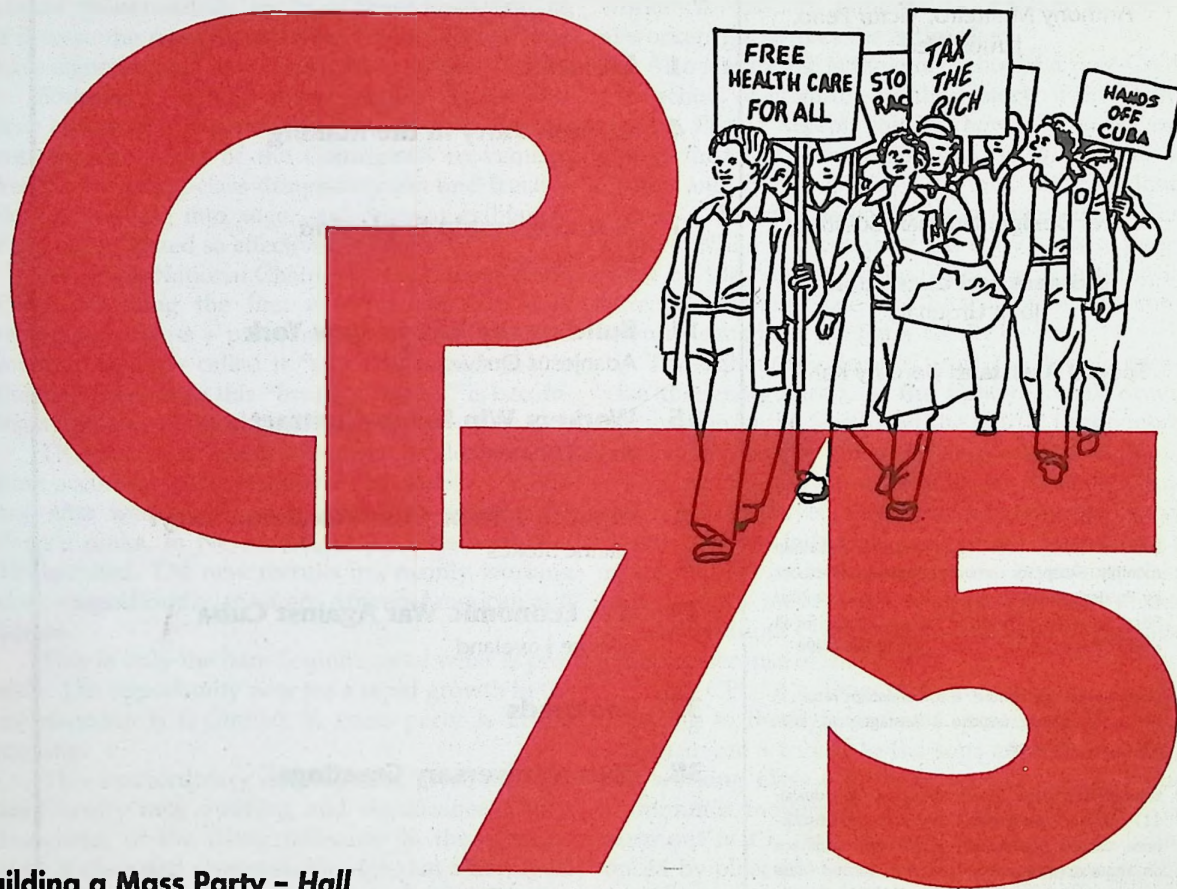


Political Affairs

Theoretical Journal, Communist Party USA, September/October 1994

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Communist Party USA



Fighting Years

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- Growth Explosion - Bachtell
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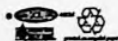
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In the past weeks, as the Communist Party begins its 75th anniversary celebrations an *explosive* development has occurred – several hundred new members have joined the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. On street corners, at summer and fall festivals, at rallies and conferences, working people, unemployed, students, mothers, daughters, fathers, brothers, whole families, friends and neighbors, have joined. And they have done so almost spontaneously, easily, without hesitation, as if it were the most *natural* thing in the world. They have signed up in pairs, in groups, *en masse*.

Something has definitely changed. For the first time in almost a half century masses of workers are entering the ranks of the Communist movement. Years of working-class disappointment and frustration are turning into anger and growing militancy. Fear, once utilized so effectively, is gone.

Gus Hall, National Chairman of the Communist Party, assessing the first evidence of this mass recruiting success – pioneered by the Young Communist League – called it “an ideological break in the ice.” Since then this “break in the ice” is becoming a veritable political tidal wave.

That the recruitment is not an accidental, one-time occurrence is proven by its regularity – week-end after weekend fresh numbers are swelling the Party’s ranks. In New York, in just one weekend, 108 enrolled. The new recruits are mainly working class – significantly, most are African American and Latino.

This is only the bare beginnings of what is possible. The opportunity now for a rapid growth in the membership is unlimited. A mass party is in the making.

This extraordinary development gives the 75th anniversary new meaning and significance. It is a barometer of the rising militancy in the working class, a clear and unmistakable sign that a new level of fightback and organization against the right-wing positions of the Clinton administration and the corporate attack on living standards will arise and take hold. Most importantly, it signals the beginning of a political and ideological realignment.

However, this is only part of the story. In yet another dramatic indication of what is totally new in the working class and the mass thought patterns of

basic industrial workers, the United Steelworkers Organization of Active Retirees recently honored Gus Hall for his groundbreaking work in the organization of the steelworkers union (see page 3). This award marks a new recognition of the central role of the Communist Party in the founding of this important union and is an undoing of the lies denying it – it represents a completely new atmosphere and change in relations. That it comes from the steelworkers is especially important – for where industrial workers go, so goes the entire class.

Also significant is the emergence of a post-Cold War school of literature on the history of the Communist Party. Recent studies have appeared on Communist Party leaders like Ben Davis, William Z. Foster, and W.E.B. Du Bois. In fact, in 1994 alone almost a dozen new books have emerged on this subject. While it is certainly too early to pass judgment on the content of this literature, one thing is sure: the time has come that the truth about the contributions made by the Party finally be told.

Throughout the decades, from the fight to organize the unorganized, to the fight to break down segregation in the South and the North, to the more recent civil rights, anti-war, anti-apartheid movements, and in today’s new fightbacks in labor, Communists have played a decisive *initiating* role. Many of the country’s industrial unions were founded as a result of party initiative. Indeed, most working-class and people’s movements would have been inconceivable without Communists – all have been made stronger because of them.

The CPUSA’s longevity and success in contributing to the fight for jobs, peace, equality and socialism are a tribute to the sons and daughters of the working class who have worked to build the Communist movement. The Communist Party was born out of the class struggle. Its birth was influenced by objective forces and developments on the world scene – the development of imperialism, the horror that was WW I and above all by the great revolutionary victory that resulted in the establishment of socialism in Russia. But it was the developments in the U.S., the growth of the working class, the sharpening of the class struggle, and the increase in class and racial oppression that set the stage for the founding of the Communist Party, USA.

The Communist Party endures and flourishes because it is a product of and influenced by the class struggle. Today, the intensification of the class struggle is determining people's consciousness. And working-class consciousness as exhibited in the anti-NAFTA fight, the Circuit-Wise struggle, the Flint autoworkers strike and the emergence of left-center labor coalitions around the country is at a new level. The growth in working-class consciousness refreshes and renews the Party's ranks. In turn, the party adds to class consciousness a revolutionary direction.

Indeed, the people's anti-corporate, anti-rich sentiment is at an all-time high. People are fed up with having NAFTA shoved down their throats, with corporate downsizing, privatization and reduced funds for public services while corporate salaries and perks are being upsized. They are fed up with racism, police brutality and drug-infested communities. And this anger is leading them into the Party in ever-larger numbers.

The Communist Party works to give people's anger a socialist consciousness. It gives the working-class movement a scientific basis for its struggles and helps instill in it a deeper knowledge of the class nature of capitalist exploitation and the class solutions that are needed.

It puts into practice the unity of theory and practice. Understanding the laws of capitalist development remains a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class. It is the necessary foundation for developing the winning strategy and tactics to end corporate rule.

Successful strategy and tactics demand attention to the immediate, urgent needs of the people. At the same time while leading and participating in the day-to-day struggles for a better life, Communists develop and build a movement for socialism.

The significance of this contribution grows as the working class and people of the U.S. move toward a revolutionary transformation of society and that each day grows ever closer. The need for a revolutionary transformation of society has to be built simultaneously with the fight for the day-to-day needs of the people. Waiting until some later date will only insure that both the struggle on bread-and-butter issues and the fight for socialism will be derailed.

Why? Corporate rule can be ended only if it is replaced by working-class rule. Preparing the working-class and people's forces for this transformation

strengthens and unites them ideologically, toughens their commitment and turns them into a fighting force that can't be sidetracked.

Part of this preparation is deepening and toughening the ideological understanding of the working class. When a trade union leader understands that all goods of value are the result of the labor of workers, then any demand of workers for wage increases, or for shorter hours is totally justified. When it is understood that racism is a capitalist weapon to increase profits and divide the working class, that monopoly will constantly develop new forms of racism to save their own necks, it will then be seen that both racism and capitalism have to go.

An understanding of these issues is growing as evidenced by the new working-class militancy. This new militancy is seen in the majority of people that are for public works jobs with affirmative action, national health care, taxing the rich, political independence, ending the embargo against Cuba and stopping U.S. imperialist military intervention in Haiti.

And it is evidenced by the hundreds of acts of protests workers are making by signing Party cards. We draw confidence from the knowledge that these hundreds of new recruits will inevitably become thousands and the thousands, millions. It is a telling sign that while the twin parties of capitalism are losing the confidence of people, the Communist Party is experiencing rapid growth. Life is proving that it is capitalism whose sun is setting.

The Communist Party has helped to make history in the past and it is making history today. It is involved in the struggles on the shop floor and in working-class communities. In celebrating our 75th anniversary we can proudly look at our record of contributions to the working-class struggle for three-quarters of a century. At the same time, the past struggles have laid the basis for a new and higher level of upsurge. Few organizations will ever have the opportunity to celebrate a 75th anniversary. Fewer still celebrate it with such an upswing in membership. From these new members new leaders will emerge not only for the Communist Party but also for the trade union, women's, youth and civil rights movements.

A new era of rebirth is being ushered in not only for the Communist Party but for the working-class and mass movement as a whole. □



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A Mass Party in the Making

Gus Hall

Editor's Note: The following article is based on excerpts from Gus Hall's presentation to the advanced YCL school on June 25, 1994.

Life has determined the content of my remarks to this opening session of a new kind of YCL school. I think my main contribution to such an advanced class should try to give expression and direction to what is new and emerging – in the Young Communist League, but also in the Communist Party, partly because so many of you are also members of the Party, or will be. And because it was the YCL who led the way to mass recruiting that became the inspiration that set off a kind of “chain reaction.”

Thus, as it so often does, life has presented us with a new series of developments bringing with them a new series of questions for us to grapple with.

MASS RECRUITING ■ The new events are the mass, off-the-street recruiting. The new questions are: how are we going to keep, consolidate, and fully integrate the new members?

It was as if by some simultaneous, mass decision, people decided to join the Party and YCL in record numbers over the past two months or so. It was a surprise to us. It seemed to happen all of a sudden, out of nowhere. By that I mean neither the YCL nor Party planned a special recruiting drive. To us this is a sudden, amazingly wonderful development. People joined the YCL and Party by the hundreds. And they are still joining.

This presents a whole new, unexpected and unprecedented situation for us – unprecedented for many, many years, perhaps since the 30s and a growth spurt in the 80s. We will have to learn how to deal with this phenomenon. This new situation creates many problems – good ones, but problems, nevertheless.

Gus Hall is the National Chairman of the CPUSA.

So, at this juncture, I think we have to raise the question: what are we going to do about these new members? There are many aspects to this new membership growth. Among them, a main question with many facets, is: how are we going to integrate these new members and mold them into Communists? And, the other side of the question is: how are we going to change the Party and YCL so they will stay and feel at home?

This means we have to provide and create a rounded-out life and lifestyle, including a social and cultural life. This demands new approaches, new attitudes, a whole new atmosphere. Since all of you are youth leaders and future Party leaders you will have to deal with making the big changes that will make the Party and YCL a new, inviting and exciting home for thousands of new members.

More detailed facts, descriptions and conclusions about the mass recruiting of the past few months are being published in other articles, including the one in *Political Affairs*, by John Bachtell, Chairman of the New York district and a top recruiter.

But briefly, who, are we recruiting? So far, most of the mass recruiting is taking place in Boston, New York City, Connecticut and Los Angeles. The new members are African-American, Latino, Mexican-American, Asian-American and white. Some do not speak English. Most all are young, from the teens to twenties. Most have no organizational experience. Many have never joined anything before. They know very little about the Party. Most are poor and many are jobless. Many live in the ghettos and barrios of cities like Boston, New York, New Haven, Hartford and Los Angeles.

AN ACT OF PROTEST ■ That said, I want to concentrate on some broad concepts, some ideas and proposals on how the YCL and Party must adjust, retool and radically change in order to continue attracting ever larger numbers and keeping them. In other words, I want to focus on how we must change to keep growing.

The young people who are joining now are frus-

trated and angry about their future. When they meet us on the street or in action they see the YCL and Party as an organization that will help them protest, fight and win. Theirs is a militancy that has no real outlet. The YCL is tapping that militancy and anger, giving it focus and meaning.

The overall militancy reflects joblessness and the widening gap between the rich and poor. It is a militancy and anger that lacks understanding about why things are the way they are. It is only our Party and YCL that can channel and give direction and an organized approach to their anger.

It is only our party that can give people the necessary class understanding and struggle orientation. Only our party can provide the organization, the tactics, the strategy and perspective of struggle, change and revolution, that gives meaning and purpose to people's lives.

Thus, joining the YCL is an act of rebellion against joblessness, poverty and racism. It's a protest against an unjust, unequal, grossly unfair and violent society. Signing the application is the first step forward in the process of becoming a Communist.

MILLIONS WILL SAY YES ■ For the purpose of this article I want to paraphrase Comrade Bachtell's assessment, the bedrock conviction that convinced him to lead his district, club by club, into the street.

After a successful weekend of recruiting, Comrade Bachtell gave this description,

There's no one fighting for working and poor people. There is a majority dissatisfaction and even disgust with the Clinton administration on all major issues. We are tapping into the broad, growing, anti-corporate, anti-government, anti-rich, even anti-capitalist sentiments and a declining anti-Communism, especially where the local party organization is on the streets.

We are giving expression to their anger and their urge to protest. People are joining as an act of protest, signing without hesitation, on the streets. For many, signing our application cards is their first political act.

Most neighborhoods don't have a protest action taking place on their streetcorners on a busy Saturday afternoon. When they see and hear us, with our big yellow canape, our banner slogans, red-table cloths, literature and papers, people are attracted to us as to a magnet because we are giving voice to their anger, their despair and cyni-

cism about life. All we do is ask them to sign and they do in ever bigger numbers.

Comrade John Bachtell is convinced that if every district, every club simply gets out on the streets in the name of the Communist Party and YCL and if they ask people to join and give them application cards, millions will say, "Yes."

The districts leading in recruiting are putting into practice, testing in life, the proposition that, yes, the political structure, the Clinton government, both old parties, the *New York Times* and other mass media are moving to the right. But the people are not. Our recruiting success is proving just the opposite.

PROVIDING THE COMMUNIST PLUS ■ We must provide not only a clear direction, a working-class, class struggle, ideological and political education, but also a social-cultural environment. And, all within a framework of consistent activity that puts theory into practice.

Especially because so many new members are very young, very inexperienced and, most important, justifiably angry and cynical, it is only by providing a rich Communist environment that offers all-around development that we will keep their interest and transform their act of joining into a process of becoming mature Communist men and women.

Especially the YCL, but also the Party, are making big changes. We are out on the streets more, tabling at festivals and street fairs, at demonstrations, on campuses, holding street corner Communist rallies, leading protest actions on issues. But we still have a way to go to convince the whole Party and YCL.

Districts like New York are pioneering, testing the waters and taking the plunge, club by club. They are showing the way for the rest of us.

The overall objective developments, the economic and political crises, are creating the anger and militancy. But are we giving it direction? Are we channeling it into class struggle? Is our press doing that? Yes, but not enough. Our pamphlets? Yes, but not enough.

Thus far the objective conditions are much more ripe than we are as a political party. Too many of us are still fearful, still intimidated by a virulent anti-Communism that for the most part doesn't exist anymore. The key to what we have to do in a popu-

lar way is what the *Communist Manifesto* did over a hundred years ago. We have to expose capitalism, develop class consciousness, build Black, Brown white unity, and find creative ways to present socialism, USA.

The more the new members learn about capitalism and the prospect of a socialist future, the more militant and more Communist they will become. The more convinced they become about class struggle, class exploitation and class unity, the more committed they will become to the Party and YCL. And, most important, the more Communist they become, the more they will work to recruit their families, friends, co-workers and fellow students. New members are the best recruiters.

KEY TO CONSOLIDATION: PROTEST AND ACTION ■

Protest and action are key. We have to find more ways to protest. Club meetings should develop plans with protest action as the central feature. There should be continuous activities, street corner meetings, tabling and demonstrations. We need new leaflets, pamphlets and brochures on issues and also about the party and socialism – new ones, all the time. We must take our *People's Weekly World* everywhere we go, to every street rally, meeting or social event.

Our party clubs have to become the center of bold militant actions, of protest in our neighborhoods, communities and places of work. Solidarity and support actions are protest actions. Strike support actions are protest actions. We have to make regular club meetings so rich in content that new members will look forward to them. Planned actions with protest and demands based on club discussion and decision, and a full social life are key ingredients for the club of a new type.

We must early on show new members that in joining us they inherit a proud, unique legacy, a history of 75 years of principled class struggle. They inherit a proud history of initiating, leading and participating in all the great labor, political and progressive movements for reform and change, while remaining unshakably committed to socialism as the only viable, and yes, inevitable, solution to the inherent flaws, problems and crises that the capitalist system cannot solve.

New members should become knowledgeable about our history in order to appreciate that it took great strength, commitment and understanding to

withstand the attacks of those who would destroy the only political party capable of leading the working class to revolution and socialism.

Educational, forums, schools and seminars give members the foundation, the understanding and the skills necessary to apply Marxism-Leninism to life and struggle. However, action must always follow discussion, conclusions and decisions. Only an organization that is continuously involved in mass activities, in coalitions and people's movements can keep and continue to win new members on a mass scale.

So we will have to initiate ongoing discussions on how to change in order to continue growing into a mass party, how to entice all our clubs into the streets.

A PERIOD OF MASS GROWTH ■ The events and activities celebrating our 75th anniversary, leading to the nationwide October 23rd mass rallies, can be mass recruiting events. The coming two months are wonderful opportunities to show new members who we are, what they are becoming part of and at the same time participate in protest rallies across the country.

