beyond Election Day.

The AFL-CIO convention speeches and resolutions put emphasis in a new way on the need for trade unions to work with allies. In its own way, the action is a step towards labor becoming an independent electoral force working with allies. It is the beginning of the end of the old policy of "rewarding our [labor's] friends and punishing our enemies."

Unlimited Potential

In keeping with the precedent set by the convention, state and central labor bodies, local unions and rank-and-file trade union election committees can now jump into the electoral process with both feet on all levels, including running their own candidates. This has the potential of making the U.S. electoral arena a new ballgame. Therefore, we must focus on the broader implications and the potential of the AFL-CIO action.

The AFL-CIO action is a response to the state-monopoly-corporate offensive, as well as to the new pressures from the rank and file. However, most of the top leadership still tries to limit this response mainly to economic issues.

A Contradiction and Dilemma

But there is a growing contradiction. This contradiction is expressed in the all-out opposition against Reagan and the continuing support — especially by the AFL-CIO International Department, led by Irving Brown — for Reagan's Big Lie foreign policy, including the disastrous military budgets that are bankrupting our country. It is expressed in Kirkland's continuing support for the anti-socialist forces in Poland.

The source of the Big Lie anti-Communist influence in the top circles of the AFL-CIO is the Social Democrats, U.S.A. and the AFL-CIO International Department, which has always been the "labor arm of the CIA."

But, as one top AFL-CIO leader recently admitted: "I frankly think you can't attack Reagan on economic policy without **going** after him on foreign affairs." Then he concluded, "the practical consequence of all this is that you don't get as much leverage out of it if you don't attack Reagan on all fronts." That is the dilemma some of the trade union leaders have to resolve.

It is important to deal with and develop an approach to this contradiction, especially in helping to move the trade union movement more actively into the struggle against Reagan's foreign policies and for peace and disarmament.

The objective basis for the contradiction will continue to sharpen. Class collaborators are in a real bind in the area of foreign policy.

The more advanced positions of the rank and file can force a real turnaround in official AFL-CIO positions. The objective developments will increasingly be a pressure to resolve the contradiction. Already, four international unions have taken a sharp stand against the U.S. policy in Central America. We can be helpful in resolving the contradiction by exposing the negative effects of the Reagan foreign policy on the economic crisis in the United States.

Class Collaboration Clings to Past

The economic developments, the anti-Reagan position of the AFL-CIO convention, and the new political activities of trade unions are having their impact and influence in the ranks of the trade union movement and working class generally.

In fact, the rank and file tends to be more advanced, as well as more militant, than the top leadership on all questions. The objective developments have made it much more difficult for the top leadership to pursue the bankrupt policies of class collaboration, concessions and retreat. All this will intensify as the class struggle sharpens.

Also, the successes of the Reagan-corporate offensive have convinced many corporate heads that they really do not need the toadying class collaborationist trade union leaders. Yet, there are still some trade union officials who still cling to the old bankrupt concept of class partnership when it comes to dealing with the corporations, even on economic issues.

Despite being rebuffed and doublecrossed, they stubbornly cling to the Big Business philosophy that "what's good for the company is good for the union." Some have become virtually paralyzed because of this philosophy.

Building The Left & Left-Center Unity

In a sense, this situation has created a leadership vacuum which has left the Right-wing forces blowing in the wind. It has motivated many of the Center forces to look for new tactics, new programs and new alliances.

In all this, the militancy and the Left sentiment continues to grow. But where there are no Left forms, this sentiment also tends to float in the vacuum.

The Left sector of the working class of today is a continually growing force. It responds militantly to plant closings, to corporate prerogatives, to concessions and takebacks. It has a deeper understanding of the role of racism, especially as it is related to class unity. It is developing along a higher level of class consciousness. It sees the connection between the big military budgets and the Reagan foreign policy as it is related to economic questions. And the Left forces are generally more inclined to take more advanced positions on such questions as independent political action. It is less influenced by anti-Communism.

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. Of course, the Center forces of today are not the same as those of years ago. Generally they are less influenced by Right-wing elements. They waver on foreign policy issues. Many are still influenced by anti-Communism and racism. They are more militant on domestic issues. It is still true, however, that the starting point for Left-Center unity must be the most advanced position of the Center forces.

As we well know, nothing moves in a vacuum. Forces move either because they are repelled or attracted. Today, the Center forces are increasingly repelled by the Right-wing 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-Center unity we are working with, and giving direction to, trends that are already in motion. We are not inventing these trends.

Left forms were always necessary. National Left forms have now become absolutely necessary. The concept must include not only rank-and-file groups, but Left-led locals and left-of-center forces in higher positions of trade union leadership.

The organized Left force concept is basically non-Communist, but includes Communists. Without such Left forms the leadership vacuum can not be filled. And as long as there is a vacuum, in some cases the phony Left will move in.

It is also clear that, because of the formidable obstacles, the working class can not move from defensive to offensive struggles without an organized Left.

The trade union movement can not effectively move to the new level of electoral politics without an organized Left. The struggles need new ideas, new concepts, new forms that only the Left can provide precisely because it is more advanced.

Political Potholes on New Path

On the new path of trade union electoral politics there will be a lot of political potholes that can be avoided with Left leadership and good tactics.

The trade unions can not effectively raise the struggle against racism and for programs of affirmative action without the prodding of the Left.

The trade unions will not effectively move into the struggle for equality of women and for the interests of the youth without an organized Left.

An organized Left is necessary to move the trade union movement fully into the struggle for peace and for exposing the policies based on the Big Lie.

The trade union movement can not understand or effectively fight for the concept of nationalization of industries, for concepts of public takeover and real workers' control without an organized Left.

The Left input is necessary in the rebuilding of an effective grievance machinery, without which the working class can not move into offensive struggles.

The objective developments have made Left forms necessary and a shift in mass thought patterns have made them possible.

An organized Left means the building of Left rank-and-file groups and caucuses. It places greater importance on organizations such as Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) and Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE).

The Struggle for Working Class Equality

Some say that in order to understand and to know the working class it is first necessary to know its separate component parts.

It is true that it is necessary to know the component parts of the working class and the specific and unique problems they face. However, we must not, as Karl Marx warned, stand things on their head.

We must always keep in mind that what gives the working class as a whole a sense of oneness, what moves it toward class unity, what gives it class consciousness, what forces it to move to the head of the line of march and what propels it to consider, as a class, revolutionary action, is the class exploitation at the point of

production.

It is an understanding and recognition of this basic premise that must become the starting point and framework for the consideration of all questions relating to the working class and the class struggle.

The fact that we must keep emphasizing that our working class is multiracial, multinational, male-female, young and old is itself an indication that there are special and unique problems that relate to each separate component of the class.

Therefore, the struggle against inequality is a very basic question simply because not all members of our class work and live under conditions of equality.

Afro-American Equality

The Afro-American component of our U.S. working class is exploited, as are all workers. But they are additionally discriminated against and exploited based on racism.

Black workers, men and women, are exploited on the basis of the class they are a part of. They are further exploited on the basis of race. And they suffer many-sided discrimination because they are members of an oppressed nationality.

It is estimated that the racist cut in wages is \$70 per week, or an average of \$3,600 per year. Racism is a big factor in the fact that 20 per cent of Black workers are unemployed and that 25-30 per cent of Black workers in basic industry are unemployed. Most are suffering from long-term unemployment.

There is also a distinct pattern of racism in upgrading and job classification. The racist pattern in hiring and firing of Black workers remains in full force.

The Reagan cuts in food stamps and all social and economic programs have a special, sharp racist edge against Black workers and their families. Because of past discriminatory practices, pensions, retirement and social security benefits are smaller for Black workers.

And, of course, Black workers and their families suffer from all the discrimination and racism directed against the whole Afro-American community — poor housing, education, medical and child care, cultural oppression, as well as political under-representation.

Thus, the struggle for working-class equality must begin

with the struggle to eliminate the \$70 per week wage inequality. It must start by doing away with discrimination in upgrading and job classification, in hiring and firing practices.

The gap created by racist inequality is a major obstacle to working-class unity. A true measure of the class consciousness of all workers — but, in a special way, of the level of class consciousness of white workers — is the level of Black-white unity. Black-white working-class unity is a fundamental precondition for working-class unity in general. The struggle for Black-white working-class unity is key in the building of the alliance between the working class and the Afro-American community.

Black-white working-class unity is a necessity for the working class to be able to fulfill its role in the front line of march of all movements and struggles.

A critical arena for the struggle must be jobs and affirmative action. The struggle for equality in unionized industries can be conducted by way of affirmative action clauses in labor contracts. This must become standard for all labor contracts.

But some of the most serious racist inequalities are in unorganized industries and shops. Therefore, the struggle for equality and against racism in general raises the need for organizing the unorganized and for more binding affirmative action legislation that would be applicable to the unorganized service industries. It also raises the need for enforcing the law and increasing the minimum wage standards.

The inequalities suffered by other nationally oppressed components of our working class are all patterned after the system and essence of racism practiced against the Afro-American community. The racism against Black America feeds and is a conduit for the national oppression, discrimination and chauvinism against other nationally oppressed minorities.

The oppression that other national minorities suffer is not the same. But it is fed by and is closely connected with the racism that permeates all phases of our life.

Chicano-Mexicano Equality

The struggle for equality of the Chicano-Mexicano component of our working class is also key to working-class unity, especially in a number of regions and in some industries. About 50 per

cent of Chicano-Mexicano workers are in basic industries such as metal, mining, steel and auto. And some 20 per cent are low-wage agricultural workers.

Most of the people without legal documents are also workers who work in the low-wage and largely unorganized industries. Most if not all live below the poverty level.

Therefore, the struggle for equality of the Chicano-Mexicano component of the working class must start with elimination of the wage differential. This must include the struggle to end the non-legal status of workers without documents and the struggle for their full economic, trade union, political, civil and human rights.

Puerto Rican Equality

Puerto Rican workers are another important component of the U.S. working class. The Puerto Rican people in the United States are overwhelmingly working class. They are a key sector of the class in industries like garment. They are an important sector of the working class in many industrial centers, including in some steel communities.

The results of policies of racial and national discrimination are widespread poverty. In many areas, the Puerto Rican workers are among the lowest paid and unemployment is disproportionately high.

The struggle for liberation of Puerto Rico from colonial oppression is a struggle against U.S. imperialism. Therefore, the racial and national oppression of Puerto Rican workers and people is closely linked because in both cases the class enemy is the same.

The struggle for equality of the Puerto Rican component of our working class must also start with the struggle to wipe out the wage gap and the discriminatory practices in hiring, firing, job promotion and classification.

