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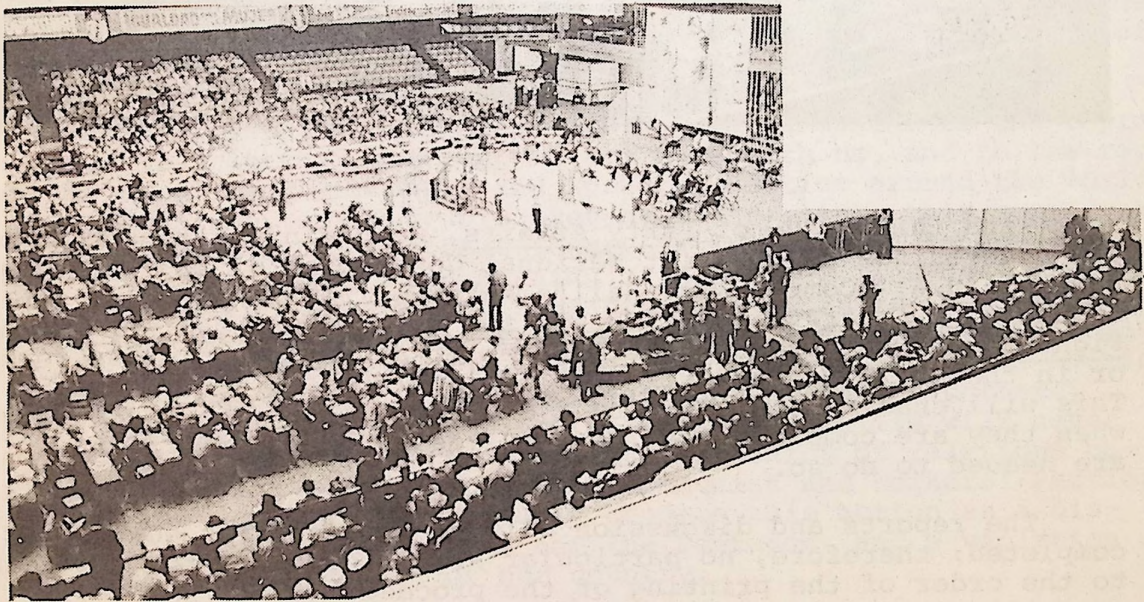
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With this issue of Party Affairs, we begin the reporting of the proceedings of the 21st National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Comrade Gus Hall's Main Political Report is published as a separate book, The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back. All other reports, even if appearing in other forms or in the Daily World, will also be reprinted in Party Affairs. This will enable us to prepare a bound volume of the proceedings when they are completed, in as many issues of Party Affairs as are needed to do so.

The reports and discussion will be published as editing is completed; therefore, no particular significance is to be attached to the order of the printing of the proceedings.



Opening the Convention

BY HENRY WINSTON
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN



Comrades, delegates, alternates and guests: Let me in the name of the outgoing Central Committee welcome you to the highest body of our Party, its 21st National Convention.

We also extend a warm embrace and a firm handshake to the representatives of fraternal parties who are here with us, and to the representatives of many Communist and Workers' Parties around the world who wanted to come, but who were prevented entry into this country by the State Department. This reactionary action by U.S. imperialism is but an expression of the true meaning of the "free flow of ideas" as practiced by the ruling powers in Washington. This is the latest expression of anti-communism and racism. The cables and letters coming into New York and Chicago from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are only one expression of the fact that the enemies of detente, peaceful coexistence, national liberation and socialism will never succeed in their efforts to halt the strengthening of relations between the Communist Party USA and the Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world. We vigorously condemn this action as a distinct service to the monopolists and the Pentagon and a violation of the true national interests of our country.

In 1919, in this city, the Communist Party was born on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism. This was the greatest contribution to leadership in the class and national struggle in the United States.

We return 56 years later to Chicago under different historical conditions and are active participants in a united struggle with all of the revolutionary forces of the world that are advancing in the struggle against imperialism.

The main trend in the world is the growing unity of the three main revolutionary forces which guarantee the building of socialism and communist construction, the growth of the workingclass movement in struggle against monopoly, and the great advances of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Soviet Union and the family of socialist nations are in the vanguard of this tremendous development in which there are occurring geometric advances in the building of socialism, new advances by the working class in the USA and all capitalist countries against monopoly, and a growing unity in the struggle against classical colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. The main and decisive force defending the interest of the peoples is to be found here.

It is like bringing coals to Newcastle when we record the fundamental truth that the danger of a third world war does not come from the soil of Europe, say from a Kaiser Wilhelm, nor even from a Nazi Germany. The danger of a third world war, which nowadays means thermonuclear war, comes from state monopoly capitalism in the United States. Geography played a certain role for the U.S. during the First and Second World Wars. But there must not be any mistaken conception that geographical location can, in any way, produce a "protective covering" for our people in such a war launched by the Pentagon.

The narrowing market for imperialist exploitation and oppression must find among the peace forces in the U.S. a vigorous campaign of exposure of the lies of the wounded beast in the Pentagon who, with cunning demagoguery, attempts to justify the genocidal policies designed to turn back the wheels of history by thermonuclear war.

We note with joy that the desire for peace in the ranks of the working class and people generally in the U.S. is developing a consciousness and has become a majority movement. More and more millions are challenging the policies of the Pentagon, the military budget of the Administration, and the policies of Ford, Kissinger and Schlesinger who are playing and shadow-boxing with the issue of peace or war.

President Ford at a press conference argued that actions taken by Washington are always done in the name of national interest. But what kind of national interest was served by the policies of U.S. imperialism in creating 23 million craters in Indochina? What kind of national interest was served when hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands were murdered and maimed in Indochina? But thanks to our people who united with the great peace forces of the world that compelled U.S. imperialism to give up dropping bombs upon the people of Indochina.

What national interest is served by supporting Zionism and Israeli aggression against the Arab people?

What national interest is served by the embargo against Cuba? What national interest is served by support to the military junta, the Pinochet government in Chile? What national interest is served by the support of the Vorster regime in South Africa; by attempts to turn back the wheel of history of a people who have overthrown the oldest fascist regime in the world--the Portuguese people? What kind of national interest is served by policies aimed at turning back the wheels of history in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, the national

liberation movements in Africa which have achieved, in the main, political independence and have now moved to the stage of economic independence?

We have to ask whose interest is being served? It is that of state monopoly capitalism, not the interests of the people. Should not the military budget explain this fact? Is it not the billions for armaments as well as the big steals by the monopolists that are responsible for aggravating all of the features of the economic crisis? The interest of our people is on the side of peace, on the side of detente, on the side of trade relations with the Soviet Union, on the side of lifting the embargo against Cuba. But at the same time, ours is the task of answering these cupidities of our President in his press conference. He tells us unashamedly that while inflation and unemployment exist side by side, we may have to suffer unemployment for a long time until we lick the question of inflation.

What kind of advice is this? Such advice conceals the brutal and bestial role of monopoly within the country. But even more, it conceals the enormous military budget that is responsible for the aggravation of the economic and social conditions of our people.

Our Party has been working along this front since our last Convention. It has marched toward peace and in the fight for peace with the masses, with the working class, who seek answers to the problem of joblessness. It has worked with those who want science and technology to be used in the interest of the nation and not as the means by which monopoly lowers all standards of the people's well-being.

The Party is becoming more and more a powerful voice among the people. That explains its growing influence in the ranks of the working class in general and each of its national components, Black and white, Puerto Rican, Chicano and other oppressed nationalities, and that is why the building of the Communist Party is an indispensable necessity. The slogan developed by Comrade Gus Hall must become our daily guide: "The Communist Party now more than ever!"

Comrades, there were many who were with us at the last convention but who, in the course of the battle for the working class, for the people, for an anti-monopoly movement, for socialism, have passed along. I ask that we stand in honor of these great fighters in a moment of silence.

Comrades and friends, we will soon hear the report of our General Secretary, Comrade Gus Hall. This report will chart the paths to victory in our struggle against the rapaciousness, the greed of monopoly within the country. It will be a scientific document based upon Marxism-Leninism. We anxiously await that report because it will be a report that will give the direction for the nation. As the outgoing National Chairman, I declare the 21st National Convention of our Party in session.

* * *

Words of Welcome from the Illinois District



BY ISHMAEL FLORY, CHAIRMAN
ILLINOIS-IOWA DISTRICT

Dear Comrades, dear friends, dear fellow workers for liberty, equality, fraternity and socialism. Comrade Chairman, Comrade Henry Winston, Comrade Gus Hall. As we open this 21st Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, we greet and welcome you on behalf of the Illinois-Iowa District of our Party. We are confident that this welcome and this greeting have the love and backing of tens of thousands of our multinational working class and our working and poor farmers of Indian, African, Asian, Latin American and European descent.

May I remind you that you are in the industrial base of world and U.S. imperialism, with its notorious, degenerate and exploitive history of racism. It is here that our Communist Party was born. Hopefully, our Party will soon have a home, a permanent home, in Chicago.

May I remind you that in this hotel you are sitting right on history, so to speak. For it was in the Ambassador East across the street that, on the initiative of a Communist, William L. Patterson, who is with us today, Paul Robeson met with Judge Guinness O. Landes in 1945 and with the capitalist moguls of baseball. This action by Patterson and Robeson, plus mass action led by our Party over a long period of time, brought a public statement from Landes that marked the beginning of the end of racism in organized, commercialized baseball.

May I remind you that you are in an area of great working class struggles in which our Party, our Marxists, our class conscious workers play an important role; the land of the Haymarket Massacre, out of which emerged great unity of the world working class, the 8-hour day and May Day; the land of working class struggles to organize the unorganized workers, of great steel struggles, of struggles of packing-house workers, of struggles of the unemployed, of struggles for Black liberation and unity of Black and white workers.

Be assured, dear comrades, that hosting a national convention of our Party and a mass Bicentennial Festival is no simple job.

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OUR PARTY, NOW MORE THAN EVER



ADDRESS OF HENRY WINSTON TO THE
21ST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
CPUSA, JUNE 27, 1975

Comrades, the real State of the Union Message was not delivered to the Congress by President Gerald Ford in January 1975 but was given to this 21st National Convention of the Communist Party by our General Secretary, Comrade Gus Hall. That was a great report and is a living document of the present; it is a guide to action in today's struggles; it is a report which must be brought to the millions, for it is a guide which will help to rally our class and our people in struggle against monopoly capitalism, in the struggle for socialism in the United States.

I just want Comrade Hall "to get hep" to understand the new jargon. After he finished his report I heard expressions like these: "tremendous," "fantastic," "baddest," "wild," and "a monster."

Let me translate: what emerges here out of the enthusiasm and terrific spirit expressed in this Convention by the delegates is their joy and happiness in the way that Comrade Hall not only registers the pulse of the working class but provides solutions to the masses as to the way out. The Report of Comrade Hall is in itself the answer as to why we need the Communist Party now more than ever.

Let me first of all address myself to the founding members of our Party present at this Convention. You helped found the Communist Party in the U.S. This Party was scientifically based on Marxism-Leninism and Party engineers and builders who were guided by this science. It was this act which brought to our class, Black and white, and to all oppressed people within the country, that kind of guidance to the working class which could effectively defend its present and future interests. The working class, the locomotive of history in the United States, was provided with a compass with which its engineers and builders could follow and lead it to victory over capitalist exploitation, national and racial oppression and unjust wars.

