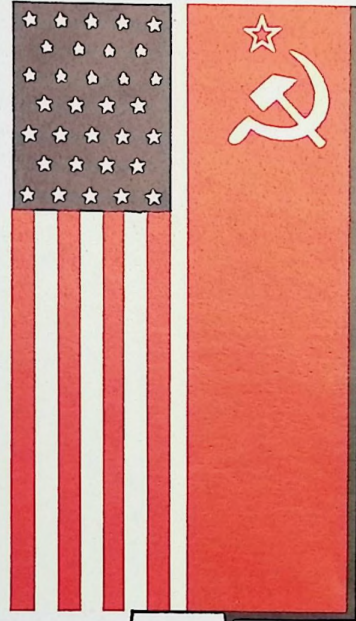


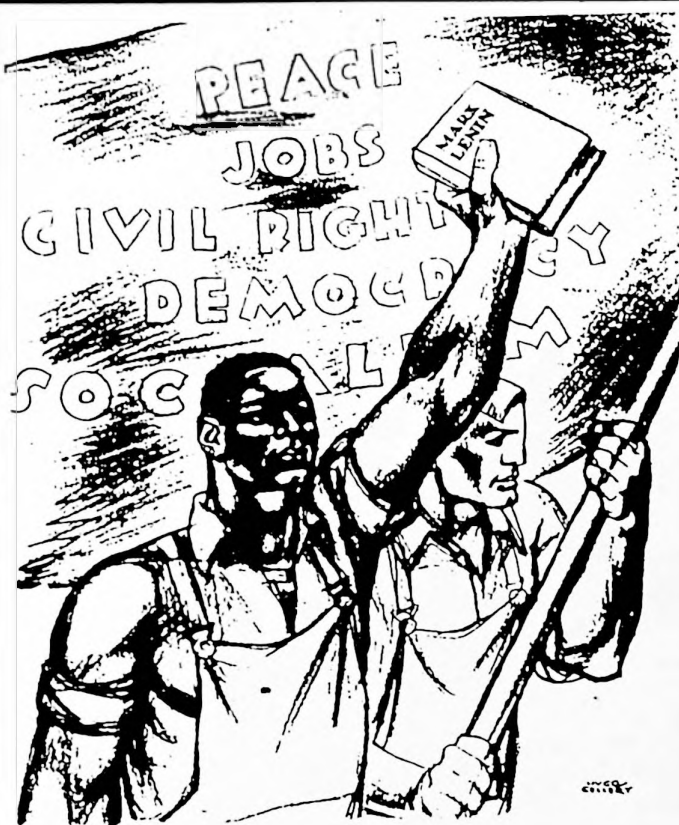
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Strategy and Tactics

GUS HALL

WE NEED TO REVIEW OUR BASICS AND UNFREEZE our strategic and tactical concepts and goals. These thoughts are meant to open the door to new thinking about some old concepts in order to keep us on track and to help us avoid being sidetracked. They are placed to stimulate thinking and discussion.

Because today's situation is so complex and the issues so interdependent, because developments move like a speeded-up film, because the moment is so special, with so many new factors, we should project some new concepts about strategy and tactics.

If we are to lead people we must bring our strategy and tactics up to date. They must accurately reflect where the people are at any moment. They must be attuned to new thinking, to changing thought patterns.

Tactics deal with quantitative changes. Strategy deals with qualitative changes. There are some problems with this definition, but there are no formulas that fit every situation.

Tactics are related to current, changing thought patterns.

Strategy is more general, more sweeping. A strategic outlook is more long-range. Tactics are more short range. However, we should not try to fit them into a pattern of a calendar of events.

Strategy deals with the ebb and flow, the waves. Tactics deal with the ripples. To formulate strategic goals means to see the longer-range trends. Strategic concepts are for winning

This is an excerpted section of the report delivered by Gus Hall, national chairman of the CPUSA, to a meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA on April 23, 1988.

the war. Tactics are for conducting and winning the battles.

Strategy and tactics must never be based on subjectivity. This is the most common barrier to tactical thinking.

Strategy and tactics must reflect objective developments, including national uniqueness, time, place and circumstance. In each country, they must reflect the specific objective conditions and national peculiarities. There are no set-in-concrete blueprints for either strategic or tactical concepts.

Strategic concepts set the stage for the line of the Party in that they reflect the laws of objective development. These laws allow us to foresee developments, sometimes with amazing accuracy.

Strategic concepts are our way of looking ahead to qualitative changes in objective developments, in the balance of forces.

To be a leading party we have to know the laws of objective developments and base our strategic concepts on these laws. But we must also know how to use them.

Our ability to understand and use strategy and tactics, to use the objective laws in everyday life, determines how well we are able to lead in struggle. This is what distinguishes us from phony left groups.

Knowledge of objective laws and their use prevents extreme swings, jumping stages or adventurism. It helps to keep our feet on the ground.

There are two kinds of drivers — strategic and tactical. Tactical drivers keep their eyes fo-

cused only on the cars directly in front of them. They don't see left or right, or behind. The tactical driver is always putting on the brakes, blowing the horn, cussing out other drivers. Other drivers are always to blame for all the problems.

Strategic drivers see not only the cars directly in front, but the cars way ahead. They drive with the flow of traffic because they keep in their view all the lanes and the traffic up ahead. Drivers who drive strategically can pick their lanes better. They don't get into as many gridlocks.

When you see what's ahead you can plan different routes, make tactical detours and avoid dead ends. You can drive faster when you drive strategically.

In politics, we have to become strategic drivers. We have to be able to see further than the car just ahead, further than what is just in front of our eyes.

If we can see the flow of traffic then our tactics are better. We won't get lost. And if we get off at the wrong exit, or drive off the main road—even strategic drivers make mistakes—we will know what side roads and shortcuts to take to get back on the fast highway. We will know how to read political maps and learn to draw our own maps.

Strategy and tactics are military terms. Their military origin has created some problems because the terms are often adapted much too mechanically from the military. The military deals with clearly defined forces—armies, regiments, platoons, etc. In the political arena the forces are not always so clearly defined. Neither are the conditions and developments.

In strategy and tactics, dogmatism is deadly. Inflexibility in application is often military-like. This has given even the terms a bad image. Neither strategy nor tactics should be set in concrete. They reflect a changing world.

Marxism does not reject any form of struggle. New forms of struggle inevitably arise as conditions change. In this respect, Marxism learns from practice and makes no claim to knowing all forms for all time.

Not every struggle creates new forms. Not every struggle rejects the old forms from past

struggles. Forms of struggle must be flexible and reflect a specific situation.

Too often strategic concepts are seen as related only to a single point in time, like the concept of the anti-monopoly coalition leading to an anti-monopoly government. We see the anti-monopoly government as the single strategic goal. Our concept of the anti-monopoly government strategy is correct. But it is also too rigid and limits our long-range view. Our strategic line has to be focused on the main enemy and the main forces of opposition at a specific moment.

We should consider both a long-range strategic goal and shorter-range strategic goals. Among the latter we should consider the following:

- Cutting off the power and domination of the military-industrial complex;
- The formation and victories of a new party of political independence;
- Ending the nuclear arms race, the elimination of all nuclear weapons worldwide;
- The end of neo-colonialism;
- Building a mass Communist Party;
- And, perhaps, the end of Reaganism.

These would be strategic goals because each would result in a change in the balance of forces.

Shorter-range goals should not be seen as doing away with the longer-range goal of an anti-monopoly government.

Strategy and tactics are related to all our theoretical concepts. The foundation of both our strategic and tactical approach is the class struggle. If you are missing this mooring you can't have a viable strategy. The class struggle is the main contradiction. We are always working to change the balance of forces between the two main classes. There can be no strategic line without this foundation.

Our Party's industrial concentration policy is the subjective cornerstone of our strategic outlook.

The laws of objective development will force the working class to assume its leading role because of its position in society and in the

productive process. Workers don't always see this. With the rise of class consciousness this will become clear. But whether they see it or not does not change the role history has assigned them. As Marx once said, "History is the judge. The executioner is the working class."

Our Party is able to formulate strategic concepts and goals because we understand that history moves inevitably and unalterably in a progressive direction, in spite of setbacks and defeats at certain moments.

Our strategic concepts are related to the unique features of U.S. capitalism, including the specific antagonisms and splits within the ruling class. Knowing these splits and how to use them is part of our unique contribution. This also relates to our understanding of the role of racism as a source of superprofits and its relationship to the class struggle. Our assessment must include the relationship of the United States to the rest of the world.

New thinking and mass thought patterns are important because they affect the class struggle and they force ruling class circles to act differently.

Reagan is a perfect example. His "evil empire" rhetoric has disappeared, except for some nostalgic speeches. He signed the INF treaty with the Soviet Union and went to Moscow at the end of May. He is doing all this not because U.S. capitalism has changed its nature, but because he is being forced to by the new world climate, the 75 percent U.S. peace majority, the change in the world balance of forces and the change in the balance of forces in Congress.

However, he has not changed his position on Star Wars, on the Mideast, on Nicaragua, Afghanistan, on civil rights and racism. His anti-labor, pro-big business stance has not budged one inch. The changes are more tactical.

There are many inner pressures and contradictions that capitalism cannot ignore. Before leaving office President Eisenhower reflected on one of these pressures. He said,

"The military establishment, not being productive in itself, necessarily must feed on the energy, productivity and brain power of the

country. And if it takes too much our total strength declines."

Not bad for an ex-general.

Even Nixon, in his demagogic fashion, reflected on a growing contradiction:

"The question of the 70's is shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make preparations to undo the damage we have done to our air, our land and our water."

Unfortunately, these concepts remained only words. But these growing internal contradictions do influence the behavior of monopoly capital. They influence the ruling class because these contradictions are taken up by the people. They become issues around which the people struggle.

When we consider the changing balance of forces it is difficult to overstate the influence of the positions and actions of the Soviet Union and the socialist world in general.

In working in the new climate, with the new thinking and progressive movement in mass thought patterns, we must be careful not to overstep or sidestep fundamental Marxist-Leninist precepts.

The nature of capitalism—state monopoly capitalism and imperialism—has not changed. We must not lose sight of the concept that, in the material world, reality and matter are primary to thought and ideas.

Here Engels brought it all together,

The human mind makes imprints of real things and processes.

The finest of these is the transformation he [Marx] has brought about in our general conception of universal history. Hitherto the accepted view has been that the ultimate causes of historic changes are to be found in the changing ideas of human beings, that amongst all historical change, political changes are the most important, are dominant in history.

But Marx has shown that all history down to the present day has been the history of class struggle.

[T]he historic mission of leadership now devolves on the proletariat, a class which by virtue of its social position can only free itself by doing away

once and for all with class domination, subjugation and exploitation.

Any illusion that good ideas, even a good presentation of good ideas, is enough, leads to voluntarism, to the idea that the mind and the will of humankind can make history.

This leads to the dangerous misconception that good ideas and reason can convince the ruling class to change its stripes. Good ideas are important. But if they are not placed in the framework of the class struggle, people are misled into thinking that good ideas are the solution.

We cannot and must not formulate strategic concepts on this basis. Our concepts must be

more substantive, grounded in the foundation of the basic laws of objective developments.

For example, the unity and struggle of opposites has a two-fold nature: unity and struggle. Which of these is most important? *Struggle*.

If we leave out the dominant element of struggle we can draw the conclusion that the nature of capitalism and imperialism is changing because of the new climate. This is wrong. It leads to reliance on spontaneity, to class collaboration and opportunism. It leads to idealism.

The nature of capitalism does not change. But it can be forced to behave differently through struggle and a change in the balance of forces. □



Jesse Jackson '88 On the Train of Struggle

RON JOHNSON

The primary elections have now come to an end, and with their completion it has become clear that important new political developments have arisen in our country.

A national movement opposed to the extreme Right-wing, pro-war and pro-transnational sections of monopoly have come on the political scene.

This movement, built around the candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, has etched out a unique place in history. Placing second in the Democratic Primaries and caucus races, it has changed the relationship of the labor and Afro-American peoples movement to the political scene.

Reversing the plan of the Right-wing to use Super Tuesday as a battering ram for conservatism, the Jackson movement helped build a massive alliance against extreme reaction which far exceeded the Jackson campaign itself. In the final analysis, the alliance behind this campaign contributed to building new levels of Black-white, labor-Afro-American people's unity, elevated the impact of the Black vote and forced issues of concern to working people into the heart of the entire electoral debate.

Most important, this movement accelerated the prospects of registering millions of new voters, sparking registration campaigns across the country and inspiring many perspective voters to register. This expansion of voter participation is an important boost to the growing effort to democratize registration laws, including efforts to win election day registration and the distribution of registration forms in all government buildings and offices.

Most critically, the Jackson candidacy has strengthened the chances of defeating the Reaganites in November, in the first place George Bush.

As a result, the U.S. democratic, peace and anti-racist majorities have gained confidence

and are displaying new found optimism.

Anti-monopoly forces found a home in the Jackson campaign, although monopoly was also represented, especially among some high level advisors, including Georgia banker, Bert Lance and New York banker, Felix Rohatyn. Yet on the grassroots level, the movement was, for the most part popular and independently organized. Thus, despite cross currents, the Jackson campaign served as a box car on the train of struggle, in which people were able to hop aboard, not only hitching a ride, but helping to keep it on track.

A far greater section of the U.S. population than ever before, has voted for a campaign based on pro-unionism, anti-racism and unity against the extreme Right-wing. Of great significance is the fact that this unity was built around a candidate who was labeled "too left," "too Black" and "unelectable" by the nation's corporate owned and controlled mass media and the ultra-Right.