As is the case with Chicano-Mexicano workers, the refusal of the corporations to consider using Spanish in the work place becomes an instrument of inequality. This is especially a contributing factor in the refusal to conduct bilingual classes for learning skills and trades. Bilingual classes for learning higher skills and trades must become a union contract demand.

Native American Indian Equality

The relatively smaller number of Native American Indians in the U.S. work force is itself proof of the old policy of discrimination in corporate hiring.

The extreme poverty and, in some cases, total unemployment in the slums of reservations forces many to move to urban centers where Native American people face the new Reagan cuts in social services. In these industrial centers they meet head-on the special, long-established corporate policies of discrimination against Native American Indian workers.

The problems faced by the Native American Indian workers are closely related to the monopoly-corporate ripoff of the energy and water resources on the reservations. Their problems are closely connected with the struggles going on for return of stolen lands. Their problems are also related to the policies of genocide, including sterilization.

Therefore, the starting point in the struggle for equality of Native American Indian workers is the struggle to put an end to the age-old ban on hiring. The goal must be to eliminate the wage gap and open the skill and trade schools to Indian workers, especially youth.

There are millions of other members of our working class who are victims of similar practices and policies of racial and national oppression. Most of them are in the low-paid, unorganized industries.

There are the people of the Philippines, the Japanese, Chinese, Korean and other Asian-Pacific workers. There are Iranians, Koreans, Dominicans, Jamaicans, Haitians and others who, to one degree or another, are all victims of racial and national oppression.

Here again as a component of the working class, the starting point in the struggle for equality is a struggle to end the wage gaps, the inequalities in working and living conditions.

Women's Equality

Women have always been an important component of the U.S. working class. But as a result of the movements for women's equality, and some new laws, the number of women has constantly increased to the point where women workers now comprise nearly 50 per cent of the work force.

The inequality can be measured in terms of the wage gap and extra corporate profits. The wage gap hovers around the 50 per cent range. And in spite of their numbers the corporate establishment in many cases continues to treat women workers as a reserve labor pool or as "temporary help." On that basis the corporations continue to resist opening up the training and educational centers for skills and job upgrading. The lack of equal facilities in the work place continues to be a special problem faced by most women workers.

Such demands as child care programs are necessary in the struggle for equality of women workers. In that sense it is a class demand.

Black women workers and women workers of other nationally oppressed minorities are victims of all these inequalities, but they are also victims of a much wider wage gap. They suffer additionally from special racist discrimination and harassment on the job, in hiring and firing practices as well as promotion and job classification. Problems such as housing, child care and education reach emergency proportions for Black and other nationally oppressed women workers.

Unions must take up the special demands and needs of women workers. They must bring demands such as pay parity, penalties for harassment, provisions for affirmative action hiring, pregnancy benefits and protection and child care to the negotiating table. These are all important demands in the struggle for equality for women members of the working class.

Youth

Much of the youth component of the U.S. working class remains on the outside of the production process looking longingly in. The largest section of those working are in the unorganized, lowest-paid, light and service industries.

The overall problems faced by the young generation, such as the draft, no unemployment benefits, no pensions, lack of credit — all seriously affect the status of young workers. The declining stage of U.S. capitalism turns into hopelessness and desperation for young workers.

Young workers are responding positively and militantly wherever there are drives to organize the unorganized.

There is a need for the unions to take up the special demands of the young workers, such as unemployment benefits, which would start with an application for a job and training for skills, but above all the demand for jobs.

Senior Citizens

The great majority of senior citizens are workers. They come from all components of the working class. In many cases they are the most victimized by Reaganomics. They are the first to fall through the safety net into poverty and the least able to survive deprivation and lack of basic necessities.

The majority of the senior citizens' movements tend to gravitate toward the trade union movement. Most of them see themselves as workers who are out of a job. Therefore, the trade union movement must be convinced to see the senior citizens as workers and to fight for increases in social security as they would fight for wage increases. Thus, in a sense the anti-Reagan senior citizens movement is a component of the working-class struggle for equality.

Farmers and Agricultural Workers

A special component of the U.S. working class are the millions of agricultural workers who, in spite of organizing successes, remain largely unorganized and at the very bottom of the wage scale and working conditions.

The farm crisis and the thousands of bankruptcies, foreclosures and repossessions have ruined millions of farmers, who have been thrown into the ranks of the working class. Their struggles and movements are motivating them to link up with the trade union movement.

The struggle for equality must begin with the struggle to close the gap between agricultural and industrial workers and putting an end to the semi-feudal conditions they endure.

Within the broad perimeter of the working class there are other important components, such as teachers, scientists, technicians and high-tech workers, engineers, clerical and service workers and others. These must all be taken into account when we speak about the working class as a whole. Some of these sectors suffer from wage inequalities and poor working conditions. Most of them are unorganized.

It seems almost unnecessary to say that a special component of the working class is the unemployed sector. This has increasingly become more important for three reasons:

1) Because the number of permanently unemployed has significantly grown because of the structural crisis and high technology.

2) Because such a large section of the unemployed are also from components that suffer from inequality because of racism and national oppression.

3) Because the number of young workers who have never worked are in the ranks of the unemployed.

It is necessary to place greater importance on organizing this sector of our class. We must continue to convince the trade union movement that it is their class responsibility and in their class interest to organize the unemployed.

The foregoing is a comprehensive placement of the class struggle and the working class within it. This placement sees all questions and all components through the prism of and from the perspective of the entire class.

We have often repeated the concept of the multi-racial, multi-national, male-female, young-old working class. However, in our daily activities, very often we do not see things through this prism and act accordingly. Very often comrades still approach the question as if the working class is made up only of white workers and the other components as somehow separate and apart.

Obviously the foregoing does not exhaust the problems and questions relating to the different components of the working class. It is intended more as a guide, as a direction and approach to problems.

We should keep in mind, however, that the Draft Basic Document deals with most of these questions more deeply and in a more rounded-out manner.

Struggle for Equality Within the Class Struggle

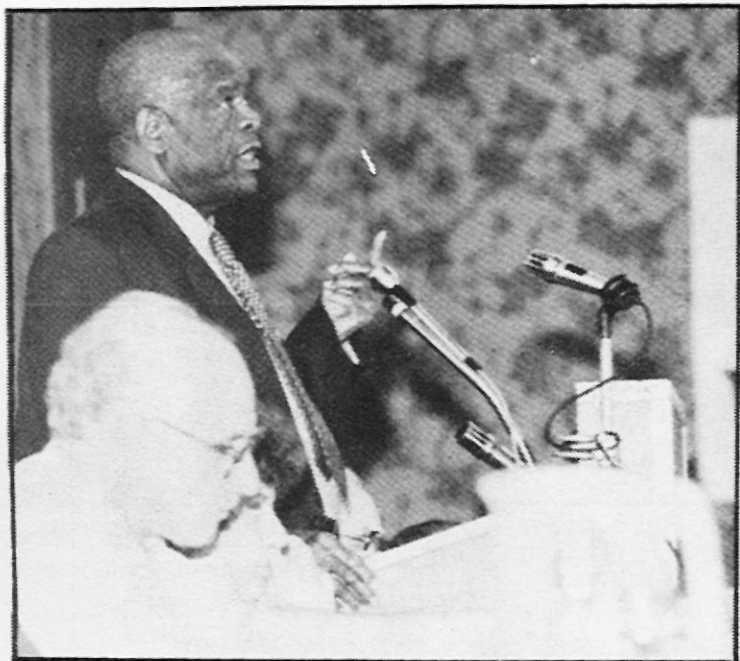
As you can see, I have dealt with the struggle against racial and national oppression and the struggle for equality as it is reflected within the working class, as a feature of the class struggle.



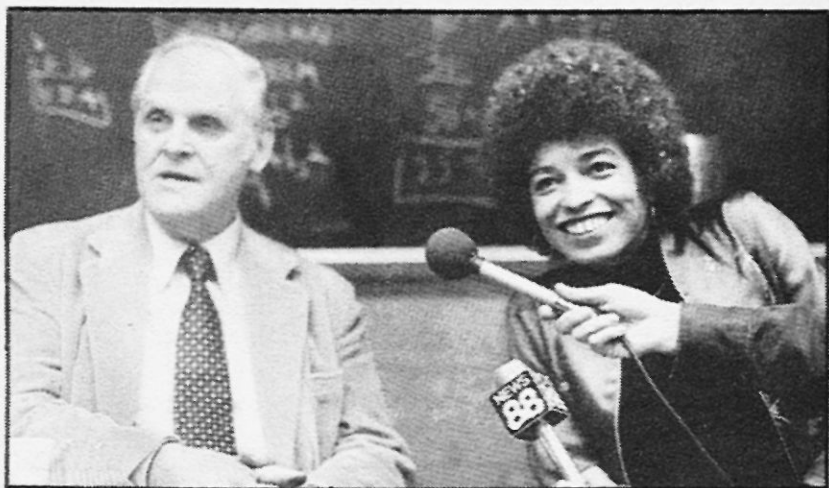
Gus Hall, General Secretary, presenting the main report to the 23rd National Convention.



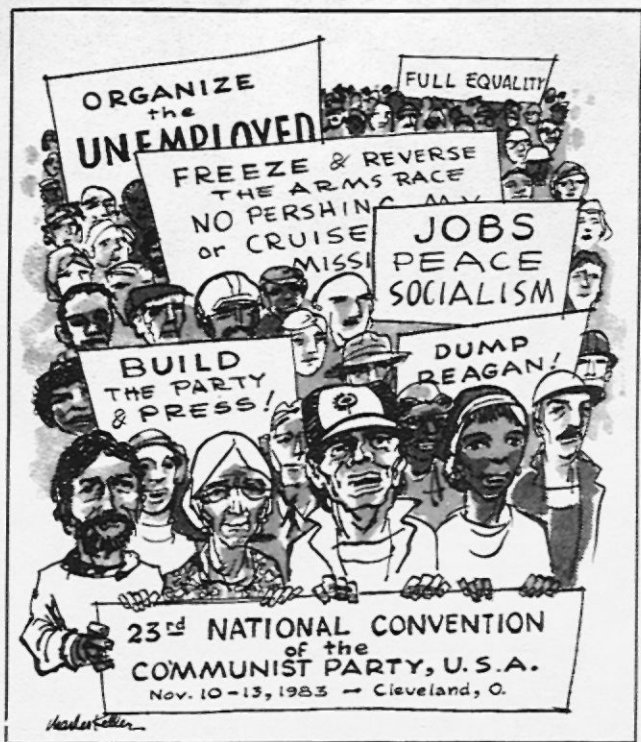
Dr. James E. Jackson, Secretary, Central Committee, CPUSA, reported on the struggle for peace.