The Communist Party which you helped found has written great and glorious pages in the history of class struggle in the United

States. The contributions of our Party yesterday are glorious and will become even more so today and tomorrow. We welcome your presence here. We are honored by that presence.

In the founding of the Communist Party you established that Party which emerged from, was a part of, and will guarantee the triumph of the working class over the greedy and bestial, profit-mad system of capitalism.

There has not been nor will there be a greater contribution in this country to the cause of freedom. Illustrative of the kind of leadership which the founders of our Party wanted to guarantee the working class is the fact that one of the founders of the steel union is our General Secretary. Let us express to our founding members our warmest comradely greetings and our firmest handshake and extend to them our best wishes.

THE MAIN CONTRADICTION TODAY

Comrades, the Main Report delivered to the Convention by Comrade Hall addressed itself to many questions at a time when the masses are suffering as a result of growing inflation and joblessness. State monopoly capitalism is guilty of these crimes and is responsible for all of the social ills in our land. State monopoly capitalism in the U.S. is responsible for monopoly fixed prices and for growing unemployment. State monopoly capitalism is responsible for the existence of crises in housing, health (including hospitals), education, transportation, race relations, etc. State monopoly capitalism is responsible for the military budget which at one and the same time places greater oppressive burdens upon the people at home and in foreign policy acts as a gendarme with its huge military machine.

Imagine! The U.S. is the richest of all imperialist countries! Nevertheless, it is being predicted even by George Meany that during the course of the year some 25 million people at one time or another will experience unemployment.

The period ahead for us in the U.S. is one in which there will be a sharpening of the struggle between the forces of peace and those of war. To be more precise, there will be a quickening of the pace of unity between the three main revolutionary currents in the world which unite the great people of the Soviet Union and all socialist countries, the national liberation movements and the working class and peace movements in all countries defending peace against imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular which is threatening the world with thermonuclear war.

The report of Comrade Gus Hall, summarizing the massive discussions based on the Draft Resolution, correctly analyzes this phenomenon and brilliantly establishes policies for our Party, for our class and our people which offer a fighting and winning program to the peace majority in the United States.

The responsibilities of our Party to the people of the United States and all peace loving people throughout the world are exceptionally great. This is so because U.S. imperialism still remains the top dog in the imperialist world. The main danger to peace comes from our soil. That is why Comrade Hall also laid special stress upon the internal contradictions as well. The main and sharpest of all contradictions in the U.S. is between capitalism as a system and the working class experiencing class exploitation.

Look at the following: In 1974, some 5,900 strikes took place. There has been no period in the history of the U.S. where such has been the case. In the first quarter of 1975, some 1,900 have already taken place. The year has just begun. In the next few months new contracts will be negotiated. The working class, under conditions of inflation and growing unemployment, will take the path of growing militancy. What seems to be quite clear is that new sections of organized sectors of the labor movement will take the path of active strike struggles such as municipal, state, and federal employees, teachers, doctors, etc. Wildcat strikes will grow.

The period ahead is one in which there will be growing class battles in steel, auto, mining, chemical, electrical, longshore, teamsters and many other industries. There will also be growing demands involving the entire population to curb the utilities and for public ownership of these utilities even as the demand for nationalization of coal, energy generally, railroad and other industries will increasingly emerge from the mass movement.

THE ROAD OF CLASS STRUGGLE LEADS TO CLASS SOLIDARITY

The Party has the special responsibility, under these circumstances, to help prepare the working class to understand that the big corporations will do everything to foster division within the ranks of the working class. This will take the form of inciting white against Black, Black against white, white against white, Black against Puerto Rican, Puerto Rican against Black and the same technique with the Chicanos, Native American Indian and Asian American peoples and many other oppressed national minorities.

The monopolists consciously strive to use these national groups of European origin as the backbone of racism and anti-communism among the organized and unorganized sectors of the working class. This is utilized by monopoly to reinforce its traditional ideology and practices of Anglo-Saxon racism.

What is involved here? There is, on the one hand, the decisive question of the future of our class which necessitates the speediest maximum struggle for its solidarity along class struggle lines and, on the other hand, the policies of the monopolists who consciously strive for division and disunity within the ranks of the working class which becomes possible only on the basis of class collaboration, racism and anti-communism.

It is clear that the road of class struggle leads to class solidarity and is the only way to weld a powerful anti-monopoly movement within the country. It also clear that class collaboration is, at one and the same time, the path which sustains monopoly policies and practices at the expense of the great mass by special concessions to a special few within the class against the general interests of the class as a whole.

The special role of the Communist Party in this period is decisive. It is our Party which can help the masses understand what class struggle policies mean for the masses and what class collaborationist activities mean for the masses.

What is crystal clear is that the struggle against the policies and practices of monopoly at home is inseparable from monopoly policies and practices abroad. Let there be no illusions in the ranks of labor, the middle strata or any sectors of the non-monopoly groupings in the U.S. that geography gives them license to be impartial or neutral to detente and peaceful coexistence under the false theory that geography will exempt them from thermonuclear danger. That kind of position, if maintained, could be fatal to the interests of our class, our people, our nation. We cannot, under any circumstances be impartial, neutral, or in any sense passive to the policies of Senator Jackson, Defense Secretary Schlessinger, the racist Governor George Wallace, or any monopoly politicians. The policies of these gentry, unless decisively beaten, can engulf Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, New Orleans, Boston, Philadelphia, New York and our entire country in thermonuclear war.

Neither can reliance be placed on any monopoly representative to guarantee detente and peaceful coexistence. Reliance must be based upon the masses in general and the working class in particular. These masses must understand that if cold war policies are in retreat, this does not come about because of the benevolence of the monopolists, but rather because of the longings of the people in all capitalist countries of all the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, compelling them to abandon the cold war. It is precisely this kind of active struggle against the monopolists which must be continued on a higher level of unity and consciousness. This is the path to guaranteeing detente and peaceful coexistence. This is the path which can guarantee that political independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America will be joined by new advances in the struggle for economic independence. This is the path which will, at the same time, guarantee new successes in the struggle against monopoly in the U.S. and all capitalist countries. This is the path which will also guarantee new successes in the building of socialism and communism. This is the path which leads to the fulfillment of the dreams of humanity through the ages.

That is why the essence of our program which explains the imperative need for our Party is so beautifully put in the report of Comrade Gus Hall.

THE INSPIRING EXAMPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrades, the science of Marxism-Leninism is expressed by Communist and Workers Parties throughout the world. This applies to Marxist-Leninist struggles under capitalist conditions for socialism, the aim of which is to put an end to the rule of capitalism. This science also guides a victorious working class which has achieved state power and is building socialism and communism in lands uniting one billion people. This is a third of the world's people. This historic fact is but a concrete expression of the main tendency in the world, a weather vane of things to come for the remaining two billion men, women and children on the face of the globe. This is the trend in history. This is an irreversible trend. This is the inevitable future. The victory of the Russian Revolution in October, 1917, was decisive in inaugurating this new hope and new perspective for all the exploited and oppressed. It was the genius of the immortal Lenin who led the Bolshevik Party against Czarism, capitalism, and foreign imperialism in Russia, which proved the possibilities of ending capitalist exploitation, national oppression and foreign domination.

The working class in all capitalist countries, fighting against the same evils, was able to understand better their own class tasks by studying the experiences of their class brothers in Russia who solved similar problems in their country.

What has transpired since this great historical event is truly breathtaking for the people of the Soviet Union. The world has witnessed the transformation after the victory of this backward, agrarian country into the second most advanced industrially developed country of the world. The Soviet Union has outstripped the U.S. in some branches of industry and is continuing to advance so rapidly that industrially it will become the first in the world.

The Soviet Union has no equal anywhere in the world when it comes to the question of the quality of life. The working people are actively engaged in communist construction. The various republics which long ago achieved equality are together moulding the new Soviet man and Soviet woman.

This magnificent achievement was and is possible only because of the science of Marxism-Leninism. It was this science which united the peoples against the march of the 14 armies of Deneken, Kalchok and Yudenitch.

It united the people against the Japanese imperialists and helped to build the proletarian dictatorship, socialism, and the new advances in communist construction. The role of this mighty state in defense of peace, national liberation and socialism is a decisive weapon in today's struggle against thermonuclear war. Still earlier, when the Soviet Union united with all democratic states and peoples throughout the world against the danger of "1,000 years of Nazi tyranny," history records the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the military destruction of the Wehrmacht and with it the military machine of Italian and Japanese fascism.

It is understandable why the forces of the Pentagon and all forces of reaction and fascism are stepping up their campaign of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It is precisely because of the peaceful and liberating role played by the Soviet Union that imperialism is directing its main fire against it and enlists the willing support of right-wing social democracy, Maoism and Trotskyism.

Why is this so? Because once again, the Soviet Union is decisively acting to save humanity from the danger of a thermonuclear war. Can any democrat, non-fascist, anti-fascist, non-imperialist, anti-imperialist, or any peace loving forces fail to comprehend the reality that the Soviet Union is a part of a trinity of the three main revolutionary forces for the salvation of humanity from catastrophic war? In today's world, socialism grows stronger day by day. It has been able through its policies during the past 30 years to help prevent the outbreak of a third world war, the danger of which comes from imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular.

THE GROWING OPPOSITION TO U.S. IMPERIALISM

U.S. imperialism, on the contrary, supports every reactionary, militarist, pro-fascist and fascist government fighting against those who oppose imperialist oppression. There is not a single progressive trend in the labor and democratic movement anywhere in the world which finds support from U.S. imperialism. What could better expose the false pretensions of U.S. imperialism than its policies and practices of neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

The criminal war of aggression by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and all of Indochina was waged by demagogues of genocide and racism in the name of "freedom" against an alleged "communist danger," and this was also peddled by all of the apologists for state monopoly capitalism as being in our "national interest."

The heroic people of Vietnam inspired the people of the United States as they did all people in the world in their fight for self-determination. This fight for self-determination was in truth part of a struggle to defeat imperialism everywhere. What a mighty contribution to the cause of peace, national liberation and socialism! This explains the all-pervasiveness of proletarian internationalism in their great struggle. Success for them and for world humanity was possible only by defeating U.S. imperialism and with it a destruction of its two main weapons--racism and anti-communism. They knew that they could count upon the powerful Soviet Union and other socialist countries in this struggle. They also knew that they would receive support from the working class in all capitalist countries. Of signal importance was the confidence expressed in the people and especially the working class in the United States.

It was precisely this struggle in the United States in support of the fighting people of Vietnam that helped to create a peace majority in this country. The peace movement throughout the world responded. It enlisted the support of hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and was able to defeat U.S. imperialism.

It is for this reason that real happiness was brought into the homes of the majority of the world's peoples. The reason is clear: In the United States as well as in all countries the cause of detente, peaceful coexistence, the national liberation movement, the true national interest and social progress were the victors.

It is clear that the servants of state monopoly capitalism in the United States would have quite a different reaction. For example, President Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger were "humiliated." Their first reaction to this defeat was the Mayaguez provocation.

This kind of stupidity was a manner of "face saving" for home consumption. This kind of "bravado" was to somehow bring about a certain "balance" and would somehow demonstrate that U.S. imperialism was still "all powerful."