While millions of voters were able to see through the media psychological warfare campaign, it is also important to fully appreciate the anti-Rightwing sentiment expressed by the many millions who, while not completely understanding the media distortions, nevertheless voted against the extreme Right-wing, in other ways. This was particularly true of the many people who voted for Governor Michael Dukakis. In the main this vote was also an anti-Rightwing vote. But in many cases those who agreed with Jackson program also voted for Dukakis, fearful under the media barrage, that Jackson was "unelectable" and therefore a vote for him now, could inadvertently help Bush in November. Thus the totality of the race, and not just the total of votes must be examined to fully appreciate the broad scope of support garnered by the Jackson program.

Built on the call for "rainbow unity" the Jackson campaign united millions of Americans of various nationalities and social backgrounds.

Throughout the country "Jewish-Ameri-

Ron Johnson is Afro-American Affairs editor of *The Peoples' Daily World*.

cans for Jackson" committees sprang up. These committees played a special role combatting the media-instigated charges of anti-Semitism against Jackson and the social forces supporting him and contributed significantly to building unity against the extreme Right-wing.

MULTI-RACIAL UNITY

As the Jackson campaign grew among different sections of the population, it also grew among Afro-Americans. In 1984 Jackson received 65 percent of the Black vote in the South. In 1988 he received 96 percent. He won 42 Southern congressional districts on Super Tuesday, alone. Big roles were played by the Congressional Black Caucus, other Black elected officials, Black clergy, business leaders, community activists and members of sororities and fraternities.

A special role was played by members of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, who in many areas headed the campaign's work among trade unionists of all nationalities. Thus the Black unionists provided a strong foundation upon which a powerful labor-Afro American alliance was built.

An important contribution was made to the Jackson campaign by Puerto Ricans both in Puerto Rico and in the United States. In New York, upwards of 80 percent of all Puerto Rican voters backed Jackson; in Philadelphia the figure was 67.3 percent. One factor was that Puerto Ricans saw in Jackson, a candidate who would favor a democratic program, including Puerto Rico's right to self determination. Another factor was the high level of Puerto Rican participation in labor unions which mobilized heavily for Jackson.

Afro-Americans provided a solid base of support for Jackson reflecting both national pride in a Black man running for the Presidency and support for Jackson's pro-labor, pro-democracy program.

While Jackson did not win the majority of the women's vote, women, especially women trade unionists, played an indispensable role for the Jackson campaign, adding significantly to

his volunteer army of campaign organizers and supporters.

Jackson received more than 95 percent of the vote of Black women.

Youth and students provided shock troops for the Jackson campaign in many states. College youth travelled to different primary and caucus states, volunteering their weekends for the campaign. Nearly every top college student leader in Iowa endorsed Jackson's campaign before the caucuses, setting a tone for the remainder of the campaign.

Jackson's anti-drug message won the support of students and their parents across the nation. Jackson skillfully tied the drug problem to the level of political corruption in the country, charging that "people in high places" were not only responsible but helped get drugs into the country. Jackson's ability to set a "moral tone" to the presidential debate enhanced his message, uniting a call for economic and political reform with a program for moral rebirth.

Especially important, the campaign showed that there has been considerable headway made against racist thinking among millions of people and that an anti-racist majority is emerging in our country.

At the same time the campaign also highlighted those areas where greater advances are still needed.

"ELECTABILITY" A TOOL OF RACISM

From the outset of the Jackson campaign millions of people were challenged by the need to confront and overcome many previously held racist concepts. While many overcame the obstacles, some found themselves trapped by their backward notions.

The issue emerged on several critical questions—"Is the Rev. Jesse Jackson electable?," and "What does Jesse Jackson want?" As Jackson himself responded, "People say they agree with the message, think I'm the best candidate, but instead of Jesse Jackson *but*, they should say Jesse Jackson, *therefore*." From the earliest days of the campaign the most powerful weapon used against him was the charge, often repeated

and spread by the media, that if he were nominated, he could never defeat George Bush.

Adding to the divisive assault was former Democratic vice-presidential nominee, Geraldine Ferraro, who, on the eve of the critical New York primary said, "If Jesse Jackson were not Black, he wouldn't be in the race." Thus the old racist argument was advanced, that Black people are not victims of discrimination but the recipients of "special treatment." The argument fit neatly into Mayor Edward Koch's notorious attacks, claiming that Jackson was escaping criticism because he was Black—and to "correct" this Koch launched an all out racist broadside against Jackson and the movement that backed him.

Unfortunately Ferraro's comments were commonplace among a section of liberals who argued that "since a Black man can't win the presidency, he shouldn't be running." Such racist expressions were found among various "liberal" columnists. On the whole these views represented the policy of the Democratic Party bosses, who feared the independent movement behind Jackson and were concerned with "cutting it down to size." These ideas surfaced most sharply in New York City. Negating its reputation for liberalism and tolerance.

The Right-wing of the Democratic Party and its official top brass feared that if Jackson, who had emerged as a consistent winner or near winner in the primaries, could win in New York, he might develop enough momentum to win the race—or enter the convention with sufficient strength to force basic concessions. They set out, therefore to "turn the tide."

With its strong Rightwing Zionist movement and a mayor known for his "boarishness," New York seemed the most opportune point of struggle.

It was, therefore, no accident that Koch uttered the first vulgar racist statements by any leading politician in the presidential campaign. The slanders that followed were a call to every racist to come out of the closet. The result was more than 1,000 death threats against the candidate and some of his supporters.

REJECTING RACISM

What were the effects of the attack? Exit polls revealed that one-third of Dukakis' vote came from people who were voting to "stop another candidate."

Yet despite this, New Yorkers, in general rejected the attack. Koch's choice, Senator Albert Gore was held to ten percent of the vote. More important, the majority of New York Democrats, according to NBC exit polls said they did want Koch to run for another term. Some 62 percent said "no" to Koch, while only 28 percent said they wanted him to run again. Another 10 percent were uncertain.

Victor Gotbaum, a former trade union leader and a Dukakis backer, used three words to sum up mass feelings about Koch. "Koch is obscenity."

Promising that people will not forget Koch's role when mayoral elections are held in 1989, Rep. Charles Rangel of Harlem (D-NY) said, "His [Koch] lack of sensitivity shows he has no understanding of the issues Jackson is raising in his campaign. When Jackson wins he wins for Blacks, Protestants and Jews."

Just as it was clear that the Jackson movement advanced the whole political spectrum, it was also clear that the movement to stop it, also spread across party lines. Thus the ultra-Right in the Republican Party also aimed its sharpest attack at the Jackson forces, aiming to push the whole spectrum to the Right. In focusing their sharpest attack on the Jackson movement, the Reaganites played a double game—leaking reports that they wanted to run against him, while trying to mobilize active opposition to him with direct attacks.

Beginning with his first salvo of the 1988 campaign, in a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, President Reagan himself attacked Jackson.

The basic answer to the question of electability is that a candidate, whether Dukakis or Jackson was electable if the people's forces were fully united. Electability is not determined by the candidate, but by the people.

Jackson summed it up by saying, "We're very much in this race. I need his [Dukakis] sup-

port base to win. He needs my support base to win. Together, we can win."

BLACK SEPARATISM SURFACES

Another side of the "Stop Jackson" effort came from Afro-American separatists who rejected Jackson's approach of multi-racial unity and objectively supported Reaganism. This view had several reflections during the campaign. Some were subtle, and others were vulgar.

In New York City, forces loyal to admitted government informant, the Rev. Al Sharpton, argued that Jackson had deserted the Afro-American community. He was no longer the "Black candidate" they claimed. The *City Sun*, a Black owned and operated weekly newspaper which was supportive of Sharpton when he was rightfully criticized by Black political leaders for informing on the movement, editorially said, "After weeks of agonizing, sometimes heated, internal debate, we have come to a conclusion we are sure would anger many: We do not endorse any of Jesse Jackson's opponents in the New York primary and we do not here repeat the ringing endorsement we gave him in 1984." (April 19, 1988)

It is noteworthy that Sharpton—who says he did not vote for Jackson in 1984 and did not even bother to register to vote against Koch in the last election, but did organize a support group for Reaganite Senator Alphonse D'Amato's reelection campaign in 1986—avoided calling his usual semi-daily press conferences until the New York primary was over. Thus he avoided any criticism of Koch's racist attacks on Jackson until the voting was done.

This "Black-only" view of the elections was really a disguised attack against the trade union movement and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in particular, which played a dynamic role in the campaign. Stanley Hill served as the co-campaign chair for the state. Hill, a leader of the CBTU, is the executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Significantly the New York State Jackson campaign was housed by Local 1199 of the Hospital and Health

Care Employees Union, a union which has been tagged by Sharpton for disruption over the past several years.

In Pittsburgh, separatism was disguised with charges that "white communist elements" took over the Jackson campaign. Hiding behind red-baiting a small group of Democratic Party ward committee members, tied to the Democratic Party machine, fielded a slate of delegates loyal to Dukakis. Urging Afro-Americans to cast their votes for Jackson, they also called for support of the Dukakis slate of delegates. Their strategy worked. According to the state Democratic Party, Jackson was shutout in delegates in Pittsburgh, although he won 30 percent of the popular vote there.

In Birmingham, Alabama, a group of Black ministers aligned with Republican Party causes took control of the Jackson campaign's organization for the final pre-Super Tuesday election rally. Although Jackson articulated a workingclass and farmer unity political line in Alabama, the ministers narrowed the scope of the campaign to "Black only."

As these examples show, the Jackson movement not only sharpened the struggle between the peoples' movement and the Reaganites, but also sharpened the struggle of ideas within the Afro-American community.

As the results of the campaign show, among masses of Afro-Americans there is a growing rejection of "going it alone" nationalism. Even among those who identify themselves as "nationalists" there has been a greater acceptance of internationalism, as they increasingly seek out joint working relations with trade unionists and what have come to be called "progressive" whites.

These developments should be a clear signal to all progressives that there is no justification for all-white political formations. Multi-racial unity, especially Black-white unity, can and should be built in every form of struggle today. The experiences of the Jackson movement show that only unity is a winning strategy. As a result of his two presidential campaigns Jesse Jackson has emerged as a spokesman for a multi-racial, multi-national movement, which although still

in the Democratic Party, is politically independent of monopoly control.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

This movement has become, in effect, what Jackson had projected during last year's Rainbow Coalition Convention—broader than the Rainbow Coalition. Thus the Jackson movement raises many new tactical, organizational and political questions about future forms of independence. The Jackson campaign has opened the Democratic Party to many new voters and, to some degree, has opened the Party's platform hearings to the American people.

In the 1988 elections on the national level, the Democratic Party remains the main medium through which the people's movement will defeat the ultra-Right. On the local level, however, the Democratic Party is joined by an assortment of independent formations, especially trade union political action committees, which together can defeat the ultras.

As a result of his campaign Jackson became the candidate of great sections of the trade union movement. While other Democratic candidates were supported by some trade union PACs, a special relationship developed between labor and the Jackson movement. By advancing his proposed Workers' Bill of Rights, Jackson has provided a form with which labor can magnify its voice on the U.S. political scene.

TRADE UNION UNITY

Union halls around the country served as Jackson campaign headquarters. Where this occurred the campaign usually had a greater impact on local voters.

Jackson's victory in Michigan was so overwhelming that he would have still won, even if the two congressional districts in Detroit which are predominately Afro-American were not counted.

In Wisconsin which has a tradition of militant trade unionism, Jackson lost the vote from Democratic Party regulars to Dukakis, 42 to 36 percent. In Wisconsin some 18 percent of those

who voted in the Democratic primary were Republicans who crossed over and voted against Jackson, and another 15 percent of the voters were independents.

In Ohio, it was difficult for trade unionists to vote for him in several areas, with the campaign either ruled off the ballot or confronted by "favorite son" candidates on the congressional district level. Yet Jackson still received 20 percent of the white vote. Much of it was from trade unionists. This was a five-fold increase in support over 1984.

In many cases Jackson mobilized labor support by marching on picketlines and by participating in labor struggles. In Jay, Maine and Lock Haven, Pa., he personally displayed his solidarity with locked out paperworkers; in Wilmington, North Carolina with fishermen victimized by spreading algae; and, in Kenosha, Wisconsin, with United Auto Workers members facing the imminent closing of the Chrysler plant.

The fact that workers responded to Jackson's Workers' Bill of Rights and voted for him in large numbers indicates a deepening of workingclass consciousness and the desire for a united trade union movement.

Jackson's proposals for "health care from the cradle to the grave," his anti-drug campaign and program to save jobs and provide "day care on the front side of life," were enthusiastically supported. These demands can be expected to fuel political movements during the next presidential administration.

Jackson also instilled optimism and workingclass pride among trade unionists.

A cultural renaissance is occurring in the nation. And the Jackson campaign was linked to it. Television host, Casey Kasum: actress, Margot Kidder: actor, Bill Cosby were among the stars who travelled with and campaigned for Jackson. Jazz musicians like Bobbi Humphrey, gospel singers like Al Green and many others were a part of the Jackson campaign. Committees such as Artists for Jackson and other special forms like Rappers for Jackson also emerged during the campaign. The developing unity between the labor movement and the nation's cul-

tural figures will further intensify the rise of a popular progressive people's culture.

Trade unionists in several areas of the country made sacrifices, by taking off time from work, without pay, in order to vote for and campaign for Jackson. If workers are willing to make sacrifices for a presidential candidate, what new forms of unity are now ripe within the labor movement in the U.S. or between U.S. and foreign workers? While no one can give a definite answer, one thing is clear, new possibilities for unity and joint struggle are developing.