Henry Winston, National Chairman, CPUSA, delivered a major presentation on the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Left, Arnold Becchetti, Organization Secretary, reported on features of party organization.



Gus Hall and Angela Davis, member of the Central Committee.



The Communist Party in action with the people for an end to the arms race.



Discussion on the main report to the convention. Speaker, George Meyers, Chair, Labor Department, CPUSA.



Demonstration against Reagan's war criminal acts in Central America and the Middle East.



Young America demands an end to Reagan's nuclear war policies.

Of course this does not deal with racial and national oppression fully. It does not deal with the racial and national oppression of people. And, in that sense, this is not a substitute for dealing with the broader questions of racial and national oppression.

But what is most important is that it does deal with the basic class roots of racial and national oppression. This way of placing the question takes into consideration a number of factors.

The great majority of the racially and nationally oppressed are workers and therefore components of the working class. So, even in the sense of numbers, we are dealing with the great majority of the racially and nationally oppressed.

Placing the question in this context more clearly lays bare the essence of the role and responsibilities of the trade union movement and the working class in the struggle for equality, since the greatest inequalities originate in the work place.

I think it also states more clearly the necessity of and the problems in the struggle for working-class unity.

This framework correctly makes the connections between our emphasis on the working class, the concentration on workers in the basic mass production industries and the struggle for equality.

This lays the basis for a better understanding of the key role of Black-white unity. I think it makes it easier to show concretely and convince white workers why they must take on the struggle for equality, that it is a struggle for equality in their class.

On this basis it is easier to see the absolute necessity to develop working-class consciousness as an important ingredient in the struggle for equality.

This emphasis lays the foundation for the unity of racially and nationally oppressed peoples with the working class.

I think it makes clearer the necessity for the working class to seek and work for unity with the oppressed minorities.

It places a needed emphasis on the economics of racism — its relationship to corporate profits and to class exploitation. It places the capitalist system as the root and ultimate source of all racism.

As its class consciousness deepens, the working class and the trade union movement will see itself more clearly as a class. It will fight for the interests of the class more consistently. It will see more clearly that the problems are rooted in class exploitation.

However, as this consciousness deepens the working class must learn that to be able to fight for the best interests of the whole class it must take on the special struggle against all the inequalities faced by the different components of the working class.

I think this approach more clearly focuses on the special and unique contributions that Communists must make in the struggle for equality.

I think this framework also provides a stronger foundation for, and an added dimension to the general human, civil and moral aspects of the struggle for equality.

Because the cause is just and because it is in its class interest, the trade union movement must be convinced to accept as its major responsibility the struggle for equality for all components of the working class in every area of life.

This can become a firm basis for the struggle against racism, national oppression and chauvinism in all areas of life — in housing, in public education, in medical and child care, in social services and political representation.

The position of the working class in the line of march continues to change. There have been significant advances since our last convention. Our class has moved closer to the front of the line.

This should not surprise us. We should expect it. We should hail and nurture it. But, above all, we should understand the significance of it.

We must view all these developments from a rose-colored partisan class perspective.

RAISING OUR SIGHTS

The very structure and size, the placing and content of this section of the report in itself argue that we must raise our sights on the working class.

The very act of dealing with the class struggle and working-class problems from many different angles also argues for raising our sights.

We have to raise our sights in our trade union work, to be more effective in helping the trade unions in their struggles against the monopoly-Reagan offensive.

We have to be more effective in helping the trade unions to go on the offensive, to establish the grievance machinery, to put an end to concessions and plant closings, to develop policies of class-struggle trade unionism and political independence.

We have to raise our sights in recruiting workers and organizing shop clubs.

The placing of the question and problems of the different components of our multiracial, multinational, male-female, young-old working class is not only a guide, but a strong argument for raising our sights in the struggle against racial and national oppression.

We have to raise our sights in the struggle for affirmative action programs. While they are not equivalent, it is necessary to fight for affirmative action clauses in every area of inequality — Afro-American, Chicano-Mexicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian, Asian-Pacific, women and youth.

Because the triple-layered crisis most seriously impacts on the racially and nationally oppressed components, we must raise our sights and place greater emphasis on the organization of the unemployed.

This whole section argues for raising our sights in trade union work and the Party's industrial concentration policy. It argues for a clearer, more consistent focus on our class, on the class struggle.

V.

DEFEAT REAGANISM

For the next twelve months the politics of defeating Reaganism will move to center stage. And, as Election Day approaches, the relationship of forces will go through some important changes.

In the process, the across-the-board defeat-Reagan sentiment will become intertwined and joined with the people's mass organizations and movements around specific struggles.

And, in turn, the mass movements themselves will take on an increasingly anti-Reaganite tone and content.

The Interrelationship Of All Forces & Movements

As the concern about a trigger-happy president grows, the defeat-Reagan campaign can become the most potent peace movement. And, in turn, the peace movement, including the broad freeze campaign, can become the most potent anti-Reagan movement.

The movement and organizations on the economic front, especially the trade unions and the organizations of the unemployed, have already become a powerful labor base for the defeat Reagan movement.

And, on the other hand, the other broad anti-Reagan forces and sentiment can become a significant force in the trade union struggles against the corporate-Reaganomic offensive.

The Afro-American mass organizations and movements

against racism are already a mighty anti-Reagan force. And, in turn, the other broad anti-Reagan forces can become an important force against racism.

The same is true for the strong forces in the movements of Puerto Rican, Chicano, Mexicano and other Latino mass organizations. They are all very powerful forces in the anti-Reagan movement. And the other forces against Reaganism can become important forces in the struggle for equality.

The movements for women's equality have become a powerful force in the struggle against Reaganism. And, in turn, the other broad anti-Reagan forces can be drawn into the struggles for women's equality.

The farmers have become a big force in the struggle against Reaganomics. And they, in turn, can win the support of the other broad anti-Reagan forces in their struggle for survival.

The same relationships will develop within the movements of seniors, the youth and various cultural movements and student organizations.

The Election Umbrella & Broad Tactics

These interrelationships are important for tactical considerations. It is the form into which the all people's front will crystallize.

In the process, the different mass movements will also tend to come together and unite under the election umbrella to defeat the Reaganites. But they will also come together to defeat local Right-wing candidates. This opens up the possibilities for a more cohesive and a closer working relationship of all the forces in the all people's front.

The potential is tremendous. But most of it will remain untapped without concrete initiatives, especially in the Congressional districts, cities and wards.

We should pursue the broad tactics of electoral unity in the primary period, even when there is not an agreement on who the anti-Reagan candidate for president should be. Such a unity can be held together and built especially around candidates for other offices.

This tactic is important in the primary period, especially now that Jesse Jackson is a candidate. There is no law that says trade union locals can not endorse Jesse Jackson, who presents the

most advanced positions on all important questions, including on economic issues.

In pursuing the tactic of electoral unity, we must keep in mind that, when the primaries are over the anti-Reagan front must continue and grow.

The Nature of the Anti-Reagan Electoral Coalition

We know from the start that the broad anti-Reagan front will not be politically homogeneous. There will be many serious differences. It is not necessary to cover them up. In fact, Reagan will not be defeated by candidates who compete with his reactionary rhetoric.

The different movements will and should publicly express especially their more advanced positions. This will strengthen the weaker anti-Reagan forces.

We should keep in mind some of the longer-range possibilities. Because the defeat of Reaganism will be more than a change in the Presidency, it can be a serious setback for the Reagan-corporate offensive. It will be a serious defeat for the policies of war and nuclear confrontation. It will be a serious setback for the forces of racism. And the defeat will bring with it important changes in the balance of political forces. It will bring to the fore new forces, new coalitions and a new sense of confidence in the people's movements.

The Victories of the Anti-Reagan Electoral Coalition

We must keep in mind that the anti-Reagan electoral coalition is not starting from scratch. It has significant victories under its belt in local, city and state elections, in addition to the ousting of many Reaganites in the 1982 congressional elections.

Outstanding among the many victories are: the election of Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago; the election of Charles Hayes as the first trade union leader in Congress; the election of Federico Peña as mayor of Denver, Colorado; the re-election of the socialist administration in Burlington, Vermont; the election of Carl Stokes as a municipal judge in Cleveland, Ohio; the primary victories of Afro-American candidates for mayor; the election of W. Wilson Goode as mayor of Philadelphia and the re-election of Black mayors in Atlanta, Birmingham, etc.

Also, Katherine McDonald, the Right-wing Birchite, was rejected by the voters of Georgia; Martha Collins was elected the first woman governor of Kentucky.

This has also resulted in the growing size and political clout of the Black Congressional Caucus and the emergence of the Hispanic Congressional Caucus. The broad forces now moving into the anti-Reagan coalition were to one degree or another the main base of all these victories.

In the next 12 months the national focus will be on the presidential elections. But this should not divert the anti-Reagan forces from working on key Senate and Congressional races. The 1984 elections must continue sweeping supporters of Reaganite policies out of public office. The importance of this comes through in the close votes in Congress on most issues, especially the votes on foreign policy, the arms race and the military budget.

New Power & Influence of Political Independence

In many ways, the 1984 elections will be different from all others in U.S. history. Defeat of Reaganism has emerged as the single overriding challenge to everyone. All electoral politics from now 'till November 1984 will influence the outcome in one way or another.

It is already clear, however, that the outcome will not be decided within the old two-party structure. The issues of the campaign will not be determined in the old smoke-filled rooms.

This is so because the broad all people's independent forces have outgrown the perimeters of the old party machines.

What is new and different is that these broad people's independent forces are going to be an important factor, starting with the Democratic Party primaries.

The candidacy of Jesse Jackson also adds a new dimension to the primaries. In fact, the Democratic Party primaries will never be the same again.

Jesse Jackson's candidacy also adds a new dimension to political independence. It will force all the candidates to deal with some of the real issues. The candidacy of Jesse Jackson, the decision of the AFL-CIO convention, the actions of some of the women's organizations and others all add up to a new level of political independence.

However, for the purposes of voting in the 1984 election, the independent forces will **not** crystalize into either an independent ticket outside the two-party system, or into a new party.

But the new level and scope of this political independence is a very meaningful and important development. It must be seen as an important step in the longer-range process that will eventually lead to political and organizational independence, which will be a step toward the formation of a new anti-monopoly political party.