Let me repeat that the victory in Southeast Asia for the people of Vietnam was a victory for the people of the United States. State monopoly capitalism in the United States has been delivered a mighty blow. What has happened here is the oneness of the people uniting those who have been victorious over imperialism and those who are now struggling for victory to achieve goals expressive of the noblest of dreams: life instead of death, economic security instead of poverty, health instead of disease, equality instead of racism and national oppression--in short, freedom instead of slavery.

It is of special importance that our Party undertake to win the peace majority in the country for an all-out struggle to implement Articles 1, 4, 9, 21 and 22 of the Paris Agreements.

State monopoly capitalism in the United States is acting as a wounded beast. The peace majority in the United States must prevent them from their false presentation of the aims of the people of the U.S. as being different from and in contradiction to the aims of the vast majority of world humanity.

This is especially true today under circumstances when in this country there is a basic re-evaluation of old values, old experiences, and the fact that growing masses are drawing conclusions from the fact that racism and anti-communism have brought to them wars of aggression and the present economic crisis.

SOCIALISM AS THE WAY OUT

Comrade Hall gave considerable attention to the new stage in which he charts a winning line of policy for our Party. We are at the beginning of a re-evaluation of many things on the part of large numbers of people, particularly workers. The ferment against the Vietnam War was directed by many against what they believed to be a "wrong policy" of the government; even many who talked against imperialism thought of it as a policy and not the expression in foreign policy of monopoly rule. But with the economic crisis and the prospect of continued mass unemployment and lowering living standards, even after the cyclical decline is over and production begins to move

upward, plus the continued problem of inflation which will increase as production rises, many people are being made to think more fundamentally about the economic system and the need for more fundamental change.

It is this which has been the underpinning for the increasing discussion of socialism as a way out. This refers to Pete Hammill's manifesto which was headed, "What America fears most may be its only salvation--socialism," to Julian Bond's television interview in which he, too, spoke of the need for an American type of socialism, and the movement of Michael Harrington, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, which has set its goal of making socialism an issue in the labor movement once again. The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee has as members such trade union leaders as David Selden of the American Federation of Teachers, Patrick Gorman of the Butcher Workmen's Union, Victor Gotbaum of the New York Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and has the encouragement and support of a number of others.

This is not to be confused with the Right-Wing Social Democratic Federation which is the main recruiting ground today for Meany's trade union lieutenants and which is in open war, not alone against the Harrington grouping, but against any independent movement based on class struggle in general and the anti-monopoly movement in particular. The Harrington group split from the Social Democratic Federation on the ground that it was so anti-communist that it judged all questions in response to this opposition. Thus the Social Democratic Federation supported the government on the war in Vietnam because Communists were on the other side of the fight; it supports the Meany bureaucrats because Meany is so anti-communist, etc. Harrington's line is that, while he is opposed to communism and wants what he calls a "democratic socialism," he maintains his anti-communism but is only opposed to carrying this opposition to communism to the extreme and making it the determinant on all questions of policy. An article in Harrington's publication on Albert Shanker was entitled, "The Crowning of Prince Albert." The difference between Harrington and Meany-Shanker & Co. is important for the Harrington grouping represents a developing left tendency of social democracy when compared with the Social Democratic Federation.

The coming out of various individuals such as Harriet Van Horne and other groups for socialism is a healthy sign. It indicates a growing consciousness among the masses about the decadence of capitalism, helps to draw millions into a discussion of socialism and does away with the taboo on the subject of socialism initiated with the cold war. It is particularly important in the labor movement where the raising of this question by others gives us also the possibilities of presenting our views for the first time since the cold war.

But there is also a negative side to this. What these people mean by socialism is actually a popular type of movement and government that would begin to hit out at monopoly power and nationalize the energy, oil and some other industries. They do not yet see socialism as a transformation of state power from one class to another--to the

working class. The other negative side is that by making socialism synonymous with some radical reform measures, particularly nationalization, they give credence to the charge of the ultra-Right that every movement and action against the monopolies is socialism. Thus, even Roosevelt's New Deal which called for limited reforms within the system of capitalism was called "creeping socialism."

It should be the task of our Party to correct the mistaken view that radical reform is already socialism. But at the same time we should do so without making these proponents of nationalization, and what they think is socialism, the enemy that is to be fought. On the contrary, we should join with them in calling for nationalization. We should welcome their coming out for this. Nor should we take the sectarian view that the only true nationalization is expropriation. We are not discussing at this point how the nationalization is to take place, not even in the transition to socialism. This is not a principled question as Marx pointed out a century ago. What is important is the broadest possible support for the idea and movement for nationalization.

A BROAD MASS MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE

We see as the most important mass political task for the period ahead the establishment of a broad people's alternative to the two parties of monopoly capitalism. At this time there is a grave danger that both major parties will be taken over by the most reactionary forces. The Ford Administration is moving more and more to the Right under pressure from the ultra-Right. The Democratic Party is also under pressure from the George Wallace and Henry Jackson forces. There is even a danger that in the period ahead the ultra-Right may feel cocky enough to form a mass political party of their own, uniting into one camp the Reagan-Wallace forces, although before going in that direction they will seek to take control of the political parties as they are now, at least to use their veto power to keep progressive forces from becoming most influential. Hence the need for unity of all progressive, labor, Black and anti-monopoly forces is decisive if extreme reaction is not to push the country more and more to the Right.

It is in this situation that we call for the very broadest unity of all progressive forces. While taking issue ideologically with those whose theoretical or political views we disagree with, we wish to make clear that we, at the same time, hold out a hand of unity to them in the common struggle around the immediate needs of the people for jobs, for raising living standards, for putting the tax burden on the rich, for rebuilding the slums of our cities, for ending the disgrace of racism and for moving toward ending the power of monopoly and toward socialism by beginning to reduce this power through a program of nationalization. It is in this connection that we make clear that we reject and will vigorously fight against a unity based on anything but the defense of the interests of the masses by drawing them into the struggle for their own salvation.

We will never unite with those who see individual terrorism as the answer or with small sectarian groups like the Maoists and Trotskyites engaged in rhetoric but isolated from the struggle because the people, and the people alone, and first of all the working class, can change the situation in the country. No one can do it for them. No individuals or small groups can replace the masses, and anyone who thinks otherwise is objectively serving the interests of the ruling class whether he or she is conscious of this or not. Sure, creating a great mass movement of the working class and people is a difficult and sometimes very slow process. But it is the only one that can succeed. That is why we see the influence of Maoism, Trotskyism, right-wing social democracy and labor bureaucracy as dangerous, for they have already misled scores of potentially good people into the blind alleys of isolation and anti-popular policies.

If a great coalition of popular forces is to be built to fight against monopoly power, two tendencies must be fought: First, the right-wing labor leaders and reformists who hold the masses back, even though they are in the kinds of leading positions from which they could galvanize great masses into action. Instead they sow illusions and make masses think that "they" will do things for them. The Meany's, Bayard Rustin's, Shanker's and politicians in Congress and city government that talk out of both sides of their mouths stand in the way of arousing the masses and uniting them for struggle. If they are to play a positive role in the future--although some of them will never do that--it is only to the extent that the masses push them in that direction. Therefore, it is the influence of these right-wing forces among the people that must be defeated. But it is just as necessary to combat the smaller handful of loud-mouthed people who shout revolutionary rhetoric and oppose any serious efforts to build a mass movement. Both must be fought, and both can be defeated only to the extent that a mass movement begins to arise which pushes them aside and exposes them as obstacles.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY MUST LEAD THE WAY

For these reasons the Communist Party has a unique role to play. It alone sees the need for a broad mass movement of the people and the possibilities for building such a movement. It alone understands the decisive role of the working class in the struggle ahead despite the present situation in most of the labor movement. And it sees the immediate struggle, not as an end in itself, but as the means by which to improve the lot of masses today and lead to the kind of a popular movement that can curb monopoly power, nationalize the great industries, and move towards a socialist reorganization of society. Those who say they are for socialism but ignore the immediate struggle are not for socialism either for you can't get to socialism except on the road of immediate struggle. And those who say they are for the immediate needs of the people but hesitate to hit out against the monopolists, hesitate to take radical measures against them, are also not really defending the immediate interests of the people.

Will this understanding needed by the masses come spontaneously? Will this type of understanding come from class collaborationists? From whom can it come? This is a unique moment when masses are in motion, searching for answers. The uniqueness of this period becomes the special concern of the Communist Party. The science of Marxism-Leninism will enable the people of our country to better see and understand events.

This is all the more important for us because the radio, television and the press are concealing the truth from the people. Why did not the Chicago Tribune give the essence of the remarks of Comrade Gus Hall? Why did not the Chicago Daily News, and why this miserable story in the Sun Times? Every effort will be made by the apologists of a decadent class, not only to prevent the masses from knowing the truth, but to intimidate the masses and attempt to create a climate of fear.

The essence of the science of Marxism-Leninism is the highest form of humanism. That is why the compass which guides us makes mandatory the active and creative leadership to the immediate and future interest of our class. That is why our Party not only helps to mobilize against the threatening dangers to the people but gives leadership to the new opportunities for social progress. For this reason, the maximum development of the rank and file movement in the shops, the communities and the campuses must be consolidated. Greater collaboration and a rapid conclusion of the unity between Black and white and other oppressed people must be forged on the basis of an anti-monopoly program.

MEANY SERVES MONOPOLY WELL

Such a program will not come from the Meany's and Shanker's in the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Let us see if this is so. The fight for detente and peaceful coexistence is central to all questions relating to social advancement in general and especially the fight against inflation and growing unemployment.

The \$105 billion military budget is aggravating and helping to intensify the miseries of masses. Mr. Meany's support of this budget is consistent with his opposition to detente and peaceful coexistence. This kind of policy of Mr. Meany performs a great service to state monopoly capitalism in the U.S. and by the same token provides a conscious misleadership to the growing millions in the ranks of labor seeking greater class solidarity and independence which is based on class struggle.

Speaking on January 15 of this year at the 8th Annual Award Dinner of the Jewish Labor Committee, Mr. Meany asserted:

"I'm saying in the final analysis, the cause of human rights in this world is dependent on the strength--the economic strength, the military strength, the moral strength of the United States of America."

This national chauvinism of Mr. Meany is obedience to the requirements of the Pentagon. It is an open secret that Mr. Meany is a racist and anti-communist. That is why no one is surprised when he goes further with his jingoism than James Schelsinger, George Wallace, James Buckley and such like-minded gentry. Let's go further.

An editorial written by Mr. Meany which appeared March 29, 1975 in the AFL-CIO News entitled, "The Bitter Fruits of Detente," contains the following language: "The policy of detente lies in ruins. The wreckage is global. Disillusionment is everywhere and success nowhere."

Continuing, Mr. Meany knowingly distorts, conceals and misrepresents the real nature of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam in order to say the following: "The horrible tragedy unfolding in Vietnam--another fruit of detente." And Mr. Meany in his frenzy continues, "the rhetoric of detente masks a loss of nerve, a lack of will to bear any longer the burdens of defending freedom in the world. Everywhere communism is on the march. Everywhere the West is in retreat. Such are the fruits, the bitter fruits, of detente."