We have to accept that this recruiting is not just momentary, that we are objectively entering a period of potential mass growth. It is a new kind of period. Because the recruiting is uneven, we have to tell the Party what is happening and convince the whole party that the sky's the limit.

From now on we will be dealing with all the many aspects of becoming a mass organization. The first steps in the process of going public, and taking the Party and YCL into the streets have been taken, with unexpected and spectacular success.

The mass recruiting should prove to us that people are changing, that we are tapping into the new mass thought patterns that make people receptive to our ideas, our politics and our solutions.

Now we have to take the next steps that will change how we think, how we write, how we speak and what we do. A mass Communist Party and Young Communist League will grow in ever larger numbers as the working class and people continue to look for new politics, new solutions and action. □

A Membership Explosion

John Bachtell

The New York district of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League have been taken by surprise by an explosion of new members from on-the-street recruitment. In one weekend 110 new members joined. All together in just six days of street work in August and September 230 new members joined the Party and YCL at neighborhood street fairs and festivals.

At one street fair, the *Atlantic Antic*, 84 joined in a single afternoon. But even we have our "bad" days – at another street fair only 23 signed up.

The explosion of mass recruitment is a further deepening of the experience begun in Boston by the YCL at the Campus Outreach Opportunities League (COOL) conference in April, and at various events by the Connecticut, Eastern Pennsylvania and other districts of the Party during the jobs campaign, the *People's Weekly World* electronic conference and national town hall rallies. In the last months several hundred new members have been recruited.

This mass recruitment is perhaps the best testament that mass thought patterns are changing dramatically and rapidly. Shaped by the class struggle and decaying capitalism, the thinking of tens of millions of people is moving to the left in an anti-corporate direction, while the corporate-controlled mass media and political structure move to the right. Many of these grassroots people have no direct regular contact with the Party or YCL, but are coming to basic conclusions about capitalism through their daily experience.

Based on these results it can be estimated that there are *millions* of people who would join the Party and YCL today – if they were asked. This realization and our ability to act on it can have a profound impact on our work. Mass recruitment can be a central part of the 75th anniversary celebration and a permanent feature of Party work.

During the past spring, the New York district working jointly with the YCL developed a planned approach to recruit new members. A special effort to enroll new members was needed because club

recruitment was not adequate.

The only way to realize this objective was through mass recruitment. And to engage in mass recruitment the Party had to go to the street. The best possibilities for achieving this proved to be participating in the many neighborhood street fairs and festivals that are popular in New York.

The street fairs are composed of petty-bourgeois vendors who rent space to sell food, clothing, household wares and amusement rides. Occasionally political and noncommercial groups have spaces.

To date there have been joint Party-YCL tables in Coney Island, Astoria (twice), Parkslope, Madison Avenue, Williamsburg, Chelsea (twice), the upper west side and lower east side of Manhattan, Flatbush, and downtown Brooklyn. In these neighborhoods the Party tested the waters and found them teaming with discontent and the demand for change.

The new members are from the grassroots. They are working class and multi-racial, with a majority being nationally and racially oppressed – mostly African American and Latino. In the Astoria section of Queens, over a dozen Asians joined. In Flatbush several Haitians signed up.

Most of the new members are concentrated in neighborhoods, reflecting the neighborhood basis of the street fairs. For example, a large concentration of new members live in the Astoria-Long Island City neighborhood. Many of the new members from Coney Island live in a six-block area.

It really doesn't matter where tables are set up – in which working-class neighborhoods, demonstrations, strike picketlines, souplines or shops – people will be recruited if they are asked to join.

For example, several joined at a neighborhood soupline, and six were recruited at a picketline of striking restaurant workers. And recently we set up a table in front of one of the public hospitals in the city threatened with privatization. A comrade has been distributing 500 copies of the *People's Weekly World* a week there for the last five years. During a one-hour lunch break, seven people signed application cards, including four hospital workers.

The Party is tapping into the mass anger created

John Bachtell is chairman of the New York District of the CPUSA and a member of its National Board.

by the economic crisis and the massive corporate and public-sector layoffs. The Party is tapping into the mass anger over attacks on social entitlements, cutbacks and elimination of city services, privatization and union busting. It is tapping into the mass anti-corporate, anti-rich sentiment, the mass anger at growing ruling-class racism, racist violence and police brutality. The crowds are responding enthusiastically to the call for Black-Brown-white unity.

JOINING AS AN ACT OF PROTEST ■ There is mass disgust with the two-party electoral treadmill. People see Clinton and Congress, the Democrats and Republicans as out of touch and in the pocket of big business. They are part of what a recent *Times-Mirror* survey called "an electorate so embittered and cynical that it is far less likely to believe in political parties and veteran politicians."

This mass sentiment has a large left and pro-socialist component. Many people are losing confidence in capitalism and looking for radical alternatives. The Party and YCL are identified with the struggles of working people, for jobs, equality, single-payer health care, housing, and socialism. We are seen as fighting for an equitable distribution of the wealth at the expense of the corporations and rich - this strikes a chord.

The atmosphere has changed dramatically in relation to anti-Communism. People are generally very accepting of the Party and YCL. They are more than willing to listen and consider our program. In fact it is just what many want to hear.

They view signing an application to join as an act of militant protest against everything that is wrong. They sign as if it were the most natural thing in the world, usually without hesitation.

Many of the new members are grassroots activists, involved in trade unions, tenants associations, PTAs, block clubs or other social clubs. But most don't appear to have any great experience with organized political movements.

What is new is that very few have had any previous connection with the Party and YCL. They have varying levels of understanding. Most know about us more generally and have a positive impression. Where our clubs have a history of being active and public, the reception tends to be warmer.

However many are also very familiar with us. A former member of the Du Bois clubs joined in Coney Island. Many stop by to say they were former members of the Party and take literature to get updated.

One former member of the Labor Youth League asked to be placed on the mailing list in Chelsea. Others inform us that one relative or another was a member of the Party. Still others ask us to pass on greetings to one Party member or another.

There are many interesting experiences at the table that are reflective of what's happening among the people. The tabling is characterized most by the minimal amount of anti-Communist statements and hostility. Some people are surprised the Party and YCL are present. But most people are very friendly and curious.

At one street fair, a group of people who came together asked if the Party took non-citizens and undocumented workers. When we said anyone who lived in the United States was welcome to join, all of them signed cards at once. One young African American, after filling out his application card, wrote at the top in bold letters, *REAL PEOPLE*. In inviting one person to join, we told him we were celebrating our 75th anniversary, to which he replied in Yiddish, "oh, moztov!" (congratulations). A family of two sisters and their four daughters all joined at a street fair on Madison Avenue. In Flatbush, a woman decided she wanted to think about joining rather than sign on the spot. She took the application. Usually, people who take the card don't return. But as we were literally getting into the car to leave, she ran up to give us the application. Also in Flatbush a comrade was taking footage for the 75th anniversary video. To our great surprise, several people consented to interviews without hesitation about why they had just joined. At the *Atlantic Antic*, the 60th recruit of the day readily consented to having her photo taken with the comrade who had just signed her up.

In Astoria, we have had several conversations with Romanians who came here 15-20 years ago after disillusionment with Ceausescue and illusions about American capitalism. Now, as one said,

Despite all the problems with Ceausescue and what has happened subsequently, at least we had very basic things then. Socialism is definitely a superior system to capitalism. American democracy is a fraud. There are a lot of high-sounding phrases about democracy, but when you look behind it there are the unemployed, the discrimination, lack of health care and the domination by the rich.

At a street fair in Parkslope, Brooklyn a repre-

sentative of the sponsoring group, a non-profit foundation, came up to the table. He told us he was happy to see us there. He suggested that we should be part of their next street fair in three weeks on Madison Avenue. He told us to call their number the next week. When we did, he was very friendly, and said everything was set. When we asked him the cost he said, "There's no charge!"

METHODS FOR RECRUITMENT ■ We have found that the method for mass recruitment makes all the difference in the world. There are many different methods. We have found the following is the most effective: First, go to the people. Our method has been the neighborhood street fairs or on the sidewalks in front of supermarkets or on street corners.

Secondly, have a bold public presence. We invested in a canopy that all the street vendors use. It is 10' by 10' with a plastic roof. From the frame we hang banners that say, "Jobs Not Jails" and "Communist Party, USA & Young Communist League." We have a couple of tables covered by red table cloths and piles of literature, books, buttons, t-shirts, sign-up sheets and the petitions for jobs and equality. Having the canopy, banners and literature is impressive because it makes us look like a serious movement.

Thirdly, a collective/team approach is indispensable. We organize comrades both in front of and behind the table. The comrades out front distribute the *People's Weekly World* and encourage people to come over to the table and sign the jobs petitions.

Fourthly, and most importantly – *ask everyone to join!* Once someone comes to the table, the comrade behind it shows them where to sign the petition and urges them to help themselves to the literature. As they finish signing, the comrade places an application to join the Communist Party or YCL (depending on the age of the person) in front of them and says, "We would also like to invite you to join the Communist Party (or YCL). We are celebrating our 75th anniversary this year. We are fighting for jobs, against racism, for equality, for free health care, free education and peace."

At that point some people will have questions, or say no. Others will want to take the application with them. But many just keep on signing, without hesitation. Those we congratulate, give them a Henry Winston button and say that we will be in touch with them as soon as possible.

The most important issue before us is involving the whole Party in mass recruitment and consolida-

tion of the new members. It is so important that our State Committee has assigned a leading cadre to make it their sole work. We have set up a consolidation committee composed of the clubs where the largest growth has taken place and the YCL leadership.

It is true that not all the new members will stay. But we have to fight like hell for everyone. The consolidation process is a long road and we need plenty of patience.

Comrade Hall often says that new members have one foot in the Party and one foot out for the first year. The new members are not yet Communists. But they will become Communists in the Party and YCL if we organize their consolidation.

The consolidation process has to begin right away. There is nothing worse than for someone who has joined the Party or YCL not to hear anything for months. By then they may have second thoughts or are turned off by our inattention.

The follow up consists of several things: a welcoming letter and packet and a yearly sub to the *People's Weekly World*. Most importantly, the follow-up plans also require that each new member be visited or met with. We start from the premise that the new members are not going to come to us – we have to go to them. So far we are getting a very good response.

New member orientation sessions are being planned both at our office and in several of the neighborhoods.

Even organized meetings and educational orientations won't do it. In the Bronx, where the YCL has recruited 41 new members this year in one neighborhood, the new members don't come to meetings. They are more likely to become involved with organizing events – local and citywide Party-YCL mass rallies, YCL retreats and trips.

Our aim is to involve the new members in activity, primarily around the jobs issue as rapidly as possible. The new members joined on the basis of protest and we will keep them on that basis. Therefore we are making efforts to up the level of public activity and militancy of our clubs.

Recently one Bronx club jointly with the YCL organized a community rally for jobs, against police brutality and for recreational facilities. It was a militant grassroots demonstration, and involved many of the new Party and YCL members. The new Party recruits and community activists also spoke.

Some clubs also take time out to write post cards and letters to President Clinton and Congress on various issues.

We have many new challenges facing the Party in order to consolidate the new members. For example, there are new members in several areas where we have no club organization. There is no Party organization in an area in Brooklyn where the YCL has 27 new members. And among those who joined in Astoria are eight who speak Spanish only.

This will require a special approach. In some cases clubs will have to adjust their meeting schedules, in some cases we will have to set up new clubs that include members of the old club.

We have concluded that the Party has to change to accommodate the new members. And as the process of consolidating the new members unfolds, they will in turn have a tremendous impact on us. Already our district and its leadership are literally being transformed by the experience.

This will not be a passing thing. Mass recruitment and consolidation are now a permanent feature of the mass work of the Party. If anything the challenge will become more acute. Today hundreds are joining, and as conditions change, tomorrow thousands. There will be no going back.

But old habits die hard, especially with those that are not part of the process or who are not experiencing these new developments first hand. But generally we all have to work in a different way. This is true on both the level of state and club leadership. For example, most of the new members have not yet been visited.

FIGHTING DOUBTS ■ Some are dubious about this method of recruitment. They say new members can't be serious, don't know what they are doing, and that they just intended to sign up for information. If they don't respond to a telephone call, letter or don't show up at a meeting, they are written off.

Others pit this method of recruitment against other methods of working with contacts over a period of time or PWW routes. But all methods complement one another.

There is still a fear of being public and having to contact the new members. Some have resisted a bold public approach. They are still fearful of rejection due to anti-Communism. This estimate of thought patterns doesn't fit today's realities. For others, the recruitment and consolidation process is the last thing on the list. Instead of being the most exciting thing happening, they see it as a diversion from mass work.

It all adds up to a business-as-usual approach.

But we are attempting to now mobilize the entire district membership around the new development, beginning with the state leadership. This is after all, the future of the Party and YCL.

The best way to change the Party is to get everyone involved in the process so that they can test the waters and see for themselves. As soon as comrades and clubs are involved in the experience of mass recruitment, they are changed.

Mass recruitment is helping members in our district overcome traces of pessimism from the period of setbacks to socialism, including the present difficulties faced by socialist Cuba. It is giving us greater confidence in the direction that developing mass thought patterns are going. There is greater confidence that a mass Communist Party and YCL can be built.

The new growth is helping the Party overcome sectarianism, especially the mistaken idea that left and socialist currents are narrow and that anti-Communism still has a big grip on the grassroots working-class communities. Or that one need be a developed Communist to join.

It is giving us greater encouragement to overcome innerness and to go to the streets, to be more boldly public, to act in our own name and to open up the doors to the Party more widely.

Because most respond to the jobs issue it is giving that area of work a boost and helping shape our tactics with the grassroots. The work on the jobs campaign has given Party and YCL building a boost in turn.

There are many ways that people find their way to the Party and YCL. On-the-street recruitment is not posed against other methods. But it shows that we need not have years of working with people before they will join. Millions are ready now!

This new mass recruitment is the future of the Party and YCL. New leadership will emerge from these new members in all areas of struggle: the fight for jobs, health care, a new labor-led third party, and for socialism.

The new recruits will be a central part of further mass recruitment – bringing in their friends and family. As Gus Hall says the new recruits also make the very best recruiters.

The Party and YCL can grow as big and fast as we are able to organize the recruitment. The objective conditions for a mass Party and YCL are present. The only thing holding us back is the subjective factor, that is, us. And we are changing too. □

Building the YCL in New York

Adanjesús Quávez

Editor's Note: The initial breakthrough in mass recruiting was made by the Young Communist League. Below, Adanjesús Quávez, the leader of the YCL in New York, describes and analyzes how this new phenomena got started:

Q: How did the YCL recruiting begin?

A: The Young Communist League in New York is experiencing mass recruitment which began last winter and is still going strong. So far this year we have recruited almost 120 new members. The North Bronx club was the first success, founded with only four members. This club is based in an apartment complex where the party club has done a lot of work.

When the club was founded a plan of work was made that focussed on building the Jobs for Youth campaign and working on tenant's rights in the complex. One of our first successes was that we ran and elected two YCLer's to one tenant associations' executive board.

There were soon plans for a house party. The theme of the party was for "Jobs for Youth." Hundreds of fliers were passed out and a poster was put in every building. Both the fliers and posters publicly announced that the party was being thrown by the North Bronx YCL.

In the midst of a heavy snow storm more than forty people came. People attending were asked to sign a jobs petition. By the end of the party, seven new people joined. After the first couple joined, people started asking us if they could join before we could ask them.

Ten people came to our next club meeting – one was a non-member who joined after the meeting – and we made plans for another party and a "Jobs not Jails" march to be held on Martin Luther King Day. At the next party there were more than 75 peo-

ple and six more joined.

The march was a big breakthrough in the community. It was a way to open up the doors of communication with many community residents. On the day of the march there was another winter storm with rain, snow, and hail but 50 people came out and the largest Hip Hop radio station in the city promoted it and did a live broadcast.

This first recruiting experience proved to be a valuable lesson for us in developing a mass style of youth work. One of the first problems was how to get youth, who have never really been involved in an organization, to be active in the YCL. We were forced to develop new tactics and approaches to get youth involved.

By firmly establishing a public presence in the communities we began to build a mass YCL. In little more than a month, the North Bronx club was able to go from 4 to 20 members, proving that mass recruitment is possible.

Q: What conclusions were drawn from the Bronx mass recruitment and what practical steps were taken?

A: The experience in the Bronx, along with that of a similar experience in recruitment in Connecticut, brought home to us the fact that recruiting large numbers of people at single events was possible. The time was right for new and bold steps. We soon found out about a national conference sponsored by a student community service group known as COOL. Our national collective decided to go all out in terms of participation and actively recruited at the conference. We led two of the largest work shops at the conference and had a table at the resource fair. Based on the readiness and lack of hesitation on the part of those who had joined in the Bronx and other areas, we decided to ask everyone who came by the table and attended the workshops to join the YCL. The result of what was to be known the "Boston Experience" was 44 new members from across the country in one weekend.

Adanjesús Quávez is the New York Coordinator of the YCL.

Gus Hall called this "a break in the ideological ice." The COOL experience was one of the biggest influences in our new approach to recruitment and really opened the doors wide in terms of taking a mass approach to recruitment.

Q: Are the new recruits integrated into YCL life?

A: One lesson we learned was that it wasn't enough to call up new members to tell them when there was a meeting or event. We learned this lesson the hard way, as we would call meetings and people who said they would come, didn't show up. New members needed a reason to feel like it was important for them to participate. We decided to visit the homes of the new comrades whenever a meeting was to take place. These house visits made the new comrades feel welcome and know we really wanted them to come. The visits also provided a way to get to know them better.

It is important to point out that the Party played an important role in this process. The Party club decided to host a parents dinner, where the parents of YCL members could ask questions and familiarize themselves with us. As part of building for the dinner, party members went and spoke to each parent which won their support for the YCL.

Q: Has the League been able to recruit in other areas of the city?

A: Another important recruiting experience occurred in Brooklyn. A few months ago a young woman from the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn joined the YCL. Soon after, she recruited several others, building a club of six.

This new club recently participated in a "jam," at a park in their neighborhood. The "jam" was being thrown by a broad coalition fighting to get a pool, built by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), reopened in the park. We called up and said we'd like to table and they said that we could. On the day of the event we brought with us our 10' x 10' canopy, banners reading "Jobs for Youth" and "Young Communist League," and a big 4' x 6' postcard addressed to President Clinton demanding jobs not jails. Also, the Williamsburg YCL drafted a leaflet in its own name calling for the pool to be reopened and linked this demand to the struggle for jobs and equality.

When the organizers found out that we were

with the Young Communist League they were very excited to have us there, one even exclaimed that "I've been called a Communist all my life, now I can see if I really am one." They asked us to join the coalition and said that they looked forward to working with us.