ON ISSUES OF PEACE & SOLIDARITY

Peace activists were divided on which of the Democratic candidates deserved their support. In states like Vermont and New Hampshire, peace activists and environmentalists played big roles in helping to organize the vote for Jackson.

They responded to Jackson's call to freeze the military budget for the next five years and thus save \$60 billion annually by 1993. Jackson was also for Senate ratification of the proposed INF treaty and against Star Wars, the MX and wasteful military spending.

On the whole Jackson's peace policy was among the most advanced in the primaries. Yet it also contained important, though more subtle, forms of anti-Sovietism. Jackson spoke of negotiating with the "Russian bear." While urging negotiations, Jackson often expressed his distrust of the Soviet Union, despite the latter's consistent role in fighting for a U.S.-Soviet peace agreement.

On solidarity issues, Jackson was more consistent, emphasizing the importance of solidarity with the anti-apartheid majority in South Africa. He also helped focus media attention on the South African-backed RENAMO death squads in Mozambique which were responsible for the massacre of 100,000 people.

Rejecting Red-baiting, Jackson told the NAACP convention last July that after the South Korean and Taiwanese workers start watching the television sets, in addition to building them, "they will start marching. Then be called Communists—like W.E.B. DuBois and

Paul Robeson. We'll be asked to send our sons over there, take up guns and fight them . . . We've been down that road before, we must go another way."

WHAT'S NEXT?

Our country is in the twilight of President Reagan's term. More importantly, there is every sign that we can be in the twilight of Reaganism. This means that Bush, the candidate presently most aligned with the ultra-Right, can be defeated.

To do this now requires unity, unity of the labor movement, and unity between labor, the Afro-American people and all progressive forces. In the political sphere this unity must rest first of all on the close working relations between the masses presently supporting Michael Dukakis and the more advanced part of the peoples movement now grouped around Jackson.

As a result, a battle is now shaping up, over the Democratic Party's 1988 platform, as well as the choice for Vice President.

For the Right-wing, the convention strategy remains much as it was during the primaries. Faced with an inability to win nomination for an open Rightwing candidate, it is pushing for a Center-Right alliance. Thus a campaign has grown up for a conservative vice-presidential candidate, symbolizing a move to the Right by the Democrats now that the primaries are over. Closely linked to the fight for a more covervative team at the top of the ticket will be a fight for a more conservative platform.

Such a move, however, could spell disaster for the anti-Bush movement, since it would all but exclude the voters who backed Jackson, and would lead to wide spread disillusion. Such disillusion, considering the centrality of the labor-Afro-American coalition in key states, would dramatically improve the position of the ultras in both the presidential and congressional elections.

Like the primaries itself, the struggle leading up to and in the Democratic Convention, now emerges as a new focal point in the fight for progress and political independence.

Now, as in the elections, the key obstacle to the Rightwing strategy is the Jackson movement, which has elected a large number of delegates to the convention. These delegates, united with the labor delegates in the Dukakis campaign can play a critical role in the convention.

Another area of renewed struggle is the local elections. The possibility now exists of electing a Congress that is more in tune with the American democratic, peace and anti-racist majorities. Such a Congress could become a veto-proof instrument for social progress. The trade union movement, Afro-Americans and other sections of the population are already evaluating who should be the people's candidate for Congress or other offices in Congressional Districts carried by the Jackson campaign. The outcome of these struggles is extremely important, considering the reapportionment battles due to

begin after the 1990 census. In cities where the Jackson campaign won, mayors and city councils can be won to support progressive legislation or they can be replaced by the people.

In the coming period, these emerging movements will intertwine with the struggles for raising the minimum wage, winning jobs or income for unemployed workers, including first time job seekers, providing national comprehensive health care, day care, building low and moderate income housing, stopping drugs from flowing into the country, providing quality education and safeguarding legal gains from the Reaganite stacked deck on the Supreme Court.

In all, the people's majorities for peace, democracy and against racism are coming closer together. In sum the primary elections of 1988 have been a momentous event in the life of our country and people. □

CORRECTION

In Gus Hall's article, *The World We Preserve Must be Livable*, in the June 1988 PA, the the first sentence of the last complete paragraph on page 3 should read: Today the world faces new, most serious global problems that cut across national and class lines, such as land, water and air pollution, the depletion of the ozone layer, poverty, famine, disease and, of course, prevention of a nuclear confrontation.

Only World Workingclass Unity Can Defeat the TNCs

JARVIS TYNER

Karl Marx, one of the greatest thinkers to ever live, summarized all of human history in a single sentence: "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of the class struggle."

This brilliant statement is as true today as it was when he first uttered it over a 150 years ago. Today, as then, the class struggle continues to be the main-spring of human development. However, it is important to quickly add, the form which the class struggle takes, the pace of the struggle, the specific challenges and issues which confront the working class at any given moment, are in constant flux. The process of re-assessment and tactical retooling must, therefore, be an on-going thing, if we are to effectively advance the cause of our class.

Today, there are important new changes and challenges confronting the working class, world wide, especially its organized sector, which require new thinking and new tactics if the labor movement is to go forward.

This is why the Communist Party USA enthusiastically welcomes this conference. We thank the Socialist Unity Party Academy of Social Science for initiating and hosting what should be a very valuable international meeting.

Our Party, the CPUSA, is a working class party based in the leading imperialist nation. Our comrades are to be found within the trade union movement, in working class communities and mass organizations of many types. Our roots go back to the early days of trade union activity in the 19th century and the upsurge in the 1930s, when the U.S. working class made its greatest advances. Our history also includes the period of set-back and travail in the 1950s and

Jarvis Tyner is chairman of the New York State district, CPUSA. He delivered this talk in Berlin at the Conference on Contemporary Problems Facing the International Trade Union Movement in the Developed Countries, May 17-18, 1988. The conference was sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Imperialism, Academy of Social Sciences of the Socialist Unity Party, GDR.

today's growing movements in what may well be called a new U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

We are proud of roots. At the same time, we are humbled by the evident challenges that still lie ahead for us.

Yet we know that the clarity, cooperation and understanding that come from discussions like this can make that road easier and more successful.

OUR CHALLENGES ARE GREAT

As you may know, it has been recently revealed that Nancy and Ronald Reagan consult the stars before making any major decisions. This new revelation joins the reports that Ronald Reagan is a believer in the theory of Armageddon. Together these revelations show just how bizarre and disconnected from reality the thinking of prominent spokesmen for the extreme Right wing, and in this case, the President of the most powerful imperialist nation in the world, has become.

When all the facts are known, the Reagan Administration may well go down in history as the most reactionary and oddest ever to occupy the White House.

But, we should make no mistake about it. As strange, and in some ways as humorous as their beliefs are, when it comes to class politics they are deadly serious. To the Reaganites political power is synonymous with assault on the working class and all working people.

For eight years the Reaganites have operated on the premise that what is good for the transnational corporations (TNCs) is good for the country.

This has meant, in the first place, attempting to drastically weaken U.S. trade unions, to lower wages and benefits, increase the rate of exploitation, and weaken all efforts to stop the massive round of layoffs and plant closings

which are the lifeblood of the TNCs.

Union busting, highlighted by the destruction of the Air Traffic Controllers Union, has been the watchword of the Reagan Administration. Labor law, health and safety regulations, while never adequate, have been virtually gutted by the Reaganites. Most recently they have actually attempted a federal takeover of the Teamsters Union, with its more than one million members.

Let me add here that the Administration's so-called support for trade union rights in Poland must be seen as pure hypocrisy in light of its continued attacks on the rights of unionists at home and in other countries.

Side by side with the assault on labor is the massive arms build-up and the drive for nuclear first strike superiority. Along with the initiation of surrogate contra wars around the world, the arms build-up is an attempt to provide the military "muscle" to protect the TNCs as they ram-page throughout the world.

Similarly, the blatant racism of the Reagan Administration is an attempt to split the working class and render it easier prey to the policies of the TNCs.

All of the powerful resources available to monopoly capital—the courts, the Congress, all structures and institutions of political rule, hundreds of think tanks, the mass media—have been put to the task of strengthening the hand of the TNCs in a world that is basically moving against their interests and rule.

THE EFFECTS OF REAGANISM

Permit me to illustrate with some figures the impact of the Reagan Administration and the TNCs on the life of our people during the past eight years.

During the Reagan years, the average U.S. worker has lost \$2,700 per year in real wages. Afro-Americans have lost 27 percent of their manufacturing jobs and white workers have lost 19 percent of theirs. Presently, in the U.S., over 20 million workers can get only part-time work. Three million of these part-time workers live below the poverty level. As you most likely know,

part-time workers get no paid vacations, no pensions and no health insurance. In fact, the total number of U.S. workers without health insurance of any kind has now reached 37 million. There are presently over 6 million homeless people in the U.S. and 40 million people living in poverty. During the Reagan years, largely due to the greed of the transnationals, over 14 million U.S. workers lost their jobs due to plant closings.

Despite all the present talk of an upswing in the economy, an honest look at the figures shows that the real standard of living of U.S. working people is far lower than commonly thought. For example, the new jobs that Reagan claims are being created, are largely non-union, low paid, and in many cases part-time with no benefits. Gus Hall, in a recent article, states, "There is a basic and long term decline in the standard of living and quality of life in the United States. It has reached the point where . . . some economists are describing the economic situation as America's quiet depression."

He adds, "What is quietly taking place is the gradual death of the American dream."

The corporations are using this general situation to intimidate and pressure workers to accept wage cuts, benefit givebacks, layoffs and cuts in government sponsored social benefits. Hundreds of corporations are using the threat of "foreign" competition, bankruptcy, and plant closings to force concessions and to convince workers that they cannot successfully fight back. And in fact they do shut down plants, many of which were still producing a profit. The reason is that still greater profits can be made elsewhere.

Organized workers took the brunt of these plant closings, because the basic industries which were controlled by the huge international conglomerates were in the main organized. Despite the losses in jobs and working conditions, these organized workers could still see that masses of unorganized workers were even worse off than they. They saw—and in many cases were forced to join—the millions of unorganized workers who were also a disproportionate number of the unemployed, underem-

ployed, homeless and hungry; millions of Americans without any healthcare, unemployment insurance or other benefits.

The distribution of illegal drugs played a special role in the attack. Drugs like crack, cocaine, heroine and marijuana were used to pacify and disorient, especially young workers. According to a Congressional committee the importation of illegal mind-altering drugs has skyrocketed during the Reagan years. Thus in 1980, 24 tons of cocaine came into the U.S. in the course of the year. By 1986 the amount had multiplied six fold, reaching 150 tons per year.

Despite the October 1987 stock market crash, corporate profits have continued their five-year surge. In the third quarter of 1987, U.S. corporate profits rose to \$314.9 billion, up from \$286.4 billion for the third quarter of 1986.

Reagan's tax policy clearly helped this process. While workers must now pay taxes for dire necessities, such as unemployment compensation, corporations are taxed at the lowest rates ever. In 1980, U.S. corporations paid 25 percent of all taxes paid; today they pay only 8.5 percent. Similarly, the rich paid 70 percent of all personal income tax in 1980. Today their share has fallen to only 34 percent. In addition to a decline in the tax rates for the rich, tax loopholes have been preserved and in many cases widened to provide additional tax breaks for the super rich. In many cases these breaks provide new incentives for companies shutting down plants at home and moving abroad.

RISING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Faced with this many-sided attack, a section of the trade union leadership has accepted give-backs and plant closings without a real fight. The majority of rank and file workers, however, have rejected this path and sought, in various ways, to fight against it. Long, militant, and bitter strikes continue to take place all across the U.S. From auto and steel workers to paper and electrical workers, as well as air traffic controllers and flight attendants, militant class confrontations have been taking place. These struggles have not only occurred over the issues of

pay and working conditions, but increasingly, over the issue of preventing plant closings.

In most cases these struggles have been against corporations that sought to break the unions. Aided by U.S. labor law—the corporations simply lockout workers, replacing them with non-union labor. In many cases this is accompanied by the use of police violence. Like working people everywhere, U.S. workers fought courageously even when they knew they might not win. As a result of these experiences the appreciation of labor unity has grown. When a sister union is under severe attack, other unions are now more willing to come to their aid with militant solidarity.

And when workers found they could not win plant-by-plant they organized mass demonstrations and took to the streets. Over half a million trade unionists marched on Solidarity Day, 1981. This was one of the largest mass demonstrations ever in Washington D.C.

The trade union movement has also entered the electoral arena in a new and independent way. In 1984 the strongest anti-Reagan voting block came from labor and the Afro-American community. By 1986, that same combination of voters led the way in handing Reagan his most decisive defeat up to that date, overturning Reaganite control of the Senate and strengthening the anti-Reagan majority in the House of Representatives.

As a result of these struggles, the U.S. labor movement has moved Leftward through the Reagan years. Most U.S. unions, today, oppose the arms race; the majority of them are actively opposing it. This includes such unions as the International Association of Machinists which has many members who are employed in the armament industry.

Most U.S. unions actively oppose apartheid South Africa as well as Reagan's attempt to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Despite the hard opposition of the pro-war, pro-Contra clique in the international department of the AFL-CIO, the last two conventions of the AFL-CIO have gone on record for the Arias plan.

Labor played a key role in organizing the

April 25th, 1987 demonstration against U.S. policy in Central America and South Africa. From this success, which brought together 225,000 people, mostly trade unionists, the Jobs with Justice campaign was initiated by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, along with key civil rights forces.