All these developments must be seen in the context that they are a factor in the overall campaign to defeat Reaganism. They must be seen as the building blocks in the emergence of a broad people's movement in the struggle against the reactionary policies of state monopoly capitalism.

Key Ingredient — Voter Registration

From the recent experiences, including the mayoralty elections of Chicago, Boston and Denver, it is clear that the voter registration campaigns have become a key ingredient of electoral victories. This is obviously one of the very important results of Jesse Jackson's campaign.

This approach must be duplicated in all sectors of the broad people's front against Reaganism.

This is a most decisive question for the trade union movement because some six million members of trade unions are not registered to vote. And it is estimated that some 15 million unorganized workers also are not registered to vote.

The campaign to register working-class voters must be related to a political campaign on the main issues — the struggle for jobs, against plant closings, concessions, forced overtime and for wage increases. We must make working people see that not voting is like not supporting a picketline.

Wherever the trade union movement has initiated such drives the results have been overwhelming. Therefore, the trade union movement should organize a massive, all-out, continuing voter registration campaign, with full-time organizers and all the necessary resources.

Communist Candidates — A Must

A presidential election campaign presents a unique opportunity to speak to millions of our people.

It is an opportunity to influence — and yes, to change — the thought patterns of great numbers.

It is an opportunity to present our Party, our program and positions to the majority of our people.

It is an opportunity to take on the ideological challenge of Big Lie anti-Communism.

It is an opportunity to take on the struggle against racism.

It is an extraordinary opportunity to speak to millions about socialism, about nationalization and public takeover.

It is a rare opportunity to expose state monopoly capitalism in every area of life.

It is a period when we can raise our agitation, propaganda and education sights.

And, as those of you who have collected signatures or traveled on the campaign trail well know, it is a period of just plain hard work. It takes a lot of long hours, a lot of walking and shoe leather, a lot of patience, a lot of explaining, cajoling, convincing, pleading, yelling and lots of good humor — and all the other ingredients that go into good Communist mass work. For those of us who really get into it, it is an opportunity to work hard and an opportunity to get hard results.

Without Communist participation as candidates many issues will never be discussed, debated or even raised, such as:

- the crisis of capitalism;
- The nature of the policy of nuclear confrontation and the big lie;
- racism;
- corporate profits;
- socialism.

Abandoning Electoral Arena is Liquidationism

Reagan's election campaign will be a continuation of the so-called crusade against Communism.

It is self-evident that this anti-Communist election campaign will go unchallenged if we are not in the campaign. No one else will do it.

Some may argue that we can be a factor in the election campaign from the sidelines, without fielding candidates. That is not a serious argument. During election campaigns people listen to candidates — their positions, platform, statements, promises,

etc.

For some reason, the necessity of running Communist candidates in election campaigns is not self-evident in our Party.

It seems we have to reargue the necessity and significance each time. Some of the familiar questions and doubts have emerged again.

In essence, the questions raised are very similar to the ones raised against the concept of a Communist public presence, or the arguments one hears against the Party being an action-oriented organization. They are also very similar to arguments against integrating the Communist essence into our mass work. All the arguments have a familiar liquidationist ring.

To give up the Party's electoral activity is to retreat before the class enemy's political pressures and the legal obstacles they place.

Some say: Let's retreat just a little, retreat by not having presidential candidates. But if you listen carefully to such arguments, it is clear this is only a tactical maneuver on the way to abandoning the electoral arena to the phony Left or parties of Big Business.

Raising Our Sights

Quite the opposite, we must raise the level of our fight for both presidential candidates and for local candidates. In fact, we must raise our sights in the number of states in which we will fight to get on the ballot.

We must raise our sights and start with fully mobilizing the Party, politically and ideologically.

We must set up the election campaign machinery tomorrow, including campaign committees.

When the election campaign gets under way it must become the main activity, for the leadership and membership of our Party.

An election campaign does not mean neglecting our work. It means relating to and integrating all other activities into the election campaign. The election campaign should enhance all our other work.

Finally, let me say that the election campaign gives us an unequalled and most enjoyable opportunity to talk to literally millions about the Communist Party, about our Program, about our

contributions.

The fact is we are still recruiting people who first saw or heard about the Party during the last presidential election campaign.

In the 1984 campaign we can do the kind of recruiting that will go a long way toward making us a mass Communist Party of action.

VI. BUILDING A MASS COMMUNIST PARTY OF ACTION

We Have Changed And Grown

Since our 22nd National Convention and since our Extraordinary Party Conference in Milwaukee, our Party has changed and grown, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Our Party has matured, both politically and ideologically.

We have improved in our Communist mass work. Since Milwaukee there has also been an improvement in our Party's public presence, although this is far from across the board because not all districts and clubs have made the turn outward.

We have become more of a party that is oriented toward mass action. Our Party has been a factor in all of the mass demonstrations, marches, actions and coalitions of the past years.

As a result of increased activity and involvement, recruiting has become a more regular feature of our lives. This recruiting is also a reflection of a greater Party consciousness and a new pride in our Party.

Clubs and districts are demonstrating greater initiative, boldness, flexibility and creativity in movements and struggles.

There is definitely a growing appreciation and understanding of the need for and use of the press as an instrument of mass work and Party presence. It is now seen more as an icebreaker in the building of the Party.

The Party is experiencing some breakthroughs in the use of

the mass media. We are speaking to greater numbers — in fact to millions — through the mass media.

There is a definite increase in club leaflets, mailing lists, forums, study groups, public meetings and street corner rallies.

Our Party is united — politically, ideologically and tactically.

One of the most exciting and important developments since our last convention is the Founding Convention and birth of the Young Communist League. Our young comrades worked very hard and the convention was spirited, youthful, dynamic and on a very high level. Congratulations to all of you!

Communist Essence — Public Presence

There has been an improvement in the struggles against both Left and Right opportunistic weaknesses.

There are some Left sectarian approaches and attitudes, especially related to our mass work. Not enough Communists are organizers and leaders of mass movements and organizations.

There are not enough initiatives for the organization of mass coalitions, mass actions, conferences and meetings.

But the main weaknesses remain in the area of Right opportunistic approaches. This weakness results in the old pattern of tailing behind events.

It appears in the resistance both to the Communist essence in mass work and to the concept of the Party's public presence. It shows up in the resistance to any kind of recruiting, and, even more so, in the resistance to recruiting at meetings, and especially in meetings of a public character.

The Right opportunistic weaknesses appear in not dealing with what are considered difficult questions, such as anti-working class concepts, anti-Communism, racism and Big Lie anti-Sovietism.

Other opportunistic weaknesses appear as a result of underestimations, wrong assessments, low expectations and low goals in all areas of work.

Our Party is not yet mass-action-oriented enough.

Communists With a Capital 'C'

There is a growing awareness in the Party of the unique nature of the contributions of our Party. There is a growing understanding of what makes the Party stand out in the crowd. For

example, why and how should Communists who are trade union members and leaders be different than other members and leaders?

There is a growing understanding that there should be a difference between a good trade union member and leader and a good *Communist* trade union member and leader. There is a growing understanding that there should be a difference between good leaders in the struggle for peace and good *Communist* leaders in the struggle for peace. There is a growing understanding that there is a difference between good fighters against racism and for equality and good *Communist* fighters against racism and for equality.

What is That Difference?

Of course, good *Communist* trade union members and leaders do not look different from other trade unionists. They are different because they approach problems differently, explain questions and propose solutions differently.

To be a good *Communist* trade unionist means to have a deeper understanding of capitalism, a deeper perception of trends and processes, a knowledge of the science of Marxism-Leninism and an ability to integrate all this into trade union work.

The difference flows from the fact that Communists should have a deeper understanding of the roots, uses and aims of racism.

Communists should understand the interconnections and interrelationships between the struggle against racism and all other struggles and movements, the dialectical relationship between the struggle for equality and the class struggle.

The difference should flow from the fact that Communists see capitalism as a dying system on the skids of history; that objective developments are preparing the soil and the forces for the inevitable victory of socialism.

The difference should flow from the fact that Communists know the relationship between objective developments and the subjective factors, including the role of the Party as a necessary and most powerful subjective force.

Based on such understanding and insight, Communists should be able to explain developments more basically and clearly and approach problems dialectically, objectively and, hence, dif-

ferently.

The Difference — A Partisan, Class Approach

Some trade union leaders will argue for what they would call "fair wages, fair taxes, a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, fair profits and fair management personnel." Such a so-called "fair, nonpartisan" approach assumes that capitalism and exploitation can be "fair." Such an approach is the soil for class collaboration, concessions, opportunism and reformism.

Because there is *nothing* fair about capitalist exploitation, Communists approach and explain all problems differently. We are for reforms, but we never place the struggle for reforms into a reformist framework.

So, the question is: How is this difference reflected in our everyday trade union work, shop work and industrial concentration work or in our mass work generally?

Above all else, in our everyday work and activities, what must come through is a solid, partisan class approach to all problems.

Communists Who Don't Recruit

Right opportunism also comes through in the fact that we continue to have Communists active in shops or as members and leaders of trade unions, who can and who do spend a lifetime without ever recruiting one person into the Party.

There are even trade unionists who have a reputation for being Left and Communist, who deal with workers regularly, whose views are well known and some who are even popular with fellow workers. Why is it, then, that one or even two of the workers who have known these comrades for years do not ask to join the Party? Is there not something about the way they speak and behave that does not attract other workers? We have to ask whether instead of being political magnets they have inadvertently become obstacles to building the Party.

At least we should look into whether some comrades have an image and reputation like the old village radical, the nice oddball, who takes on the world, who knows everyone, talks a lot about everything, even gets elected to union office, but who is still considered odd or not quite right.

It is clear that workers will not place complete trust in, take

seriously, or join the party of someone they think is not really serious.

And we can not accept arguments that place the problem with the workers or with the Party. Some comrades in shops and in leadership of trade unions say they can not do much because of "the Party." Sometimes it is difficult to say what comrades mean when they talk about "the Party." Some comrades say they mean the state leadership does not have a policy of industrial concentration. Some comrades say they don't get help from outside the industry, so they can't carry on industrial concentration.

Of course there is some validity to these arguments. But when these comrades do nothing themselves to build the Party, these arguments become just another excuse, a coverup for doing nothing.

A policy of industrial concentration from outside the industry is important. But in a most basic sense, in the final analysis, the comrades in the industries and trade unions must be the initiators, with ideas and plans and activities.

Even if there is no help from the outside, comrades must carry on as Communists. Shop or industrial clubs must have their own plans of work, which must include Party building.