We timidly asked if they could mention that we had this big postcard to the president and they invited us to speak in the program. Two YCLer's from the Williamsburg club spoke, both for the first time. They explained that we needed a national jobs bill to give youth a real alternative to the streets and invited people to come and sign the postcard. They further asked them that if they believed in change and were willing to fight for it, to join the Young Communist League. The crowd often interrupted with applause.

As we passed out the *PWW* and other literature we also invited people to come to the table and sign the postcard and petitions. We talked with everyone who came over about what the YCL was and asked them to join. By the end of the night we had recruited 21 new members to the YCL.

The recruits are very multiracial, African American, Afro Caribbean, Latino, and white. We even recruited a Reggae group and members of a dance team. In one night we went from a club with six members to one with 27. The YCL is now beginning the process of consolidation in Williamsburg and plans to make the struggle around the reopening of the pool a big part of its work.

Q: It seems that a new level of unity and team work has developed between the Communist Party and YCL. Could you comment on it?

A: In December, after gaining a lot of practical experience on the Jobs for Youth campaign, we drew the conclusion that in order to build a mass YCL we must be based in the communities. We also felt it was essential to build around party clubs because they could lend stability and extra support. By working hand in hand with the party clubs and the district, we developed a strong collective approach to building and consolidating. Over the last nine months we have established six community clubs across the city.

Working with the Party clubs has been a tremendous help to our work, and based on it we decided to have a coordinated approach with the district in recruiting efforts. The biggest example has

been tabling together at street fairs. This shows the unity between the YCL and Party in struggle. It adds credibility to our work to be affiliated with the Party which has such a rich history in struggle. And as an extension of the joint recruitment, we are also working on consolidation together.

Q: Much of the Party/YCL recruitment has been at street fairs?

A: The first street fair we participated in was in Astoria, Queens and we made a big impression with our canopy and signs. Mayor Guiliani's reactionary specifically anti-youth budget had just been passed, so we had a special leaflet at the table talking about what kind of budget youth really needed. One Latino who joined after reading the leaflet said, "I didn't know there was a Young Communist League, but I'm down with anyone taking on the mayor."

Another young women came to ask her brother, who was joining, why he would want to join a Communist group. He explained that the YCL was fighting for jobs, against police brutality and racism and he convinced her to join too.

At a street fair in Coney Island, Brooklyn we received an overwhelming response to the theme of "Jobs for Youth" and "Jobs not Jails." One young African American college student who joined said, "There is so much police harassment, and unemployment in Coney Island. It's great to see a group organizing young people to fight to change the problems we are facing." He attended the YCL national school this summer.

At a street fair in Flatbush, Brooklyn a high-school student came to the table and exclaimed, "This is just what I have been looking for. I want information on how to start a young Communist group at my high school. We have been studying different economic systems and my friends and I are coming to the conclusion that we need a system for justice for working people."

Another teenager riding on his bike said he saw our sign and wanted to know what we were all about. After explaining that we are fighting for jobs, justice, equality and socialism he not only joined but insisted on knowing when we would call so he would be sure to be home.

Q: Has the YCL leadership drawn any conclusions about this work?

A: One of the things we have learned is that members have to take a new approach to recruiting. In order for young people to join the YCL they have to know that we exist. We have to be public, otherwise we are denying millions of people the right to join and fight for socialism. We have to be bold – that is what the new moment demands. Too many members who have been around awhile don't even tell close friends that they are in the YCL. They rationalize this with a false separation of social and political life. However, capitalism doesn't allow us that luxury. Unemployment, discrimination, and police brutality affect all working-class youth and therefore effects all social life. We must not deny our friends the right to do something about the system that is oppressing them.

We also must have the practice of asking everyone to join when we first tell them about the YCL. When this does not happen we send the wrong message. People get the idea that we don't need them to join, or even worse that we don't want them to join. When it takes months or years for us to ask someone (who knows about us) to join, it no longer seems so urgent.

Q: Are there any special methods the YCL uses?

A: Gus Hall's statement that new members make the best recruiters, has proven to be very true in this new period. Many times when we are at street fairs, when one person joins they will call all their friends over and talk them into joining also. Recently, I and a number of youth were hanging out in our neighborhood. A new YCL member from down the block came up and started talking about a struggle we were involved in to free an African American from the neighborhood who was falsely accused and convicted of robbery. One of the young persons asked the other YCLer how they could get involved, and he gave a pitch and said if they wanted to struggle they should join the YCL. Just as quick as I could go home and get the applications, we had six new members.

Q: It seems pretty clear that the concept of the YCL as a mass public Communist youth organization has taken on new meaning.

A: Some question whether or not we should be a mass organization, they feel having new members

with little Marxist education dilutes our struggle but nothing could be further from the truth. In order for us to achieve socialism, the majority of people in this country must be convinced that we need socialism. This will only happen with a mass working-class YCL and Communist Party. By recruiting the masses we are beginning the process of mass Marxist education. If we cannot educate masses of new members in Marxism-Leninism in a popular way, it will be more difficult to convince people who aren't members.

Also the party and YCL are training grounds for a socialist society. There are no other organizations which place such a high importance on building working-class collectivity, the type of collectivity that will be necessary for the new system to work. There are no other organizations where people can learn democratic centralism. Having a mass YCL and Party are part of the process of developing society under socialism.

There are even those that say that the new members don't understand the struggle. Nothing could be farther from the truth. This is anti-working class. These new working-class recruits have been struggling all their lives under the system of capitalism. Life has taught them many lessons. The working class and young people know the struggle like the back of their hands. The role of the League and Party are to build on those struggles, deepen the understanding of the class nature of capitalism and how to build a better society out of it.

Q: Who are the new recruits? Can you tell us a little about the composition?

A: The youth that are joining are overwhelmingly working class. They are African American, Afro-Caribbean, Puerto Rican, Chicano/Mexican American and other Latino's, white, and Asian. Most who are joining have very little organizational experience, but want to do something. They are high school and college students, young workers and unemployed.

The new recruits know very little about Marxism-Leninism. In the consolidation process we are learning that we must find new ways to do membership education and organization to fit the mass character and newness of the members. Unlike in the past when many members had known the YCL for a while before joining, these new members are starting from square one in terms of learning how the YCL func-

tions.

We have found that we get the best success when we achieve a balanced mixture of political and social activity – one nurtures the other. As youth interact across the city, state, and country and exchange their experiences it deepens the understanding of the deep nation-wide crisis. The more political awareness is achieved, the more new members are anxious to recruit their friends and other new members. The YCL must be for them a place to protest, learn, and have fun. Without this we will not keep them.

Q: So, finally, why do you think young people are joining in such large numbers now? What is your opinion?

A: The fact that so many young people are joining the YCL today disproves the ruling class lie that youth are apathetic. Today's youth are very aware of the fact that their standard of living will be lower than that of their parents. They are confronted with police brutality, racism, sexism, exploitation, drugs, and violence. This capitalist crisis forces youth to want to be active in order to survive.

When we go out into the streets young people see that the Young Communist League is the organization that is active. By being out on the streets with messages like "Jobs not Jails" youth see that being a Communist means fighting for people's basic needs which the system seeks to deny.

Young people are joining because they are angry. They are angry about the system and the ruling-class line that nothing can change. They are joining to protest a system that they know doesn't work even if they don't know why. The fact that young people are joining despite years of Cold War claims of Communism being dead, is their way of protesting ruling-class lies. It also points to the inevitability of socialism.

Even after years of the government spending billions of dollars to try and kill the Communist movement, young people are joining as if Mc Carthyism never existed. Young people see that the YCL is an organization in struggle and that joining sends a message to the ruling class that young people want real change, not just promises. □

Workers Win Union Contract

Joelle Fishman

How can labor move from the defensive to the offensive? What are the strategy and tactics that can organize millions of new workers into unions and win a living wage, equal benefits and security for every worker? Answers to these important questions were given in a six-year struggle by workers at Circuit-Wise, an electrical factory in North Haven, Connecticut, to win their first union contract. This basic class struggle experience holds lessons worth wide study.

This experience shows how labor laws and the court system are stacked on the side of the company and how finance capital comes to the aid of smaller companies to bust unions. But more importantly it also shows the great courage, determination and unity on the part of the multi-racial union membership, largely composed of women. There emerged in the course of the Circuit-Wise struggle powerful new working-class leaders, products of their first organizing drive and first strike.

Workers at Circuit-Wise made history when they voted in favor of union recognition in May, 1988 after many months of organizing. Fed up with chemical spills, low wages, no pensions and forced overtime they spoke with their vote, and chose to become members of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 299. This was the biggest successful industrial union organizing drive in the region in a decade.

But the struggle for a union contract had only begun. Company owners Jack and Rollin Mettler declared that "over their dead bodies" would they ever sign a union contract with the 340 workers. The bosses thought they could starve out, scare, or divide and conquer the workers – but the Mettler brothers were wrong.

It took a total of six years including 17 months on strike, countless labor board charges and court hearings, but finally a first contract was won. At a union membership meeting held on May Day, 1994 the workers at Circuit-Wise voted unanimously to accept the contract their committee negotiated with the company. They understood it didn't include

everything they fought for. But, most importantly they know their first contract is a foundation to build on as they continue their struggle.

Included in the contract is the requirement that all new hires must join the union. A four-step grievance and arbitration procedure was established. Company favoritism was a major issue in the plant. The contract includes seniority protection and job posting language. Wage increases according to performance reviews have been done away with. Instead, there is an automatic wage progression every three months. The lack of a pension plan was another major issue. The beginnings of a retirement plan with company contributions is included in the contract. The company was unable to take away health care. Improved health insurance is provided at lower costs than previous to the contract. Wages are significantly increased. In 1988 the average wage was \$7 an hour. The contract provides an average wage of at least \$10 an hour. During the strike, the company gave those who crossed the picket line higher wages. The contract freezes the top wage level to equalize pay scale.

There were many who said it could never be done, citing the economy, the political climate and workers' fear. The Connecticut economy has been particularly hard hit in recent years due to massive elimination of jobs by the state's major industrial and financial employers, and dependency on military production. United Technologies, the state's largest employer, reduced its workforce by half at its largest division, Pratt & Whitney aircraft, to maximize profits. As in the rest of the country, the current crisis comes on top of the structural crisis.

Nevertheless, Connecticut remains one of the most highly concentrated industrial manufacturing states. As elsewhere, many of the new jobs opening up are in small sweat shops, and non-union subcontractors. The crisis of the capitalist system is evident in Connecticut in the contrast between the consolidation of capital and rising profits *vs.* large-scale unemployment especially in the African American and Puerto Rican communities and among youth. Job openings are mostly temporary, part-time or casual work at minimum wage with no benefits or

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union protection. Without the strength of a union, workers are left with poverty-level wages, unsafe working conditions, and no protection.

The organizing drive at Circuit-Wise took place during the Reagan-Bush administrations, which from their first days, carried out a vicious union-busting policy that has not been reversed by the Clinton administration. The Connecticut Business and Industry Association took full advantage of this anti-labor climate and spearheaded aggressive public relations and lobbying campaigns in the State Legislature to win huge financial handouts and tax breaks to corporations, gut health and safety and workers' compensation laws, and currently to privatize public education.

Under such conditions, it takes special courage to risk any job in the fight for the basic right to union representation. Circuit-Wise workers showed they were equal to the task. In fact, they took on much more than just their own \$6 million family-run company. Also aligned against them was the profitable Ford Motor Company, to whom the circuit boards are sold. Only a few years ago, over two-thirds of the shops that supplied Ford were unionized. Today, over two-thirds are non-union.

In addition, the electrical workers took on the First Constitution Bank which bankrolled the company during the strike.

When the 17-month strike ended in 1991 without a contract being signed, some in labor drew the negative conclusion that even a model strike and organizing drive could not be victorious in the present conditions. This assessment lowers expectations and limits support for organizing campaigns. A full examination of the Circuit-Wise experience, including the recent three years of organizing on the inside of the plant and the contract victory could bring forward new and positive conclusions. A similar examination of experiences at other workplaces where organizing drives have taken place would be of great value.

STRIKE STRATEGY ■ After trying unsuccessfully for 16 months to bring the Mettler brothers to the table to negotiate in good faith, UE began preparations for a strike. They knew that the company would receive aid from their "partners in capitalism," which included Ford, First Constitution Bank, the local police, government agencies and the court system. They also knew that the company would threaten to move their entire operations to their maquiladora facility built next to the Ford plant in Chihuahua, Mexico.

At the time, 70 percent of the workers were in the union, and it was clear that some non-union workers would cross the picketline. Therefore, the strike strategy was broadly based. UE Local 299 developed several strategies to weaken Circuit-Wise's economic strength, and expose its anti-worker, unsafe policies to the community. The strategies included health and safety and the environment, the Ford connection, First Constitution Bank, the legal struggle, getting a federal mediator, legislative efforts and winning support from the town of North Haven.

The first and major strategy was winning the maximum number of workers to participate in the strike, enabling them to survive economically, and maintaining a strong picket line. Strike committees were established, including those handling kitchen, strike fund and financial aid, and picket line needs. A trailer was rented and located in front of the plant about 100 feet from the picket line, which served as an office and resting place. Visits were made to workers' homes to learn of their problems and encourage them to come to the picket line. Holiday parties and picket line barbeques strengthened unity and gave the workers a chance to learn and share their many cultures and foods including African American, Puerto Rican, Filipino, Italian, Polish, and many more.

Activities in addition to staffing the picket line were developed. "Cut Your Ties to Circuit-Wise" was the slogan brought by pickets to a temporary labor agency that was referring people to be strike breakers, to First Constitution Bank, to the Mettler's home, and to a sit-in at OSHA demanding prompt investigation of company lying and discrimination against workers in health and safety related cases. Delegations of strikers were sent to meet with Ford workers at plants which use Circuit-Wise circuit boards in Lansdale, Pennsylvania and Markham, Ontario Canada where UAW workers were striking in sub-zero weather conditions.

Strikers marched in many labor and community events, including in support of Pittston miners and New York *Daily News* strikers and in the Martin Luther King Day love march. They traveled to Yankee Stadium to hear Nelson Mandela and joined the UE contingent in a march for peace in the Middle East. Strikers were invited and participated in meetings of the Greater New Haven Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO even though their union is not affiliated. Delegations met with community and religious leaders and traveled to the state capitol and successfully lobbied for support from the State Legislature.

Strikers participated in *People's Weekly World* discussion groups, wrote articles for the paper, came to May Day, Communist Party anniversary events and to the YCL national convention where they received enthusiastic support. Most of the workers were on strike for the first time. Many had never been in a union before. The strike changed the lives of many of the strikers and was an incredible learning experience. Thrust together day after day, picketers became as close as family. Sometimes, the stresses and strains of trying to outlast the company took their toll. But if ever a striker broke down, their sisters and brothers would come to their aid.

Anthony DeMarco, the foremost picketer, died during the second winter of the strike. He had lived through three plant closings and was on strike three times before he got a job at Circuit-Wise where he worked for 12 years. Circuit-Wise was the end of the line for him and he was determined to win his rights. He picketed faithfully in rain, snow or heat 10 hours a day, with hardly a break. Even when he got sick with a bad cold in December, 1990 he stayed on the picket line. When he didn't show up one day, his fellow strikers went to his home and found that he had died. Everyone was angry at the company and heart-broken for the loss of their friend. His co-workers eulogized Andy as one of their best union teachers because he knew the strength of the strike was on the picket line, and he wouldn't let anyone forget it.

The union's health and safety and environment strategy aimed to expose Circuit-Wises' pollution of the Quinnipiac River and violations of OSHA standards for worker safety on the job, especially chemical spills. Connecticut health and safety activists supported the strikers' efforts to get OSHA to enforce its standards. Seven months into the strike, a state court levied a \$130,000 fine against the company for knowingly violating state environmental laws and dumping toxic wastes.

One of the most significant strategies of the strike centered on the Ford connection. Practically all of Circuit-Wise's contracts are with Ford. UE Local 299 found allies in the workers at Ford Electronics plants. Canadian, Mexican and U.S. Ford workers all found ways to support the Circuit-Wise strikers. A busload of UAW Local 1695 members travelled eight hours roundtrip from Lansdale, Pennsylvania where 80 percent of the circuit boards used for assembly come from Circuit-Wise. "You need a union or else everyone will be working in sweat shops," Howard Martin, one of the Ford

workers, told the *People's Daily World*, "You can't go up against these big companies by yourself."

In the bitter struggle for union representation at Circuit Wise, they found a common interest in winning justice for all workers, opening the doors to a new standard for unity between workers of the Big Three auto companies and supplier plants. At a plantgate rally, Ed Bruno, then director of organization for UE recalled how the UAW sit-down strike in Flint opened the way to organize basic industry in the 1930s and called for similar tactics now "to build the union movement in the 1990s." Some of the Circuit-Wise strikers are from countries with united labor movements. They were quick to develop relations with workers at other Ford plants, including Canada and Mexico in 1990. Four years later, UE Local 299 actively opposed passage of NAFTA, a position strengthened by their own connection with brothers and sisters across the borders.

FIGHTING FINANCE CAPITAL ▣ The strike was an example of how banking and corporate interests work together against the greater good of the community. At the time of the strike, Circuit-Wise was First Constitution Bank's largest borrower. Strikers held information pickets at the bank's area locations, to inform their customers that the bank which advertised itself as environmentally sound, was underwriting a polluter and union buster. In July 1988, the First Constitution Bank (FCB) lent \$6.3 million to Circuit-Wise in commercial loans and credit lines. The loan agreement had many stipulations, among them a clause requiring Circuit-Wise to comply fully with all federal, state and municipal laws and regulations. However, Circuit-Wise was being sued by the State Attorney General for, among other serious violations, illegally dumping toxic material into the Quinnipiac River which flows into the Long Island Sound. Also in 1988, the bank initiated an environmental program to clean up the Long Island Sound. The "Save Our Sound" campaign, which donated a percentage of new deposits to environmental groups, was a huge commercial success and attracted many new customers. These customers were appealed to, to withdraw their accounts from the bank if it would not use its leverage to bring the company to the negotiating table.

Pursuing a legal strategy to bolster the struggle on the picket line, the union filed dozens of charges with the National Labor Relations Board, demanding that the unfair labor practices be stopped. It was

a victory when the strike was declared an "unfair labor practice strike," guaranteeing the jobs of the strikers, even though replacement workers had been hired. On the eve of the first anniversary of the strike, the strikers were declared eligible to receive unemployment compensation benefits. Under state law, strikers have received unemployment compensation only after offering to end their strike and return to work. In the case of Circuit-Wise, testimony by members of UE Local 299 proved that the company hired permanent replacements for striking employees' jobs, which is illegal in an unfair labor practices strike. The company was charged 100 percent of the benefits, placing further economic pressure on them. But the long, slow process toward legal victories led UE President John Hovis to state the strike "clearly illustrates the dire necessity for a revision of the National Labor Relations Act."