As a result of this growing activity, the trade unions, encompassing 17 million members, are presently the backbone of the solidarity movement in the U.S.

It is also important to note that the U.S. trade union movement is a multi-racial movement. Of the many racial and ethnic groups that make up the U.S. working class, African-American workers have the highest percentage of unionized workers. It is also important to note that most women in the U.S. are in the work force. Families with more than one wage-earner in the U.S. now outnumber single-earner families. As a result, women are playing an increasing role in the U.S. labor movement.

In the political sphere, the Jesse Jackson campaign has become a major mass vehicle for discontent not only in the African-American community, but for a large sector of labor. As a result, Jackson has received the majority of the trade union vote in most of the primary elections. Significantly, Jackson has been the most forthright in his stand against the transnational corporations. He has called for taxing them at higher rates, as well as limiting their power to close plants and run away to countries with lower wage rates. In his campaign he has advanced many anti-transnational concepts such as U.S. workers' wages should not be lowered to compete with South Korean workers, but rather, South Korean workers' wages should be raised to a livable standard so that both groups of workers will benefit from their labor. Jackson's forthright stand on this and other issues has helped to push Michael Dukakis in a more progressive direction. This is extremely important if Reaganite, George Bush is to be defeated in the November elections.

As a result of the hard struggle against the assaults of Ronald Reagan and the TNCs, new attitudes are emerging in the ranks and lead-

ership circles of U.S. organized labor. While the old isolationist cold war policies are still being pushed by the CIA-backed international Department of the AFL-CIO, most unionists are coming to reject these views. William Winpinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, recently told the IAM convention that contacts with unions in the socialist countries is very important. Speaking of this trip to the Soviet Union and China, he stated, "I visited both of those countries and shook hands with a great many warm and sincere trade unionists . . . please note, my hand did not rot off." They, he said, "share our overriding desire for peace to a degree greater than we do."

Speaking of the atmosphere at the AFL-CIO Executive Council he added, "Frankly, I have grown wary of the endless redbaiting that goes on." The important point is that Winpinger's views are shared by many of the leaders of our country's most powerful trade unions.

As a result of the new developments more union mergers along multi-industrial lines are taking place today. There is also an increase in the election of Left-thinking and Communist unionists to trade union office.

In general, the cold war winds are dying down in the U.S. labor movement.

Many unions are sending and receiving delegations to and from the socialist countries regularly. The head of the ICFTU, John Vanderveken, met with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow to endorse the INF treaty recently.

Also, many U.S. unions are trying to find ways of developing international solidarity against the TNCs. For example, the auto unions, representing Ford workers from 15 countries, organized a World Ford Conference last year in the city of Chicago. They called for a shorter work week and solidarity between the various unions. A good working relationship exists now between the U.S., South African and Soviet miners. There was also a world meeting of unions from 23 countries representing workers at General Electric. The International Union of Electrical Workers which has the largest number of General Electric workers organized in the U.S. has already sent organizers and money to

help organize much lower paid workers in Mexico. There are a number of very important joint solidarity actions taking place between Mexican and U.S. unions. U.S. unions have also organized a very successful boycott of the huge Royal Dutch Shell transnational.

THE VIEW OF THE CPUSA

Comrades, we Communists understand that we must never lose confidence in the working class. Even during the darkest days of Reaganism, our Party maintained that the U.S. working class, despite great odds, could be and would be mobilized to fight reaction. This has proven to be true. Yet despite hard fought struggles, today most strikes against transnational corporations in the United States are lost. These companies are simply too diversified, too spread out, and too economically powerful. As a result these companies are better able to resist the demands of workers from one plant, or one union, or one industry, or one country. To win, unity is needed of workers from diverse industries, unions, countries and trade union federations.

Our Party has been grappling with the problem of plant closing and other terrible effects of transnationalization. We have come forth with many proposals, including public take over of abandoned plants, prior notice, extended pay for workers affected by plant shut-downs and a shorter work week to create jobs.

We are for super taxes on the profits of the TNCs. We are for restrictions on the export of capital and for the right of home-base countries to tax their TNCs.

But none of these proposals are workable or winnable without one very basic and important thing—active working class internationalism on

many levels and many forms. There is a need for new forms in exchanges between trade unions world wide. There is a need for more global solidarity. There is a need for all the workers of a huge transnational to unite on a world scale through conferences, forums, communications and other forms of exchange of information and proposals. There is an urgent need for the workers' and people's movements of the imperialist countries to develop more active, ongoing contacts with the workers' and peoples' movements of countries that are the targets of imperialist aggression. Proletarian internationalism must become a more organized, a more constant and active force.

THE LEADING ROLE OF COMMUNISTS

The struggle against the plunder of the transnationals is so critical that we Communists cannot leave it up to the trade unions alone to come up with solutions. The leading role of the Communist Parties is needed to build the kind of international solidarity necessary to meet the challenge.

Our Party believes that, just as the peoples movements and the trade unions need a new level of unity, the workingclass parties also need a new level of workingclass internationalism and world Communist unity.

Proletarian internationalism is needed now more than ever. As we meet today, comrades, religious groups are holding world meetings, fraternal groups are also meeting, and most important, the capitalists are constantly putting their heads together, world-wide. So why not us?

We don't have to look to the stars to know, with greater unity will come greater victories.

Theses for the 19th Conference of the CPSU

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU

Our country is going through profound revolutionary reforms of historic significance, initiated and organized by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the 27th Congress set the course towards acceleration of social and economic development, towards all-round renovation of Soviet society, towards raising socialism to a qualitatively new level. This innovative strategy was deepened and concretized at the January and June 1987 Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee, during celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, and at the February Plenary Meeting this year. This laid down foundations for the theory and scientific policy of restructuring every aspect of society's life.

The purpose of restructuring or perestroika is fully to reveal the humanitarian nature and constructive vigor of socialism. Attainment of this objective is inseparable from promotion of democracy and openness, from self-management of the people, a radical economic reform, moral cleansing of society and from discovery of the creative potentialities inherent in the free and all-round development of the person.

What are the first results of perestroika? What needs to be done to remove the obstacles, to give a new and powerful impulse to the revolutionary process of renewal, to make it irreversible? The answers to these questions which keenly concern Communists and all Soviet people must be given by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which opens in Moscow on June 28, 1988.

The agenda of the conference is as follows:

1 • Progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the main results of the first half of the Twelfth Economic Plan pe-

This was the historic document submitted for discussion and action at the 19th All-Union Party Conference of the CPSU which opened in Moscow on June 28, 1988.

riod and the tasks of Party organizations in deepening the process of perestroika;

2 • Measures to further democratize the Party and society.

The issues being submitted for the consideration of the conference are of vital significance for the Party and the country. We must give a realistic assessment of what has been done, approach achievement from positions of serious critical and self-critical analysis, see how the decisions we adopted are being carried out, focus on priority issues, sum up positive experience and define the prospects for our advance.

These theses of the CPSU Central Committee are being offered as a platform for discussion.

1 ■ Perestroika has produced a fundamentally new ideological and political situation in society. It has become a reality and is gaining in strength, spreading in width and depth and extending to every stratum and sphere of life of society. The February 1988 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee described the ideological essence of the ongoing processes as a revolution in mentality, as ideological renovation. A salient feature of our time is the appearance of a real pluralism of opinions, open comparison of ideas and interests. Thanks to this, the Soviet people are now in a position more fully to exploit their intellectual and moral potential and to join more vigorously in public life.

The platform of perestroika is politically consolidating the working class, the farmers, the intellectuals, all social forces. The Soviet people, by their work and social activity, are giving increasingly effective support to the revolutionary changes in the country. This is today's main trend in social development, the most important result of perestroika's first stage.

At the same time, perestroika is a conflicting process, proceeding as it does through difficulties and the struggle between the old and the new. Survivals of the conservative and bureaucratic mentality have proved especially tenacious. Adherents of dogmatic concepts of socialism are slow to yield. Attempts are being made to preserve the old, high-handed methods of running the economy and other spheres of life. Without dealing with these negative phenomena, it is impossible to advance further and accomplish the major tasks of perestroika. We must raise the theoretical level of ideological and political work and deepen the creative discussions on the burning issues of socialism. While backing diversity of views, the CPSU Central Committee stresses that discussions can be fertile only if they are carried out on the basis and in the name of socialism. They must not lead to political confrontation, to disunity of social forces, because that would complicate the solution of problems vital for our entire society.

This also applies to many sensitive issues of history, interest in which has grown unusually of late. The Party will consistently conduct its policy of openness and glasnost, of free discussion of problems of our past and present, for only such a policy promotes moral improvement of Soviet society and its cleansing of everything that is alien to its humane nature.

We are by no means indifferent, not only to goals and values of socialism, but also to means of attaining them, to the human price that has to be paid for them. It is our Party and civic duty to rehabilitate those who in the past fell victim to unjustified political accusations and illegality.

We need a constantly operating mechanism for comparing views, for criticism and self-criticism in the Party and society. The undoubted gains of the policy of openness are to be consolidated and multiplied. With the one-party system, which has historically evolved and established itself in this country and is being closely combined today with processes of democratization, this is a matter of vital importance.

A Leninist-type approach is essential here. In condemning factionalism, Lenin was definitively against persecution of his Party comrades

for thinking otherwise. A constant and constructive political dialog, the civilized way of conducting discussions, wide information available on matters of domestic and foreign policy, and study and account of public opinion have to become part and parcel of the Party's life.

2. Matters of economic and social development have featured prominently in the Party's activities since the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee.

The years of stagnation put the country on the brink of an economic crisis. An extensive, spend-away system of economic management fully exhausted itself. Its structure and technical level are at variance with modern requirements. The commandist-administrative methods of management became a serious brake. Production, its efficiency, and living standards of the population ceased to grow. Many social questions were neglected. The finances of the country became seriously disrupted and the sense of responsibility of personnel and labor discipline slackened.

The Party was faced with a difficult task, one of taking the country out of the doldrums, of improving the economic situation, of putting development at the service of the people, of working out and implementing a set of long-term measures to speed attainment of the advanced frontiers of world scientific, technical and economic progress.

As a first step, considerable work was done to introduce elementary order and to tighten discipline in the national economy, to set greater demands on personnel, and to remove the more glaring instances of bureaucratic methods standing in the way of people's normal work.

A practical start was made on implementing a new structural policy, with the emphasis on further scientific and technological progress and modernization of engineering as the basis for raising the technological level of the entire economy. Specific measures of an economic and organizational kind are being taken to raise the quality of products.

To counterbalance the "residual principle"

used in the past in allocating funds for the development of the social sphere, more money was assigned for housing construction and health care, for the development of public education, the strengthening of the material base of culture, and for other social aims. The main stress was placed on the development and real implementation of a radical reform to ensure transition from the predominantly administrative to economic methods of management, on increasing the interest of collectives and individual workers in the results of their work. The laws on the state enterprise (association), on cooperatives, and on individual enterprise, which were adopted, marked major milestones along that road. Large-scale work began across the country to transfer enterprises to profit-and-loss accounting, to progressive forms of organization and stimulation of labor, to self-management. These forms are unfettering the initiative of work collectives, the enterprising spirit of people, prompt them to work with maximum effect, help extirpate wage-levelling in all forms, and are putting the process of democratization on a material foundation.

The Party set the course towards full application of the potential of the collective and state farms through the development of diverse contract forms, establishment of a wide network of cooperatives within the framework of existing farms and in conjunction with other enterprises and branches of the economy.

Certainly, two to three years is not long enough to implement radical economic reforms. We are at an early stage, in a sort of transition period. It is only in this year that the Law on the State Enterprise and other decisions relating to the economic reform have begun to operate, and even they are not functioning at full strength, for they were put into effect in the middle of the five-year period, with old prices, in the absence of wholesale trade in the means of production, in conditions of continuing scarcity of goods. The major programs of technological progress that have been drawn up and put into operation will not bring returns at once.

And still, positive shifts are taking place. The main thing is that we have been able to halt

the growth of negative tendencies that threatened to grow into a crisis situation, to reverse these trends and to create certain prerequisites for further steady advance. This is not only a question of raising the rate of growth in industrial production, in increasing the commissioning of fixed assets and improving other quantitative indicators. The important thing is that these rates have been achieved on a more sound economic basis. For the first time the entire increment in national income last year was obtained through labor productivity. Early encouraging results have appeared in the development of prototypes of modern equipment and technology. There has been some increase in agricultural output.

The situation in the social sphere has changed too. Over the past two years the average monthly wages of industrial and office workers have gone up by almost 6 percent, and labor remuneration of collective farmers, by 8.9 percent. The amount of housing annually completed for tenancy, compared with the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, has grown by 15 million square meters. The death rate has declined and the birth rate has risen, with the measures against alcoholism and drinking contributing to that in no small degree.

Positive results are here to see, but they do not give grounds for speaking about a radical turn in the country's social and economic development. The economic structure is still heavily handicapped, bearing a manifestly spend-away character. Targets for national income growth and resource-saving are not being met. Engineering is developing more slowly than was planned. There is still a shortage of high-quality electronic goods and the most up-to-date construction materials.

Especially intolerable are failures to meet assignments for accelerated growth of consumer goods production. Difficulties remain in food supplies for the population. Targets for increasing the output and raising the quality of consumer goods, for raising goods turnover, have not been achieved. Commodity-money disbalances, and the deficit of the state budget are having a negative effect on current produc-

tion and the course of the reform itself. The potentialities that opened up with the start of the reform are being put to obviously insufficient use. The conference is to look into the causes of that. Evidently, a good deal of the difficulties of changing over from one system of economic management to another, stem from the conservative and backward mentality of some of our economic executives and whole collectives, from a striving to cling to habitual ways and methods, and to live and work in the old way.