And listen to this advice of Mr. Meany to the labor movement:

"And if we falter, freedom is shaken everywhere. And, I don't say this because I am a jingoist or a chauvinist. I say it because I've been around a long time, because I read maps, because I read history, and because I can count."

I do not think a polemic against this type of "wisdom" is needed. Listen to this. Mr. Meany is quite right when he criticized the Congress for its failure to adopt policies which can meet inflation and unemployment. He is not right when he does not challenge the military budget for it is clear that a basic change in policy demands an active struggle not only against the military budget but the total policy of state monopoly capitalism.

Mr. Meany is right when he notes that Congress puts dollars ahead of people; more than nine million people unemployed, four million are forced to work part-time because there are not enough full-time jobs, and 25 million will be unemployed at some time this year, etc. And from this, Mr. Meany makes for us a most "profound" observation: "There is only one solution to unemployment, and that is jobs." What do you think of that kind of wisdom? Mr. Meany's solution to this problem is to borrow for, according to him, "borrowing money is part of the American way of life." It is very important that the labor movement grasp the fact that to create jobs through deficit spending alone (Keynesianism) is to give another whirl to the inflation spiral. Yet the AFL-CIO has not called for getting those monies from the over \$100 billion called for for the military.

What is obvious is that Meany & Co. is totally incapable of providing that kind of leadership needed in this time of sharpening class battle. The rank and file must not delay for long the struggles of the employed and unemployed in raising the demand for the retire-

ment of Meany from the leadership of labor and a reversal of class collaboration policies to that of class struggle policies.

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

The achievement of this requires an active fight for the united front. Comrade Hall correctly stressed the question of the united front, that is, united action. The united front is a decisive class concept.

In class struggle, the tactic of the united front is the link in the chain which enables the working class to understand that individual grievances on the assembly line are not simply things in themselves but are definitely related to the many different kinds of grievances of all workers in a given plant, industry, community, and beyond, and that their solution is dependent upon the degree of unity achieved.

The united front is the means by which effective unity and action can be forged. The united front helps to bring greater understanding and consciousness to the working class and with it a heightened solidarity. The united front is the road to the development of a maturing class consciousness and the growth in political consciousness as well.

What is the united front? The basic formulation of George Dimitroff four decades ago remains valid today. He answers the question this way:

"What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism must form the starting point and main content of the united front in all capitalist countries."

This truth has particular meaning at the moment when the burdens of inflation, growing unemployment, wage freeze, increasing taxation, speedup, the conscious stimulation of racism and anti-communism and a drastic cutback in programs affecting everyday needs and with it a deterioration of services affects the great mass of people in our country.

This offensive of state monopoly capitalism is equaled only by its growing military budget which now totals \$105 billion. The tax loopholes are but one way in which new billions flow into the coffers of big finance. The extraction of surplus value is its main form. Let no one misunderstand the meaning of a conscious stimulation of racism and anti-communism. Powerful sections of state monopoly capitalism are pushing for a political development which can lead in the direction of a reactionary, militarist or fascist dictatorship. The ruling circles of state monopoly capitalism have decided to wage war against bourgeois democracy, the aim of which is to undermine and ultimately destroy it.

It becomes clear for Communists that the defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class must become the pivot of everything we do. The defense of democracy, requiring a resolute struggle against reaction, military dictatorship and fascism in the country must become the starting point and main content of our work.

Implicit and explicit in this kind of orientation is the oneness of the struggle to defend the interests of our class and our people against reactionary domestic policies and U.S. imperialist aggression abroad. That is why the fight for detente and peaceful coexistence corresponds to the vital interests of our people. That is why no fundamental question has a possible solution except through the extent that victories in the struggle for peace are won by the masses.

What does this mean? Simply put, the Party must help the masses understand that basic reforms will not and cannot result from a policy of disunity in their ranks.

Neither will it come about by reliance on spontaneity or any policy based on class collaboration.

The Party must help to organize the masses who differ in political outlook, economic outlook, social outlook, but who daily feel the whiplash of the monopoly exploiters and who together agree upon a minimum program to fight to defend their immediate interests against the greed and viciousness of the monopoly exploiters.

This is the meaning of the tremendous discussion at this Convention about building the rank-and-file movement. This movement is an indispensable and most important part of united front developments.

What we are saying here is that our Party must and will actively help to enlist in united action national groups, the national minorities, Black and white, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American Indian, Asian American, Republicans and Democrats, Socialists and Communists, non-fascists, anti-fascists, democrats and independents, non-monopoly, anti-monopoly, and apolitical workers as well in the struggle to defend the fundamental interests of the working class. This is our task in every department, plant, and community.

Communists understand that the fight for the united front is not a temporary phenomenon. The tactic of the united front is a permanent and decisive feature of the class struggle in the United States today. This tactic is not only the way to bring about economic advance on the job but also enhances the leadership role of the working class in the democratic movement as a whole. This kind of unity will grow and will continue to exist even though changes will occur at various stages among certain strata of the non-monopoly sector.

The united front will develop united independent action on the economic front, the independent development of political action on the

electoral front, help undermine racism and bring about greater unity between Black and white, speed the movement leading to an emerging anti-monopoly movement, and help to guarantee conditions in the market place where the rights of the people to listen to the views of Communists will be upheld in the same way as guarantees are established for the rights of Communists to advocate Marxism-Leninism.

The united front is a weapon of struggle, to be sure, against exploitation and national and racial oppression and will also remain under new conditions, with new tasks, when the working class has achieved state power.

The united front under socialism is the working class having achieved state power, in unity with broad masses, which has the task of wiping out all of the crimes of capitalism.

What follows for our Party in the face of this great task is the rejection of the false view that the working class in the U.S. has become "bourgeoisified" and is no longer revolutionary.

It is fallacious on the part of the ideologues of capitalism to assert that the production workers are no longer decisive in the struggle. Some of the apologists of capitalism argue that the blue collar workers are being transformed more and more into white collar workers. The production workers alone give stability to those who drop into the class. The production workers will proletarianize all old and newcomers.

The task of the Communist Party under circumstances of the changing composition is greater. That is why I shall repeat: "The Communist Party now, more than ever."

Comrades, the possibilities for building a mass Communist Party in this unique period are enormous. The anger of the tens of millions is all pervasive. The growing struggles of the masses are many and varied: strikes, slow downs, sick-ins, sit-ins, wildcat actions, demonstrations, marches and many other forms and methods of struggle are now becoming everyday occurrences. The political level of discussion is growing. New voices are being raised.

We should call for public ownership of the utilities such as gas, light, telephone; the nationalization of a number of industries such as mining, railroad, aircraft, electrical and many other industries; radical reform of the Federal tax system, the aim of which will be to close the vast loopholes used by the monopolists and to drastically lower or to eliminate completely income taxes for the majority of working families. This alone could add nearly \$100 million to Federal revenues and hence permit ending inflationary deficit spending. These measures would save the working people of the country \$65 billions per year.

There is a growing demand for a reduction by 50% and, among some, 90% of appropriations for the military budget and the use of those billions to help meet the many crises in the land: housing, education, hospitals, transportation, social services, etc.

Of signal importance is the rising level of struggle against racism and the special demand for equality of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian and Asian American people.

New millions are discussing socialism and communism, and there is a tremendous growth in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism as advocated by our Party.

The kind of leadership needed which can help build the united front and coalition movements on an anti-monopoly basis demands that the growing influence of our Party among the masses must also be accompanied by a much faster tempo in the building of the Party.

The interests of the working class, Black and white, can be defended only by a growing anti-monopoly unity taking the form of united front and coalitions. Such movements with such an orientation can grow only if the Communist Party is an equal and leading part of that development. And the mass growth of the Communist Party will be determined by the degree to which it becomes an integral part of the mass struggles which such united front and coalitions will develop.

THE TREACHERY OF MAOISM

The Party, in the fight for the fundamental interests of our class and our people, must also be vigilant in the struggle against enemy ideology and practices, not only against right-wing social democracy but also in exposing the treachery of the Maoists who falsely appeal to the masses in the name of Marxism-Leninism.

The report of Comrade Hall and other speeches here have conclusively shown the anti-communist, anti-Soviet, anti-working class, and anti-self-determination positions of Maoism. The anti-Sovietism of Maoism is well known. This task was assigned to Maoism by imperialism, and imperialism is pleased with its performance. And it is sufficient to mention the recent defense of NATO by Maoism, its recognition of the militarist, fascist dictatorship of Pinochet, support of D'Estaing in France, of Heath in Great Britain, its counter-revolutionary role in Portugal and Angola and its conscious policy of disruption and disunity in the people's movement in the United States.

The recently held Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties was a magnificent gathering which reflected the main trend of development in the international Communist movement, but also a growing trend in the movements of the working class and peace forces generally against monopoly, and the anti-imperialist developments in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The declaration from this Havana Conference stated:

"This Conference energetically condemns the foreign policy of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which flirts with Yankee imperialism, defends its presence

in Asia and in Europe, justifies NATO, stimulates West German imperialism and revanchism, attacks and slanders the USSR with the same viciousness of the worst spokesmen of international reaction, fosters the aggressive militarism of the world bourgeoisie against it, promotes the insane policy of cold war against the heroic Soviet people, and in Latin America has its most ominous expression in the shameless connivance with the Chilean military junta to which it gives political support over the blood of thousands of Communists, Socialists, and other patriots murdered by the brutal repression of the fascist tyranny. The Chinese leadership also fosters everywhere groups of pseudo-revolutionaries who, from a false radicalism, divide the Left, attack the Communist Parties, obstruct progressive processes and frequently act as enemy agents within the revolutionary movement.

"To confront this policy of treason against unity, solidarity and the best traditions of the world revolutionary movement is a duty for all the Communist Parties of Latin America."

Now I want to say a word or two about Maoism in China itself. The character of the Communist Party of China has changed. What was the main goal of the so-called "cultural revolution"? To destroy physically or politically those who were for proletarian internationalism. They did it. It is now hard to say who the cadres of party membership are. There were 18 million before the "Cultural Revolution." At the 10th Congress it was said that there are 28 million members. If there are, who are they? No one knows. During the "Cultural Revolution" the party was opened to the Hungweipings. Then later they were sent to the countryside. No one knows if they are still in the Party.

The character of cadres has changed. The principles of admission are not like other parties. Devotion to Mao is the requirement. They are not Communists in the usual sense. There is a deformation of cadres of the Communist Party and of state officials. For more than ten years no session of the Assembly was held. During that time the composition of the government named by the previous Assembly changed. Many officials have disappeared. It is hard to say who the new officials are and who appointed them. Delegates should be elected, but somebody appointed them. But who?

There is a deformation of the character of the People's Assembly, the apparatus of state power. Before, delegates of town councils were elected. Now no organ of power is elected. Now, revolutionary committees are not elected but are appointed by the military. There is a deformation of organs of power. The trade unions and Young Communist League disappeared. There is now a new union, but it is hard to say what it is and from where it appeared.

All socialist countries adopt five year plans. For more than 10 years China had had no session of the National Assembly, but they now

say they have two five-year plans. Who adopted them? They do not publish figures but talk about economic growth in percentages; the starting point is not known.

It can be said that in China there is not a liquidation of the socialist base, but that there is a deformation of an important part of the base. The base is the same, but within the base there are important changes--unexpected forms which cannot take place under socialism.