The union strategy to appeal for legislative action and to demand a federal mediator took the strikers to Hartford and Washington, D.C. The union and supporters appealed to the state legislature and area elected officials to intervene for workplace justice. The legislature passed HB 18 calling upon Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole to intervene and help mediate a fair and just settlement beneficial to the employees, the company and the community at large. Appeals also came from 11 members of Congress and community and religious leaders. Eventually Secretary Dole appointed a special mediator who had been involved in the Pittston coal strike.

Despite wide support for a negotiated strike settlement, the company refused to bargain. The strategy exposed the company even further to the strikers and to the broader community. It forced national figures to become involved and further isolated the company. It increased the workers' understanding of the political process, and their skills in dealing with it. Many strikers became involved in political action for the first time.

Part of the union strategy to pressure Circuit-Wise was to win support from the town of North Haven. The refusal of Circuit-Wise to bargain in good faith cost the town of North Haven heavily. Working-class North Haveners objected to their tax dollars going to protect union busters. In the first seven months of the strike, the town spent more money on added police costs than the company paid in taxes in an entire year. Eleven months into the strike, \$300,000 of North Haven taxpayers' money had gone to police overtime, largely to direct traffic

and allow strikebreakers to cross the picket line. When a federal mediator was appointed and Circuit-Wise still refused to negotiate, the North Haven Town Committee voted to support the efforts of UE Local 299 to bring the company to the bargaining table. Finally, the town of North Haven greatly reduced their police presence, resulting in long waits for the scabs entering and leaving the plant. As the struggle unfolded, support and solidarity from labor and the community grew and grew. Resolutions, picket line support, civil disobedience, strike fund and family support were part of the struggle. Unions, religious and community leaders and organizations from the entire state and region spoke out against the injustice. Solidarity was extended to the Circuit-Wise strikers from workers in other countries as well. In addition to support from Ford workers in Mexico and Canada, solidarity was expressed by workers in El Salvador and Scotland.

Of particular note is the extensive support given by the AFL-CIO unions and central labor bodies. UE is not a part of the AFL-CIO. During a break in the annual convention of the Connecticut AFL-CIO in September, 1990, 300 delegates streamed out of school buses and onto the picket line to deliver a message to the Mettler brothers in the form of a giant postcard signed by all the delegates to the convention. "There is something wrong with America when people get fired and can't start unions," said strike leader Dorothy Johnson to the rally, adding that the strike presents a challenge to every American to "stop corporate greed, and make America the way it should be."

Five months later, in February 1991, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that it was illegal actions by the company that had forced workers to strike. Circuit-Wise was ordered to take back all the strikers and to negotiate in good faith with their union. A steward system was established and health benefits restored. It was a difficult and hotly debated decision to return to work and continue the struggle for a contract on the inside. The vote to offer to return to work was taken after the NLRB ruled that the company was guilty of unfair labor practices and must bargain with the union. Because the strike was ruled an unfair labor practices strike, the company was legally required to take all the workers back, although they tried to deny jobs to strikers.

In February, 1991, 80 strikers reclaimed their jobs. They had to work side by side with the strikebreakers who had crossed the picket line for 17

months. For the next three years, the company tried to undercut the union, and subvert the law, but they did not succeed. Workers reported that the company tried to provoke fights and tried to convince non-union workers to file for decertification.

"The company is still thinking that they are going to best us, but that will not be possible," said Dorothy Johnson in an interview two months after the strikers marched back into work. "If you can survive 17 months on strike, you can survive company union busting ... We are helping our forthcoming sisters and brothers at other shops to organize, too," said Johnson, who was elected president of Local 299 this past spring.

The return to work was an important partial victory. Many in labor were convinced that it would not be possible to continue to build momentum and win a contract from the inside. But the work of the union in the following three years was building on the strengths that had emerged during the long and courageous strike and organizing drive. The UE national organization invested heavily in the strike at Circuit-Wise. All together, funds raised by members around the country totalled over one million dollars. After the strike, UE reassigned the staff organizers, and the responsibility for keeping the union together, fell upon the leaders in the shop.

It is to their credit that they were able to maintain the newsletter, win grievances and sign up new members even while the courts were continuing to deliberate the Mettlers' appeals. They showed through their work that the union makes life better on the shop floor, and achieved a union membership of 65 percent.

When the Mettlers were finally served with a Circuit Court of Appeals decision that would have cost them many thousands of dollars, they began to negotiate. Since the contract was signed, the national union assigned a full-time organizer to Connecticut, especially to work with the union at Circuit-Wise. A victory picnic planned by the workers kicked off the campaign to get members more involved. The first priority is steward training so the members will be able to use the grievance procedure and fight for the contract effectively. As soon as the contract was signed on the dotted line, the owners began efforts to undermine and bypass its terms. Some members were under the illusion that because they got the contract, the company would do right. But the first abuse of the contract came almost immediately. A grievance was filed and won.

Because of the importance of Circuit-Wise to

opening up new possibilities for organizing sweatshops and sub-contractors, and because the multi-racial largely female workforce holds the potential for pulling forward many times more workers with them, the shop was selected for a weekly plant gate distribution of the *People's Weekly World*.

Distribution of the paper began in 1987 during the organizing drive. The goal was to make a contribution to the workers' efforts by presenting a class-struggle world view and knowledge of related workers' struggles around the country and the world. From the start, the paper was well received at the plant gate. When the workers went on strike, the paper was not a stranger. With weekly stories, it soon became an integral part of the strike and important to building strike support across the country. The ideas behind the articles in the *People's Weekly World* were brought to life and examined in depth by a group of workers who participated in a discussion group that served as a basic introduction to Marxism-Leninism. These weekly sessions were held on the picket line during the strike, until cold weather set in. The company was quick to use anti-Communism to try and discredit the union organizing drive. However, the message of working-class unity that the Party projected was understood, respected and defended. The company was simply told they were incorrect in saying the union was Communist – these were two separate organizations. When Gus Hall came to North Haven and walked the picket line, he was warmly greeted by the strikers.

Through their experience, the workers saw the connection between their own struggle and that of working people everywhere. In the heat of the battle, Circuit-Wise strikers presented a "Certificate of Thanks and Appreciation" to the *World* which read, "Without the *People's Weekly World* our struggle would not be known world-wide. In grateful recognition, we salute the only newspaper which, for the past 14 months, has steadily given accurate and honest coverage of our strike at Circuit-Wise." Writing for the paper after the contract was won, Kathy Bridges, a shop steward with 15 years of work put it this way:

The company said there would not be a union at Circuit-Wise. They tried everything to bust the UE union. Without the support of UE organizers, local unions and articles read in the *People's Weekly World*, we wouldn't have had the inspiration to go on with our struggle. It was good to learn that other working people had some of the prob-

lems we had. Reading their trials and tribulations was helpful.

BITTER-SWEET VICTORY ■ The victor is bitter-sweet. It is outrageous that six years of workers' lives had to be spent winning their first contract. For 17 months their lives were put on hold, savings were used up, health was jeopardized, and many had to take low-paying, non-union jobs to see themselves and their families through the long ordeal. Many never made it back to their jobs. No workers should be called upon to make such sacrifices for the simple right to win a union contract and maintain a living wage and benefits and safe working conditions. No union should need to devote such huge resources to a single organizing drive or contract fight.

The Circuit-Wise experience reaffirms the urgency of labor law reform, including immediate union recognition and contract negotiation as soon as a majority of workers sign union cards, and outlawing companies from hiring replacement workers. Ford workers in Pennsylvania were legally barred from putting down their tools in solidarity with their striking brothers and sisters on strike at Circuit-Wise. Such undemocratic laws should be challenged and stricken from the books.

The Circuit-Wise experience shows the methods by which capitalism puts profits before people. It is a case study of how business and industry and finance capital come to each others aid to break unions and protect profits. Their control of government and the media further consolidates their ability to limit workers' rights. This struggle shows the need for working-class political power to deliver full democratic rights.

Shortly before they went on strike, a delegation of Circuit-Wise workers traveled the 50 miles to Greenwich, CT to rally with striking mine workers at Pittston company headquarters. At that rally, UMWA President Richard Trumka sent shockwaves through the labor movement when he declared, "The 80s were theirs, the 90s are ours." When the United Mine Workers won their strike against Pittston, and came to help picket in North Haven, it was very inspiring for strikers at Circuit-Wise. "This seems to be a new beginning for the labor movement for the 1990s," said Dorothy Johnson that January, 1990. "The Pittston coal miners should not have had to go through what they did. But determination helped them win and that's such an encouragement for striking workers at Circuit-Wise. That's

how we will win."

Both the Pittston and Circuit-Wise struggles employed the ingredients that enable workers to flex their muscle and stand up against corporate greed: unity and solidarity among themselves, with the community, with other workers employed by the same corporation, and with other workers everywhere. The question of how labor can turn from the defensive to the offensive is now being widely debated. Since Trumka's declaration the right-wing corporate lobby achieved passage of NAFTA and defeat of the anti-scab bill. However, the all-out campaign by organized labor to defeat NAFTA brought important results. It raised to a new level of understanding the need for international labor solidarity with brothers and sisters in Canada and especially Mexico who are being devastated by less than subsistence wages, poor health and safety and destruction of the environment to achieve super profits. In addition, the allegiance of Congress to transnational corporations despite widespread demands for policies of economic justice have shaken confidence in the electoral system and opened new doors for labor's independent political action.

The ability of workers to win a first contract has emerged as a crucial question in the labor movement. Many victorious union organizing drives have been nullified by companies which refuse to negotiate, protected by labor laws that severely limit workers' rights. The Circuit-Wise workers won because they learned to put the interests of the union first. The company tried to divide workers along nationality and racial lines. The workers had to learn about each other and respect each others' concerns in order to win. They stood behind members who were fired after the strike, until their jobs were returned. By sticking together, and fighting each battle as it came, the workers were able to hold firm and keep from becoming discouraged. The contract struggle at Circuit-Wise added several hundred workers to the ranks of organized labor. The struggle also produced an outstanding group of new working-class leaders, African American, Puerto Rican, Polish and Italian, women and men.

V.I. Lenin's remark that no strike is ever lost because of what each worker learns rings true here. With all the sacrifice and hardship visited upon the workers at Circuit-Wise, their victorious struggle for a union contract has prepared these courageous workers to play a leadership role in labor and the community. □

Right to Life or Death to Democracy?

Diane Stokes

Demonstrations and massive grassroots lobbying after the murder of Dr. David Gunn, a Florida physician who operated an abortion clinic, forced Congress and President Clinton to pass the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, or FACE, in May, 1994. The law provides criminal and civil penalties for those convicted of using force, threats of force, physical obstruction or property damage against abortion providers and their patients.

From 1977 through April 1993, reproductive health clinics and providers were the targets of escalating violence in the form of 36 bombings, 81 arsons, 84 assaults, 2 kidnappings, 327 clinic invasions and one murder. Yet on Friday, August 6, John Hill, another shotgun-wielding anti-abortionist, killed Dr. Britton and his escort James Barrett and wounded another escort, his wife, June Barrett, in Pensacola, Florida – the same town where Dr. Gunn had been slain. Reproductive rights activists charge authorities have not been aggressive enough in enforcing the law against extremists. The following article tries to show why the capitalist class is not only not aggressive enough in enforcing the law but actually promotes such extremism.

Michael Griffin was convicted in March of the first-degree murder of Dr. Gunn. It is difficult to understand why Griffin, 32, would stalk and gun down a doctor on his way to deliver a baby. It is even more difficult to understand why some members of the Christian right saw Griffin as a hero.

But, as the prosecution argued, Griffin was an "assassin" in a case that dramatizes the escalation of violence against health care providers and patients seeking reproductive health services. It was one episode in a broader right-wing assault on democratic rights. In fact, under the cover of crusading for religious morality and the "right to life" of human embryos is a movement propelled by right-wing forces, some as extreme as the Ku Klux Klan.

Griffin's trial was the focus of national media attention. He was often portrayed as a lone, bigoted, white worker who had come under the influence of

John Burt, a former Klan member turned lay-minister. The bourgeois media claimed that the combined stress of unemployment and the influence of a persuasive zealot pushed Griffin over the edge. A white worker was paraded before the public as the main source of hate and violence. The KKK, the anti-choice movement and the socio-economic conditions that created him were hidden.

At Griffin's trial, the prosecution's final witness told the jury she overheard him tell his wife that he killed Dr. Gunn "because of his beliefs and convictions, and if he had to go to jail for the rest of his life to save a baby it would be worth it."¹

Griffin apparently changed his mind when he got to trial. Robert Kerrigan, his chief lawyer, argued that Griffin had been brainwashed by the 55-year-old Rev. Burt. Griffin had recently joined the Whilfield Assembly of God Church, outside Pensacola. Mr. Kerrigan contended that the minister drove Griffin to violence by subjecting him to a campaign of lurid videos, books and use of an effigy of Dr. Gunn and a funeral for a pair of aborted fetuses.

The reverend projects himself as a convert from drug addiction and Klan membership. He runs a home for women who are battered, pregnant, or drug abusers called Our Father's House. However, his experience and links with the KKK are apparent in his words and actions.

For example, last November, when he was questioned by Secret Service agents after he splashed red ink over life-sized posters of President Clinton and his wife Hillary, he explained that he was protesting their support of abortion rights. He told reporters after his meeting with the agents, "Good thing I didn't put a rifle scope on their heads, like I started to."²

He also publicly stated that as a former Klan member, he would like to win other Klansmen to born-again Christianity. "Get rid of the Klan's violence and racial bigotry, and I could work with those people. Fundamentalist Christians and those people are pretty close, scary close, fighting for God and country."³ On the weekend before the fatal shooting of Gunn, an anti-abortion rally was held in Melbourne, Florida. Randall Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, incit-

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ed the crowd: "We've found the weak link in the doctor. We're going to expose them. We're going to humiliate them." Melbourne is the location of Operation Rescue's "boot camp." There, anti-abortion extremists undergo a 12-week training course. In the summer of 1993 troopers were taught tactics of intimidation and terror which were later used against health care providers and clinic patients during the "Rescue America" campaign.

As early as the summer of 1992, Dr. Gunn was singled out by Randall Terry at an Operation Rescue rally in Montgomery, Alabama. "Wanted" posters of Dr. Gunn and his telephone number were passed out to the crowd. Operation Rescue literature also exhorted followers: "If you think abortion is murder - then act like it's murder!"

Dr. Gunn was "wanted" by the right wing because he refused to be intimidated. Other doctors left the three-state area that he served, but Gunn heroically continued providing health care and abortion services under daily threats to himself and his family.

For years they were stalked and were the victims of violent confrontations and death threats. On Christmas Day, 1984, in Pensacola, two doctors' offices and the Ladies' Center Clinic were bombed. Anti-choice terrorists were later convicted and imprisoned. Again in 1986, the Ladies' Center Clinic was attacked. John Burt led others in charging the clinic, knocking down two employees and destroying office equipment. In May, 1988, a bomb was found in the Ladies' Center Clinic before it exploded. A man from Kentucky had driven to Mr. Burt's house with a car full of explosives and had been directed to the clinic. Burt was placed under house arrest for two years for his role in the plot.

Dr. Gunn opened his own clinic, the Pensacola Women's Center Clinic, in March, 1993. Until then, the only clinic in Pensacola that offered abortion services was the Ladies' Center.

When Dr. Gunn arrived at his Pensacola clinic on March 10, 1993, a dozen anti-abortion activists were demonstrating. The group was led by Burt. The previous Sunday, at the Whilfield Assembly of God Church, he had conducted services. A new member, Michael Griffin, asked the congregation to pray for Dr. Gunn. He asked them to agree with him that Dr. Gunn should give his life to Jesus Christ. Griffin was among the dozen people protesting with Burt at the Women's Center Clinic when Gunn drove into the parking lot. Griffin, according to witnesses, pulled out a pistol and shouted, "Don't kill

any more babies," before shooting Gunn in the back three times.

Don Teshman, national director of the Houston-based Rescue America, immediately told the press, "While Gunn's death is unfortunate, it's also true that quite a number of babies' lives will be saved." Incredibly, Rescue America also issued a press release asking for funds for the family of the killer.

OPERATION RESCUE ■ Melbourne, Florida, is also the home of Operation Rescue's national director, Rev. Keith Tucci. In 1991 Operation Rescue began to conduct a "team activist training" campaign.

Randall Terry, Keith Tucci, and other leaders of this organization preach religious war on the "holocaust" of abortion. Their larger plan includes the removal of civil rights, affirmative action and the remaking of North America into a "Christian" nation.

Operation Rescue was founded in Binghamton, New York, in 1987. Rev. Jerry Falwell gave the organization a contribution of \$10,000. Operation Rescue has claimed annual donations of up to \$300,000 a year. Since the organization is not incorporated, IRS records are not available.

Its leader, Terry, lives in Harpursville, New York and reaches followers through a radio program called "Randall Terry Live" carried five days a week on 90 Christian stations. He projects himself as a righteous leader carrying out God's will by ending the "slaughter" of abortion. Doctors, their staff, and pro-choice activists are called "Nazis."

Operation Rescue's larger goal is the same as the Christian Coalition's - to eliminate "evil" and the sources of "evil" in America by establishing a theocracy.

Their definition of the sources of evil includes health care providers and activists who support abortion and reproductive rights; educators who use a multi-cultural/multi-ethnic curriculum and teach evolution and reproduction as a science; immigrants and people of color; atheists and non-Christians, liberals, socialists, Communists, trade unionists, feminists, lesbians and gays.

Not only are these groupings demonized, they are lumped together with genuinely corrupt elements such as pornographers, drug dealers, and organized crime. The "conspiracy" according to right-wing fanatics is orchestrated by the media, IRS, and the United Nations, the Rockefellers, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Carnegie and Ford Foundations, Henry Kissinger, and the Trilateral Commis-

sion. Politicians like pro-choice President Clinton, who have "aligned" themselves with "Godless Communists and feminists," are also part of the "cabal."

RIGHT-WING NETWORKS ■ Terry is also involved with Coalition on Revival, a national network of right-wing leaders who operate as a think tank for the establishment of a theocratic state. This group has played a significant role in the movement to "Christianize" the U.S. since 1986, when it held the "Continental Congress on the Christian World View" in Washington, D.C. On the basis of a position paper called "Worldview Documents," they plan to "Christianize" every aspect of our culture.

The Coalition on Revival, through its political arm, the National Coordinating Council, calls for the abolition of public schools by the year 2000. Most members of the Christian right use home schooling or private Christian schools. However, they are encouraged to run for public school boards.⁴

Their underlying strategy is to create conflicts in public schools so parents will send their children to Christian schools, accept vouchers, accept public financing of private schools and the privatization and destruction of unions in public schools.

The Coalition on Revival is led by 24 ministries representing a cross section of the Christian right. They include representatives from Pat Robertson's Reagent University, Robert Simonds of the National Association of Christian Educators/Citizens for Excellence in Education (NACE/CEE), and Christian Reconstructionists, known for their advocacy of the death penalty for criminals, abortionists and practicing homosexuals. Coalition on Revival marks a new level of organizational and ideological unity among Christian right forces that should sound a wake-up call for defenders of genuine democracy.