One cannot fail to see that measures to implement the economic reform are being, to a considerable extent paralyzed by the bureaucratic position of some ministries and departments, of economic bodies. In many instances, the old ways of administrative diktat are being preserved under a guise of state-placed orders, economic normatives and other new methods of management. Perestroika at the level of branch ministries is clearly behind perestroika at enterprises. In view of this, we must uncompromisingly condemn moves that distort the essence of the economic reform and are directly or indirectly undermining the law on enterprises.

Life is also posing the serious question of the promotion of economic competition as an antidote to monopoly, stagnation and conservatism.

In the context of this situation, the activities of the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, the USSR Ministry of Finance, branch ministries and other Union departments, economic bodies in republics, enterprises and organizations, must be analyzed and assessed. This is especially important in view of the forthcoming transfer of enterprises in all branches to cost accounting and self-financing.

In drawing lessons from the initial stage of perestroika, we must accelerate solution of the problems which decide the full application of the principles of the economic reform. We must accelerate transition to wholesale trade of the means of production, carry out measures to improve the credit and finance system, and prepare carefully and conduct, in good time, a re-

form of prices and pricing. Without that, it is impossible to introduce full cost accounting at enterprises, ensure full autonomy of work collectives, develop the cooperative movement, and raise the efficiency of the economy and ultimately the prosperity of the people. It should be stressed also that revision of retail prices must be done without detriment to the living standards of the population. An effective social policy is one of the chief priorities in the Party's activity. This is why it is vital to highlight the social purpose of economic development while elaborating the 13th Five-Year Plan. Special attention should be given to rapidly meeting Soviet people's need for quality foodstuffs. It is also important that the market gets a big range of quality consumer goods, that a modern sphere of services is created, housing construction accelerated and that existing public health and education programs succeed.

One of the main tasks is to step up the efforts for environment protection and improvement of the ecological situation in the country.

As decided by the 27th CPSU Congress, the number one production task is the program for accelerated development of key mechanical engineering branches, electronics, instrument making, and machine-tool construction. Next year we have to start more resolutely and radically changing structural policy in the field of production and investments and taking rigorous economy and resource-saving measures.

It is quite possible to reach the targets set in the 12th Five-Year Plan and raise our economic and social sphere to a new qualitative level. Hundreds and even thousands of Soviet work collectives have considerably raised labour productivity and achieved world-beating levels under the new conditions of management. Not only individual enterprises and associations but whole branches are keeping the set pace according to all indicators. Thanks to better management, certain regions and republics have performed better than average in food supplies and goods and services for the public. The paramount task of all economic executives and all work collectives is to follow the example of ad-

vanced enterprises, use their experience, eradicate parasitic attitudes, and show their own initiative.

3. Restructuring stipulates the all-round development and maximum use of the intellectual and spiritual potential contained in progressing science, education, and culture.

The Party's economic and social strategy is based on speeding up scientific and technological progress and, first of all, mastering the achievements of its present stage linked with the development of advanced technologies—microelectronics, robotics, informatics, biotechnology—and also the development of materials with preset qualities, instrument making etc.

Positive shifts are taking shape in the development of Soviet science and technology. Higher standards are put on the technological level of products. The terms for introducing up-to-date items into production have been reduced. The network of technological research organizations has become more flexible. There have appeared fundamentally new structural entities: inter-sectoral technological research complexes, engineering centers and task forces. More than 500 research and production associations have been established. Investments in R & D have grown. It is also important that research organizations are becoming an integral part in the system of cost accounting.

But no substantial changes have taken place in scientific and technological progress. Effective mechanisms have not yet been found for reflecting work collectives' interests in this important sphere. The material base of Soviet science continues lagging behind. Many executives still consider only the benefits of the moment and fully rely upon higher-ranking bodies. The mainstream for influencing technological progress lies through restructuring an economic mechanism which is supposed to ensure the steady perfection of production and maintain the quality of items at world-beating levels.

The call of the day is for more resolute measures in perfecting the management of technology and overcoming departmental barriers. In-

ter-sectoral associations that are not directly subordinate to ministries are one of the new organizational forms. They make it possible to ensure strict succession between research, technology and equipment, investments, production, sales and services. Work collectives will be able to more promptly renew equipment and technology without any delays and departmental coordinations.

Technology issues have to be viewed in the general context of social development. The social impact of large-scale projects needs to be carefully studied if we are to avoid grave ecological and moral consequences. The latter must be reduced to a minimum or excluded altogether.

The new tasks facing society at the present stage considerably raise the role of science in all processes of restructuring. The present level of society's development calls for a major breakthrough in all natural, technical, and social sciences. The USSR Academy of Sciences is expected to make a growing contribution to this.

Socialism today cannot successfully develop without advancement in science and technology. This progress coupled with socialism, in turn, becomes a mighty lever for social rejuvenation and onward movement. The humanistic principles of our policy are aimed at ensuring society's spiritual progress and boosting people's cultural and educational standards. Much attention has, in the last three years, been paid to the development of education at all its stages and levels. Problems of restructuring the system of general, specialized, and higher education were examined at the February 1988 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. Our higher and secondary school is lagging far behind the needs of the time and scientific, technological, and cultural progress. Vigorous efforts by all society are needed to assure an improved quality of development.

Ever more favorable conditions are being created, in the course of restructuring, for Soviet culture to advance, for people to sharpen morally and intellectually, for talents to develop and for civil qualities to dominate. Our intellectuals are making a weighty contribution to the accomplishment of these tasks.

Earlier existing and newly-established artistic unions and associations have stepped-up their activity. The artist's responsibility for the destinies of the country has become an even more topical problem.

4. The CPSU's policy for restructuring and speeding up the country's socio-economic development has from the very outset been linked with democratization of Soviet society and affirmation of the people's socialist self-government. Very important shifts have taken place in this respect. Thanks to truthfulness, openness, and greater criticism and self-criticism, the country's life has become more vigorous, democratic processes are being launched in production management and resolute steps are being taken to combat inertia and outdated structures. But what has been done up to now is only a prelude to the accomplishment of an extremely significant and complicated task—profound and all-round democratization of the Party and society. An unbiased analysis of the achievements in the economic, social, and cultural spheres over the past three years and the problems emerging in the course of restructuring testifies to the need for reforming the political system of Soviet society. The aim is to really draw broad sections of the population into running all state and public affairs and to complete the formation of a socialist law-based state.

It is vital to strengthen and develop the fundamental principles of socialist statehood born of the October Revolution. These principles and, first of all, the power of the people with the Communist Party in the vanguard are an indispensable condition for our country's subsequent social progress. Restructuring is called upon to free the political system of Soviet society from all that is linked with the consequences of the personality cult, administrative regimentation, red tape, working people's alienation from government and deviations from the Leninist norms of Party and state life. It should go on dynamically and lead to timely rejuvenation, with due regard for the changing conditions of home and international life.

5. Restructuring presents in a new light the CPSU's role of the guiding and organizing force in Soviet society.

The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the Leninist concept of the Party as the political vanguard of the working class and all working people. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Party is called upon to work out a theory and strategy of social development, home and foreign policy, and the ideology of socialist rejuvenation. It must also carry out political and organizational work among the people and properly educate and place the personnel.

The Party acted in this very way in Lenin's lifetime and under Lenin's leadership. But after Lenin's death, deviations from the Leninist principles started. The freedom of discussion, traditional for the Party, was curtailed. Foundations of collective leadership and inner-Party democracy were violated. This vicious practice remained in the years of stagnation to some extent or other. The absence of limitations on elective offices upset the natural rejuvenation of personnel. Some executives started thinking that they had been appointed to their posts for life. They considered themselves infallible, abused power, and neglected the interests of rank-and-file Party members and working people. Such a situation gravely affected the activity of the CPSU Central Committee, the government, local Party organizations, and all Communists. Party bodies increasingly tackled current economic and administrative management problems, substituting for the Soviets and other state bodies. This had a negative impact on the implementation of the Party's basic functions, weakened its political and ideological influence, and sharpened many social development problems.

The Party had the courage to critically examine the situation. It has launched restructuring and is step by step transforming itself and inner-Party life. One of the most urgent tasks is to establish such political mechanisms and guarantees that would rule out, in the future, possibilities for violating the Leninist principles of

Party leadership in society.

Taking account of the views expressed at Party meetings, in work collectives and in the press, the CPSU Central Committee believes it expedient to consider the following suggestions during the conference:

- To restore in full measure the Leninist understanding of the principle of democratic centralism in accordance with which freedom of debates should be ensured at the stage when issues are discussed; and concerted action ensured after a decision has been passed by a majority.

- To proceed in the relationship between the Party and the state from the Leninist principles of a precise delimitation of their functions. All Party organizations should act in compliance with the Constitution of the USSR and with Soviet laws. Party committees should not pass resolutions addressing direct instructions to state and economic bodies, as well as to public organizations. The CPSU shall steer its political course via Communists working in bodies of state authority in all spheres of society's life.

- Proceeding from the tasks of the CPSU as the political vanguard and from deep-running changes in society, the activities of primary Party organizations should be restructured radically. While remaining the political nucleus of each collective, they should not supplant work collectives and their bodies in the discharge of the functions provided for under the Law on the State Enterprise, the Law on Cooperation and other legislative acts. Acting primarily via Communists and working in the midst of the people, Party organizations should ensure that every work collective copes in full with the functions entrusted to it, and exercises its democratic rights.

- The role of Party meetings, Party committees and every Communist in implementing the decisions of the Party should be reconsidered from that viewpoint. The atmosphere of openness, debates, criticism and self-criticism, Party comradeship and discipline, collectivism and personal responsibility should be restored in full measure. Current developments in the life of Party organizations are proceeding precisely

in this direction. They should be supported and developed in every way.

- Questions of the qualitative composition of the Party ranks and the performance by Communists of their vanguard role are being widely discussed in the Party and society. In this connection the view is expressed that the practice of regulating the growth of Party ranks by "order" runs counter to real requirements of the development of the Party itself and of all society.

The common view is that demands on those joining the Party should be made decisively more exacting so that really worthy people with superior political, moral and business qualities, convinced fighters for the program goals of the Party could join its ranks. The opinion of the work collective concerned absolutely must be taken into consideration.

- To consider during the conference the expediency of conducting in the period before the next CPSU congress the discussion of the social and political posture of every Communist, this being an effective means for self-purification and for making the Party stronger. The discussion of Communists' work at open meetings of Party organizations shall promote activity by them and a personal contribution to the life of their collective and to the cause of perestroika.

- In the light of the experience accumulated since the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, changes should be made in the procedure of forming elected Party bodies. Genuine competition, wide-scale discussion of candidates and voting by secret ballot should become the norm. What matters here is not the post one occupies, but one's ideological, moral and business qualities, one's political authority and one's active stance in advancing perestroika. During the elections to all Party committees Communists shall have the right to nominate a number of candidates exceeding that of the committee membership.

Such a procedure of nomination, discussion and election of Party committee members and secretaries could be applied to the process of forming Party bodies from the level of district and city Party committees to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the

union republics and at the CPSU Central Committee level.

- All Party committees starting at the district and city level shall be elected for a standard term of 5 years. Simultaneously a Communist shall not hold an elected post in the CPSU for more than two terms in a row. Election for a third term in a row shall be possible only on the initiative of Communists and shall require a preliminary decision on admission to the elections. Such a decision shall be passed by no less than three-fourths of the membership of the Party committee concerned. The voting shall be by secret ballot.

- Special responsibility in affirming the Party as the political vanguard rests with the CPSU Central Committee. It should develop and consolidate in every way the principles of collective leadership in its work so that all members of the Central Committee can participate in deciding principal questions related to the political course of the Party on a basis of wide-scale discussion. The Conference is to consider possible suggestions concerning new forms of collective work of the Central Committee members in-between Plenums. All that should eventually be directed toward enhancing the role of the Party's Central Committee.

- To provide for the possibility of a partial replacement of Central Committee members in between Congresses and assure a continuing inflow of fresh forces. Decisions on this score should be made by a qualified majority. Voting should be by secret ballot.

- To introduce the necessary structural and personnel changes in the Party with due account of the Party's growing role as the political vanguard and with due account of delimiting the functions of Party committees from those of state and economic bodies. The principle of strict subordination and accountability of Party functionaries to elected Party bodies should be followed, while bureaucracy, communist conceit and unwarranted secrecy in Party life should be fought decisively.

- The Party's personnel policy demands serious renewal in the conditions of democratization. a formal approach to the selection and dis-

tribution of cadres is becoming outdated. The organization of cadre training and retraining, cadre education and the recommendation of both Communists and non-Party people for ranking posts should become the principal method of work of Party committees. Election results should determine the final settlement of personnel questions. It is expedient to consider during the conference the question of improving control and auditing work in the Party. At present the Party has the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and the Party Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee. The suggestion is made that there should be one body in the future which should be elected by the Party Congress to oversee the compliance of Communists with the demands of Party discipline and of the CPSU rules and monitor the financial and economic activity of Party bodies.

All these proposals should be directed toward a consistent observance of the democratic principles of Party life, enhance a spirited character of the Party and its ability to lead the process of revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and set the pace of perestroika.

6. The main guideline for making our society and state more democratic is restoration, in full measure, of the role and powers of the Soviets of People's Deputies as plenipotentiary bodies of popular representation.