All Communists Can Do Mass Work With A Difference

The problem is not limited to our work in the trade union movement. The same questions can be asked about the work of our comrades in the peace movement, in the electoral arena, in our neighborhoods, our apartment houses, in the women's, youth and senior movements.

The question is not whether all Communists can or should work as publicly-known Communists. This can be decided in the context of concrete situations.

However, there are some things all Communists can and should work at as integrated aspects of mass work:

- Raising the level of class consciousness of workers.
- Raising the level of the struggle against racism.
- Explaining the nature and realities of capitalism.
- Explaining the nature and realities of imperialism.
- Explaining the class struggle.
- Explaining what socialism is and what it is not.

Not all Communists can carry on the same work. But all Communists can, in one way or another, carry on Communist mass work — that is, mass work with a difference.

Re-establishing Industrial Concentration

Everything in this section argues that we take a fresh look at what has happened to our industrial concentration policy.

In preparation for this convention, on October 1 and 2, in Cleveland, we held a National Conference on Industrial Concentration.

We hope this National Convention will deepen and expand on that pre-convention conference and become the framework for developing and implementing a revitalized Party policy of industrial concentration.

At the conference we had to deal with a contradiction in our work. At the very moment our working class is faced with a series of economic, structural and social crises, sharpened by the Reagan-corporate offensive, by the increasing racism, the high number of permanently unemployed, the continuing cutbacks, forced concessions and plant closings — at this very moment our efforts in, and attention to, industrial concentration have declined.

Also, at the very moment when our people, including our working class, are faced with increased danger of nuclear catastrophe, mounting undeclared war actions, when our working class faces all these crises, our Party's work and focus on industrial concentration has diminished.

Nationally, and in many districts, industrial concentration is not a top priority or a focal point of our work.

Part of the answer to this continuing contradictory situation can be found in a long-standing weakness.

We have a history of ups and downs, ebbs and flows, in this work. Often it is set aside when other issues and developments emerge on the scene, when other areas of work and pressures demand our time and energies.

As we have said often in the past, the main and long-standing weakness has its roots in the lack of a full understanding of the class nature of capitalism that results in weaknesses in understanding the basic essence of the class struggle and the key role of the working class.

We have said this many times. Presumably there has been a consensus. So, then, the question is: Why does not such a fundamental political and ideological agreement become a guide to the daily activities of our leadership and Party?

Does this not indicate an acceptance of words without a real understanding of or conviction about the pivotal place of the class struggle and the role of the working class?

Does this not indicate a lack of understanding, in fact a denial, of the science of Marxism-Leninism, which places the class struggle as the maker and mover of history?

I think we must continue to deepen our understanding. We must anchor our approach, our attitude, our sense of priorities in the basics of the class struggle.

In *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels said: "The written history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle."

They did not say it is *also* the history of the class struggle. They did not say the class struggle is important. They said the history of *all* societies is the history of the class struggle.

They also said: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the capitalist class, the working class alone is really revolutionary."

They did not say the working class is *also* revolutionary. They said *it alone* is really revolutionary. This has not changed since Marx.

This elementary, but most basic, of all concepts is central, is the key, the main premise, the theme that must become a guide in our everyday work.

It is not true because Marx, Engels and Lenin said so. It is true because the very inner laws of capitalist society make it so. It is the reality of capitalism.

Constant Policy In Changing Conditions

Objective conditions keep changing. We must of course reflect them. But the policy of industrial concentration must remain constant.

There has been a coming together of a deepening general crisis, back-to-back cyclical crises and the structural crisis. And there are the high tech developments.

As we know, the fallout from all this is the technologically-

backward sick industries, the plant closings, bankruptcies, foreclosures, the millions unemployed.

There is no question that these developments have disoriented and negatively affected our emphasis on industrial concentration. Without being explicit or saying so, I think some comrades have drawn some wrong conclusions. Somehow or other they think these developments make an industrial concentration policy unnecessary.

However, when you dig deeper it really means there is a conclusion that because of objective developments the working class does not or will not play the same role. Such conclusions are fundamentally wrong.

To re-establish industrial concentration on a more firm footing we need to establish clearer guidelines:

1) The changes in the work force because of high tech and the structural crisis in no way call for any changes in the need for industrial concentration, focusing on the industrial working class.

2) These changes in no way eliminate the need to focus our work on the shops. While it is necessary to include work in working-class neighborhoods as a feature of industrial concentration, this must not be seen as its only or even main feature.

3) We must re-establish as a top priority the organization and functioning of shop clubs.

A Bold Change

In the Political Bureau we are not satisfied with our contributions to industrial concentration. We feel we are not close enough to the basic section of our class. There is correct criticism that we do not deal enough in finding solutions to the new problems of our class.

It is true that the whole leadership must be involved. But it is also true that the Trade Union Department of our Party must be and is most directly involved. Because of this the Political Bureau decided to make a bold move. We are proposing that the Trade Union Department be moved to the industrial Midwest, that it be composed of comrades from the Midwest, of comrades in the industries as well as some full-time cadre.

Through this new trade union department we will bring into the active national leadership of our Party workers from basic industries and full-time cadre who work in the industrial heartland.

This will strengthen our ties with the basic working class.

It is a bold change. We think it is a correct and important step in the right direction.

It is also clear that to make industrial concentration a stable, permanent, ongoing centerpiece policy we need a supporting Party structure. Besides the national trade union department it is necessary to establish district labor commissions and for each club to have a labor secretary.

All these changes will help. But the real changes will have to come from a deeper understanding, from a more solid, mature political and ideological commitment.

Industrial Concentration = Building the Party

In its basic essence, industrial concentration means building the Party. If this work does not result in Party building it is industrial concentration without the necessary ideological and political essence. A specific aspect of industrial concentration must be concrete steps to develop class consciousness.

As we know, to recruit workers it is necessary to organize special forms. To recruit and hold industrial workers it is necessary to deal with the special problems of workers, including problems of security. To consolidate and hold workers in the Party it is necessary to organize special classes, where theoretical and ideological questions are dealt with in the context of the everyday practical experiences of the class.

It must become a law of leadership that every discussion on all levels must include the element of industrial concentration. It must not be left for some special committee or for monthly or annual reviews. Without such a concentration approach we will not close the gap between agreement, consensus, passing resolutions and carrying them out.

We must decide here and now to close the gap between theory and practice, between words and deeds in relation to industrial concentration.

The Prime Mover

Unless we can move the working class the other classes, groups and sectors will hesitate to move into struggle and movements. They will lean toward the working class only to the extent that it is in action. Without this class magnet these other

sectors tend to lean in the opposite direction, toward neutrality or even toward the Right. This is a powerful argument for industrial concentration. In order to be able to move the middle class — the intellectuals, professionals, cultural workers, farmers, students and small business people — we have to concentrate on the working class as the only revolutionary class.

We must keep our eye, our cadre, our thinking, our plans, our tactics, our speeches and articles, our actions and energies focused on the working class. Everything we do must be focused first and foremost on the working class and primarily on the basic mass production workers.

We must not permit the so-called new theories, such as theories of a "shrinking working class," or a "new under class," or a "new middle class," or "the diminished influence of the working class" and other "new theories of classes," to confuse, divert or disorient us. They are designed and perpetuated to do just that.

There have been many developments, shifts and changes, but the class struggle remains constant and sharper than ever.

Mass Tactics

The emergence of broad, sweeping mass movements always presents tactical problems. The present period is no exception. However, tactics must always be tailored to fit specific sets of circumstances.

In the present period some comrades are having tactical problems with the concept of the anti-Reagan movement and related mass tactics.

They ask: "How can we swim in rivers that are not clean? How can we swim in the same rivers with the Mondales and Kirklands?"

The answer is: "We have to, simply because there are no other kinds of rivers. And this is where the broad forces come together in coalitions." So swim we must — or sink.

And the fact is that we can not influence the currents of life by standing on the banks of the rivers, above it all, clean and safe.

As a general guide, we can say that the broader the forces are within a coalition or movement, the more flexible our tactics must be.

We must start from the premise that there are no broad coalitions or movements in which all the forces will agree on everything. In fact, we must assume that not only will there be differences, but that most likely these forces will disagree on more questions than they will agree on.

How to work in such broad, all people's movements does present some tactical questions.

For instance, in the anti-Reagan front there are important forces which continue to be influenced by the Big Lie of anti-Communism, as is the case with some of the top AFL-CIO leaders. There are some forces who are influenced by racism and either do not take a stand at all, or take a stand against affirmative action programs. There are some in the coalition who are anti-labor. They are against so-called big labor. And there are forces who are influenced by anti-Semitism and others which are anti-Arab.

However, what pulls all these diverse forces together is opposition against the overall reactionary Reaganite policies, or the specific fear of a trigger-happy president, or other opposition to some specific Reaganite policy.

Wrong Tactics

In a tactical sense it is very important how we react to and deal with these kinds of problems and forces.

For example, in our press some write as if the trade union movement should be banished from the anti-Reagan coalition because they endorsed Mondale for president.

We also have some tendencies to place ultimatums. Agreement on differences is placed as a precondition to working together in coalition. In other words, the impossible condition is placed that there must be agreement on differences before agreement on the broader issues where there is agreement.

These preconditions lead to sectarian approaches and thus become the foundation for limited and narrow coalitions. Such approaches also isolate us and the Left generally. Such preconditions may look good on the record and good if we are standing on the bank of the river, on the sidelines looking in.

That was the case with the response to the UAW's *Blueprint for a Working America*, published in the *Daily World* in the

name of the Party's Auto Commission. The Blueprint raised some important questions about jobs, plant closings, rebuilding the infrastructure, housing, etc. And it also projected some solutions we would not agree with.

But the response published in the *Daily World* was total denunciation, a rejection of even the invitation to engage in discussion and debate. In fact, we would not have included some of the questions posed in the response if we had written the Blueprint ourselves. Such tactics can also lead to sectarian isolation from the auto workers.

Flexibility is Key

Flexibility in tactics is a must. This does not mean passivity or silence. It does not mean we will not make waves. We will make waves. But as much as possible we will make waves with the flow of the currents, not against them.

Flexibility does not cancel out the need for the Party's public presence, or the Communist essence as an integral feature of our mass work. It means flexibility in how we present these questions and ideas. Flexibility in tactics is necessary, but must not lead to Right opportunism, where we concede principle for a fleeting momentary gain.

It is in the formulation and application of tactics that we must be on guard against both Left sectarian and Right opportunistic errors.

New Anti-Communist Crusade

There is no precedent for the massive anti-Communist hysteria campaign being waged and led by the President. It is total and all-out.