Another religious right group with a political agenda is the Christian Coalition, which brings together right-wing activists into a national political formation. They claim 400,000 members in 800 chapters. Their budget for 1993 was \$12 million. The organization is the most influential and has the largest grass-roots base of all the Christian right groups.

For example, in 1993 the Christian Coalition and the New York Roman Catholic Archdiocese distributed 600,000 voter guides through churches during school board elections. During the 1992 national elections, the Coalition gave out 40 million voter guides. Forty-one percent of Congressional candidates who got a one hundred percent rating from

the Coalition were elected.

Pat Robertson, a former Baptist minister, founder of the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) and the 700 Club, is the president of the Christian Coalition. Robertson daily reaches 55 million homes through the 700 Club and his highly profitable Family Channel. Standard News is also owned by Robertson. It works with Reuters and is heard over 400 radio stations. Another part of Robertson's financial empire is Reagent University which was founded by him. The university has received generous funding from the ultra-right Coors family.

Robertson publicly predicts that the Christian Coalition will be the most powerful political force by the end of the century. He states that the Coalition's message "is to mobilize Christians – one precinct at a time, one community at a time – until once again we are the head and not the tail, and at the top rather than the bottom of our political system." Pat Robertson's 1991 book, *The New World Order*, clearly state the Christian right's agenda. Transnational corporations and their destruction of the world economy is justified in the name of the preservation of a religious elite.

During 1992, the Christian Coalition mounted a large campaign to defeat the ERA Amendment to the Constitution. Using the Iowa Christian Coalition and Iowa Committees to Stop ERA, Robertson and other Christian right leaders unleashed a barrage of hatred on their opponents. In a letter to close followers, Robertson states the following:

The feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians.

The Christian right first emerged in recent years as a national political force during the presidential elections of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. After Bush was elected, they were disillusioned by his policies and redirected their strategy towards taking over the Republican Party itself.

At the last Republican National Convention in Houston in 1992, Pat Robertson brought 300 of the 2000 delegates – more than when he ran for president. The Christian right wrote the GOP platform. The Christian Coalition has declared that they intend to take control of the Republican National Committee by 1996. Already, they control 12 GOP state com-

mittees. The National Association of Christian Educators claims 85,000 members in 800 chapters.⁵

Currently, the issues of anti-abortion, anti-lesbian and gay rights and preserving "family values" and traditional education are the issues being used to mobilize a church-based army of political believers. Within the last year, the religious right has begun to organize a conservative base within the African American community. Groups like the Traditional Values Coalition and the Christian Coalition are trying to recruit African American spokespeople to divide that community from within and to prevent the alignment of the African American community with the reproductive rights and other peoples' movements as well as with labor.

OF THE KLAN AND THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT ■ Historically, the role of the Ku Klux Klan and the Christian right has been to terrorize or confuse and divide the working class and hold back economic and democratic gains, particularly in the South and rural areas. Under slave society, feudalism and capitalism, ruling classes maintain power through political, legal, educational and religious traditions and institutions combined with organized direct force. Mysticism and idealism are systematically integrated into a superstructure that glorifies those in control and protects their economic base. Capitalism's strategic weapons in maintaining state power, especially during periods of economic crisis, are the ideologies of white supremacy and male supremacy. These ideologies are often interwoven with extreme forms of mysticism, patriotism and anti-working-class, anti-immigrant and anti-Communist ideas. Formations like the KKK and Christian right are tactical domestic weapons and are given direct and indirect financial and political support.

Southern slave owners used the Klan and organized religion during slavery and after it was abolished. The Ku Klux Klan emerged during Reconstruction as a secret armed force which the defeated slave-owning class used to limit the advances of African Americans as wage laborers, small landowners and craftsmen. The plantation system was based upon slave labor. After the Civil War freed African Americans from chattel slavery, the class struggle continued over the conditions of wage labor, redistribution of the land and political power.

The emancipation of African American labor was an historic development which benefited the entire working class. The deposed ruling class fought

back with every available means – short of a legal standing army. Before the Civil War, slave labor was more profitable and existed on a wider scale than wage labor. Slaves were the most brutally exploited form of human labor and were used to drive down the price of wage labor in both the South and the North. The plantation economy held back the growth of industry and the working class and its ability to organize.⁶ Workers were strong anti-slavery advocates. New England, notes William Z. Foster, was the birthplace of both North American industry and abolitionism.⁷ As early as 1832, women cotton mill workers in Lowell, Massachusetts, were active in forming an anti-slavery society.⁸ According to Foster,

The local labor parties of the 1820s generally condemned chattel slavery, and workers were prominent in all the anti-slavery societies and movements before the Civil War. They developed into a basic sector of the great anti-slavery alliance which fought through that revolutionary war.⁹

Industry was just entering the stage of factory production and workers' class consciousness was relatively new. Trade unions were beginning to be organized but workers had only small local labor parties. Many labor organizations were against slavery and linked their opposition to both chattel and wage slavery.¹⁰ However, an advanced class program identifying the common interests of African American people and white workers was not put forward at this time in history. Pro-slavery forces, including the Democratic Party and the leadership of the Protestant and Catholic churches, carried out vicious campaigns to divide African American people from white workers, farmers and women. Whites were told that if slaves were freed, they would be lawless and avaricious. They would be a source of cheap labor to lower the wages of other workers and would take away their land. African American men were portrayed as animals, who would debase and rape white women if they were not enslaved.

Using racism and male supremacy, reactionary religious leaders and the Democratic Party represented the class that benefited from slavery, while masquerading as the protector of white women and white workers. After the assassination of President Lincoln, Andrew Johnson became president. He supported the former slave owners but was opposed in Congress by the radical Reconstructionists led by Senator Charles Sumner and Representative Thaddeus Stevens. Sumner and Stevens spearheaded the

Congressional fight to deny former Confederate leaders elected office and to extend land and democratic rights to the former African American slaves and propertyless white men. During the 1866 elections in the South, only white, male, property owners could vote. They returned to political office 58 Confederate Congressmen, nine Confederate Generals and Admirals, six Confederate Cabinet Members and the former Vice President of the Confederacy, Alexander H. Stephens.¹¹

Congress refused to seat the former confederates. A wave of violence in the South was directed toward African Americans and their white allies who had opposed secession in each of the former slave states. Reactionary legislators passed "Black Codes" to replace earlier "Slave Codes."

Mississippi simply replaced the word "slave" in its old laws with "Black" for the new codes governing free people. Everywhere in the South "Black Codes" required that ex-slaves be employed by a White person and could not change jobs without a White's permission. Unemployed Blacks were arrested for vagrancy and then assigned to work without pay. Black children without parents were rounded up and used as forced labor, as in bondage. Blacks had to work and whites were their legal, all-powerful employers.¹²

In the North, capitalists were organizing locally and nationally to fight labor. Lockouts were common and strike leaders were jailed.

As unemployment increased in the North with the sudden cessation of war contracts and with demobilization, Southern planters, intent on saving their system by replacing slavery with peonage through debt and vagrancy laws, had instigated mass killings of Negroes in Memphis on May 1, 2, and 3, 1866, when forty-six Negroes were taken from their homes and lynched. And as 5,000 iron molders, locked out in Pittsburgh, their leaders jailed on conspiracy charges, were entering their seventh month of semi-starvation, forty-five more Negroes were slain in New Orleans.¹³

The Civil War and the following struggle to reconstruct the Southern economic and political system are viewed by Marxists as a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The industrial working class and its revolutionary allies – slaves, workers, small farmers, artisans, the middle class and women, made significant advances during this period. For the first time,

African American men and propertyless white men participated in county and state government, popular assemblies and gained the right to own land and vote.

African American and white women only indirectly shared in some of these gains since they could still neither vote or own land. Through state constitutional conventions they created the South's first public school system, gave tax relief to the poor and placed heavier taxes on the rich, and extended women's rights. The popular conventions set money aside for roads, bridges, government building, hospitals, asylums and prisons. Laws were altered to prevent the poor from being whipped or put in jail for debt or executed for minor crimes.¹⁴

These accomplishments were defended by revolutionary formations called the Union League Clubs and Volunteer Defense Corps.¹⁵ In 1865, in Pulaski, Tennessee, large land owners aligned with wealthy businessmen and former Confederate army officers to form the Ku Klux Klan. The Southern ruling class had used vigilante gangs long before the Civil War. After the Civil War, both elements came together and organized the KKK. The Klan was one of many anti-African American groups like the Knights of the White Rose, Pale Faces and White Brotherhood. However, the "Invisible Empire" developed into the largest and most enduring terrorist formation that was organized in reaction to reconstruction of the South. The first unity meeting of key KKK forces was held in the spring of 1867, in Nashville, Tennessee. Hundreds of thousands of mounted troops were mobilized to overturn the gains of the Civil War in the South.¹⁶

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS AND CLASS STRUGGLE ■

Towards the end of the 1860s capitalism was consolidating and expanding its territories and sources of raw materials, not only on the continent of North America, but also in developing countries. Neo-Malthusian ideology was developed to facilitate this economic strategy.

Lenin used the term "great power chauvinism" to describe the ideology used to justify imperialism. It was based upon a class, racial, sexual and native born, (or "nativist,") bias that wealthy, Northern European men were superior to others and their destructive actions were justified by their superiority. Intellectuals for the ruling class attempted to base their theories in the pseudo-science of Malthus and Social-Darwinism.

Marx and Engels stressed the scientific impor-

tance of Darwin's theory of evolution. However, they criticized him for transferring to nature Malthus's idea of competition for survival on earth's limited resources among a "surplus human population." Other writers however, took the theories back from organic nature and attempted to say that "survival of the fittest" on the finite resources available under capitalism, was an eternal law. The Northern European Protestant ruling class was threatened by the large numbers of people they were exploiting and oppressing. Using neo-Malthusian theories, the working class, African Americans, dark-skinned immigrants or colonized peoples, as well as women, were linked with poverty, crime, disease, mental illness, prostitution and sexual deviation.

During the 1860s and 1870s, a campaign against abortions and birth control and in the early 1900s for massive sterilization was directed against "undesirable" working-class and nationally oppressed people who carried "bad blood or genes." By the 1920s the pseudo-science of Galtonian and Mendelian genetics were added to earlier theories and became the eugenics movement. While opposing abortion many eugenics advocates were for sterilization and birth control to limit "overbreeding" among "unfit" poor people. Eugenics later served as a basis for Nazism.

Historically, the ruling class has depicted the victims of racism and male supremacy as being criminal and sexually deviant to stratify them in the workforce; and when unemployed, to pass repressive laws to control them; or to kill them outright through sterilization, castration, lack of health care, starvation and war. Male supremacist and nativist sentiments in the late nineteenth century were also linked with obscenity to fuel reaction against abortion and birth control.

The contemporary struggle for reproductive rights was stimulated by the emerging Civil Rights movement in the African American community and the labor movement, and in turn has impacted upon them.

As in the Civil Rights movement, early struggles in the reproductive rights movement centered around political struggles over discriminatory and repressive laws and practices. In 1959, the American Law Institute produced a model Penal Code recommending the availability of abortion, not only when a woman's life was in danger, but also in cases of likely birth defects, rape or incest, or when physical or mental danger might occur to the woman. Reproductive rights activists used the code to organize and pressure state legislatures to reform laws. Three state - Colorado, North Carolina and California -

were the first to pass more progressive laws in 1969.

Test cases challenging court rulings were also developed by activists. Feminist healthcare providers, lawyers, social workers and ministers who dealt directly with women needing abortions, were moved to political action. Their material conditions partially determined the middle-class nature of the reproductive rights movement and its reformist focus on the courts, and the legislative and political arenas for the extension of legal rights as well as health care and jobs.

IMPACT OF THE PILL ■ For the first time in human history, in the early '60s, technological and scientific advances made the pill - a more reliable method of birth control - available to women. This had a profound impact on the ability of women to control fertility and to make choices about their work and lives. The technological, social and political conditions existed for women to choose to work. If biology was no longer destiny, why did the capitalist system not provide women with full employment? Or even equal pay?

Throughout the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, monopoly capital needed an expanding source of cheap labor. Women were drawn out of the home: Blacks were drawn out of the South and other workers were drawn from Asia, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Central and South America into the U.S. workforce.

To maximize profits and superprofits, the capitalist class is continually manipulating and stratifying its labor force and maintaining a backup of unemployed, called by Marx and Engels, the "reserve army of labor." Although the entire working class is vulnerable to unemployment, nationally and racially oppressed workers, and particularly women are kept in the most precarious economic positions, through the ideologies of white supremacy and male supremacy and variations of neo-Malthusian ideology. Questions of population control and mass access to science and health care to manage fertility reproduction and even survival, are also questions of which class controls and regulates underemployment and unemployment.

In 1962, national attention was focused on abortion rights and issues when the bourgeois media reported a sleeping pill called thalidomide, taken by pregnant women, had caused birth defects in thousands of babies. The debate centered around the questions of whether the fetus was a person and whether women who had taken the drug had the right to choose to abort the fetus. Both pro-and-anti-

abortion forces began to organize.

Again in 1963 and 1964, women's right to abortion became part of a national debate when the media reported a rubella epidemic caused birth defects in 30,000 children. This spurred more organizing efforts.

During the 1960s only 8000 therapeutic procedures were performed in the United States every year, compared to the estimated 1 million illegal abortions and resulting injuries and deaths. The World Health organization estimates that 500,000 women, mainly in developing countries die each year from pregnancy-related causes and 200,000 of these deaths are due to illegal abortions. Most legal abortions were done in hospitals and had to be approved by a board and a committee of physicians. The board refused most of the requests.

In many states, women risked prosecution for having abortions. Activists providing abortion referral services could become an accessory to a crime. Health care providers practicing abortion could be directly charged with committing a crime. Disobedience became a necessary course of political action.

From 1968 to 1973, organized petit-bourgeois radical and liberal feminists used a variety of direct actions to repeal abortion laws. They pressured the medical community, legislators, and used the media as well as demonstrations, sit-ins, and petitions to raise mass consciousness about reproductive rights. For example, in 1969, the women's movement surrounded the American Medical Association convention demanding the organization take a position for the repeal of restrictions on abortion.

"BIRTH OF RIGHT TO LIFE" MOVEMENT ▣ The hierarchy of the Catholic church began to organize "right-to-life" committees in 1970 to stop the movement to legalize abortion. *Roe vs. Wade* was passed in 1973 by the Supreme Court and was an important political victory in this struggle. This action struck down restrictive laws in nearly every state. Immediately afterwards, the Christian right began a full-scale campaign to add a "human life amendment" to the U.S. Constitution. By declaring the fetus a "human person," abortion could be called murder for the first time in U.S. legal history.

In 1977, the first Hyde Amendment was passed, limiting federal Medicaid funding for abortion. By 1979, only when a woman's life is in danger could federal funds be used for abortion. The amendment severely cut access for poor and minority women to services available earlier. Most states adopted simi-

lar restrictions and also began to require consent or notification of parents and husbands before allowing abortions for unmarried minors or wives.

Abortion is the only pregnancy-related service denied to Medicaid recipients. As a result of the Hyde Amendment, there has been an increase in illegal and self-induced abortions.

Low-income women have been forced to "choose" sterilization which is paid for by Medicaid and is still the most widely available form of birth control in the U.S. and the world. The National Black Women's Health Project has played a leading role in bringing together pro-choice and other groups at the national level to repeal the Hyde Amendment. The campaign also fights to remove all other federal funding restrictions that block access to abortion.

When President Clinton was elected to office by labor, African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, women and seniors, these forces expected reforms after the Reagan-Bush years. In January 1993 Clinton overturned five anti-abortion decrees from the two earlier Republican administrations. He eliminated the "gag" rule of 1988 which prevented clinics receiving federal funds from even informing women about abortion. Promising medical research using fetal tissue from abortions to fight diseases was reinstated. Clinton allowed research to determine if the French birth control drug RU-466 was medically safe and also could be used in research in fighting diseases. Since then, RU-466 has been imported for sale in this country. Clinton lifted the ban on U.S. aid to international humanitarian organizations that provide abortion services or information. Lastly, he reversed a 1988 decision stopping abortions at military clinics.

Because of these actions, Clinton is regarded as a reformer by the bourgeois media and a "radical" by the right. There are divisions in the ruling class over questions of reproductive rights and abortion. For example, the Christian right was outraged by Clinton's reversal of the ban on RU-466 and threatened to organize a boycott of the French manufacturer.

However, unless pressured, in the legislative and economic arenas, Clinton has continued his predecessors' policies of slashing social programs and legislating "reforms" that benefit only the corporations while criminalizing poverty and reproduction. Clinton promotes a contemporary variation of neo-Malthusian ideology in the sense that at times he appears to be improving the conditions for the working classes and oppressed nationalities while

actually doing the opposite by supporting NAFTA, GATT and working to defeat the anti-scab bill.

Instead of legislating more funds for union-wage jobs, job training and childcare, the president's welfare reform, or Workfare, is the same old scheme to provide an army of low-paid, temporary employees for corporate/government privatization schemes. States like New Jersey are beginning to pass laws punishing welfare mothers by stopping the extension of benefits when they have more children. Women, especially nationally oppressed women, bearing "too many" children are being blamed for everything from the economic crisis to environmental destruction.

One of the most vicious forms this ideology has taken is the "Save our State" ballot initiative in California. Immigrants have been targeted as causing unemployment, poor schools and the budget deficit. There are between 1.3 and 2 million undocumented immigrants in the state. Governor Wilson supports the measure which would deny public education, medical and social services to undocumented workers and their families. Contrary to immigrant-bashing stereotypes being used in California, approximately 11 million immigrants are working earning \$240 billion a year and pay more than \$90 billion in taxes outweighing by far the \$5 billion that immigrants receive in welfare.¹⁷ A grassroots organizing campaign is emerging to defend and advance the rights of immigrants in California.

Coercive use of birth control is also being promoted or practiced in various states. Norplant, a new contraceptive implanted in women's arms, costs \$400 to \$800 and is not an option for most women. In spite of its high cost Norplant was considered by the Kansas state legislature as a way to reduce the state's welfare rolls. A legislative proposal offered cash benefits to women having the implant. And a Louisiana state legislator, David Duke promoted the idea of making the drug a condition for receiving welfare benefits. The cost of abortion to the government is not the issue, since both Norplant and sterilization are more expensive than first trimester abortions.

One of the objectives of the right-to-life movement has been to make abortion and birth control so controversial and that they are no longer taught in medical schools or offered in hospitals and clinics. By intimidating healthcare providers and their patients, the anti-choice movement had greatly limited the availability of birth control and abortion as well as healthcare, especially in rural areas and at

public hospitals. Eighty-three percent of the counties in the U.S. now have no abortion providers. Almost one-third of Black, Native American, Puerto Rican and Mexican women receive no prenatal care during the first three months of pregnancy – a genocidal health care policy.