Maoism is a betrayal of 1949, and because of that, it is anti-Chinese and anti-self-determination for the various nationalities in China as well. I am certain that the people of China will reclaim the Revolution of 1949.

The struggle of our Party against Maoism represents a struggle against imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. That struggle represents a defense of proletarian internationalism in general and is a distinct service to the Chinese people in their fight for the victory of Marxism-Leninism over Maoism.

This kind of outlook, the tremendous possibilities before the peoples in furthering the fight for detente and peaceful coexistence, and developing new advances of the people in the struggle against imperialism require the maximum unity on an international scale in perfecting a common policy and common actions.

That is why I join with Comrade Gus Hall in calling for a rapid convening of an International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties. The longer the delay in convening such a conference, the greater become the obstacles in the path of drawing upon the experiences of each country and devising a common strategy on a world scale, not only to save world humanity from a thermonuclear war but also to advance the general interests of the peoples.

BUILD THE PARTY--STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

I am closing now comrades, for tomorrow Arnold Becchetti, the National Organizational Secretary will present the main report on Party Organization. I wish only to say a few more words. Let me have Fern read to you a letter:

"Dear Winnie:

"My most precious dream will come true, for this Father's Day, or after it. My fondest desire is to become an active member of the Communist Party. Here is my request for membership.

"Please write any particulars to me.

"I remain, always respectfully yours..."

This is but one of many letters now reaching the Central Committee Office. The number of similar letters from men and women wishing to join, seeking more information about the Communist Party in the districts and sections, is growing. More than that, recruiting is increasing, and the number of new members who joined the Communist Party in preparation for this Convention is inspiring and shows the new possibilities. We must boldly undertake a massive recruiting drive. We must guarantee that a Leninist style of work shall be instituted and guide our daily practice. This great task makes mandatory the planned organization of our work and should be formulated in a four-year plan to realize the decisions of this Convention.

There is need for the maximum development of collectivity in work, planning, coordination, checkup and control.

The fight to fulfill, and over-fulfill such a plan must now guide us. This means that democratic centralism, the most important principle of organizational structure of our Party, establishes the only basis for the realization of the four-year plan. Democratic centralism is the unity of two principles and is the cornerstone of our Party.

What is democracy in our Party?

1. The election of all bodies of the Party from the clubs up to this convention.
2. Party bodies report activities regularly through shops, industrial, community, professional and campus clubs, and the same is true of established Party committees on all levels.
3. The minority always abides by and helps to carry out the decisions of the majority.
4. The active participation of comrades in the work of the Party and in the initiatives in developing the work of the Party.
5. Regularity in the study of Marxism-Leninism and its application to the concrete conditions of work and the continuing involvement of individual members in collective study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

And now we have come to this Convention. And we will not only be participants in this Convention but actually see in practice what we mean by centralism. What is centralism?

1. A single program, an integral whole, which formulates the goal of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The Party cannot exist if it does not have an integral program and goal--one program, one goal.

The Resolution of this Convention, based on the Draft, and the adoption of the report of Comrade Gus Hall to the Convention, will, I am sure, bring about a common program and goal.

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Industrial Concentration and Building the Party



BY ARNOLD BECCHETTI
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION SECRETARY

Comrades, there is no doubt about it: this is a turning-point convention. Everything points to that. The reports from district convention after district convention were that these were the best in many years. The whole pre-convention discussion period and the work of this convention reflect a Party deeply involved in mass work. The political-ideological unity of our Party is rising to a higher level in the course of the struggle for the practical implementation of our line.

In a whole number of places, the Party has begun to grow at a pace in keeping with the objective possibilities. Not only has the Party begun to grow at a much higher rate but our fraternal youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League, is also doing an outstanding job. Since April 4, it has recruited over 200 new members in a drive in honor of this convention. In the same period, well over 200 of the finest sons and daughters of our class and its allies have joined our Party, the revolutionary working class party in the United States.

What is the basis for this? The increasing involvement of our Party in mass work under ever more favorable conditions and circumstances.

Let me indicate just a few of the achievements of our Party since the last convention. Perhaps one of the most characteristic expressions of our work was the struggle to free Comrade Angela Davis. On the initiative of our Party, a massive struggle was developed for Comrade Angela's freedom, both internationally and within the United States. That struggle developed such power in both arenas that her freedom was won despite the determined effort of the ruling class--of the Rockefellers, the Nixons, the Hoovers and their ilk--to

prevent that result. So we have Comrade Angela Davis with us today in this convention, where she belongs.

However, that was not the end of the struggle. On the initiative of our Party, and especially the initiative of Comrades Charlene Mitchell, Angela Davis and a number of other comrades throughout the country, the broadly based National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression was built. Among its outstanding achievements was the great mass demonstration held under its initiative and auspices on July 4 of last year which brought 10,000 people to Raleigh, North Carolina. That was the largest and most powerful demonstration in the South since the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In the struggles for peace, against the brutal and rapacious policies of U.S. imperialism, our Party has also played an important role. Our initiative and role was an important factor in the development of the Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation which is in the midst of its campaign to oust the fascist-racist Republic of South Africa from the U.N.

We all know the terrible role played by U.S. imperialism, especially through the CIA in the subversion and overthrow of the constitutionally elected Popular Unity Government of Chile, and substituting for that government, one of the most brutal fascist dictatorships in the contemporary world, the Pinochet regime. The initiatives of our Party against this anti-democratic and illegal act found a strong and ready response not only among the people generally, but especially in the ranks of the working class. These activities in protest against the overthrow of the Popular Unity Government have raised still higher the measure of radicalization of our class and the popular masses.

THE PARTY'S ROLE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The most stinging defeat suffered by U.S. imperialism in many years was that suffered in Indochina--in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Nothing can detract from the great victories won by the liberation movements of these countries, and in the first place, Vietnam, which bore the main brunt of U.S. imperialism's brutal aggression. Our Party played a key role in initiating, developing, and bringing to a high level of effectiveness the tremendous mass peace movement which developed here within the United States. We were a significant part of that process which resulted in 82% of the American people giving a resounding "no!" to any bombing and massive reinvasion by U.S. armed forces early this year in Vietnam.

The weight of public opinion against armed intervention by U.S. imperialism is not limited to Vietnam. It has come out solidly against intervention anywhere by U.S. armed forces, whether it be Korea, the Middle East, or anywhere else.

Another important initiative in which our Party is involved is the emerging movement for a drastic cut in the military budget. This movement has great potential for further weakening the ability of U.S. imperialism to intervene against the peoples anywhere in the world.

We have been and are a part of the great rank-and-file upsurge which is taking place in the trade union movement. This upsurge is gaining greater momentum. It found expression in the ousting of the Boyle gang of labor lieutenants who had control of the United Mine Workers of America and the election of a leadership more reflecting the rank-and-file workers in coal. It has found reflection in the development of an organized form of expression for the production workers in the auto industry. The formation and development of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) are a part of this upsurge.

The greatly growing strength of the rank-and-file within the steel union was reflected in the great victory scored over class collaborationism in District 31, the largest and most important district in the United Steelworkers of America. Most recently, the pressure of rank-and-file workers brought about the great demonstration in Washington, D.C. by tens of thousands of trade unionists and others under the auspices of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO on April 26, in the face of determined opposition by Meany and his gang.

In the course of 1974, there had developed spontaneously throughout the country isolated struggles against the economic crisis and especially against inflation. The initiatives and actions of our Party were key in helping to develop this movement from spontaneous and isolated struggles into a conscious, organized nation-wide movement which resulted in actions in some 40 cities throughout the country on November 16, the emergence of the National Coalition Against Inflation and Unemployment, and the initiatives and pressures both inside and outside the trade union movement which led to the great April 26 demonstration.

ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

In the 1972 national elections we developed our most successful electoral work up to that point in a quarter of a century. Despite a patchwork of undemocratic election laws, most of which were put on the books with the specific purpose of keeping us off the ballot and preventing any serious challenge to monopoly's two-party system, our presidential ticket was on the ballot in 12 states with over 48% of the population of our country. And that was only the beginning. In 1974 Party candidates ran for a number of offices in many places. Our vote was often two or more times the size of our 1972 vote, and ranged as high as 5% in Laura Ross' race for Congress in Massachusetts and up to 15% for Jack Kurzweil in San Jose. Earlier this

year Comrade Mark Allen received 35% of the vote in his race for City Council in Berkeley. And now, as Comrade Gus Hall has already noted, in New York City two comrades have been elected to office--Comrades Amadeo Richardson and Alva Buxenbaum. Comrade Amadeo scored a two-to-one margin of victory in his re-election despite a red-baiting campaign against him. Surely a new day is dawning!

The Young Workers Liberation League has also taken some important initiatives in this period. It was their initiative which led to the World Federation of Democratic Youth adopting April 4 of this year, the occasion of the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as an international day in solidarity with the struggle against racism in the United States. In conjunction with that, our League comrades, with a broad array of other forces, organized demonstrations here in the United States in a number of cities. They have been the sparkplug in developing a broad-based Youth United for Jobs movement which is having increasing success not only in New York, but in a whole number of centers throughout the country.

It is clear from just this brief glance at some of the key achievements of our Party in the past period that we are increasingly developing as a Party of mass action, as projected by Comrade Rubin at our 20th Convention. The fight for the implementation of the Party's line among masses in struggle emerges as a stronger and stronger feature of our work, raising to a new level the concept of Communist mass work. It is this which has created the possibility of recruiting well over 400 new people to the Party and the League in a little over two months' time.

Can we be satisfied with this? Only in the sense that it lays the basis for, that it goes in the direction of, the achievement of that role by that size Party needed for the coming struggles.

It is important for us to keep in mind the characterization of this period which Comrade Hall developed in his report in order to determine which are the main struggles, where we must fight, and what tactics are needed. As Comrade Hall laid it out, this is a period in which there is an increasingly rapid and decisive shift in the balance of forces against modern imperialism, and first of all U.S. imperialism, in favor of socialism, the camp of national liberation, the working class and other democratic forces within the capitalist countries. It is the time when U.S. imperialism and all imperialism has entered the period of its uneven decay and dissolution, when there has developed a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism, and this in the midst of the greatest world-wide economic crisis of capitalism since the 1930's. The leading force in the great upsurge of mass struggles in the United States is our class, the working class. It is this which gives a new quality to the period and which is increasingly reflected in the style of work of our Party. We now have the job of taking this to a new and higher level.

NEW POSSIBILITIES IN MASS STRUGGLE

It is clear that these very positive developments and circumstances, so brilliantly reflected in Comrade Hall's report, raise great new possibilities for the masses in struggle against state monopoly capitalism if the proper conclusions are drawn. This is a period which calls for the increasing development of boldness and offensive mass tactics by our class and our Party, by all popular forces. It calls for further developing the extent and depth of the organized mass struggles of our class and all working people. This can only be done by sharply stepping up our Communist mass work, by further increasing the strength and number of our living ties to the masses, especially to our class, and first of all, to the decisively important industrial core of the working class in steel, auto, transport, electrical, and coal.