Lenin discovered in the Soviets, born of the experience of the revolutions in Russia, a political form according with the nature of socialism. Being representative bodies of power and organizations with a mass public membership, the Soviets organically combine the principles of statehood and self-government. Having an immense democratic potential, they have demonstrated their viability and corroborated the correctness of Lenin's discovery.

At the same time, we notice serious shortcomings in the work of the Soviets and the dissatisfaction of the working people with their performance. As a result of known deformations, the rights and powers of the representative bodies have been curtailed and they remain

under unwarranted tutelage from Party committees. In many cases, ministries and departments decide matters of economic and social development over their heads. Not infrequently executive committees and officials employed by them usurp functions of the Soviets, while deputies are left to sanction pre-cooked decisions. It is vital to change this situation radically and reinstate the Soviets in their real governing powers by turning over to them all specific questions of state, economic, social and cultural life for consideration and decision.

Material and financial possibilities of local Soviets should be substantially broadened. It is important to ensure the formation of local budgets on the basis of long-term norms with emphasis made primarily on augmenting budget receipts of local Soviets from enterprises and economic agencies located on their respective territories. Local bodies of state authority should be made fully responsible for and independent in deciding matters related to the development of their respective territories. Broad use should be made of profit-and-loss accounting, contractual and other forms of relations with enterprises and agencies, no matter to whom the latter are subordinated. Consistent efforts should be made to preclude intervention by higher bodies of state authority and management agencies in the process of making decisions within the competence of local Soviets situated lower down the line, and also to preclude numerous unnecessary coordinations.

The correct relationship between local Soviets and councils of work collectives acquires special importance. The basic premise here is that a Soviet of People's Deputies coordinates the drafting and implementation of plans for social development of enterprises, collective and state farms, the promotion of democratic principles in production management and defence of the interests of the population from what Lenin described as excessive departmental zeal.

Changes in the functions of the Soviets and the need for a more careful and competent study of questions shall make it essential to extend the duration of their sessions. A number of deputies should be relieved, either for the entire

duration of their term or periodically, from their official and production duties so that they could work in the Soviets, standing commissions and constituencies.

The Soviets should work in an atmosphere of the greatest possible openness. Members of the general public and media representatives should be free to attend their meetings, and the electors and public should be kept systematically informed about the results of their work.

Genuine primacy of Soviets over executive bodies should be ensured. It should be stipulated that officials employed by executive bodies accountable to a given Soviet cannot simultaneously be deputies to that Soviet. This rule should be applied to persons making up the Council of Ministers of the republics and, with only a few exceptions, to members of the All-Union government, as well as to judges, state arbiters and procurators. Officials should be appointed to executive bodies by the Soviets, and as a rule only after standing commissions make corresponding conclusions to this effect.

Local Soviets (with the exception of those at village and settlement levels) should establish presidiums that could concern themselves with organizing the deputies' work, coordinating the activities of standing commissions and deputies' groups and which, in-between sessions, could supervise the work carried out by executive committees. It is expedient to concentrate the attention of executive committees on economic, administrative and executive functions.

To ensure better continuity and efficiency of deputies, the standard term of all Soviets of People's Deputies in the country should be fixed at five years.

The transfer of power in its entirety, from the bottom through the top, presupposes that the role of the country's supreme body of authority should grow radically. In its structure and activities due account should be taken of the accumulated experience of the functioning of our political system, including the procedure of work of Soviets' congresses and of the Central Executive committee of the USSR—a practice that took shape under Lenin. Various versions and suggestions are possible here. Some

of them have already been put forth during the current debates: on extending the duration of sessions of the supreme body of authority; on delimiting precisely the powers and making up for the lack of functional individuality of the chambers; on electing a number of deputies directly from public organizations that make up the political system of our society, and so forth.

To observe the Leninist principles of state life, a rule shall be introduced according to which no one may hold an elective government post for more than two terms, i.e. for ten years. Election for a third term running can take place on deputies' initiative, with obligatory preliminary decision on allowing the nominee to run for elections, taken by no less than 75 per cent of deputies of the Soviet involved, by secret ballot.

The constitutional premise shall be strictly observed that one person may not be deputy of more than two Soviets at a time.

The necessity to dramatically enhance the role of Soviets requires an election system reform to guarantee free nomination of candidates, and wide and multi-sided discussion of the nominees at public meetings and in the mass media.

Elections must naturally proceed from the will of the voters, who give preference to principled, efficient and dynamic persons able to become worthy representatives of the people in Soviet state bodies and to express the whole range of the people's social, ethnic and occupational interests.

The new conditions enhance the role of the Soviet government, the supreme executive and administrative state body, in exercising domestic and foreign policies, governing the country, and the elaboration and implementation of plans and long-term programs for economic, social and cultural development.

The conference shall pay due attention to the restructuring of the state management system, with account for the democratic change under way in the Soviet community, and the radical economic reform. The formation of economic, organizational and legal conditions for efficient performance of all offices and organizations shall become the main purpose of the

work of state bodies. The structure of the apparatus and the number of its officials must be brought into line with those functions, with unnecessary sections abolished. The performance of management bodies needs strict supervision by Soviets, the People's Inspectorate and community activists to do away with command and pressure management, the bureaucratic spirit and red tape. Wide publicity and openness in management are also highly effective here.

Perestroika and democratic change in the Soviet community requires the Leninist principles of organizing the inspection to be fully implemented, to become a genuine, truly efficient vehicle of direct and immediate participation by workers, peasants, intellectuals and representatives of all other social strata in the running of state and social affairs. It seems expedient, in this connection, to set up a unified system of state and public inspection under elective ruling bodies. Supported by its groups in work collectives and territorial units, such a system can largely promote the implementation of current national tasks.

7 [□] The restructuring of the political system requires timely measures, discussed and adopted, to further improve the Soviet federation. The brilliant results of the Leninist nationalities policy over the 70 Soviet years are evident to all. We have done tremendous, historic work to overcome inter-ethnic strife, guarantee the right of nations to self-determination, revive and encourage ethnic cultures and boost the progress of what used to be backward national outskirts. A unified national economic complex has taken shape and functions successfully as the material basis for the unity of Soviet peoples.

Practice has shown, at the same time, that inter-ethnic relations require constant attention, as does the progress of every ethnic entity. A political line to satisfy all ethnic communities' interests and promote their rapprochement and mutual aid, alongside an internationalist ideology incompatible with nationalism and chauvinism, provide the basis for the solution of inter-ethnic issues.

All Soviet constituent republics and autonomous units have built on their economic, cultural and manpower potentials. Ethnic awareness is duly growing. The independence of constituent and autonomous republics and other ethnic administrative units must go hand-in-hand with their responsibility for national state interests. Herein lies the way to further progress of ethnic communities, to closer friendship between them, and the consolidation of the Soviet nation. Herein is our strength and the earnest of prosperity for the Soviet Union as a whole and for every ethnic entity.

Decentralization and concession of as many management duties as possible to local bodies fully concern every form of Soviet ethnic entities' statehood and autonomy, with strict observation of constitutional premises and the Soviet legislation, which guarantee the rights of constituent and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national districts. Political institutions whose duty it is to spotlight ethnic interests and bring them into mutual accord shall grow more active. That is a topical demand.

Ethnic entities which have no statehood and no territorial units of their own are entitled to more possibilities to express and satisfy their demands.

Inter-ethnic issues shall be settled on the basis of genuine democracy, in the spirit of perestroika. Such is the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee. Whatever their ethnic background, Communists have always been the heart and the cementing force of the great socialist union of Soviet peoples: a sublime and responsible mission, which will remain just as vital in the future.

8 ■ The process of consistent democratic change in the Soviet community will complete the formation of the law-based socialist state as a form of organization and workings of political rule which fully corresponds to socialism and socialist democracy. Legality, supreme and triumphant, which expresses the people's will, is the pivot of such a state. State and Party bodies, mass organizations, work collectives,

and all officials and private persons shall proceed from strictly observed legality in all their actions.

As we add the concept "law-based" to the characteristics of our state, which belongs to the whole people, it should be emphasized once again that the state is responsible to its citizens, just as they are responsible to the state. Constant concern with strengthening the guarantees of Soviet citizens' rights and freedoms is the duty of the state. The latter premise pertains to further extension of social rights (to work, leisure, education, health protection, social security etc.) whose harbinger the Soviet Union has been for the whole world. It also implies material and juridical conditions for the exercise of constitutional freedoms (freedom of speech, the press, conscience, assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations etc.) and firmer guarantees of personal rights, such as the inviolability of the person and the home, and privacy of correspondence and telephone conversations, to name but few.

We must make further headway along those lines to implement all intrinsic potentials of socialist society and eradicate the distortions and deformations we owe to deviations from the Leninist principles of statehood and to authoritarian government methods alien to the socialist system.

With this end in view, a deep-going juridical reform is necessary. It is called upon to radically improve the work of all bodies whose duty it is to consolidate legality and protect the democratic principles of statehood, and citizens' rights and freedoms. The first priorities of that reform include dramatic enhancement of the role of justice, and strict observance of democratic principles in court procedure, of contestation of the judicial process, and of the principle of equality of the parties, of publicity and presumption of innocence. There is a noteworthy proposal to increase the number of people's assessors (jurors) for especially important cases.

Procurator's offices need new work patterns, which would correspond to Leninist concepts, to efficiently observe unified application of laws, firmly protect Soviet citizens' rights and

interests and safeguard the observance of state and social discipline. Judges, public prosecutors and investigators shall have guarantees against any pressure or interference with their work. They are subordinate to the law—the law alone.

Legality will also be strengthened by a resolute increase in the militia's responsibility for combating crime and misdemeanors, by increasing the competency of state arbitration bodies and encouraging the activities of the bar. Juridical services in the national economy require major improvements, as does the organization of universal legal education.

The improvement and codification of Soviet legislation demands a vast and concerted effort. On the one hand, outdated laws and numerous departmental instructions running counter to the demands of economic and political reforms have become part and parcel of the braking mechanism and have to be cancelled. On the other hand, we need a set of new laws to promote the interests of the people, their collectives and organizations. To update Soviet legislation, we must firmly adhere to the following principle: everything is permissible unless prohibited by the law.

9 For the political system of socialism to function meaningfully it must rely on a ramified network of public organizations which will express and satisfy the interests of various social, professional and age-based groups.

The trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives and other public organizations, research associations and artistic unions are called upon to vigorously contribute to perestroika in all of its areas, restructure themselves and reassess their standing in society and the role they play and tap their potential to the full in the new conditions.

Perestroika brought into existence women's and veterans' associations, the Soviet Culture Foundation and the Children's Fund and many public initiative bodies. These came as expression of the workers' patriotic sentiments, of their desire to immediately contribute to the revolutionary renewal of society, ensure broader access to the values of the national and world cul-

tures, improve the life of the people and protect the environment and historical values.

Talking about public organizations, we cannot but see that formalistic and bureaucratic attitudes are still there. Attempts have been made to contain independence of such organizations and order them about. There are efforts to make public organizations into state-run agencies and overstaff them. This is something that destroys public initiative.

The main avenue of progress for public organizations is creative initiative of rank-and-file people and encouragement of self-government. As more democracy is introduced inside public organizations, steps should be devised to give them a bigger say in the political process. They should use their right to initiate bills, send representatives to the bodies of power, be partners of the state in pursuing social programs, in solving the problems of housing construction, health care, labor, social security, education, leisure, provision of amenities, trade, day-to-day life, etc.

There is a need to formulate right now a legal basis for the operation of public organizations, voluntary societies and independent associations. The political criterion to go by is that any public activity should be recognized as long as it stays within the Constitution and does not jeopardize the progress of our Soviet socialist society.

10 The Soviet perestroika effort has emerged as a world factor. Capable of promoting peace by definition, it needed a foreign policy that would adequately express its humanistic essence, call for more democracy in our international ties, and for a new role for this country where the international division of labor is concerned.

A critical analysis of the past has been made to show that our foreign policy, likewise, did not escape dogmatic and subjective attitudes. It trailed behind fundamental changes that occurred in the world and missed chances to reduce tensions and enhance understanding among nations. In our bid for military-strategic parity we occasionally failed to use opportuni-

ties available to attain security for our nation by political means, and, as a result, allowed ourselves to be lured into an arms race, which could not but affect this country's social and economic progress and its standing on the international scene.

The foreign policy for perestroika relies on a new mode of thinking, one that is consistent and based on research and free from historically hackneyed stereotypes. The new mode of thinking reflects the realities of the modern world, versatile and controversial as it is, a world that questions the very survival of humanity and yet contains a formidable potential for coexistence, cooperation, and a quest for political solutions to urgent issues.

The new political thinking has made it possible to advance a number of major ideas that have captivated an alarmed world. The main ones are a program for stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, a system of comprehensive security, freedom of choice, a balance of interests, a "common European home", a program to overhaul relations in Asia and the Pacific, defense sufficiency and a non-offensive doctrine, international economic security, buildup of national and regional security through arms cuts, readiness to mutually put an end to the presence of foreign troops and bases in alien territory, confidence measures, an idea for direct involvement of the authority of science in world politics.

Such is our creed in foreign policy. We have announced it without imposing any conditions or dogmas on anyone. We have announced it, inviting everybody to participate in joint reflection and quest and we do it on the basis of national and humanity's interests.

In disarmament we have offered far-reaching decisions and shown readiness to compromise in a major way. This has enabled such significant breakthroughs to happen as the Geneva summit and, especially, the Reykjavik summit. These two meetings broke the deadlock on the process of negotiations and made a heavy impact on the entire international climate.

The whole style of our foreign policy has changed. Its distinguishing feature is dialog.