The corporate monopolization of health care has resulted in hospitals going bankrupt and closing especially in working-class Black and Latino communities. In New York state, one-fifth of the annual budget in contracts for health care is spent on church-owned hospitals or clinics. The Catholic church has bought out or merged with a number of hospitals. Not only is it hiring anti-choice staff and forcing an anti-choice agenda upon its patients, it is eliminating unions, union-scale wages, benefits and affirmative action for its workers.

Although the repeal of the Hyde Amendment is an important struggle, many low-income women are ineligible for Medicaid. It is important to tie the fight for reproductive rights and abortion with the fight for universal health care. It is important to tie the fight for universal health care with the fight for jobs. The labor movement, the African American movement, and the women's movement have reached the point in history where they have each initiated an alternative political party. The working class can play a larger role in fighting for democratic and reproductive rights and building the links necessary now in the emerging anti-monopoly movement. The capitalist class and its terrorists can be defeated. □

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The U.S. Economic War Against Cuba

George W. Loveland

In a recent attempt to justify the U.S. economic war against Cuba, President Bill Clinton arrogantly proclaimed, "The people of Cuba want democracy and free markets." Yet as Clinton was pontificating about "freedom" and "democracy," his policies were breeding such suffering that in three days over 4,000 risked their lives in makeshift rafts seeking relief from their suffering. What Washington imperialists call "freedom" and "democracy" is nothing but ruling-class freedom to viciously exploit.

For 35 years the Cuban revolution has survived relentless economic and sometimes military aggression by the U.S. For most of that time it had the economic and political support of the socialist countries which counterbalanced U.S. efforts to create social chaos and economic suffering among the Cuban people. But it was not external support alone that virtually eliminated unemployment and illiteracy and extended housing and free health care to all Cuban citizens. The external support merely allowed the Cubans to make social progress through a dogged struggle against foreign domination and for the goals of their socialist revolution.

United States undersecretary of state for political affairs Peter Tarnoff recently stated, "It should be clear after 35 years to Fidel Castro and his government that the way he has been managing the affairs of the island is a failure. He is being told that by his own people - that's why they want to leave." Tarnoff was, in fact, repeating the same official distortion of reality that has always been the foundation of U.S. imperialist policy toward Cuba.

This imperialist policy can be summed up in a three-part formula: use the capitalist media to portray popular independence movements as "anti-democratic." This proves useful if a military invasion later becomes necessary. Support counter-revolutionary forces willing to serve as puppets for U.S. capital interests with money and arms. Create suffering among the people by cutting off supplies of essential goods and services. People weakened by starvation will be susceptible to propaganda that

blames the revolutionary leaders for the economic troubles.

The U.S. media have played their part, using the "red bogeyman" motif and portraying the Cuban leaders as self-serving tyrants. The CIA and Jorge Mas Canosa have led the Cuban counter-revolutionary forces in the Bay of Pigs and several attempts on Castro's life. And now, for the first time since the revolution, the collapse of international socialist solidarity seriously threatens the continued existence of socialism in Cuba. The brutal war of starvation waged on the Cuban people by Washington is indeed sowing chaos in Cuban society.

Clinton implies that fleeing Cubans are seeking some abstract notion of ruling-class freedom to exploit their fellow humans. In fact, they are seeking productive work, decent housing, food and medicine - the very things their own government wants to, and could, provide if the U.S. would agree to develop a peaceful, civil relationship.

Cuban socialism is unique in that it has survived imperialism's best shot for so long. While popular people's movements have triumphed only to be worn down by the aggressive policies of nine U.S. presidents, the Cuban people have defended their revolution valiantly. Historically, the revolution has been so strong and popular that even the U.S. capitalist press has had a hard sell in convincing bourgeois liberals in Congress that Cuba is in the hands of evil dictators. Since the early 1970s there have been members of Congress who have spoken favorably of Cuba's revolutionary leaders and have advocated normalizing relations between the two countries. A brief review of this tendency in liberal American politics can suggest strategies for Communists in the U.S.

In hearings before the Subcommittee on International Trade and Commerce in 1976, Representative Michael J. Harrington argued that the U.S. propaganda campaign against Cuba was a failure and had not succeeded in stopping the "export" of revolution:

I have long believed that the U.S. trade embargo of Cuba and our non-recognition policy have needlessly inflicted substantial damage on our own economy and our

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international prestige. Our current policy, of course, was intended to damage Castro. In the Cold War atmosphere of the early '60s, with the new Cuban leader daily denouncing the United States and seeking to "export" his revolution to other Latin American countries, we broke off diplomatic relations with the island republic and imposed a trade embargo in concert with the Organization of American States. In the intervening years, however, this effort to isolate Cuba has not only lost its logic, it has actually boomeranged. If anyone is isolated by now, it is ourselves.¹

From this liberal perspective, the U.S. had succeeded only in isolating itself and damaging its "international prestige." The ineffective and unrealistic policy verified the Cubans' claims that the U.S. was a cold and vengeful bully. It was becoming clear to the world that Cubans were making social advances even with the blockade, and the U.S. stubbornly refused to admit this reality. In world opinion, this denial made America seem like the child who believes that when he shuts his eyes the scene before him no longer exists.

A POPULAR REVOLUTION ■ Another characteristic of U.S. foreign policy at this time was an intense paranoia of Cuba "exporting" revolution. Specifically, many in the U.S. government were anxious about Cuba's involvement in the civil war in Angola, although this involvement was in support of a legitimate democratic government. Yet even in the midst of the phobia of international Communism, Barry Skylar's report before Congress on a fact-finding mission to Cuba in 1975 could not deny the expanding political consciousness of Cuba's citizens:

During periods when I was on my own as well as when I was accompanied by my escorts, I had the opportunity to see the Cuba of the city of Havana and Matanzas. I saw the impressive low-cost Alamar housing project, just east of Havana; I saw the vibrant and bustling port of Havana, and the aging, once elegant homes of Miramir; I spoke to young enthusiastic dedicated government officials as well as ordinary citizens who praised the virtues of the system under which they live and work, and I spoke to some who found fault with the austere and politically restrictive ambience of Cuba today.²

The irony in complaints about a "politically restrictive ambience" is that those voicing the complaints felt free and uninhibited enough to criticize their government before an invited representative of

the U.S. government. Thomas Jefferson might be hard-pressed to find a better example of the exercise of free speech. Skylar continues:

It is not only necessary to see the material accomplishments of the Cuban government, i.e., the new housing projects, the proliferation of schools and hospitals, and the thriving fishing port. It is also necessary to hear the people talk about themselves and reveal their perceptions on life in Cuba as well as their views of the world beyond Cuba.³

The daily physical reminders that their revolution was succeeding were what discouraged the Cubans from rebelling against their government, and thus foiled the U.S. attempts at bringing the revolutionary government down.

Senator Frank Church's report of his 1977 trip to Cuba described life under Cuban Communism in even more favorable terms:

There is no evidence on the streets of beggars, drunkenness, drug addiction, or the prostitution for which Havana was once infamous.... Construction activity abounds in Havana and throughout the countryside, much of it new housing for the expanding population, which has increased from 6 million to 9.6 million since Castro came to power. Housing appears to be adequate and inexpensive. An apartment costs a worker 10 percent of his or her salary regardless of family size. One hundred thousand new housing units are being built this year, we are told.... Education and health are now given priority in Cuban development planning.... We were told by education officials that at the time of the revolution, nearly half the adult population was illiterate; now illiteracy is less than 4 percent, consisting essentially of those too old to learn.... Adult education is stressed with the objective that, regardless of age, Cubans might always be involved in some type of study program. Physical work is combined with study at the secondary levels. All education, including higher education is free.⁴

Senator Church's observations shed light on the reason for the failure of U.S. policy. It was aimed at trying to convince a socially conscious people to rebel against a successful socialist system that they saw as responsive to their human needs.

The motivating force behind the Congress' softening attitude toward Cuba was, of course, the opportunity for increased profits for U.S. international business. In 1976, a television news story by Vic Walter of Miami charged that some U.S. business

consulting firms might be violating the draconian U.S. trade prohibitions by sponsoring seminars on doing business with Cuba. The House Committee on International Relations called the presidents of two of these consulting firms to testify. After defending their patriotism, both CEOs rhapsodized about the potential for boosting corporate profits by opening trade relations with Cuba. Orville Freeman, president of Business International Corporation testified:

According to what *Business Latin American* editors learned while visiting Cuba, officials of that land foresee the day when U.S. companies would have 30 percent of its total market. This would be within a few years of renewed relations. Assuming that 1975 import figures are a valid barometer of future trade, U.S. companies can contemplate a market of around \$750 million annually.⁵

And Jones parroted the standard corporate trickle-down lie: "Cuba represents a potential buyer and a new source of export income, thereby increasing the future U.S. balance of payments. Exports put people to work and increase corporate profits."⁶ These new voices were gaining favor in the international business community. The passionate anti-Castro views of the business people whose assets were expropriated in the early 1960s were being tempered by the views of business people who were ravenous for the profits of a new international market.

REAGAN POLICY ■ In the early 1980s, the official statements from Washington became more abrasive and openly antagonistic. The foundation of the Reagan administration's economic policy was military global dominance. The new administration's policies went beyond opening up borders to international trade. They sought to crush the existing economies of developing nations and restructure them to serve as guardians of U.S. capital interests. U.S. business would thus have access to cheap labor and freedom from government regulation of things like environmental standards and worker safety concerns.

With Cuba, this policy was manifest in the government's obsession with the old fear that the Cubans were seeking to "export" their revolution. Popular revolutionary governments had come to power in Nicaragua and Grenada which had indicated they did not intend to kowtow to Washington's economic agenda. What was more, these governments had the moral, and sometimes military support of Cuba. Speaking before the Subcommittee

on Inter-American Affairs, the assistant secretary for inter-american affairs, Thomas O. Enders, dutifully cranked up the Cold War rhetoric machine:

... history ... makes unmistakably clear that Castro would not tolerate any loosening of state control inside Cuba, and that he would continue and perhaps even intensify the activities which threaten to undermine our national security and that of our friends.⁷

Yet even in the midst of this vitriolic tirade, Enders could not completely obscure the fact that conditions in Cuba were tremendously improved since the revolution. In his own words, "Infant mortality and life expectancy already met high standards in 1959; under Castro, they have improved less than in many other developing countries." In other words, Cuba's communist system had maintained for its citizens conditions that contributed to improved health in spite of the United States' attempts to prevent needed food and medicine from reaching the Cuban people.

The 1990s have seen a sharpening of the aggressive anti-Communist rhetoric toward Cuba that began during the Reagan administration. The Cuban "Democracy" Act of 1992, introduced by Representative Robert Torricelli of New Jersey claimed "... to promote a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba through the application of appropriate pressures on the Cuban Government and support for the Cuban people..."⁸ Behind this "humanitarian" newspeak lurked the specter of frenzied sharks circling wounded victims, the victims being the Cuban people. The bill eventually became Title XVII of the "National Defense Authorization Act for FY93." It authorized:

... sanctions against countries that provide assistance to Cuba, including ineligibility for U.S. aid or for forgiveness or reduction of debt owed to the U.S. government. [It authorizes] ... U.S. government food, medical, and other humanitarian assistance for Cuba only when the Cuban government certifies it will hold free and fair elections within six months and will respect human rights and democratic freedoms.⁹

The law punished any nation which seeks civilized relations with Cuba and makes it a crime to provide humanitarian assistance to its citizens. The historical impetus for this economic warfare was, of course, the breakup of the Soviet Union and Cuba's

loss of its major trading partner. For over thirty years the U.S. blockade had failed to exert enough economic suffering on the Cuban people to motivate them to rebel against their socialist government. Now these reactionaries in Washington sense that they can at last impose their own conditions on the Cubans.

Yet even in 1992, when Cuba was being described before the Congress as a bloody fighter staggering against the ropes, some in Congress sensed the futility of the U.S. economic abuses against the Cubans:

The committee's support for H.R. 5323 suggests that the U.S. should move hastily to drive the final nail into Castro's political coffin. But this approach ignores the reality of the situation. The 30-year embargo has failed to dispose Castro, and there are not guarantees that tightening sanctions will expedite Castro's political end. Meanwhile, as the Cuban people increasingly suffer the vicissitudes of geo-politics, H.R. 5323 maintains the status quo on humanitarian relief.¹⁰

However, it is historically inaccurate to imply, as do the rest of Weiss and Payne's dissenting views, that President Castro held the leadership of the Communist government through force and intimidation of the people. Following a trip to Cuba in 1988, Senator Claiborne Pell suggested a more reasonable explanation for the failure of U.S. aggression toward Cuba:

I first went [to Cuba] after my election to the Senate in 1960. I returned from that trip with the conclusion that CIA activity was not productive and that what became the Bay of Pigs invasion would not work because Castro had the support of the great majority of the Cuban people.... I traveled to Cuba again in 1974 with the late Senator Jacob Javits. In the report we issued after the trip we concluded that the time was ready for a better relationship with Cuba.... I return from this trip believing once again that it is an appropriate time to move toward a more rational and normal relationship with Cuba.¹¹

As Pell mentions, the U.S. economic war against Cuba had failed because the Cubans wanted it to fail. The Cuban revolution had survived over 30 years of Cold War propaganda and economic war waged by the world's most powerful nation because the large majority of Cubans supported the socialist system that revolution produced.

For those powerful business monopolies that

strive for economic domination of the entire planet, the prospects for setting up shop in Cuba are dimming. The Cuban Democracy Act has not struck fear in the hearts of other nations. London's *Financial Times* has reported that some British firms are holding preliminary trade agreement meetings with Cuban officials in the areas of agriculture, tourism and mining. Two Dutch banks, ING and Netherlands Caribbean Bank, are looking into the possibility of funding business ventures in Cuba. In addition, within the U.S. Congress, Representative Charles Rangel and Jose Serrano of New York have introduced the "Free Trade With Cuba Act" which would end all trade restrictions with Cuba.

Mass pressure needs to be exerted to give this bill a fighting chance. That such possibilities now exist is evident from recent statements by Senator Dodd of Connecticut and the opposition by several leading newspapers to the blockade.

The Cuban revolutionary government will survive the enormous economic pressures that have been brought against it. Recent internal restructuring, though, has shown that this same government has made some economic concessions. Can Cuba maintain its dogged commitments to universal health care and education, full employment, and freedom from the threats of homelessness and malnutrition with the increased presence of the capital of those nations which seek to control its soul? These are the challenges facing Cuba and our movement in the 21st Century. □

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The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House, by Bob Woodward, 1994, New York, New York: Simon and Schuster, 352 pp., \$24.00 Hardcover.

January 1993: Bill Clinton has not yet been inaugurated. Economist Alan Blinder, whom the President will name to membership on the Federal Reserve Board, explains to him why he should focus on reducing the federal deficit at the expense of progressive tax and spending proposals. To accomplish this, Blinder says Clinton will need the cooperation of the Federal Reserve and the bond market. Woodward writes:

... Clinton's face turned red with anger and disbelief: 'You mean to tell me that the success of the program and my reelection hinges on the Federal Reserve and a bunch of f ... g bond trades?,' he responded in a half whisper. Nods from his end of the table. Not a dissent (from his advisers).

Clinton ... perceived at this moment how much of his fate was passing into the hands of the unelected Alan Greenspan and the bond market.

Stephanopoulos (Clinton's communications director) also saw that it was a crucial moment in Clinton's growing realization. It was no longer a political campaign. They faced new economic realities and had to start all over again. Their first audience would have to be the Fed and the bond market. (p. 84)

This exchange gives much of the flavor of Bob Woodward's book, *The Agenda*, which deals with Clinton's election campaign and his first eight months in office.

The president accepted Blinder's line. It meant betraying his campaign commitments to voters for middle-income tax cuts, of jobs for the unemployed and betraying his overall stance of populist concern for the "middle class" rather than the rich. In the book he is depicted as yielding to the pressures from his advisers, after raging against the need to shatter the dreams of ordinary people. But what comes through repeatedly is that his rages are not at the reactionary line of his advisers – fundamentally he agrees with that line – but with the

fear that carrying it out will cost his reelection in 1996.

That goal – his reelection – seems to dominate every decision he makes, decisively overriding the wellbeing of the people. That by following this track he is, in actuality, antagonizing the electorate – except for the capitalists whose orders he is following – leads to the contradictions that cause him to erupt in rages of frustration.

The pressure from Wall Street and the Federal Reserve to reduce the deficit leads to the most dramatic – and revealing – sequence in the book. During Clinton's second week as president and while discussions on his economic plan were taking place, a meeting was arranged between the president and Greenspan. Woodward says:

The chairman [Greenspan] dropped a bomb ... the deficit could be controlled for a short time and the basic economic problem obscured. But after 1996, the data showed, the outlook changed drastically. At that point Greenspan said, the deficit would climb back up and interest on the debt would explode. The system would become unstable.

"That's what financial catastrophe means," Greenspan said plainly. The phrase "financial catastrophe," with its overtones of the stock market crash the Great Depression, and Herbert Hoover, could not but resonate with a brand new president.

Greenspan continued. To prepare for any unanticipated financial disasters, and to assert control while the president still had some leverage, Greenspan told Clinton, "You've got to act well in advance." (pp. 106-107)

Thus, Wall Street's fear of a financial collapse of U.S. capitalism was going to determine Clinton's policy, not peoples needs.

When analyzed, Clinton's economic team decisively reveals the President-elect's political orientation, however clouded by slippery demagoguery and chauvinistic boasting in his speeches.

The key members of the team are Lloyd Bentsen, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert E. Rubin, Director, National Economic Council; Leon E. Panetta, Office of Management and Budget (now Clin-

ton's Chief of Staff); and Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Chair, Council of Economic Advisers.

Bentsen, Chair of the Senate Finance Committee and 1988 Democratic candidate for vice president, joined Clinton on a campaign bus swing. During the trip, Clinton decided he wanted Bentsen, whom he had known for 20 years for his key appointment as Treasury Secretary.

Woodward says: "Bentsen, 71, could have come from international finance ministers' Central Casting ... aristocratic air ... Bentsen believed important business should be done not in public but in private, among gentlemen." (p. 60) Meeting with Clinton after the election, he indicated his desire for the Treasury job, stipulated that he must have total access to the President, and stressed that Clinton must develop a "relationship of trust" with Federal Reserve Chairman Greenspan, Wall Street's key man in Washington.

Clinton went along. Thus, it seems to this reviewer, that in moving from Little Rock to Washington, Clinton graduated from servitor to the Arkansas real estate and banking swindlers; the billionaires such as chicken king Tyson and retailer Walton – the racists and minimum wage hard-liners – to becoming the chief honcho for the biggest national and international plunderers, the moguls of Wall Street.