It is Hitler, Mussolini and Goebbels, plus.

It is a serious and dangerous problem because Reagan and Weinberger are pathological liars in the full sense of the word. It is a most serious matter also because these pathological liars have their fingers on the first-strike nuclear trigger.

The Big Lie now engulfs everyone and everything. We can not get away from it. It is a blanket of demagogy thrown over all the Reagan Administration's evil deeds. It is the main ingredient in their new cold war brainwashing campaign.

On all questions the Reagan Administration has adopted a line that if they make the lie big enough, repeat it often enough, some of the people will believe some of it, some of the time. It is a sad fact, but they are partly right. However, in the face of and in spite of the massive brainwashing campaign, the majority of our people remain very skeptical. They remain openminded. They want the truth. And, by and large, they are willing to listen.

Tactics Against the Big Lie

But here, also, there are some tactical considerations. Exposing the Big Lie and the myth of the so-called Soviet threat is not a matter of defending the Soviet Union. It is not limited to defending socialism. Only people who are for socialism will approach the question on that level. It is a correct approach, but it is too limited.

The great majority of people who are for ending the arms race, for the nuclear freeze and for peace, are still influenced, to one degree or another, by the Big Lie. We must reach these millions.

To reach these millions, our approach must be two-fold. First, the Big Lie is being used as a psychedelic drug, to distort people's vision so they can not focus on the real cause of the war danger and the Reaganite-Pentagon drive to build a first-strike nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. The issue that moves millions into action is the nuclear threat to human existence.

We must argue that Hitler peddled the same drug and 50 million people lost their lives. Today, exposing the Big Lie could mean saving the world from nuclear destruction.

The second approach is based on the fact that most people want to know the truth, including the truth about the Big Lie. As in every area, it is not enough for us to be correct about the Big Lie, about socialism and about the Soviet Union. We must be able to present our position in a way that convinces millions, not just those who are for socialism.

The best argument for socialism is to popularize the dozens and dozens of concrete proposals for nuclear disarmament made by the Soviet Union. It is always necessary to place these questions in the context of the broad struggle for peace, relaxation of tensions, peaceful coexistence, detente, saving the world from a nuclear disaster and ending the arms race.

A Party-Building Breakthrough Convention

We can be very proud of the fact that our Party comes to this twenty-third convention united and healthy, with young and old comrades enriching and complementing each other. Our Party is hard-working and deeply involved in every movement and all struggles of the people. Very little negativism or cynicism exists in our Party.

What then is our main problem, our main weakness?

Simply put, our Party is too small. We are still too inner-oriented.

Our Party is mass work conscious, class conscious and socialist conscious. But it is not sufficiently Party conscious.

The size of our Party is not an objective, but largely a subjective, matter. Much of the resistance and obstacles to Party growth are within the Party. That is why we have to raise our sights in order to change and grow.

The time has come for us to place the building of the Party as a daily concern for every member, every leading comrade, every committee and body of the Party.

We can not afford to postpone it any longer. Party building must become the yardstick by which we measure the work of each of us.

Our 23rd National Convention should become known as the breakthrough Party-building convention.

The Fight for Communist Mass Work

We fought for and in many ways have won the struggle to become more involved, active in mass work, movements and struggles. We must continue this. But we must also raise our sights to become Communist mass workers. It is the content of our mass work, our propaganda and press work that we must improve.

If we are not recruiting into the Party, we have to ask ourselves why.

Many see mass work as the end-all and be-all. They say if we carry on mass work, somehow, automatically and spontaneously, the Party will grow. But that tomorrow never comes.

That is where the idea of two kinds of Communists — mass work Communists and communist Communists — comes from. If this idea prevails we will not build a mass Party.

We have some deep-seated liquidationist tendencies still at work in our Party. Not building the Party is contributing to a process of liquidationism. Doing mass work without building the Party is liquidationism.

The Party is liquidated by liquidating the Communist ideological and political essence. Liquidation takes place by omission of the ideas of the Party. When you omit the Party's ideas something else replaces what is omitted.

The Communist Essence

So what is missing in some of our work? It is the political and ideological Communist essence. Many of us still have to integrate this into our work, into our daily lives, into our relationships with family, friends, neighbors, co-workers and everyone we relate to.

What does this mean? Here are some examples:

- It is important and correct to aim our fire at the specific monopoly corporations. But the corporations are not just criminal monsters. They are part and parcel of the system. We must, therefore, explain the capitalist system itself. That makes a Communist contribution to movements and struggles.

- It is important and correct to build and strengthen the trade unions. But Communists work to transform trade union policies into class-struggle policies.

- It is important to unite the peace and other movements. But Communists have a special contribution to make in pointing out the destructiveness of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, especially today when the Big Lie is being pushed to the ultimate. Only Communists have the understanding and knowledge to make the necessary arguments.

- It is correct and important to fight against racism on the basis that it is wrong, unjust, immoral and criminal. But only Communists can show that it is a tool of the ruling class to divide and exploit. Only Communists can argue persuasively for class unity based on common class interests.

- Many are coming to the conclusion that capitalism is not working. But only Communists can explain why and show that socialism is not only a solution to their immediate problems, but that it is the best solution. Only Communists can help people develop class consciousness and socialist consciousness.

The Hangups

Some continue to have difficulties with concepts of Party building and the political and ideological essence of our mass work.

1) Some still do not fully see the dialectical unity between leading and being a part of mass movements and integrating concepts of class struggle, class exploitation, the nature of capitalist exploitation, the nature and roots of racism, discussions about socialism and talking to some about the role of the Communist Party.

2) Some still argue we should build the mass movements now, do mass work now, build the press now, and build the Party later. We know from long experience that the later never comes. It must be a simultaneous process.

3) There are some who still say that an emphasis on Party building and recruiting is opportunistic in the sense that it is self-serving and that somehow it is in conflict with the interests of the movements and people we work with. Frankly, such concepts themselves are reflections of opportunism.

4) Some even say the United States is not yet ready for a bigger Communist Party.

5) There is still a lethargy, a slowness to respond to quick-moving events, such as the economic crisis or the invasion of Grenada. This is also the result of falling into a style that is discussion-oriented rather than action-oriented. There should be no conflict between discussion and action.

6) There are some comrades who believe it is their responsibility to work in mass organizations on the level of reformism, but think that someone else should do Communist political work and recruit people into the Party. Until we can merge these two kinds of Communists into a single Communist human being we will not build the Party.

Does this mean all members of the Party can function publicly as Communists? This would be taking a correct idea, pushing it to its extreme and turning it into a negative. Good common sense is always necessary.

7) We must find ways to do away with the artificial wall between what is called mass work and Party work. We must master the art of using the experiences workers and people have in the movements and struggles to help them draw the basic lessons.

We must master the art of pointing to the causes while leading the struggles around the effects.

When discussing a problem and pointing to some more basic cause it is not always necessary to say: "This is how the Communist Party explains it," or, "This is how Marxism-Leninism sees the question."

Instead, we can say: "There is constant pressure for wage cuts because General Motors is part and parcel of an economic system based on maximum corporate profits."

8) Then there are questions of security. We must be serious and responsible in our approach to them. We must not in any way jeopardize or compromise comrades.

However, we must examine all security questions to see whether we are understating and overlooking real problems, or overstating, overemphasizing or misusing security problems. We must avoid carelessness, foolishness, bombast or boasting when we deal with matters related to security.

Every club, even a club with 10 members who have security problems, can devise ways to project the public presence and visibility of the Party without compromising their security or narrowing their mass work.

9) There are some comrades who are genuinely worried about the impact on their mass work if they tell someone they are Communists. These are very real concerns. But many are off-center in their estimate of where people are at in this period.

All of this is not to say that anti-Communism is dead. But we will never defeat it by giving in to it.

10) There are still some ingrained concepts that we are and must remain a cadre party. There are situations which force Communist Parties to remain parties based on leading cadre. Our Party is not in such a situation.

There are two kinds of recruiting, it follows from this. One kind of recruiting is for a cadre party. This is one-to-one recruiting, which means not accepting people who are not Marxist-Leninists. We need to continue the one-to-one recruiting. But we must also greatly expand our approach and raise our sights.

The other kind of recruiting is more for a mass party. This means winning people to the Party from the kind of recruiting meetings we have been holding. This means recruiting people who are not yet Communists. Many join so they can learn more

and become Communists.

11) In our thinking about whom we can recruit some have held onto some outdated concepts about the working class.

The working class of today is in many ways different from what it was even five years ago. It is bigger, more radical and militant, much more knowledgeable and class conscious. It has fewer illusions about capitalism. Our working class is today less anti-Communist, less class collaborationist and less racist.

Thus, today, in every way sections of the working class are ready to consider our program and join our Party. There is much more class and socialist consciousness out there waiting to be tapped than we are aware of.

We must, of course, make sure integrating the ideological and political essence into our work does not isolate us and end up making us sectarian. If we do it right it will do just the opposite. It will create a stable, honest base for relationships. It will encourage confidence and trust in Communists. It will not isolate. On the contrary, it will integrate us into the struggles and movements.

In some sectors of the Party there continues to be an underestimation, a minimizing of the Party's influence and strength. Much of this takes place in the name of refuting exaggerations. Some are totally preoccupied with weaknesses. A few are masters at nitpicking. Some of the downgraders see the Party in very limited and narrow terms.

The truth is that the Party's influence and prestige is at a high level. It continues to grow. More than 50 per cent of the people who contributed to the \$600,000 campaign for the high-tech equipment for the *Daily World* were not members of the Party.

The Party has become an important political force in its own right. It is seen so by the class enemy and by an ever-growing number of our working class and people. The Party is a political force because our policies and tactics are respected.

Clubs With A Public Presence

It is not necessary for a Communist to be a public member in order to do Communist work. But recruiting does mean we have to establish a public presence. We have to come out and reach out. People have to see us, to hear us, to talk to us and to struggle with us — as Communists, as a Communist club.

Recruiting means we have to organize Communist public forums, rallies, street corner and mass meetings.

Recruiting means transforming our clubs into interesting, exciting, outer-action-oriented organizations.

It means conducting meetings that fire people up, that are full of life and struggle, full of informative and useful material, educationals that help us with the "how, when, where and why."

We have to make our new members feel welcome, needed, useful, productive and confident. We have to help them think, act and feel like Communists. We have to consolidate them into our Party.

Speaking about workers' attitudes, Lenin said: "They demanded not contemplation but struggles for a better order of society." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 23.)

I think Lenin's observation is a correct criticism of some of our work. I am sure Lenin was not against contemplation. But he realized it was necessary to balance it with struggles and mass actions.