A necessary part of the struggle for the anti-monopoly coalition is the fight within the mass movements to get the people to see that they can only successfully win their aims to the extent that they are successful in the struggle to curb the power of state monopoly capitalism in every sphere, in every arena of struggle. Only a united working class can provide the force and leadership to unite the other popular forces in this aim which will open the door to working class power and socialism. That can be achieved only through the correct, concrete application of united front policies and tactics within the working class movement, building so that the decisive industrial core of the class emerges as the center of the anti-monopoly movement. But our class cannot fulfill this historic role without our Party, the CPUSA.

To quote from Comrade Georgi Dimitrov, "In the struggle to establish the united front, the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at the bottom the initiator, the organizer, and the driving force in the united front of the working class.

"The Communist Parties can assure the mobilization of the broadest masses of working people for a united front struggle...only if they strengthen their ranks in every respect, if they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy, and apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the actual situation and alignment of class forces."

That underlines the importance of the fight for the line of the Party in the mass movement, for raising to a higher level Communist mass work. It also underlines the fact that our Party can only fulfill its vanguard role in the increasingly sharp and decisive struggles which are taking place and which will take place in the coming period, if it grows very rapidly in the process. Thus, the building of our Party is a question of central importance for furthering the working class and the popular movements, for building the united front,

for working toward the birth of the anti-monopoly coalition.

SOME AREAS THAT NEED IMPROVEMENT

Let us deal with some questions which get in the way of Communist mass work. One is the tendency on the part of some comrades to separate Communist work, Party work, from mass work. Party work which is not integrally related to mass work is no longer Communist; it is sectarian. Communists must be mass leaders. Second, mass work must also be Communist work. It rests on fighting for the line of our Party among masses, in the course of all mass work. And the fight for the line rests on political-ideological struggle. You cannot say you are fighting for the line of the Party without the struggle to raise the level of understanding of masses to higher levels, to class and socialist consciousness.

The ruling class understands the importance of a Communist Party with indestructible mass ties. They understand the importance of a large and growing Communist Party. They know that Communist mass work means undermining their power. That is why they persistently attempt to weaken our Party, to isolate it at home and abroad, to disrupt it from within, to cut the size and influence of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the United States, and to give aid and comfort and publicity to every anti-Party, anti-Soviet group from mumbling Maoists to tottering Trotskyites, even creating "instant Marxist-Leninists," so called. In the course of our work among the people, we must expose and counter the line of these disrupters and wreckers, not only in general, but in the concrete forms which we come across in the mass organizations.

Communist mass work rests on the ability to take initiatives among the masses, to implement the Party program. We must avoid one-sidedness and compartmentalization on the one hand, and even-handed equalization--treating all things as though they were equally important--on the other.

What are some expressions of one-sidedness in our Party? The concept that industrial concentration is for our trade union comrades only, that comrades who work in peace, community, and other mass organizations, who are in community clubs, have no responsibility for this policy. Such an approach, in practice, denies that we are the working class party. It sees workers as one-dimensional--existing only at the point of production. It fails to see them, and to seek them out in peace, housing, education, and other struggles. It doesn't see workers living in communities. It fails to see that comrades and collectives which do not directly deal with the point of production can nonetheless help win workers to a line of struggle in their own interests. It abandons the standards set by Marx,

Engels, and Lenin. They were not workers by class origin, but never for a moment did they see their lives, their struggles, except in relation to the working class movement, in the service of the class.

COLLECTIVITY AND THE REALIZATION OF THE PARTY'S LINE

It is one-sided to not discuss critically and self-critically one's mass work in one's own Party club. How else can check-up and control be developed on the struggle for the line of the Party? Isn't this part and parcel of collectivity? Isn't that basic to the concept of the Party of a new type? Isn't the lack of such an approach a big part of the problem in the life of some clubs which some comrades complain about? Isn't the discussion of the concrete problems of implementing our line among the masses in struggle basic to a vital club life? After all, our line isn't a blueprint. Very seldom can the general line of our Party be applied without further thought.

To make our line a living part of specific mass movements in a given area requires knowledge not only of our line but equally of the conditions, problems, thoughts, and moods of the people among whom we work. It is only on this basis that the best possible concrete expression of our program can be brought to life. It is only by regular check-up that it can remain so.

But more is needed to avoid one-sidedness. We need to raise still higher the concept of collective work among masses. One comrade, one shop, or one comrade, one mass movement, is not the basis of collective Communist mass work. In one way or another, we should ensure that there are two or more comrades in every shop and movement where possible which is most of the time. Assigning another comrade is one way, but working closely with the best non-Party forces, building a left center of work with them in the movement, convincing them of our policy and working to recruit them into the Party is another and better way. It builds the Party and its influence in the process. Can this be done by one comrade alone? Not really. Not nearly as effectively as by a collective, using all the instruments at our disposal.

To work among masses most effectively, to raise their consciousness and win the best to our Party, requires more than individual effort. The bourgeoisie has all of us subject to an intensive propaganda barrage 24 hours a day--on radio and TV, via newspapers, magazines, books, ads, and in countless other ways. They project their line relentlessly, in every form possible. No one person can effectively counter that. We need collective mass propaganda and agitation, and we have the instruments--if we will consciously use them. Isn't the basic one the Daily World? It can be there, informing and educating, when individuals can't be. The same goes for the People's World, Political Affairs, the Young Worker, the innumerable outstand-

ing pamphlets and books of New Outlook and International Publishers. The attitude is still too prevalent that this is Party, not mass literature; the same sectarian separation of Party and mass which acts as a brake on the growth and development of the Party and the mass movements. A Communist Party which turns inward, which is only for itself, means nothing.

These papers and this literature are for us, but they are still more for the masses we work among. They are basic instruments in developing our vanguard role. One of the weaknesses of the working class and popular movements can be measured by, and traced to, the limited and often hit-or-miss circulation of our printed work among masses in struggle. Part of overcoming the reliance on spontaneity--of further developing a Communist style of mass work--is the development of a conscious, organized, planned approach to the development and circulation of our press and literature as part and parcel of our mass work, that is, of Communist mass work. Beyond what has already been mentioned, attention is needed to be paid to the development of content of leaflets at every level of Party organization and increasing their circulation, and to bringing out more shop and neighborhood papers.

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO BLACK LIBERATION'S CENTRALITY

I mentioned that another tendency is to equalize everything. Some comrades deny the centrality of the struggle for Black liberation and equality, against racism. It is sometimes expressed by saying that the struggle for women's equality is just as important. Some say that the struggle against the intense and brutal exploitation and oppression of the Native American Indians, Asian American peoples, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos is equally important, and that perhaps it is even more important because in some instances, exploitation and oppression are even sharper among these sectors of the population.

This is often true. But our approach is not based alone on moral indignation, but rather on class struggle and the class morality which flows from it. Of course we fight against all exploitation and oppression. But we also know that the decisive class for the struggle to end all exploitation and oppression is the working class, and especially its industrial heart. Our analysis shows the centrality of Black liberation 1) for unity within the working class, 2) as the major ally of our class in the anti-monopoly struggle, and 3) for the development of the movements of all other specially oppressed peoples in our country today. That is why it receives concentrated attention, why we place it as central. It does not mean no attention to the other movements. Concentration doesn't mean exclusive attention to one thing to the neglect of everything else.

It would be mechanical and narrow not to see the great importance of the struggles of Puerto Rican people in New York City, for

example, or the importance of Chicano liberation struggles in the southwest. Our job is neither to equalize these struggles nor to pit the importance of one against the other. No, our job is to see the correct relationship of these struggles to the basic question before us: who shall hold power, the capitalist class or the working class? What moves us toward the necessary conditions for first curbing, then ending, state monopoly capitalist power and substituting working class power and socialism? That is our approach.

Subjective approaches are often related to, and result in, one-sidedness or equalization. . These weaknesses can put us where we should never be: in a position where the class enemy can maneuver us into corners, in situations where we get diverted because we don't keep our eyes on the class essence of questions, on the class goals, on the class job before us. One of the forms that this takes among some of our trade union comrades is the attitude that the main enemy is the trade union leadership. That obscures the fact that no matter how bad the trade union leadership is, it is not the main enemy. We know that the Boyle leadership in the United Mine Workers, one of the worst in trade union history, was defeated not by making it the main enemy, but by concentrating fire on the lords of the coal industry, by fighting for the workers' needs. That's how to fight rotten trade union leadership. In the course of struggles around that kind of approach, we can expose class collaborationists in the trade unions. We can express our criticisms of other trends and of the trade union leadership when they are in error.

When the leadership of the union becomes the main enemy, it tends to isolate us from the best workers, those who are fighting against the boss and for better conditions. It becomes easy to fall into racist traps because you miss the class roots of racism. Then it is easy to miss the concrete expressions of racism within the shop and industry. This also tends to create a situation where it becomes difficult to fight for the unity of all workers against the boss. It stands as a roadblock in the way of the development of significant rank and file movements and to the building of the Party and its influence.

CLASS UNITY AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM

It is in the struggle to bring to the fore common policies around which all workers in every industry can unite--in steel, in transport, in auto, and so forth--that the difference between our approach and the class collaborationists' becomes clearer to the workers. Our approach emphasizes the unity of all workers as being based on the necessity to fight for the needs of the specially oppressed workers because their needs express in concentrated form the needs of all workers in the fight against exploitation. Because it builds class unity, the fight against racism is in the interests of white workers. This separates us from the class collaborationists.

We are developing the struggle against the multinational corporations in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, at a time when the top leadership of the AFL-CIO mounts a campaign against détente with the claim that it costs American jobs, at a time when they use this to try to cover their crass interference in the internal affairs of workers of other countries on behalf of U.S. state monopoly capitalism. When we fight for the unity of our class, we fight on the basis of the principle struggle against the class enemy, for the equality within and fighting unity of our class, not only within our country, but also between the workers of various countries. The great power chauvinist attitudes of right social democracy of the Meany-Shanker type stand in sharp contrast to this.

However, when we allow ourselves to be diverted from our main purpose within the class movement, we not only begin to fall into errors in the struggle against racism and for the unity of our class within the United States, but there also tends to develop great power chauvinist attitudes toward workers in other countries. Unfortunately, there has been more than one instance in more than one international union where our comrades have demanded that comrades from other countries do their bidding. That is not only wrong for U.S. Communists who are in the same international with comrades from other countries, it is wrong in relation to foreign comrades in any circumstances.

Such great power chauvinist attitudes are impermissible in general for those who profess proletarian internationalism, but it is especially impermissible for workers of this, the dominant imperialist power, to take such an attitude toward workers of other countries.

All this does not mean that we abandon criticism if criticism is in order, though of course, Communists keep in mind that we criticize the enemy in one way and fellow workers and allies in another. But that's not the issue. The issue is one of basic attitude on who is the main enemy, how do we fight him, how do we develop the united front, and with whom? How do we fight racism and all else which impairs working class unity?

Comrades, the struggle against racism requires that it be fought against not just in general, but in the concrete forms which are found in various shops, industries, movements, communities, etc. That means that in every movement we must look for the main, the key expressions of racism and help to develop the fight on the issues. Too often, some white comrades do not seek out and probe to see what forms of racism exists, or if they do, they often adopt a "what's the use, we can't win" attitude. This is an expression of no faith in the possibility of winning white workers to see that the struggle against racism is in their self-interest, their trade union interest, their class interest. It abandons the ideological struggle. It is an abandonment of Communist mass struggle. And in fact, it gives up on the class struggle, the struggle for the anti-monopoly coalition,

for working class power and socialism, because none of this is possible without the fight against racism. Trade union unity is impossible. Class unity is impossible. Raising the level of class consciousness is impossible. The anti-monopoly coalition is impossible. To abandon or not enter into the struggle against racism is to gravely weaken all struggles. For example, as Comrade Hall pointed out, the solution to the question of last hired, first fired and the question of seniority is a general problem, but it has concrete expressions in every industry and every shop. We have to seek ways to develop the struggle in each place. Only then does the struggle in general assume full possibilities. We need probing in the shops, in the industries, and in the Party as a basis for solving this problem.