Robert H. Rubin, the multi-millionaire co-chairman of Goldman, Sachs & Co. graduated from Harvard, and then from Yale Law School. Woodward states: "Though fabulously wealthy (26.5 million profit in 1992 VP), Rubin cared about the poor." (!VP) (p. 62)

Clinton told Rubin he was considering him and Bentsen as Treasury Secretary. "Bentsen would be better, Rubin said. He explained that Bentsen knew Congress and the media and that he did not seek or want a high profile." To make room for Rubin, Clinton created a new position: assistant to the president for economic policy:

The person would rank on a par with the national security adviser, make recommendations on all key economic issues, be 'an honest broker,' 'prepare the presidential decision memoranda,' and finally serve as 'an implementer of the president's economic policy' and 'an organizer of the president's activities in this area ...

"Rubin accepted the job," which upstaged the traditional chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, which went to Tyson. (pp. 62-63)

Clinton's programmatic speech to Congress on February 17, 1993 – soon after his inauguration – centered around the big business demand to cut the deficit. But, ad libbed, it contained plenty of populist rhetoric, including reference to his promise of a middle-income tax cut to be balanced by additional taxes on the rich.

The threat of new taxes upset the ruling class. Clinton sent Rubin to New York to meet with the heads of

... some of the nation's largest corporations ... The support of business leaders was essential to confidence, the delicate foundations underlying all business decisions ... The executives were in a rage ... took issue especially with Clinton's attack on the wealthy, claiming they were personally offended. (p. 142)

Rubin returned from the visit to New York and explained to Clinton why he had to heed the executives and stop his anti-rich, anti-business rhetoric.

Rubin said he didn't have a personal problem with demonizing the affluent. But to do so would have serious practical consequences. The economy would thrive only if there was confidence among the business community. If business people felt the administration didn't believe in the capitalist system, business wouldn't expand and hire, thus hurting the economy. Anything that made the economy worse had to be bad for the president politically.

Clinton appreciated Rubin's argument, and in his public statements he began scaling back, and even cutting out altogether his rhetoric about taxing the rich. (pp. 142-143)

Leon E. Panetta, Chairman of the House Budget Committee, was offered, and accepted, the Budget Director's job on the recommendation of House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt. In addition to his long political background, Panetta was a capitalist worth many millions of dollars. He was also the most aggressive of Clinton's team in pushing for deficit reduction at the expense of all positive programs, and for building coalitions with the Republicans on issues, etc.

Laura D'Andrea Tyson, University of California professor recommended by Clinton's friend, Robert Reich, was appointed chair of the old Council of Economic Advisers. In response to Clinton's question about her views on the Council's duties, she

said it should analyze the economy for the president, and pay more attention to technology and trade policies. (p. 75) In short, she was basically accepting a technical role, making it easy for Clinton to have Rubin as his key economic policy adviser.

In addition to these four, there were others who rated a place in the inner circle: Labor Secretary Robert Reich, a Harvard professor, was also a member of the economic team. He, with consultants James Carville and Paul Begala had been important in Clinton's election campaign, formed a sort of limited opposition to the triumvirate of Rubin, Bentsen and Panetta. They wanted Clinton to carry through on some popular promises. Hardly radicals, Carville and Begala were political animals convinced that the Clinton administration had to offer some concessions to working people, some differences in actual policy from Reagan-Bush, or lose popularity and with it the possibility of reelection. Occasionally they tried to convince Clinton of this, but they always lost. Reich put out trial balloons, such as an announcement of a substantial jobs program, only to have it shot down by the real administration power center.

And finally, unlike many vice presidents who are kept out of decision-making parleys, Vice President Albert Gore, Jr., was an active member of Clinton's White House staff, and a supporter of the Wall Street trio.

Conspicuously missing from the book is reference to any contact with representatives of organized labor, much less the appointment of advisers with a labor or pro-labor political background. Instead Clinton directly confronted labor with his NAFTA campaign, and has harmed workers by continuing the decline in real minimum wages by leaving them frozen at the current poverty level.

The outlook of key sectors of the ruling class towards the Clinton administration is revealed by Ethan H. Siegal in *Prudential Securities Research Weekly*, (7/11/94). He advises its customers not to worry:

With Friends Like Clinton, Labor's Agenda Can't Get Far

Bill Clinton's support for labor's agenda is lukewarm at best. Therefore we believe investors need not worry that labor's favorite bill, the legislation that would bar employers from hiring replacements for strikers, will pass Congress when it comes to the Senate floor this week. We think chances are slim.

With Friends Like Bill, Labor Needs Help

Although many on Wall Street and elsewhere see Bill Clinton as a classic liberal Democratic president, core Democratic supporters, especially the union constituency, have found little to cheer about when it comes to the main labor agenda - i.e. NAFTA, striker-replacement legislation, minimum wage, OSHA reform, Davis-Bacon reform, and changes under the Black-lung law that governs coal-miner benefits.

While Clinton told his staff he wanted a Black economic advisor, he was readily convinced by his economic team that none were qualified. Just to mention one example of a well-known, highly qualified African American economist who has the kind of background, in establishment terms, far superior to that of Laura Tyson and members of her council: Andrew Brimmer, former member of the Federal Reserve Board, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, prominent in Black business circles, and a member of the boards of directors of Bank of America, Du Pont, etc.

Of course, Clinton has shown his racist bias in his determined and finally successful effort to ram through the Crime bill, with its strong offensive against African Americans. His racist ideology came through loud and clear in his November 1993 speech to Black ministers.

In that speech, there is literally no mention of the acute economic and social problems faced by African Americans, or of the racism that still pervades U.S. society. Instead, there is the highest of ruling class apologetics: "Yes, without regard to race, if you work hard, play by the rules, you get into a service academy or a good college, you'll do just great." Clinton attributes this, slanderously, to what the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. would say if he were alive today!

A *New York Times* editor, perhaps consciously, and ironically, put in a corner of the page dominated by Clinton's speech, the account of an all-white jury that cheated a Black couple who sued an insurance company after jury members compared Blacks to chimpanzees and told racist jokes. Two years later an appeals court tentatively ordered a new trial. (*New York Times*, 11/14/93)

Still, Clinton wants to keep the Black vote. So, on vacation, he arranged for the press to carry a photo of him sharing a golf cart with Vernon Jordan past president of the National Urban League.

Roger Altman, who made millions as a Wall Street investment banker, was very helpful to Clinton in the 1992 election campaign. He wanted the Treasury secretary job, but settled for the deputy position and figured as part of Clinton's economic team, along with a couple of other deputies. Altman is the one who was pilloried during the days of Senate hearings for discussing political matters with his bosses, notably the Whitewater issue. Without trying to make a martyr of Altman, one must note the shabby treatment of him by Bentsen and Clinton, who could and should have said: "Of course he talked to us; that is his job." Instead, they left him hanging, with Clinton finally, in effect, firing him.

There has been no public criticism of a far more direct violation of Washington ethics: the supposed independence of the Administration from the Federal Reserve Board, and the non-interference of each in the other's affairs.

Bentsen not only worked out with Greenspan the strategy for getting Clinton to abandon everything half-decent in his election program in order to reduce the budget deficit, Greenspan even dictated the exact goal for deficit reduction - \$140 billion. And Bentsen sold it to Clinton without telling him that he had worked out the program and obtained the data from Greenspan.

When the President presented his economic program to a joint session of Congress on February 17, 1993, Greenspan was seated in the center of the first row between Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore. This photograph was prominently displayed on TV and in the newspapers. In this regard, Woodward writes:

Greenspan was never one to shy away from a social event at the center of the action. In this case it was where he belonged. After all, going back to his December 1992 meeting with Clinton in Little Rock, he had been privately advising the White House and Bentsen of his views. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board was in some ways the ghostwriter of the Clinton plan. (p. 135)

Hillary Clinton, a very active First Lady, made an early enactment of universal coverage health care legislation her prime task. She wanted Clinton to put it right at the top of his legislative agenda in January 1993, but was put off until May by the more powerful economic team. In May the health plan was again set aside in favor of the all-out campaign

to reduce the budget deficit.

Meanwhile, Hillary and Ira Magaziner, the academic chosen to head the huge staff to design the details of health legislation, were bogged down trying to reconcile the competing interests of health professionals, public advocates, and the insurance industry and medical association technicians horn-ing in on them.

In any event, even the weak bill finally presented by Clinton to Congress in 1994 came under heavy fire from the capitalists, the Republicans and right-wing Democrats in Congress. Clinton readily yielded on the universal coverage principle and soon accepted a parody of a genuine health care bill even this Congress failed to act on, leaving the whole question in limbo for another year.

As described in *The Agenda* Senator David L. Boren, Democrat of Oklahoma, represents the oil interests of that state. He organized a group of Republicans and right-wing Democrats to try to turn Clinton's program into an outright acceptance of their anti-people economic agenda. He met frequently with Clinton and with Clinton's aides. In an April 22, 1993 meeting with Thomas F. McLarty, Clinton's chief of staff and veteran Arkansas political associate, Boren put the issue in fundamental terms:

As a matter of legislative position, Boren maintained that the president needed to be a centrist and seek bipartisan support. 'Otherwise, he's the prisoner of the left' ... Boren reviewed the mathematics of the situation. In the House ... Clinton could afford to lose the 30 or so conservative Democrats. He would still prevail without a single House Republican if he yielded to the wishes of the 65 or so left-leaning Democrats and the Black Caucus. That meant as long as he pursued a Democrats-only strategy, Clinton was beholden to the left. By reaching out to moderate Republicans, he could move to the bipartisanship center, where he belonged and where he would be stronger, in Boren's view.

Hearing Boren's alternative right-wing plan, McLarty said: "That's good to explore ... Except, of course, we can't sign on board. We can't say we're blessing it, but I hear you. I understand it.' The chief of staff cautiously gave a green light. 'Just see how it works out. Maybe something will happen.'" (pp. 177-178)

Boren was right that Clinton ideologically belonged with the right-wing crowd, and in practice

he did "sign on" to Boren's approach even though he continued -though less and less frequently - to assail "special interests" and "bankers."

The *New York Times* (July 26, 1993) headlined an editorial on Clinton's budget: "A Budget Worthy of Mr. Bush." It explained:

Mr. Clinton promised voters more than a rehash ... He pledged turning the budget toward investment in infrastructure, children and training. But Congress is veering in a different direction ... What about investment? Congress knocked tens of billions from discretionary spending that Mr. Clinton proposed ... most of his plans to hike spending on worker training, education, mass transit and technological research will be slashed. He'll be lucky to save a third of his investment program.

It won't be a budget that invests in the future and it won't be a victory for those who voted for an economic turnabout. (p. 277)

But Woodward reveals that Clinton's own team had worked out with Congressional leaders the cuts in the already greatly slimmed-down positive parts of his program - to the point that led even the *New York Times* to be critical.

A year later, in a *New York Times* op ed piece, Robert Rubin explained why he considers President Clinton an outstanding decision maker: "He wants to see all sides of an issue, and he insists on candor from his staff - sometimes to the point of eliciting disagreement with his own views to make sure nothing is missed."

Encouraged by Clinton, Rubin says, his staff people do not "pull their punches." Based on these discussions, Clinton makes decisions that Rubin approves, even at serious political cost:

Sometimes he is rightly credited for sticking to his guns despite excruciating pressure to compromise (the victories on deficit reduction, NAFTA and the crime bill). The point is that he never fails to follow the deliberative process, explore all the options and then make the tough decisions that further his policy views despite the availability of easier political paths. (*New York Times*, 8/28/94)

However, Clinton decisions are good for Wall Street, the anti-labor and racist forces and harmful to most Americans even though this track will inevitably weaken him politically with the voters.

And Rubin's claim of a "democratic" process is untenable. If we picture the range of options as a circle of 360 degrees, the slice Clinton considers comprises no more than 15 degrees. It consists of the big business views set forth by his top economic advisers, with which he is in ideological agreement. Caution is expressed only by his second-string advisers - representing academic and political circles - who agree with the principal capitalist policy but for expediency consider small concessions advisable. This is the essence of the detailed descriptions of conferences conveyed by Woodward.

A weakness of *The Agenda* is that its content adheres too strictly to the subtitle, "Inside the Clinton White House." It fails to present the counterpoint of pressures exerted by rival class forces and international competitors outside the Beltway Island.

Another weakness is virtually no reference to the efforts of trade unions, civil rights organizations, and the Black and Progressive Caucuses in Congress to press for positive changes in government policy and practice. On the other hand the weight of the financial and industrial oligarchy is perceived only as mirrored by Clinton's economic team and by Greenspan. Ignored is Clinton's frequent, intense contacts with the top executives of America's most powerful corporations, nor of the brazen *quid pro quos* with these CEOs - a few hundred thousand contribution to the Democratic Party campaign fund for a few billion dollars of arranged highly profitable business for the corporations. (*Business Week*, 9/12/94)

The volume may do no more than confirm for many *Political Affairs* readers the view, crystallized by events, that Clinton - as expressed by Gus Hall - is a "clone of Bush." But it certainly presents much that enriches our understanding of Clinton's role and gives material that can be used in debate against reactionary policies emanating from Washington. □

Vic Perlo

Editor's Note: Greetings to the CPUSA's 75th anniversary were received from the following Communist and Workers parties: Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Bangladesh, Workers Party of Bangladesh, Workers Party of Belgium, New Communist Party of Britain, Bulgarian Socialist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of China, Communist Party of Cuba, Communist Party of Czech and Moravia, Communist Party of France, German Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), The Tudeh Party of Iran, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Israel, The Workers Party of Korea, Communist Party of Lebanon, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Party of the Congress of Independence of Madagascar, Popular Party of Socialism of Mexico, Communist Party of Nepal, Pakistan Socialist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Communist Party of the Russian Federation, The Union of Communists of Russia, Moscow City Committee, CPSU, Society in Defense of the Rights of Communists, Russia, San Marino Communist Reformation Party, Progressive Democratic Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of the People of Spain, Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Communist Party of the Sudan, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Workers Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, Communist Party of Vietnam. Excerpts from some of the greetings appear below:

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

On behalf of the Communist Party of Argentina it is a pleasure for the Central Committee to wish you much success in your commemorative activities.

In joining the celebrations we keep in mind the outstanding merit of a party who never stopped fighting for its ideals, particularly in difficult and complex conditions in the heart of the most imperialistic, aggressive and exploitative country. This occurred despite repression, prison, and a war against the people involved in struggle during the McCarthy period.

We highly appreciate the contributions made by the CPUSA in the struggle to defend social justice,

for better living conditions for working people, against racial discrimination and in defense of the victims of imperialism. We praise your relations with the Vietnamese people and your actual solidarity with the Cuban people, which has contributed to the initiatives of the American people to reject the criminal blockade and to defend Cuba's sovereignty and the the self-determination of the Cuban people.

We feel happy to share in the reaffirmation of the revolutionary flags despite those people that abandoned their identity and the struggle for socialism, seduced by those who claim the end of history and ideologies.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

With warm feelings of revolutionary solidarity and respect, we send you congratulations and greetings.

The capitalist world is facing an economic, political, ideological and social crisis that it cannot solve. Its response is to impose its rule by force and to try to wring greater profits out of the developing countries and the workers in the developed capitalist countries.

It uses economic bribery and blackmail, ideological subversion and even, as in the Gulf War and Somalia, open and brutal force. The greed, arrogance, immorality and brutality of imperialism know no bounds.

However, a shift in the world balance of forces in favor of imperialism has been brought about by the setbacks for socialism in some East European countries. While reactionary forces have been strengthened, we already see a fightback in many countries. The setbacks are clearly a temporary stage in the class struggle.

We reject the claim that Communism is dead or that socialism does not work, but we must find correct answers, fully applying Marxist scientific principles. We must begin to paint a popular picture of what socialism in our country will be like, tailored to our politics, traditions and history.

We remain convinced that socialism can solve the contradictions of capitalism. Our two parties are far apart geographically but close politically and ideologically. Our party places a high value on the relations of friendship and solidarity between the CPUSA and

the SPA. On this occasion, we would also like to place on record our respect and admiration for the resolution, maturity and courage of the members and leaders of the CPUSA during these 75 years.

WORKERS PARTY OF BELGIUM

The Workers Party of Belgium send you our warm greetings. The Communist Party of the USA has played an important role in organizing and mobilizing the workers of the USA. We are aware of your role in the struggle for democracy, for equality of Black and white, men and women and against racism. Progressive people all over the world continue to count upon you to denounce U.S. imperialism.

We especially appreciate the courage with which your party stands up against the most powerful anti-Communist propaganda and repressive system in the world. The repression during the McCarthy era was particularly vicious.

Taking advantage of the collapse of the former socialist countries and the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism by some revisionist parties, the imperialist propaganda tries to wipe out the ideal of Communism from the consciousness of the working class and the oppressed people. The CPUSA's unwavering defense of Marxism-Leninism inspires Communists and anti-imperialist forces all over the world to continue their struggle.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF BULGARIA

Comrade Hall, it is both with great appreciation and sympathy that [we] convey to you personally and to all members and sympathizers of your party the most warmest and heartfelt congratulations and greetings of all Bulgarian socialists on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party U.S.A. and the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist press. On these outstanding events in the life and activities of your party we would like to express our feelings of respect, admiration and solidarity with your just and persistent struggle for peace, real freedom and democracy, for equal rights and the well-being of all the people in the U.S. and in the world. Please accept our best wishes for every success in your further activities realizing your noble principles and objectives.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

On behalf of the Central Committee and the

whole membership of our Party, we are pleased to send our militant solidarity greetings to the Communist Party USA. This important anniversary holds special significance to Canadian Communists because of the close fraternal ties which have existed between our two parties over more than seven decades.

We remember with deep gratitude how American Communists helped Tim Buck when he was forced into hiding in an involuntary exile in the U.S. during World War II. We remember the common efforts for peace and disarmament that our parties contributed to at such wondrous and inspiring events as the Paul Robeson concert at Peace Arch Park. And we remember our common struggles to save the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were legally lynched by the most aggressive and reactionary sections of U.S. imperialism, and of Angela Davis, who avoided this fate thanks to the efforts of the CPUSA, and in the international working class and democratic movements which helped mobilize world public opinion.

From its earliest days, the CPUSA has distinguished itself as an unflinching champion of the interests of the American working class, linking the national and international interests of American workers in the development of policies, strategy and tactics. A vanguard party in the truest sense, the CPUSA has always successfully striven to combine genuine patriotism with genuine internationalism.

Without doubt, the strength of your party derives from its fidelity to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application during the course of your party's history. Even under tremendous ideological and political pressures (which led some into the swamp of opportunism and revisionism), your party always retained its class bearings and returned to a principled line, rooted in scientific socialism. That your struggle takes place within the belly of U.S. imperialism, the most powerful imperialist power in post-war times, makes your fidelity to Marxism-Leninism a most important legacy of your party's proud history.