I think our Party, from top to bottom, still tends toward too much "contemplation" and not enough orientation toward action. There is still too much probing which leads only to further probing. The aim of all probing should be increased mass activities and struggles.

Since our Extraordinary Conference in April 1982 our Party has become much more mass action oriented, in some districts more than others. And more of the clubs are involved in economic struggles. Most Communists are involved in the peace movement in one way or another. The Party has been an important supporting factor in all of the national mass demonstrations.

But the weakness remains. There is generally a slowness in responding to crisis developments. Too often we are still boxed in because we have to respond to initiatives by other groups, including some phony Left initiatives.

The more serious aspect of the weakness is the lack of action-orientation by the Party in its own name. Where it has been done, the results are always far beyond our wildest expectations. This has been the case at unemployment and welfare centers.

But most clubs do not yet respond to critical issues in their own names. There are more, but still too few, club leaflets. There have been a few, but still very few, street corner rallies. There are more, but still too few protest meetings.

Communist Maturity

An essential ingredient of becoming Communist mass workers, of changing and growing, of becoming a mass Communist Party, is the struggle to become mature Communists. This is a many-faceted process. It is very much related to attracting, consolidating and keeping new members.

Communist maturity means that if we want to become a mass party we must begin now to function and act like one. This means the struggle for working-class concepts, attitudes, behavior, morality, ethics and personal lifestyles.

Communist maturity means a level of political and ideological maturity that should then become the basis for personal maturity, for a communist personality, with communist characteristics. This means a struggle against all signs of pettiness, nastiness, vindictiveness, opportunism, individualism, cynicism, negativism, immodesty and egoism. It means a struggle against subjectivity. It means we must fight against bureaucracy, elitism and routinism.

New members and potential members — especially workers — will not join or remain in an organization that displays characteristics they do not expect to find in a Communist Party. And they should expect better, a different kind of person.

In some cases their expectations are larger than life. But if we are constantly struggling to attain Communist maturity, if we are deeply immersed in this process, people will know it. They will sense instinctively that we are the very best the working class has to offer.

Workers approach life in a certain way because they are forced to behave as part of a collective, part of a class. They are forced by daily living to see things from a class perspective. They do not instinctively react and behave as individuals. They instinctively act collectively. Their lives and their self-interests depend on it. We must learn these working class approaches.

Workers in the Party and Leadership

There is still some reluctance and hesitation about bringing workers into the Party. There is also the same hesitation in bringing workers into leadership positions.

For example, in some of the state conventions working-class comrades, including very fine young working-class comrades, did not get elected or even nominated as delegates to this convention. In some cases, in some districts, not enough effort was made to make it possible so working-class comrades could attend this convention.

Workers usually have a deep sense of modesty. They do not push themselves forward. They are usually not assertive or aggressive. In some cases, rather than being valued and respected, these working-class characteristics are seen as backwardness and regarded as negative in considering leadership positions.

Workers often have trouble expressing themselves, especially those without formal education. They are usually not comfortable in a situation requiring them to make a presentation or speak. This is especially so when they are in the midst of intellectuals or professionals. Therefore, our leadership must be especially aware, sensitive and active in promoting working-class cadre. Bringing more working-class cadre into leadership, as well as into the Party, will go a long way toward solving many of our problems of change and growth.

In the Tradition of Milwaukee

We must develop policy and plans for the coming period that will place building a mass party of action as the highest goal. This means we must face squarely, self-critically and critically any problems, obstacles, hangups and weaknesses that stand in our way. We must overcome them, break through, and go on to raising our sights again and again.

Raising Club Sights

Our clubs have a new status. Our clubs have more important, more fundamental ideological and theoretical roles to play than in the past.

Our clubs must become the Party of action. In order to fight for higher standards in our club work it is necessary not only to have a guideline, but a political check list that should include the

following:

- 1) Every club should have an overall plan of work.
- 2) Every club should have an industrial concentration policy, a plan of work and a labor secretary.
- 3) Every club should have a recruiting plan.
- 4) Every club should hold a recruiting event at least every six months.
- 5) Every club should have a press director and a press plan to increase subs and bundle orders.
- 6) Every member should read a minimum of the *Daily World* and *Political Affairs*.
- 7) Every club should hold club meetings every two weeks and an executive meeting every two weeks to plan the club meeting.
- 8) Every club should be working at unemployment, food stamp and welfare centers.
- 9) Every club should have educationals.
- 10) Every club should develop a plan for the Dump Reagan and Communist election campaigns.
- 11) Every club should have a mailing list.
- 12) Every club should have a study group

It does not mean all the clubs must have all these activities. But our clubs must be involved. They must be active. They must have a coherent, sensible and practical plan of work.

We must raise our sights to make our club meetings the most enjoyable, the most stimulating, most educational, most friendly and comradely events in the life of every Communist in the club.

A Mass Circulation Press

I am sure you will all agree that raising the \$600,000 dollars and becoming a high tech newspaper is a great achievement. It was a fund-raising campaign. But first and foremost it was a political achievement. It was a vote of confidence by a lot of people.

However, the new technology also creates some new problems. For instance, it removes all technical excuses for not putting out a popular, first-class, working-class, Marxist-Leninist newspaper.

To the amazement of experts, our *Daily World* staff has mastered the new technology in less than half the time

that is considered normal. A company representative actually predicted that because of their special commitment Communists would master the technology in a shorter time than is usually required. And, for the time being, until all the adjustments are made, the staff is actually working longer hours and harder than before.

As you know, we now have the means to publish a daily national edition, published on the same day. However, while the new equipment makes it possible to print a paper, even the fanciest of computers do nothing to improve the content or circulation. That remains our prerogative!

Content-wise there is no question the *Daily World* and the *People's World* are by far the best papers on the Left. And they are also the best of the labor press, in fact the best in the country.

Further improvement in content will help circulation. But content can not be used as an excuse for the present limited circulation. The fact is — where they receive it, the people respond to the paper very well.

Raising our Sights to 100,000

The question of a qualitative change in our approach to circulation and how the press is used must be placed in the context of the changes in the objective situation and the dramatic changes in the thinking patterns of millions.

All studies and public opinion polls show that the people have never been so skeptical and suspicious of politicians and the mass media. Never have the people been so open-minded and actively searching for the truth.

Seventy-five per cent did not believe they were getting the truth about the Korean spy plane incident at a time when Reagan was ranting and raving, spewing forth his anti-Communist venom. The people are ready. The only question is — are we?

The mobilizations for the distribution of the special industrial editions and the new regional editions have been an important step toward a mass circulation. They must be continued and stepped up. But they cannot be a substitute for a regular, mass circulation.

To reach the 100,000 goal we have to make a rather basic change in how we see the role of the press.

To reach 100,000 we have to convince the Party that:

- Every member must be involved in circulating the press.
- Every member must be involved in the building of Truth

Brigades.

- Circulation of the press must be a feature of everything we are involved in.

- Our press is an indispensable instrument of the public presence of the Party.

- The press is the mass ice breaker for the Party.

- press is the most effective fighter for peace.

- Our press is the most powerful weapon in the struggle for equality.

- There can be no really effective industrial concentration without a change in how we see the press.

Improving What & How We Say It

Our papers are good. But not good enough.

We have a young staff. But even a young staff has to know about the weaknesses in their writing so they can correct them.

Some of the content is somewhat shallow. It does not point to conclusions or help readers build confidence in struggle.

Our press tends to have the same weaknesses as our Party cadre, except they have the disadvantage that they appear in print every day. The content is not clearly focused on the class struggle or on working-class issues. Even when articles on class struggles are available they do not appear. It is not focused enough on the scene of the class struggle. In some cases, by omission there are some influences of the pressures of anti-Sovietism. This shows up in a mild, even-handed handling of some of the conflicts and issues between the Soviet Union and the United States, and inadvertently sometimes in reflecting the two super-powers concept.

As with all Party members, we must suggest to our over-worked press comrades that they must find time to study, to read, to attend classes and attend some of the theoretical conferences.

To become better writers, our comrades writing for our papers must become better partisan working-class and Communist writers. Integrating the political and ideological essence into to articles means reading, studying and staying in close touch with the working class and people, keeping in touch with the class struggle .

A Must For Growing and Learning

As most of you know, we have one of the world's finest theoretical journals — *Political Affairs*. But the negative attitude and lack of use of the magazine is a measure of the weakness on theoretical questions generally in the Party. We must never become too busy to think, to study, to write.

Political Affairs has a standing offer to clubs that for only \$25 per year they can get a bundle of 5 for 12 months, to be used for purposes of introducing it to people, including comrades. So far the response from our clubs has been an unbelievable handful.

If we are going to *raise our sights* in almost any area we have to *raise our sights* regarding the use of *Political Affairs*.

Ideological Questions

In order to become more effective in the ideological struggle, we have to take up and fight against any and all manifestations of class enemy influences in our Party.

1) There continue to be some problems in how some of our comrades deal with questions related to the working class and the trade union movement. Some of the anti-working class influences come through in extreme negative assessments of the trade union leadership.

Such assessments ignore all shifts and changes. Such estimates negatively deal with the top leadership as if that is all there is to the trade union movement and, even further, as if that is all there is to the working class. Some of this came through in the pre-convention discussion articles.

In a country like ours, with its sharp class division, the pressures of anti-working class ideas are all-pervasive. Anti-working class ideology is very consciously developed and perpetuated.

2) There are no racists in our Party. But there are comrades who are influenced by the racism that permeates our whole society. The influences are often manifested in subtle ways. In some cases, comrades are not even aware of its presence. Therefore, we must raise our vigilance and raise the standards of education regarding racism. Racism continues to be the most formidable obstacle to the development of struggles and movements in every area of life.

3) We have influences of petty bourgeois nationalism which also are not open and overt. But it does become an obstacle in pursuing a class line.

4) There continue to be manifestations of the chauvinism that is directed against most of the oppressed national minorities. Because of the increase in the numbers of new nationalities from many parts of the world, there is an accompanying rise in national oppression and national chauvinism. We must, therefore, raise our vigilance and struggle against it.

5) While there is some improvement, we must admit that the influence of male supremacy continues in the Party. And, we must say, sometimes the manifestations are not so subtle. The struggle against the influences of male supremacy in the Party must become more consistent, both in the educational sense and in dealing with specific manifestations of male supremacy.

6) We must also become more aware of and sensitive to the increase in anti-Semitism generally in our country. We must become more responsive in the struggle against specific anti-Semitic acts.