Another problem in the struggle against racism is also a no-struggle approach, though at first it may not seem so. The first expression of racist attitudes by white workers and the label, racist, is applied--and the struggle is done! Or in the Party, there have been examples where the first reaction to weaknesses by white comrades in this area is--expulsion! Clearly, that is no struggle against racism. It is giving up the fight, but washing one's own hands, so to speak. We must start from the premise that we can win in the fight against racism because that fight is in the interests of white workers, and that we can win them to see that fact. It requires stubborn, determined, probing, unremitting struggle. It means not giving up on people, but fighting to win them.

In our review of the mass work of comrades in our Party collectives, and especially in our Party clubs, we must raise the question, "What are the expressions of racism and chauvinism in the movement? How can they be combatted? What are we doing?" For it is not only the responsibility of individual comrades to combat racism, it is a collective responsibility. Of course, we have and must have higher standards in the Party. However, those standards are not raised by merely taking a position against racism and chauvinism, They must be fought for. When white comrades are guilty of chauvinist errors, we need to help them overcome them. Their mass work should be examined critically, including their relationship with Black and other minority people, in and out of the Party. The roots of the error should be sought so that the problem can be overcome. Where necessary, control tasks should be assigned.

INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION AS A TASK OF THE WHOLE PARTY

Building our Party and its influence in the ranks of the basic industrial workers, that is, industrial concentration, is the task of the whole Party. If we are to sharply increase our role as the vanguard Party of the working class in practice on a growing scale, then our mass work and recruiting must be, in the main, among workers --industrial and production workers first of all.

Concentration means main attention and effort, not exclusive attention and effort. While our aim is to build first of all in the heart of our class, we should continue to build our mass work and recruiting in other segments of our class, and among all working and specially oppressed peoples. We need to build our Party and its work further among the oppressed minorities: Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian American and Native American Indians. Here, as among whites, special attention should focus on basic workers.

An area of work which we have tended to neglect in recent years is farm and rural. This convention has marked a turning point in this regard. Special attention should be given to the agricultural working class, especially the organizing efforts of the United Farm Workers, and the small farmers.

Carrying out our policy of industrial concentration requires a collective effort. All Party clubs, every section, every district, every national Party body--all have a role in industrial concentration. What is needed is a plan, jointly worked out in its details between the Party Center and the districts.

One of the weaknesses of our Party has been, how it is organized to fight for the line of our Party. While we may expect that larger districts, in the context of concentration, can organize the struggle on most or all fronts, we cannot have the same approach with smaller districts. Here, we have to work out with the districts not only concentration, but also which fronts overall of the class struggle must be manned and which we let go for now. That is a joint responsibility of the Center and the districts.

Another problem in the Office of the Central Committee is that we have not been well enough organized for developing a fully coordinated approach to implementing decisions. There is too often little or no consultation and coordination by the various departments and commissions on what information and approaches to send to the districts. Partly it is structural in the sense that there are too many internal meetings because given comrades are on too many bodies. We're looking at that problem with the aim of simplifying structure, cutting down the number of meetings for given comrades, and insuring coordination in the fight for implementation.

This can open the road to a clearer and better communication with the districts. The flow of information back and forth is an essential part of democratic centralism, and not only do we have to improve the flow to the districts and lower Party bodies, but also from these bodies and districts to the Center. That will help to make our planning and implementation more precise.

In the fight against reliance on spontaneity, education and precise analysis are not enough. If that is where we stop, we are not yet fully Marxist-Leninists. We have the job not only of interpreting the world, but even more to the point, of changing the world.

Our analysis must, therefore, lead to a conscious, coordinated plan of work for every Party body from the Center to the club. Then we can develop still more truly the collectivity which is so vital to the vanguard Party. This will increase our effectiveness in leading mass struggles, in putting into life the decisions of this convention which are so vital to our class and all those oppressed and exploited by monopoly and its state.

Comrades, we have placed the question of building our Party as a major contribution to the class struggles of today. We must fight for further expanding our mass work and recruiting in every district. We have to fight to develop Party organization which exists in 37 states today to the point that by our next convention we will have Party organizations in all 50 states. However, such an approach, though necessary, is not concentration. What we want to project is a plan of national concentration on six districts, mainly in the industrial heartland of our country.

Second, while we fight for building our ranks mainly among basic workers in steel, auto, electrical, transport, and coal, it is our view that the key to turning the whole labor movement away from class collaboration and onto the path of class struggle policies is steel. A great victory within the steel union was achieved within district 31, the largest and most important district in the union, with the election of Sadlowski. Rank and file pressures were strong at the last steel workers' convention. These and other pressures from below have forced the leadership of the union sometimes to make the right kinds of noises recently. But our job is to make these noises just the shifting of the gears to consistent class struggle policies and practices. Hence, we are proposing that nationally we center our attention on steel in our plan of work.

At this point, I want to read the draft resolution on industrial concentration and Party building.

RESOLUTION ON INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION AND PARTY BUILDING

Our Party is the revolutionary multi-national working class Party. It is the vanguard Party involved with, and helping to lead, masses in struggle. But saying this we also recognize that we must gear ourselves to standards based on what is new, emerging and characteristic in the class struggle.

In the course of the developing anti-monopoly struggles, the working class, and especially its organized industrial core is coming more and more to the fore as the main factor against monopoly. We recognize that this cannot be sustained without a rapidly growing Communist Party as the leading force, deeply involved in all mass struggles of importance to the working class: for peace and detente, against imperialism and the military budget, for jobs and full employment; against racism and all that it stands for in the way of working

class and popular unity; for the housing, educational, health, mass transit and all other needs of working people.

Such a Party can only fulfill its leading role in the rising storm of struggles by strengthening itself, including strengthening its working class, multi-national character through building its role and recruiting among industrial workers, first of all in steel, auto, electrical, transport and coal.

Because the working class and all anti-monopoly forces need such a Party, we must place the further building and strengthening of the CPUSA in the course of its mass involvement as our central contribution of the anti-monopoly movement.

To raise the vanguard role of the Communist Party to the level required by the rising storm of struggles, we should aim at a Party 3 to 5 times larger than now by the 22nd Convention.

Our Party is needed everywhere people struggle. We should set ourselves the goal therefore of organizing our Party in those few states where it is still not organized so that by our next convention we will have Party organizations in all 50 states.

While we recognize the need to struggle and build among all anti-monopoly forces--small farmers, intellectuals, artists, professionals, etc.--we are first and foremost a working class Party. In keeping with this we should strive to recruit mainly, though not only, from our class. Our aim should be that 75% of new recruits are workers, especially trade unionists, and that the majority of these are workers in basic industry.

We should continue to concentrate on workers in the main basic industries: steel, auto, electrical, transport, and coal. But among these, steel is the key to turning the trade union movement away from class collaboration to class struggle policies. We propose, therefore, to make steel the main concentration industry nationally. We should continue to work to develop the favorable situation in District 31, but special attention should be given to trying to win a similar rank and file victory in District 38 (the west), and to build special concentration in steel elsewhere, especially in Maryland, Eastern Pennsylvania, and the concentration districts of the Party except Michigan where the main concentration is auto. The goal is a rank and file victory at the next national steelworkers convention!

The proportion of specially oppressed peoples in our Party--Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian American and Native American Indian peoples--is close to their proportion in the population. That is not satisfactory, however, since they are heavily working class in composition and are specially oppressed. Special efforts to bring up their percentage in our Party is required, with main attention to recruiting workers in basic industry.

As a guide to industrial concentration and Party building for the coming year, we propose the following:

A. 1. In line with the need to build first of all in the main body of basic workers in the industrial heartland of our country, the concentration districts shall be: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and Alabama.

2. In the year following this convention, the Party is to grow by no less than 50% in these districts, and the circulation of the Daily World, Political Affairs, our pamphlets, and books to increase by 60 to 75% and subscriptions to the Daily World by 70% to 75%

3. The number of shop clubs and Party shop papers should increase by 3 to 5 times.

4. To help insure that these districts are in fact national concentration, we propose that each district draw up its plan jointly with the Office of the Central Committee based on a concrete examination and discussion of each district, with the participation of district cadre, in the Political Bureau, based on a report to be prepared by a group of national and district comrades who will have jointly studied the district. From this, proposals would be worked out on such questions as: in which shops to build shop clubs and to establish Party shop papers, where to regularly distribute the Daily World, which pamphlets and other literature to use, what united front forms to build (TUAD, rank and file caucuses, CLUW, CBTU, etc.), what intermediate forms are needed (Daily World builders, discussion groups, classes, etc.), the relationship of each Party body to the plan, how the Center can best relate, etc.

Among the possible ways to ensure closer attention by the Center to the concentration districts is the possibility that the new Political Bureau include on it one or two district organizers from among the concentration districts.

B. 1. In the districts other than the concentration districts, the Party should grow by not less than one third by July 1, 1976, and the circulation of the Daily World, People's World, Political Affairs, our pamphlets and books to grow by at least 50% in the same period, and subscriptions to the press by 60%.

2. The districts should work out, in consultation with the Center, a plan of industrial concentration and Party building for the coming year which is to be in the hands of the Office of the Central Committee not later than September 1, 1975.

3. The number of shop clubs and Party shop papers in concentration industries should be increased by three times in the coming year.

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cont. on p. 62

Report from the Labor Workshop



BY GEORGE MEYERS, CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL LABOR COMMISSION

Comrades, we had two very fruitful sessions in the Labor Workshop. There were ten comrades who were given extended time to speak on concrete experiences in steel, auto, longshore, TUAD, CBTU, CLUW, Labor Today and in New York City, Philly, Chicago and a number of other important industries and cities. Over 25 other comrades also participated in the discussions, most of them taking their limit of seven minutes.

The workshop showed some solid advances in our trade union work, especially at the rank and file level, since our last convention. The workshop also showed the general unity around the line of our Party in this important arena of class struggle. The overall discussion reflected concrete activity and involvement of our comrades in trade union and rank and file activity.

Certain questions emerged which we wish to present to the convention for the purpose of strengthening the Draft Resolution. First, there was full agreement that Meany's class collaboration policies are being sharply rejected by important sections of the trade union leadership. At the same time it is obvious we have problems of how to relate the rank and file movements to this significant new development. It's a matter that is going to require our continued attention. On the one hand, there are still problems of sectarianism and an on-going tendency of anti-leadership per se, and on the other hand a tendency in some instances that goes in the direction of liquidating rank and file work and depending solely on these leaders that are developing. On the whole it was a very solid kind of discussion we had on this question, but we still have some work to do in order to refine a correct position.