There is an unprecedented intensity of contacts at a leadership level with the outside world as represented in heads of state and ordinary citizens. This has signified a "fresh discovery" of the Soviet Union. And for us—feedback, a chance to know and understand better the world and correspondingly build our policy, furthering the formation of international relations which are civilized and contemporary.

The priority trend is with the socialist countries. Together with our friends we have set about a comradely clean-out of the encrustations of formal attitudes and showiness, and in action have linked the principles of equitableness, independence and non-interference with the objective reality of the multitude of national forms in socialist society. Our internationalist contacts are built on a basis of mutual benefit, a balance of interests, common responsibility for the destinies and prestige of socialism, and augmentation of its role in world development.

Over the years of perestroika, relations have been improved or inaugurated with a large number of states, neighboring and remote. And with none of these have relations been marred.

We have stated anew our inter-relations with such eminent forces influencing the world process as the Communist and social-democratic parties (among others), the non-aligned movement and intellectual quarters embodying the authority of science and culture.

Events have shown that the new political outlook correctly reflects the urgent requirements and imperatives of the modern world. It has evoked hope, opened the road to a major break-through in human conscience and increases the real thrust of public opinion in the world.

The arrival of the new outlook in international politics has been crowned with big practical achievements. The INF Treaty was signed and the Geneva Agreements have initiated the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan.

The definite improvement in Soviet-American relations, symbolized by the summit meetings, gives grounds to reckon on a fundamental turn toward eradicating the nuclear threat. The multilateral process of negotiations which we

have actively promoted is bringing near a ban on chemical weapons and opening up an opportunity to ease the dangerous confrontation between the two most mighty military alliances—the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty—and to reduce conventional forces in Europe.

We are not casting aside the militarist danger which lurks in the essence of imperialism. Soviet defence construction is defined by this and its efficiency henceforth should be supplied by parameters of quality in technology and personnel alike. The realities of the contemporary world and permutations of objective factors born of war lead us to think that the security of states will increasingly be removed from military correlations to the sphere of politics with pre-eminence for law, human morality and fulfilment of international obligations.

The radical economic reform and our new approach to commerce have produced the first shoots needed for more efficient involvement of our country in the world economy.

The three years of perestroika allow us to respond to the paramount question worrying our people and the nations of the world. Will we turn back the threat of war? Yes, certainly. The direct threat of a war involving the major powers has diminished. The international position of the Soviet Union has markedly improved—through heightened trust in our country rather than an increase in might. The world situation has acquired more stability and predictability. More real is the prospect of bridling the arms race with all its consequences. The burden of military expenditure will decline.

An opportunity has opened to offset the

threat to peace on a broader social and political basis than ever. A chance to lay the ground and have global problems resolved in conjoint efforts by the world community. The Communist Party will actively and persistently act for these goals.

The path to a brand new state of society and a new face for socialism lies through revolutionary restructuring and democratization in the ideological, economic and social spheres, through reform in the political system.

We must reproduce, in full deep significance, the principles of scientific socialism whereby a person's actions rather than words are the main factor in material and cultural development and are the goal he sets himself.

The Party will build its policies with distinct orientation on the humanitarian principles and targets of socialism, and will seek to accomplish this by humanitarian and democratic means.

Naturally, real life and the dialectics of societal development will add plenty of new aspects to current ideas about the ways to socialist reforms, allowing us to clarify and enrich them. Several questions will require amendments to the USSR Constitution and legislation, and some new decisions at a Party congress.

Advancing these considerations for discussion, the Central Committee anticipates active participation by Communists and all workers. This will enable the 19th All-Union Party Conference to adopt well-considered measures which will speed resolute onward progress and confirm perestroika as revolutionary and irreversible. □

The Bechtel Story

Friends in High Places: The Bechtel Story: The Most Secret Corporation and How it Engineered the World, by Laton McCartney, Simon and Schuster, 1988, 273 pp., \$19.95

This is a case study of the degeneracy of state monopoly capitalism in the United States. Bechtel is the "largest engineering and construction company in the world." (p. 12) Their "building of Boulder Dam—later to be renamed for Herbert Hoover—changed the face of the American West forever. Power from its mighty turbines electrified cities as far away as Phoenix and Los Angeles, while its water, carried by aqueduct, filled Palm Springs swimming pools and transformed the Imperial Valley from parched desert into one of the richest agricultural areas of the world." (p. 43) The Bechtel family itself is high on the roster of California's powerful bourgeois elite.

Bechtel will be inevitably linked in history with the Republican Party and the Reagan Administration specifically. George Schultz, Caspar Weinberger, Philip Habib, W. Kenneth Davis (deputy secretary of Energy) are among the more well-known links between the two. Neither were they missing from the Nixon Administration: CIA Director Richard Helms, advisor Peter Flanigan, Atomic Energy Commission general manager Robert L. Hollingsworth, Treasury Secretary William Simon emerged through Bechtel's portals. Even a Cordell Hull worked for Bechtel—not FDR's Secretary of State but his cousin.

Though Reagan and company constantly prate about "getting the government off the back of the people" and "welfare cheats," Bechtel has grown rich off the government treasury and has shovelled in millions via "cost overruns."

Bechtel is one of the most anti-Semitic cor-

porations in this country. Says McCartney, "The exclusion of Jews from Bechtel projects was quietly sanctioned by the State Department, which at the time did not employ Jews in Saudi Arabia either." (p. 87) This occurred in the late 1940's but this tendency has not dissipated since. During the Ford Administration the Justice Department investigated charges that Bechtel discriminated against its Jewish employees. Other complaints were made by the Anti-Defamation League.

Bechtel crossed swords with the Zionists when it avidly backed the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia. Before that Bechtel was a prime fundraiser for former Texas Governor John Connolly's abortive race for the presidency. This former Nixon Cabinet member saw his campaign collapse when on October 13, 1979 he "called on Israel to abandon the West Bank, return the strategic Golan Heights to Syria and give up its exclusive sovereignty in Jerusalem." (p.214)

Bechtel is an arrogant corporation. As a youth, Steve Bechtel literally got away with murder as he ran down three pedestrians, killing two of them and seriously injuring the third—and didn't spend a day in jail. (p. 47) Since then these corporate desperados have routinely bribed officials to get contracts and generally treated the law as an unnecessary nuisance. (pp. 140 and 209)

With all this it should come with little surprise that Bechtel is a racist corporation. While building Boulder Dam in the 1930's, it refused to employ Blacks until the government applied pressure. Even then only a few tokens were hired for the most dirty and dangerous posts. But they were not provided housing at the company site and had to make a 30-mile drive twice daily from Jim Crow Las Vegas. (p. 41)

In the 1970s about a thousand Afro-Ameri-

cans brought a massive discrimination suit against Bechtel. When it built the Washington, D.C. Metro, local Black leaders complained that there was only token hiring in the 75-plus percent Black city.

Apartheid has a friend at Bechtel. It invested in South African mines and engineered the reinstatement of nuclear cooperation between Pretoria and Washington during the early days of the Reagan Administration. (p. 227)

Bechtel's views on women's rights have been of the 18th century variety. In April 1979 it was forced to settle a multi-million dollar sex discrimination suit in an action brought by 6,400 female employees—80 percent of the home office's female work force; fewer than 10 percent of managerial and professional jobs were held by women.

Above all, Bechtel is anti-labor. It has broken strikes continually, even using goon squads and has been a gigantic violator of occupational safety and health standards. When the 8-mile long Bay Bridge linking Oakland and San Francisco was built by the corporation, 47 people died on one day alone. In building many Mideast projects Bechtel was accused of administering regular beatings, forced labor and general abuse of Arabs, including depriving them of water." Bechtel has not hesitated to summarily fire thousands of workers at the slightest whim in this highly cyclical business.

Despite its free enterprise rhetoric, much of Bechtel's fortune has been accumulated by looting from government coffers. Together with one of its corporate partners, future CIA Director John McCone, Bechtel made a fortune during World War II: "Steve Bechtel and John McCone had grossed well over \$100 million. Their net investment was considerably less than \$400,000." (p. 70).

Bechtel's ties to Nixon proved particularly lucrative; it turned the Export-Import Bank into a private playground: "They are the initiators of these proposed projects, and, having worked out an arrangement that is to their satisfaction, they come to the U.S. government and apply for a large federal subsidy through the Export-Import Bank for federal guarantees of private capital outlays." (p. 162) Naturally, all this is facilitated by the "revolving door" of government bureaucrats joining Bechtel after handing over government money.

Inevitably Bechtel and the CIA have been quite friendly. During many foreign ventures company executives have routinely reported to Langley, Virginia on their findings. They have provided cover abroad for CIA personnel. They have been accused of participating in coups in Syria and Indonesia. (pp. 115 and 119) Their virtual alliance with Saudi Arabia has helped to anchor that large nation in a morass of reaction. They have been a prime mover in the dangerous game of nuclear proliferation as well. Today they are greedily eyeing potential Star Wars contracts.

With its many projects abroad Bechtel is a prime target at which workers and peace forces could aim their protests. This trans-national outlaw has been a bulwark of support for Reaganomics and the abject misery it has wrought globally. The fact that its U.S. female and Black employees have been able to successfully bring it to book for its discriminatory transgressions is a sure signal that Bechtel is far from being impregnable. What better present to give the senile cowboy as he rides out West into the sunset than to exact more determined blows against what has been termed Ronald Reagan's "favorite corporation." □

Gerald Horne

Dear Reader

This is a message about the rising price of producing a publication like *Political Affairs*. But relax, we're not about to announce a price increase. We just want to explain to you how we're going to avoid a price increase.

Here are the basic facts:

On the one hand, we haven't raised the price of *Political Affairs* for twelve years, since 1976. How many things can you say that about?

We have not increased the price, and we would not except as a last resort. Keeping *Political Affairs* affordable is a sort of compact we have with our readers. We won't do anything that will create barriers to more people getting the vital material we (and often *only* we) publish.

On the other hand, the cost of just about everything that goes into this magazine, the prices we must pay, have gone up. This is particularly true of the three P's of our industry: paper, printing and postage.

The price increases in these categories alone have left us without an adequate budget to promote the circulation of *Political Affairs* or introduce more graphics or do other things we have in mind to improve the magazine's readability.

How do you pay higher bills without increasing your income? The solution is to reduce costs. We have already taken most cost-reduction steps which are available, including doing our own typesetting.

But we can substantially reduce our printing and binding costs by changing to a self-cover format, in which the magazine cover is the same paper as the inside pages. The number of text pages will be reduced, but the page size will be increased slightly, so you will not be deprived of a single inch of copy.

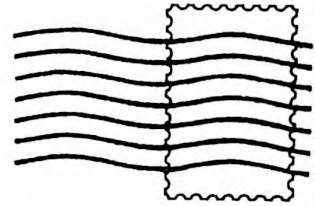
Using this printing process for the cover will enable us to introduce a third color on the cover, which would otherwise have been prohibitively expensive. We also plan to seize this opportunity to introduce a new and bolder nameplate for *Political Affairs*.

The new format will begin next month. We hope you'll like what you see. And be reminded, too, that we need your own continued financial support to produce the kind of magazine you want and the progressive movement needs.

PA Editorial Board

Letters

Political Affairs
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New York, NY 10011



MORE ON EDUCATION

In discussing the statement of the National Teachers Commission on the crisis in education, Judith Albert's letter in the March issue clarifies many important aspects of the question.

However, there are some aspects of her letter with which I would like to take issue. Albert emphasizes more than once that her main concern is "the central idea that the public schools in our country exist—now as always—to serve the needs of the system which sustains them."

This formulation on "the system" conceals more than it reveals. The "system" is not classless. The capitalist system is not the same as the "capitalist class." Yet, the context of Albert's formulation is to view "the system" as the capitalist ruling class, that is, to ignore or to give passing reference to the working class, class struggles and working class aspirations.

Public schools *do not* exist because the ruling class wanted them. It is well documented that public schools exist because working people, going back two centuries, demanded them. Under the leadership of organized labor in coalition with pro-education forces, labor

parties were formed in many cities and engaged in independent labor political action to bring about legislation providing for free, public schools as a right, open to all without regard to income or class status.

The gains won from these struggles were later reinforced and expanded by the struggles for equality by racially oppressed people and women. The ruling class bitterly opposed public schools and continues to oppose equal, quality, integrated education today. Not only were they opposed to a then, new principle of public responsibility, they also opposed labor's attempt to relate the struggle for public education to the fight to end child labor, cheap wage rates and for the shorter work day.

The fact that policies and curricula of public education have been geared to the narrow class needs of business should not obscure the working class roots of public education and the working class stake in its fate. The direction of public education is tied to issues having to do with legislation and the electoral process. The winning of quality multi-racial education for all, without

elitism and discrimination, from child care to to the university, is dependent on unity.

One-sided "system theorists," whom Albert seems to echo, see only a reflex action between ruling class ownership of the means of production, and ruling class domination of public schools. They limit themselves to depicting the framework of the capitalist system under which public and higher education exist. They do not recognize a working class role in class struggle. The deadend character of such a frozen analysis is made clear by Gus Hall's formulation that class struggle is at the center of "a law-governed process that moves inexorably in a forward progressive direction," with the working class as the propellant on "the winning side of class struggle."

The *Trade Union Program* of the CPUSA reinforces this estimate by its position that "only the trade union movement has the organizing strength and capabilities to lead a broad democratic movement to defend and strengthen public education." Ruling class tactics of moving into control of public education may obscure class struggle but do not eliminate it.