7) We should also be on guard against any influences of the jingoism and great power chauvinism that is being pushed to sustain the Reagan anti-Communist, anti-national liberation crusade.

In the Party, our educational apparatus must find ways of dealing with each ideological area and focusing it on the concrete manifestations.

Ideological weaknesses will not disappear without a struggle. And that struggle will be effective to the extent that we relate the educational campaign to the mobilization and organization of struggles and movements.

The Path to Socialism

While it is not a practical problem for next week, or just around the corner, the question — what path to socialism — keeps coming up for discussion.

In my radio talk-show appearances the question comes up in one form or another in every program. Very often the question is whether I really believe socialism will come by way of elections. My answer to that is — if we can open up the electoral process and break the two-party monopoly, it is a possibility.

But very often the question is asked: "In what way do you Communists differ from the socialists, who were elected to office, like in France, Sweden and Spain?"

What is happening in these countries where Social-Democrats are in political power is only adding to the urgency of the question: "Can socialism come by way of elections?"

In these countries, the people voted for socialism and they are not getting it. The people voted against monopoly capital but the socialist administrations are not moving against monopoly capital.

Many of the workers in France, Sweden, Spain and other countries with Socialist administrations are coming to the conclusion that Social Democracy is not the way to socialism.

The lesson workers in the capitalist countries have to draw is that policies of class collaboration, no matter what label they have, will not lead to socialism. And, most important, the path to socialism must pass through the portals of the class struggle.

The answer to the question is that socialism may come by way of elections, but not by way of class collaboration and reformism.

To build real socialism it is necessary to change the economic structure. The expropriators must be expropriated.

To opportunistically promise socialism and not deliver means only one thing — disillusionment and electoral defeat for social democracy.

The new experiences again prove that the Social Democratic approach that claims that socialism can be achieved by preserving the status quo of capitalism in politics and the economy is not a viable path to socialism.

As usual, Marx was right on target when he said: "Socialism can not be realized without revolution." We can add: "It may be peaceful revolution, but revolution just the same."

Many in the United States who viewed the victories of Social Democracy as a step towards real socialism are also having second thoughts. It is true they were electoral victories over reactionary Right-wing parties, but not steps toward socialism.

Raising Our Sights

Every critical moment presents some very real dangers. But as is always the case, the moment contains within it powerful

forces that can reverse the reactionary process.

The next twelve months will be a period of contest between the Reaganite forces and the anti-Reaganite forces.

Our Party is in a unique and exciting position to make a contribution toward winning this contest. However, to make our full contribution we must change. We must grow. We must master the art of organizing, mobilizing and leading mass movements.

We must raise our sights so we can match the level of objective developments.

We must raise our sights to reflect the new level of mass thought patterns and militant mood of our working class and people.

We must raise our sights in the new Central Committee and National Council.

We must raise our sights in every district and state organization.

We must raise our sights in every club.

Every member of our great Marxist-Leninist Party must raise his and her own personal sights.

We must raise our sights as delegates to this 23rd National Convention of our Party and return to our districts determined to *raise the sights* of every club and every comrade.

I have *raised my sights* and I have full, unqualified confidence that this convention will not only *raise our sights* but immediately raise the level of our commitment and pride in our Communist Party, USA.

VII.

SUMMARY

Comrades, Guests and Friends,

Let me begin my summary remarks with congratulations to all of you for the very fine contributions you have made to the discussions, to the workshops and the commissions. The post-convention report backs will be your opportunity to translate this convention into state and club plans of work. I am sure you will infuse the whole membership with the spirit, the determination and assessments of our deliberations.

I agree with all of the characterizations of this great 23rd National Convention of our Party. The enthusiasm and Party spirit, the demonstration of unity, of political and ideological maturity, the new level of Party pride and confidence, the sharpness and clarity — all this has raised our sights way beyond our pre-con

Our convention has been a tremendous triumph, a great success. We can all be proud and happy as we close our deliberations and prepare for the period ahead. We have laid the line and guidelines, the plans that will keep us on course, on target and in focus.

We have present here a wonderful new generation of Communist leaders. We have elected a fine Central Committee, National Council and Central Review Commission to lead our Party for the next four years.

Many and special thanks to our fraternal delegates from capitalist countries, as well as the socialist world. They added a special dimension to our convention. I have had the honor and opportunity to meet with them. They made some interesting and heart-warming observations about our convention.

They were impressed not only with the reports, documents

and speeches, but with comrades from our clubs who got up to make presentations and reports without any written speeches. They were especially impressed with the democratic atmosphere, but also the discipline and unity of our convention.

In their excellent speeches, they gave us a picture of the conditions and problems in their countries, as well as a fine sense of international working-class solidarity. They demonstrated their understanding of our Party and its role in the belly of the imperialist beast.

In a sense, because we are across the ocean and because of U.S. state monopoly capitalism, there has been a sense of isolation from the international working-class and Communist movement in our Party.

This break through the "window of vulnerability" added a special internationalist flavor, a warm reception and comradely feeling to our convention. This makes us feel we are a part of a tremendous worldwide movement, growing stronger, more powerful and bigger every day. Thank you for sending such fine delegations. Your participation added a unique dimension to our deliberations.

A Word of Caution

We have put great emphasis on industrial concentration and on basic industrial workers, which is correct. I would only caution that comrades should be careful not to develop what we could call "basic workers' snobbishness." All components of the working class are important and we should not denigrate any of them for any reason. This goes into raising one's own standing by denigrating someone else, or making yourself look good at the expense of others.

On Peace

We have correctly said that war is not inevitable. This remains so. But I think there is a new element we must add now in the present situation that calls for an elaboration of this concept.

That is, if the Reagan foreign policy is not stopped, if moves like Grenada, Lebanon, El Salvador, the mobilization of Japan, South Korea, the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles, the MX, Trident and B-1, the development of weapons for "star wars," the trillions spent for first-strike nuclear superiority, are

not reversed, we will reach a point of no return, or a point where nuclear war *will become inevitable*.

In this sense we have to sharpen our assessment. This truth will help to mobilize people.

The next crisis point will be the physical installation of the first-strike nuclear missiles in Europe. This has already begun in England. The parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany meets on November 21, where the question will come up and actual delivery and deployment will begin on November 22. There is no expectation that the German parliament will change this decision.

As the deployment progresses, we will have to re-evaluate the struggle and the movements. The struggle to reverse U.S. foreign policy will not end with the placing of U.S. nuclear missiles on European soil. The approach and tactics will, however, have to change. We will have to give leadership on what to do and how to do it.

The struggle will be an intense and constant one to reduce weapons and withdraw the nuclear missiles from Europe.

This will continue to be a critical question in the election campaign. It will become pivotal for all other issues and movements. Candidates will have to be pressured and pushed on the withdrawal of the Pershing II and cruise missiles as a first step toward disarmament.

What Our Convention Showed

1) In many ways, we have achieved a breakthrough in the Party. More than we realized, we have broken through in our public presence.

The convention brought out the extent of our participation, our involvement and impact on movements and struggles of our people.

2) The Party is on a new political and ideological level.

3) Many comrades can handle difficult questions on a higher plane. This is an important development.

4) The Party's influence has grown tremendously. This is very important because of the conditions under which we work. While there are no laws against being a member of our Party, and we should not underestimate this, this still does not mean the atmosphere has reached a point where all people can make public

their membership.

There are a growing number of people who consider themselves Communists, people who work with the Party but are not "card-carrying" members. It is important to assess our new, broad influence and prestige. Therefore, when we speak about mobilizing Communists, we have to include Communists who are not "card-carrying" or official members. This means special attention and measures for reaching these people.

And the Party's influence is even broader. It is clear there are more and more people in leading positions in movements who want to consult our Party. I note this because I think some tend to underestimate the Party's influence.

It was in this sense the report said "the Party is a political force in its own right." And the stronger the Party influence, the stronger are the mass movements.

5) The convention also demonstrated that the Party's feet are solidly on the ground. There is less rhetoric and more concrete actions and plans.

Post Convention Period

We had a successful pre-convention discussion period in which we discussed the Draft Basic Document. Now we should begin a post-convention period. In many ways, the post-convention period will be more difficult because it calls for more action, for concreteness, for implementation and application of convention decisions.

Immediately, we must put all our good discussions to work. We must convert our reports and decisions into good plans of work. This must begin with the new Central Committee, National Council, with the new district committees and state boards. Clubs must also develop concrete plans.

The plans should include the challenge we will face for the next twelve months. It is a challenge we can meet and win. We must recognize the great historic responsibility, as well as an opportunity presented to the people of the U.S. in this moment.

The central challenge of the post-convention period is how to take the resolutions, the politics, the enthusiasm, the mood and spirit, the sense of oneness and unity and turn all this into new mass initiatives, new actions and new creativity, how to raise our sights in everything we do.

Defeat Reaganism in '84

Defeating Reagan means not only a change in the presidency, but a significant change in the House, the Senate and in coalition forces generally.

It is important for us to fully grasp the coalition forming and moving against Reaganism. The decision of the AFL-CIO convention must be understood in this context. This puts the trade union movement squarely into the anti-Reagan front.

We must recognize that the Afro-American community is solidly in this anti-Reagan front. The Spanish-speaking communities are also solidly anti-Reagan. The women's, youth and senior movements are overwhelmingly anti-Reagan. The farm revolt, especially in alliance with the trade union movement, is a powerful anti-Reagan force.

Therefore, there are already present the forces of this broad movement that has the potential for an electoral victory.

In all this, we must not neglect the fielding of Communist candidates — everywhere. We must not neglect the Communist presidential campaign. We must not neglect the fight for the ballot. We must begin *now* to prepare for our Communist election campaign.

Now, more than ever, our country needs Communists in the running to keep the issues up front, to explain, to expose, to agitate and educate. More than ever, we must put forth our advanced positions because our class is looking for them as never before. And, it follows, that millions are ready to not only listen to what we have to say, but many are ready to join the Party — if we reach them.

In a very real sense, the fate of not only the U.S. people is at stake, but the fate of the world. The anti-Reagan all people's front represents an all people's front against reaction and imperialism. The people of the world are watching and waiting to see what the people of the United States will do.

We, as Communists, must throw everything we have into the struggles of the next 12 months. It could be 12 months that will change the world.

The very first task of our convention is to return to our homes and hold reportback meetings that will move the Party everywhere into action, that will:

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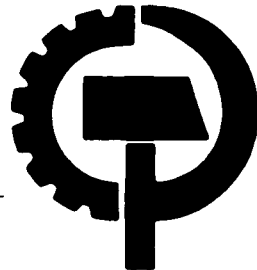
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