Translating revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice has been a consistent trademark of your party's activity throughout its existence: from the earliest battles to forge industrial trade union organizations of American workers and to organize the unemployed; the struggle against fascism (both

internationally and within the U.S. itself); the battles against racism and intolerance, and for the full equality of African Americans, Hispanic Americans and all other oppressed minorities; for the full equality of women; and for policies of peace, disarmament, democracy and socialism.

Your 75 years of existence constitute a history of the struggle, including the myriad victories and defeats of the U.S. working class itself. It is this dynamic and dialectical relationship between the CPUSA and the American working class and people which provided you with a rich history, and the world movement with rich experience.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of your party, we would like to extend to you our warm congratulations.

We wish you new achievements in your future work, and would also like to extend our congratulations on the 70th anniversary of your *People's Weekly World*.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the United States Communist Party, receive the militant compliments of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban people.

The euphoria due to the collapse of the socialist bloc and the disappearance of the Soviet Union are vanishing before a crude reality: the world is not safer; conflicts in countries in different geographical areas are emerging; the number of the poor increases (in Latin America there are 200 million); the funds for development have been reduced; the foreign debt continues to grow inexorably.

Thus, historical efforts made to attain social changes and a better world have the same legitimacy and effectiveness as always.

The present U.S. panorama remains somber, as serious structural problems in the economy persist. Anti-popular policies continue to be carried out and the levels of unemployment and growing marginality are kept high. Broad sectors of the population are submitted to despair and are forgotten, particularly the homeless and the unemployed, the victims of racism and discrimination, whose human rights are systematically violated.

In this crucial phase for socialist ideals, the United States Communist Party has kept its adherence to Marxist and Leninist principles and to the construc-

tion of a more just society.

On the occasion of this anniversary, we would like to express to you that the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban people will never betray the revolutionaries and Communists that in the world are supporting our just cause, and to renew to you our solidarity with your struggle for a better society.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECH AND MORAVIA

A double anniversary of the Communist Party USA – the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the CPUSA and 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist press – gives us the opportunity to send you our message of greetings and solidarity.

We highly appreciate the brave struggle of the Communists in the USA, in the very center of the world imperialism. We appreciate your difficult and self-denying fight for the rights of working people, against unemployment and homelessness, against racism and fascism, against the aggressive and anti-democratic policy of imperialism, for the social security, peace, and national independence.

Dear Comrades, accept, please, our congratulations on the occasion of both your anniversaries. We wish you many successes in your activities and are sure that the international ties between our two parties will strengthen and deepen.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the creation of the American Communist Party and the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist press in the United States, the Communist Party of France sends you its best wishes. We are well aware of your contributions during your long history, to the development of the social movements in your country.

The French Communists follow with special attention the development of the political and social situation in the U.S., as well as the struggles led in your country by a broad diversity of movements and associations, notably by your party and press. We are very concerned to establish and develop ties of friendship and solidarity with the American people and with all the progressive American forces and personalities.

We wish you success in the future and we send you, dear comrades, our fraternal salutations.

GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The German Communist Party shares your

pride on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the CPUSA – the Party of John Reed and Bill Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Henry Winston, Theodore Dreiser and William Du Bois. It's the party that led tremendous class and mass struggles, contributed in the thirties on a national scale to the formation of industrial unions and inspired some of the brightest and most creative minds of your country. Throughout its history the CPUSA fought against Jim Crowism and all shades of racial hatred and national discrimination. American Communists look upon glorious traditions of internationalism. You can be proud of your party's outstanding role in support of the Spanish Republic, brutally assaulted by Franco's hordes, German Nazis and Italian fascists. During World War II, tens of thousands of your comrades went as volunteers to the frontlines of the anti-Hitler-coalition.

After the War American Communists understood the necessity to shield the Party against the liquidationist Browderism, defending the ideological roots and the organizational principles of a Marxist-Leninist party – later on repeated by the negative approach of an opportunist and factional group, that tried unsuccessfully to disrupt the CPUSA's Cleveland Convention in December 1991.

Your party, persecuted by witch and manhunt methods under Cold War conditions, and courageously fighting back in the belly of the imperialist beast, defended at all times the honor and the dignity of the American working class. In our days the CPUSA upholds firmly the principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin and gives its best contribution to draw the necessary lessons from the temporary setback of our movement – conclusions which will enable Communists worldwide to make new and vigorous advances.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The Communist Party of India has always appreciated and highly assessed the contributions made by your party, the Communist Party of the USA, in the struggle of the working class and various sections of the toiling people of your country, and your consistent support for the people's struggle all over the world against U.S. imperialism and other varieties of imperialism. Your firm ideological loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism is well known to Communists all over the world, including in our own country.

It is no ordinary matter that your Party has

stood firm in all these battles while working in the citadel of world imperialism.

In recent years our international movement has faced serious difficulties, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. U.S. imperialism and its allies in the Western world are taking full advantage of this situation, and U.S. imperialism is already behaving like a world bully, trying to dictate to people everywhere.

However, we consider this to be a temporary phase in world politics. But it calls for a new kind of unity of all the Communist, Left, democratic and anti-imperialist forces the world over.

Our two parties, firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and applying them to the specific conditions of our two countries, have had close fraternal relations. We assure you of our resolve to further deepen these relations.

On behalf of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, I wish to convey our warmest fraternal greetings to the leadership, as well as all the members of your Party.

We wish the CPUSA and the *People's Weekly World* many successes in this difficult period.

TUDEH PARTY OF IRAN

The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran sends its warmest fraternal greetings and the greetings of its members and supporters to you and all the progressive forces in your country.

Seventy-five years after the founding of the CPUSA, the international struggle for social justice, against racism, against war and fascism for working-class emancipation and peace is once again rising from the ashes of recent setbacks and gaining strength. In this struggle to reconstruct and renew the world working-class and Communist movement, the CPUSA has undoubtedly played an important role. During the past 75 years, there have been many attempts by imperialism and monopoly capital to divert you from the correct path of struggle, all of which has been defeated. During all these years, working under difficult conditions and in the cradle of imperialism, you have continued your struggle, held aloft the banner of working-class ideals and Marxism-Leninism, and have proven that you are a true and powerful ally of the working class and the working people in your country.

As you are aware, our country, Iran, has been one of the targets of imperialist and reactionary plots. Fifteen years after the victory of the great Iran-

ian revolution, the leaders of the Islamic Republic, by betraying the aims of the revolution and by a savage and brutal suppression of all progressive forces, have turned our country into a big prison for its citizens. The Tudeh Party of Iran, despite enormous losses suffered as a result of the onslaught of the Islamic Republic, continues its struggle for democracy, peace and social justice, committed to its ideological beliefs.

The Tudeh Party of Iran has always benefited from the closest of working relations with the CPUSA. We deeply appreciate the militant solidarity expressed by your party with the struggle of our people against despotism and imperialist interventions.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

Comrade Gus Hall, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, on behalf of all its members and friends... [we] send warmest fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of the USA its members, friends, and to you personally on the occasion of the great event in the life of the American Communists – the 75th anniversary of the founding of your great party and the 70th anniversary of the publication of the Communist press in your country.

Your Party and your publication, working under most difficult conditions, have always been and still are outstanding examples for the Communists all over the world for devotion to the cause, principled steadfastness and self-sacrifice in the fight for the interests of the working class, for freedom and democracy for all, against big capital and imperialism.

Our appreciation and high esteem for your party is founded by the fact that you have not hesitated for one moment to act heroically in the very heart of the mightiest imperialist power – the USA, the character of the policy and aspirations of which have not changed in our present world.

At this, your double anniversary feast, we Israeli Communists express again our solidarity with your lofty objectives which are like our own ones, based on Marxist-Leninist principles in the struggle for peace, democracy, and a happy future in socialism.

WORKERS PARTY OF KOREA

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party USA, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea would

like to extend warm congratulations and comradely greetings to the National Committee and the entire membership of your party.

Since its foundation, the Communist Party USA has waged vigorously under difficult conditions the struggle for strengthening and developing the Party, defending the democratic rights and the interests of the life of the working masses and safeguarding the peace and security of the world.

On this occasion we sincerely wish you greater success in the struggle of your party for achieving the unity of the Party and for the victory of the cause of socialism, with our conviction that the excellent relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties will in the future be further strengthened and developed in accordance with the ideal of independence, peace and friendship.

POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY OF MEXICO

We have been notified that on September 1st the CPUSA celebrates its 75th anniversary of struggle for socialism, racial equality, peace and progress, against racism, fascism, war and militarism.

We are looking forward to your 75th anniversary, and when the time comes we will be able to attend the celebrations. At this time let us anticipate our fraternal congratulations.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party extends to you and all the Communists in the United States of America the warm and fraternal greetings of the Portuguese Communists.

The activities of your Party during these decades in organizing the struggle of the working class inside the main imperialist state power in the world were a courageous expression of the devotion of Communists to the interests of the working people and to the great and generous ideals of the cause of socialism. Your internationalism has been the inseparable reverse of your patriotism. Your struggle against racism, for full economic, political and social equality of people of all races, especially of Black and white, has been an essential feature of your Party, as well as your firm stand against the aggressive, war-making, anti-democratic policies of U.S. imperialism.

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist countries and with the recent aggravation of capitalist crises, we live in a more unstable and dangerous world. This

demands more and more the increasing struggle of the workers and popular masses in each country and the solidarity of the Communists and progressive forces all over the world. Renewing our Party according to the new situation, we, Portuguese Communists, reaffirm our Communist identity and have a profound confidence in the socialist future of humanity. The 20th century will remain in history, not as the "end of Communism" but on the contrary as the epoch of its dawn.

PAKISTAN SOCIALIST PARTY

It is a matter of great joy that the CPUSA is celebrating the 75th anniversary of its founding. The CPUSA has indeed a long and glorious history of struggle for peace, progress, equality and a better life for the people of the USA.

In this new era it is the task of workers of each country to struggle for establishing a new society, free from exploitation, oppression and suppression. The workers will inspire and mobilize the suffering people and downtrodden women who are their allies in their struggle for peace, progress and socialism. These revolutionary forces are in the majority and can oust the capitalists from political power by their votes.

We are of the view that the next century is the century of workers, working people and women. These forces will succeed in their mission of making this globe a common home for all.

We believe that the time has come when the call of the great thinker and revolutionary Karl Marx, "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to win," will become a reality, and workers in each country will become the masters of their destiny.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, in the name of all members of our Party, sends you heartfelt greetings.

In September 1919, inspired by the Great October Revolution and by the wave of mass actions of the working class, American Marxists created a party which set as its aims the defense of the interests of working people.

The party of American Communists rightfully occupies a special place in the world Communist movement.

The Communist Party has traveled a difficult

road. But neither repressions, nor Palmer raids, nor McCarthyism, nor prisons in which the leaders of the CPUSA and thousands of its members were locked up, broke the spirit of American Communists. You were always in the vanguard of the worker's movements and the movements against racial discrimination.

We deeply thank you for the support of our party, which as a result of the mistakes and direct treachery of its leaders is placed in severe conditions and has to defend our ideals under conditions of sharp pressure from the present regime in Russia.

We wish to assure you that despite statements of some political figures before the U.S. Senate that in Russia there will never be a place for Communism, our Party has revived and stands as a major political force which no one can ignore.

Today there are half a million members of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Its organizations exist all over the country. We place before us the tasks of defense of the rights of working people, restoration of people's power in the form of Soviets and the re-creation of a single unified state. Our Party comes out for united action of all Communists of Russia and other states established on the territory of the Soviet Union.

Since 1959 at the head of your party stands our friend and comrade, Gus Hall. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation greets comrade Hall and wishes him success in his activity in the interest of the American working people and in bringing together the international Communist movement.

UNION OF COMMUNISTS (PARTIES OF FORMER USSR)

The Central Committee of the party "The Union of Communists" and the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU congratulate you on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party, USA and the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist press, beginning with the *Daily Worker*, and continuing through today's *People's Weekly World*.

Throughout all these years the American Communist Party has covered a long and glorious path, fighting to defend the interests of the working people and upholding the ideas of peace and socialism.

And today, in the time of growing reaction in the world, the CPUSA remains loyal to Marxism-Leninism and continues to be one of the most authoritative vanguards of the world Communist

movement.

We, Soviet Communists, will always remember your moral support rendered to us in these difficult years of tragic setback of socialism in the USSR.

We are glad to tell you that in spite of many difficulties the Communist movement in Russia and the Soviet Union is reviving and its influence is growing.

We are sure that our cooperation will serve our common purpose of promoting peace and socialism. We send American Communists our warmest greetings and wish success in their struggle. Workers of the World Unite!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka learns with great pleasure that this year, 1994, witnesses important events connected with the history of the working class and revolutionary movement in the United States – the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party USA and the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist press in the USA.

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka has always held the Communist Party of the USA in high esteem as it fully appreciates and evaluates the contribution made by it for the cause of the international working-class movement in general, and of the working class in the USA in particular. Your consistent and continued support for and solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world has earned our love and admiration for the Communists of the USA. Placed in the center of world capitalism and despite immense hardships and impediments, the Communists of the USA have never failed to perform its internationalist tasks and obligations for the cause of national and social liberation. We are conscious of the sacrifices made by the leaders and the rank and file of your Party in the course of the glorious history of the working-class movement of the USA.

Your commitment to the science of Marxism-Leninism and your consistent struggles for the unity and cohesion of the international working-class movement have enhanced our respect and admiration for your party.

We highly appreciate your efforts to unite the Communist, left, democratic and anti-imperialist forces the world over, undeterred by the disintegration of the Soviet Union. With satisfaction we can mention a record of uninterrupted fraternal rela-

tions between our two parties for over half a century. We take this opportunity to reiterate our fervent hope and resolve to deepen our relations further.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SYRIA

The 75th anniversary of the Communist Party USA and the 70th anniversary of the Communist press bears a great heritage of struggle for democracy and equality and against racism, unemployment, and U.S. imperialism's reactionary, war-mongering policies, are of great importance for American Communists and Communists in different parts of the world.

The U.S. working class will never forget the great role of the Communist Party USA and its press have played in defending its interests and those of all who labor, along with the sacrifice, the party has made to realize a country of social justice democracy and peace.

Your party's international struggle and its adherence, along with many Communist parties in the world to Marxism-Leninism, form an important weapon in the struggle against world imperialism's aggressive plans, particularly against U.S. imperialism and its policy of flaring up wars in different regions of the world.

Our Syrian Communist Party, celebrating as well its 70th anniversary this year, believes that making a just peace in the region cannot be achieved except through enforcing the struggle against world Zionism and its ally U.S. imperialism, by implementing U.N. Security Council resolutions and Israel's full withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

Once again our congratulations on this jubilee occasion. We send you and all American Communists our hearty and comradely greetings.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SUDAN

[We] convey to you warm greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Sudan, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the CPUSA and the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist press in the USA.

To the founders and activists of our party, the CPUSA has been a teacher by example. Your struggles during the years of McCarthyite insanity, the peaks of the Cold War and the wars of

aggression in Korea and Vietnam were concrete lessons in courage and steadfastness. Books such as *Ideas They Cannot Jail* and *Strategy for a Black Agenda*, together with the writings of Gus Hall, were of great value to us. The visit of the late comrade Winston to Khartoum in 1971 was a memorable event and his speeches at packed public rallies highly impressed democratic Sudanese youth and intellectuals.

Under the present circumstances, when enemies of various hues and shades are orchestrating a tremendous campaign against Marxism-Leninism and socialism, it is vital to be courageous, steadfast and confident in the victorious outcome of the struggle, and that is exactly what you are doing.

Our party has been working underground since the advent of the fundamentalist Islam dictatorship which usurped power by a coup d'état on June 30, 1989. All Sudanese political parties, from both south and north, with the exception of the National Islamic Front which masterminded the coup, united with the trades unions and representatives of the armed forces in the National Democratic Alliance against the dictatorship. The NDA plans to reinstate democracy, establish a democratic multi-party, multi-religious, multi-racial Sudan, stop the 11-year war in the south of the country and initiate a peaceful settlement leading to the unity of the Sudanese people. We look forward to solidarity against the dictatorship, especially against its dismal human rights record.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay sends its best greetings for the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the USA.

Evidently, this anniversary as well as the 70th anniversary of your press, now the *People's Weekly World*, is a great event; not only for all the comrades of the U.S. but for all the Communist parties of the world.

The Communists of Uruguay feel very happy and proud about your jubilee year. The CPUSA's history is full of heroism and sacrifice. Its defense of Marxism-Leninism throughout all these years is actually more important than ever, in these difficult times full of ideological defections.

We highly appreciate your efforts in favor of the working class, against homelessness, exploitation and unemployment.

We also cannot forget your role in the struggle against racism, the imperialist war and fascism, as well as your active internationalism. Internationalism is now more necessary than ever in this world ruled by U.S. imperialism and its aggressive policy against all the peoples of the Third World. We must strengthen our solidarity with Cuba, a vivid example of heroism and dignity.

Once more, we feel sure that we will meet wheresoever there are those fighting together for an advanced democracy and socialism.

Long Live the CPUSA and the *People's Weekly World*.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

Receive our warmest and fraternal congratulations for the 75 anniversary of your party, a fact that without doubt is meaningful to all progressive elements and democrats in American society.

However, we also think that the foundation and constant activity of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line with a clear concept of working-class internationalism, in the heart of such society, has been and continues to be the extraordinary contribution of the North American proletariat in the fight for socialism on a world scale. The courage that has kept the values of Marx's theory, the support and solidarity to all anti-imperialist peoples from other countries, is the immense historic merit of your great party.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

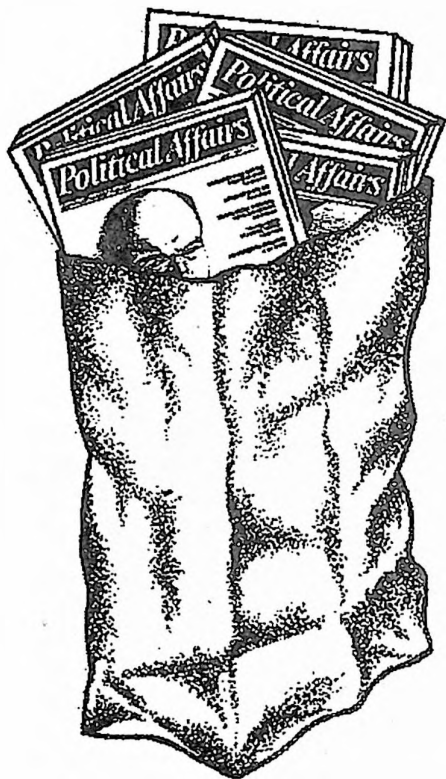
On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the USA, we would like to extend to you our warmest greetings.

Having gone through 75 years under extremely difficult and complicated circumstances, the Communist Party of the USA has consistently struggled for the civil rights and democracy of the U.S. working class and people, thus contributing to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We wish you greater achievements in your activities.

May the solidarity and friendship between our two parties be further consolidated and developed.

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