B. Koval clarifies the knot of

class contradictions involved in the ruling class taking over working class gains and movements such as public education. He points out that, "accumulating considerable experience over the years, the capitalists have learned to maneuver and adjust their policies to the workers' movements and it not infrequently happens that they try to turn some of the workers' demands to their own profit."

The one-sidedness of Albert's formulation is indicated by her ascribing to "the system," the "sustaining" of public education. This is like ascribing labor gains that depend on unity, organization and struggle, to the "capitalist system." A glance at Reaganite Secretary of Education Bennet's proposal to transfer 10 percent of public school pupils to parochial schools will show just how much "the system" is "sustaining" public education as well as the U.S. Constitution. Another indication of the capitalist brand of sustenance of public education is the big business "adopt a school" fraud—the occasional trifling charitable handout to public school as a substitute for the full funding of public schools based on the justifiably heavy taxing of corporate wealth and the halt to bloated military expenditures. Elitism, racism and discrimination in public and higher education also expose the realities of education under capitalism left to the tender mercies of "the system."

As the Commission

statement points out, upward mobility under "the system" is earmarked for select "achievers." The mass of multi-racial working class youth are considered as "throwaways"—as military pawns, drop-outs or members of the reserve army of the unemployed and candidates for subminimum wage-rate jobs. Most working class youth are slotted for programs that limit them to the three r's and in many cases, rampant functional illiteracy. The much-touted, Shanker-blessed Carnegie educational reform has not aided the learning of at least 80 percent of enrolled pupils, to say nothing of the drop-outs.

It is not enough to accommodate to the fact that the ruling class will support education only to the extent of its workforce-needs in the economy. The working class internationally does not accept the transnational syndrome of deindustrialization and superexploitation. It cannot accept deindustrialization as a reason for decimated, two-tier

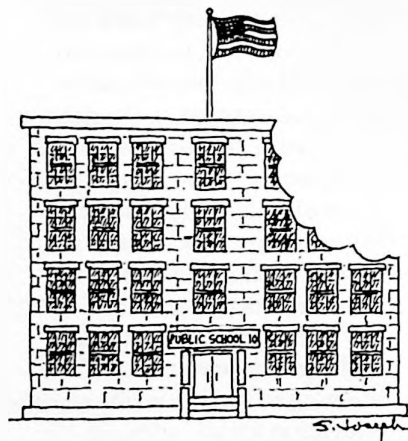
public education. Instead, the structural crisis calls for expanded, improved public education with comprehensive quality, integrated education for all, with job retraining programs tied to productive jobs at union rates.

The multi-racial working class, not the capitalist ruling class, is the decisive force in the gaining, upholding, improving, expanding and democratizing of education. This is so because gains, in public education or otherwise, are not handed to the working class on a platter without struggle.

Education, culture and ideology have vital roles in this struggle. The interests of the working class require the defeat of Reaganism and the privatizing schemes in public education. Because of its position in relation to production, only the working class can lead the way to the radical measures needed to deal with the interrelated crises in the economy and in education. Only the working class can lead the way to the forging of the broad coalition needed to intervene in education on policy-making, curricula, legislative and electoral levels.

Intervention by the working class and the labor movement can take various forms, such as:

1. the election of labor and racially oppressed people's representatives to boards of education;
2. the demand for elected school boards;
3. the demand by labor with boards of education and



university trustees to discuss educational policies, curricula, affirmative action, the needs of working class students and full funding of modernized, advanced equal, integrated education;

4. initiatives by labor and community allies for mass mobilizing conferences to mount broad mass struggles for peace-time budgets that will enable full federal, state and local funding of equal, quality, integrated education.

These struggles will encounter the need to face the limitations of progress within the capitalist framework and point to the need for a transition to socialism and basic solutions for the crises of decaying military monopoly capitalism.

The projection by the Commission's statement, to "wrest" the school system from the ruling class, to become a service to the interests and needs of the vast majority—in the first place, the workingclass; its pointing to the struggle against racism and elitism; and its highlighting of the special mobilizing and unifying role of Communist school workers, trade unionists and community activists, are valuable contributions to the unfolding struggle.

GEORGE FISHMAN,
Highland Park NJ

THE UNDERCLASS AND UNITY

I have read over two of the articles Tony Monteiro authored under the titles, "Wilson's Apologies for Racism" and "The New Black Conservatives, Monopoly's Hired Guns" in the March and February issues of *Political Affairs*. I have found the articles informative and useful. They cover an area I had not considered before. I say "not considered" as I have some small background in American business, and I have not seen texts by many of the persons Monteiro discusses.

It is very interesting to see apologies for racism coming to the fore at this point. Monteiro points to the very ills affecting sections of the intelligensia, a section of whom are capitulating to the owners of capital in the United States. It is very eddifying to see critiques of such confusers.

It is surprising to see responses to the fight against racism and to conservative Right-wingers in the United States by workers. In some ways, the newer diversion is connected with older mythologies prevalent in the 1950s and early 1960s. Ruling class mythologies, stating oppressed peoples consistently and continuously create ghettos and slums, confuse some, including oppressed peoples. Some forms of racial mythology are still heard on shop floors, (especially from upper management) particularly in so called "softer" areas of work,

such as human services, mental health, and general counseling.

As one myth of capital is confronted and crushed, others confront us. These too must be fought into extinction. Monteiro's article is the beginning of such a fight on this new set of myths.

Now directly on the article, ". . . Apologies . . ." Nathan Glazer's position is stated as ". . . the theoretical foundation of neo-liberalism." We need more contrasting items (such as this) to gain a better understanding of differences between Communist positions and the positions of liberals and neo-liberals.

Also for Wilson, we really must state exactly why he claims he is a social democrat and why we as Communists concretely pose him as a social democrat. People who haven't come into contact with Wilson's missives need to know the qualitative similarities and dissimilarities—not so much with a model social democrat, but with the concrete views of social democracy.

At the other end of the debate, are we to ultimately judge Wilson's policies as somewhat "good" or somewhat "bad" only to end up supporting Wilson against some greater evil? Or will he be replaced as a spokesperson if our activities and critiques are strong enough?

I think Monteiro's articles are presented well. But it is also clear that we need to devote more space to discussing ideas like Wilson's.

Wilson's concept of "Racial oppression . . . as indistinguishable from class exploitation and oppression of Afro-American workers" needs more space than was apparently available to the article. Confusing statements on the class-race oppression issue is basic to the myths being spread about "ghettos" and the "underclass."

The idea of the "all-pervasiveness of racism" suggests that there were periods in U.S. history when there was not a struggle against racism. This is untrue. But does Wilson also suggest a struggle against racism was underway and it was crushed, or went underground—or does Wilson suggest the fight against racism capitulated to capital?

If so, then we again need more space to deal with these ideas.

In Monteiro's article, ". . . Conservatives . . ." there is a need to expand explanations on the following:

1. social democracy and the state,
2. the revolutionary democratic nationalism and the state,
3. democratic socialism and the state.

Thomas Sowell should also be characterized. Monteiro explains Sowell's idea of "natural inequality," but a connection to other scholars using the same and similar ideas would be useful.

The dangerous ideas of Williams are somewhat different than Sowell's and yet

they also intertwine. The "natural inequality" thesis is only one such point where Sowell and Williams apparently have major contact. I would like to see more on this concept in *Political Affairs*.

Again the need for added space on certain topics may prove necessary for a general expansion of the Journal.

KENNETH MELVIN HEARD,
Philadelphia, PA

NEW THINKING OR NEW SITUATION?

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's book on perestroika, *New Thinking for Our Country and For the World*, raises some questions.

The main problem with contrasting new and old thinking is what does "new" exactly mean? For instance, at a recent forum on perestroika with Paul Sweezy, some people used new thinking to oppose the interests of humanity to the struggle of the working class. As if peace and disarmament were not part and parcel of the class struggle, as if peaceful coexistence has not been the policy of action of the Soviet Union since its birth.

What is new today is a socialist world emerging since World War II as the major force for peaceful co-existence inhibiting imperialist wars and restraining wars of intervention—and this, despite the division arising from the Sino-Soviet schism.

What is new today is the unacceptable risk of accidental nuclear war and the unprecedented growth of

awareness and mass action has lead to the signing of the INF Treaty by a President who once fulminated against the "evil empire" and vowed never to negotiate with it as equals.

What is new today is that the demand for international cooperation to prevent the ecocide of planet earth is becoming imperative. Witness Three Mile Island, Chernobyl, run-away pollution and deforestation. The burgeoning "green" movements in both the capitalist and socialist world reflect these realities.

As this awareness becomes a dominant political force on the world scene, nuclear arsenals, including SDI, will be relegated to the museum of macabre curiosities.

Is humanity then entering a new epoch? Past interventions in Greece, Korea, Guatemala, Iran and Granada were typical of the imperialist epoch, as were those in the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cuba and Angola. However, the outcome in the last four nations was hardly typical of that epoch. Uniquely these last examples of intervention came to accelerate the process of socialist revolution, the exact opposite of what the architects of intervention wanted. Will imperialism shed its fangs?

What capitalists need today is access to resources and markets in order to manufacture and sell their products. To keep the developing world impoverished and unstable and to quarantine trade with the the socialist

community and potentially imperil their access to resources and markets.

The Clausewitz dictum that war is simply another means of projecting political goals is obsolete under conditions of nuclear war.

In addition the threshold between conventional and nuclear war grows increasingly vague, especially where nuclear power plants dot a potential battleground.

The economic dislocations triggered by the arms race undermine not only national economies but the international



monetary system of the capitalist world. Four decades of war preparations is weakening the once leading capitalist nation, the United States and the Soviet economy as well as starving the developing world.

The emergence from the imperialist epoch takes many zig-zags, embodying its typical features as well as something unique. What is developing is a new situation, demanding creative, scientific thinking for new approaches.

CARL MORGEN,
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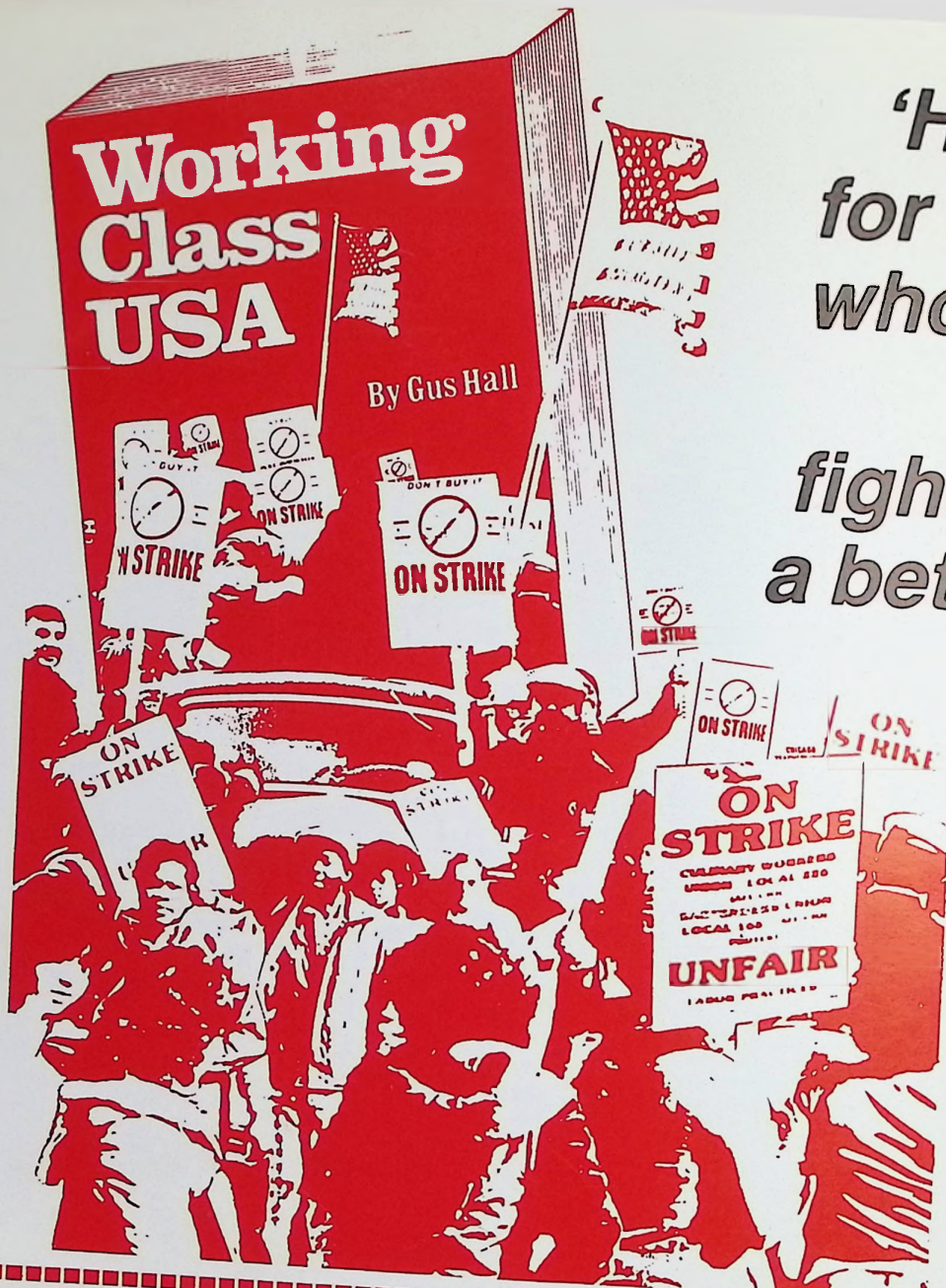
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