The use of the phoney left by the corporations and the government has created serious problems for our comrades from one end of the country to the other. Right-wing union leadership is taking advantage of this situation in an effort to smear our Party and divert

honest rank and file movements. While this is a particular problem for our trade union comrades, it is a problem for the whole Party. We must rapidly work out a concrete program of how to expose and combat these scoundrels. This is particularly a problem where a vacuum exists due to the lack of Party activity. Party activity is the surest way to expose and route the "phoney left."

How to work with union leaders who have advanced positions on social and political questions while having an unsatisfactory or weak position on economic questions in their own industries is another problem we face. It is a real problem in some areas. I don't think that you'll find anywhere in the country a more outstanding leader than Harry Bridges when it comes to the fight against anti-Sovietism and anti-communism and for detente. At the same time, the ILWU is faced with an unsatisfactory contract as far as dealing with automation is concerned. Well, I think this is one example of where we've had problems as to how to develop relations with such leaders even where differences exist. Take the Butcher Workmen. I don't think you'll find many trade union leaders who have taken a better position on peace, on civil rights, on the rights of Communists and numerous advanced issues than Pat Gorman, but he's also signed some pretty weak contracts economically. And there are other cases where we have this same situation.

We didn't have a chance to discuss the whole thing out. I just told the comrades that I intended to raise it in plenary session and they'd have a chance to answer there if they desired. I think that the problem in question -- and I'll select West coast Longshore -- I think the problem in the past was that the Party tailed behind the union leadership. And I think this is a serious error no matter how good the union leadership might be.

We had the same problem one time with the Farmworkers. There was a tendency on the part of a few comrades to tail behind their wrong position on workers without documents that would have been the kind of blunder it would have taken a long time to live down.

I think tailing behind leadership in the ILWU was one error. The other was the failure to build a rank and file movement much earlier. One of the most positive things that's developed has been the building of that rank and file movement. I think that now we're in the process of developing a policy which is going to bring the union leadership and the rank and file much closer together. It's an important question that must be worked at.

A left-center alliance is emerging in the unions, but there is still no center of leadership, although I might say that Jimmy Hoffa has volunteered to fill that gap. I don't know if any of you read his interview, but, among other things, he's come out for the 32-hour week, retirement at 55, and the absolute unfettered right to strike. And he says if he can run for union office he is going to push this kind of a program. Well, I think that Jimmy has a lot of past errors

to answer for, but he senses a vacuum and he's prepared to fill it. But the real key to the successful consolidation of the left-center alliance is our intensified effort to build rank and file movements and, above all, to build the Party. The discussion revealed a generally positive attitude toward TUAD and Labor Today with a whole number of examples indicating the growing importance of Labor Today as a militant rank and file voice.

On the Farmworkers, there was emphasis made, and one of our comrades will speak on it, of the new opportunity to help them organize as a result of the law that was recently passed in California which makes it now possible for the Union to go in and challenge the teamsters through the process of elections.

Comrades, there was considerable discussion on the question of what comes under the heading, "Last Hired, First Fired." We propose a special resolution on this question and a maximum struggle to implement it. Comrades, I want to say it's a good indication of the maturity of our Party to have a panel of our size in unanimous agreement about the importance of this issue, and to see the need of the Party to give it leadership. Past relectance expressed as "Oh, oh, we'd better not touch this because it's liable to upset the apple cart" is being overcome. It is now correctly understood as a struggle that can unify the class. That it is the touchstone in the struggle against racism and discrimination against women.

Comrades, the class struggle is developing in a way that presents our Party with the opportunity to lead the fight to smash this vicious manifestation of racism, discrimination and class division. Comrade Hall dealt with it quite in depth in his excellent report to this Convention. We must grasp this opportunity and not shy away from it. There's no pat solution, but we must adopt a position and work for its application in ways to fit specific conditions.

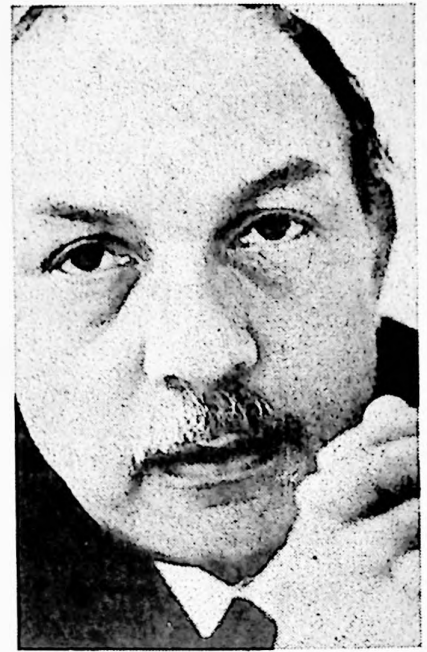
A draft resolution was drawn up by a subcommittee who I think did an excellent job considering the short time that they had to work, and is being presented as a start on a resolution that can be polished up after further discussion on this vital issue of eliminating "Last Hired, First Fired" as a deadly cancer in the body of labor.

Comrades, I have the following motions to present to the Convention from the Labor Workshop. One, that we call a national meeting on Longshore to work out some of the problems around that industry. That we endorse the trade union section of the Main Draft Resolution as it is amended in the discussions. Third, that we enthusiastically endorse the trade union section of Comrade Hall's report. Fourth, adoption of the resolution calling for a struggle to end racist and discriminatory hiring and promotion practices in the mills, mines, and offices of our country.

And finally, we propose the publication of a number of reports made to the panel on our work in steel, auto, longshore, on our ap-

Our Party! Hub of the Wheel of Progress

BY JAMES E. JACKSON,
NATIONAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR



Comrades, we are riding the tide of mighty events that will carry history forward--and we Communists have a very special place in these events which are commencing to unfold with great rapidity. We're pushing the point into tomorrow and our Party marches in the forefront of the forces which will open the path to the future--a future that will be bright and full of promise for the fulfillment of the long pent-up and deferred aspirations of our class and people, a future full of opportunity for creative work, for freedom, for fulfillment of the human condition.

OUR PARTY--NOW A MORE VITAL NEED

The most brilliant and talented, the hardest working and most dedicated individual is not strong enough to remold and remake a worthy environment for humanity. It requires not only rejection of that which is negative in life and in the world and in social systems --already millions and tens of millions have done that, exercised that rejection in their minds. It is not enough to envision the features of the future--you can take a jet plane and see it. It exists in the glowing reality of natural color in a vast section of the world, above all in the Soviet Union. The dimensions and design of the future are alive and well and already in place on a broad surface of this earth. It requires something else. It requires a collective intelligence greater than the sum of its individual parts. It requires a will stronger than the iron-will of the most dedicated hero of the working class and oppressed masses. It requires an organization of a special type--the special kind of organization that Lenin modeled, summing up in his genius the experiences of a thousand struggles of the oppressed for their liberation, of the class of toilers for their relief from toil and exploitation. Therefore, it requires this organization of a particular kind and type which emblazons on its banner that it will assume the responsibility of being "the mind, the will, and the honor of the working class" which is called on by

history to lead the nation to real emancipation and the people to freedom's fulfillment. We are a proud and committed part of this type of Party, the Party of William Z. Foster and W.E.B. DuBois, the Party of Henry Winston and Gus Hall, the Party of the working class, the Party of all oppressed peoples striving to really save the nation by securing the goals and objectives of a decent life for all the people.

CAPITALISM'S BICENTENNIAL MOOD IS BLUE

In our time we are witnessing and experiencing the impact of the accelerating decline of the capstone of world imperialism--U.S. imperialism. U.S. capitalism comes to the Bicentennial year of its reign in state power not in a celebrating mood. It is a ruling class that is wrecked with multiple crises, beset by problems for which it has no answers, its shoulders bent with pessimism and its eyes clouded with the empty view. What the theorists and ideologists of world capitalism so proudly hailed as the show case of the consumer society, the prosperity phase of U.S. capitalism's general business cycle, has itself been consumed by the classic operation of the economic contradictions of capitalism worsened and made chronic by the deepening general crisis of world capitalism which infects and in turn is further infected by the U.S. crisis.

Indeed, one of the features of the continuing favorable shifting in the balance of world forces, which signalize the entry upon a new stage of capitalism's general crisis is "the breakup of the U.S. dominated world imperialist pyramid." As is well known, the economic reality of the life of the masses in our country today is characterized by a catastrophic downturn in the quality of life. More than ten million working men and women are unemployed. In some cases like the auto capital of the world, Detroit, 40 percent of the youth have neither jobs now nor "Ford cars in their futures." This circumstance has given rise to very broad based rank and file activation and struggle movements against the high cost of living, against inflation and for the roll-back of prices, for jobs and livelihood for the unemployed. The new feature of the mass struggles against the shifting of the burdens of the deepening crisis upon the backs of the masses is a developing upsurge in the ranks of the trade unions in the basic production industries for labor's initiatives in the mass struggle against the social consequences and misery of the masses flowing from the depression. This activity is accompanied by a left-progressive led movement in the trade unions to challenge the policies of the arch-Meany types of misleaders and labor-betrayers and replace them by genuine militant and progressive leaders. The victories of the 100,000 strong steelworkers of District 31 in throwing out of office a longtime stooge and consort of the Abel-Meany apologists for the monopolists is symbolic of the new mood in labor's ranks in the U.S. today.

LABOR'S MOOD IS MILITANT

A similar movement for radical renewal of leadership is in process in District 38 of the United Steelworkers in the Southwestern states involving tens of thousands of Spanish-speaking steel and ore workers. Progressive leadership now commands a solid base in the United Mine Workers. Coalitions and various unity slates of liberal, reform, democratic and Communist-led rank and file developments have become a new general feature in the affairs of the biggest U.S. trade unions. Among the auto workers, longshoremen's unions, teamsters, farmworkers, teachers and municipal workers, rank and file movements are spurring and regenerating new militant life and activity into locals, districts and internationals of trade unions which have long been under the dictatorial domination of the reactionary misleaders of the George Meany-type at the top of the AFL-CIO.

In a fashion unprecedented in recent times in our country, economic and social struggles of the masses are promptly taking on political action aspects. Funds for meeting the hunger, medicare, jobs, educational and other social needs of the masses are being battled for in the political arena at city hall, state house, Congressional and White House level in confrontations with the demands of the monopolies for direct subsidy to their giant corporations such as Boeing Aircraft, a number of banks, railroads, and other corporations. Above all, those who fight for bread, housing and medicare must contend against the Pentagon. Furthermore, the scandals of wholesale robbery of the public treasury and the tax-paying toilers on the part of corrupt public officials at the highest level as disclosed in the spin-off trials from the "Watergate" conspiracy, confront the people with political revelations of cynical rottenness of capitalist crooks in office. The popular masses of our countrymen have gone through two important consciousness-raising experiences in the recent past. The people of our country, most especially the working class, are still drawing upon the lessons of those experiences.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM VIETNAM AND WATERGATE

Our Party has begun the undertaking of unprecedentedly ambitious tasks to further this consciousness-raising process to aid the working class and all those who are hurt by the reign of the monopolists to draw lessons of maximum profundity from these major national experiences. The military defeat and the moral collapse of U.S. imperialism in Indochina after long years of neo-genocidal war of aggression was waged against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Criminal U.S. imperialists spent the lives of 55,000 citizen soldiers and \$150 billion in the dirty war gamble. Only the peace forces, initiated in the first instance by our Communist Party, which finally became the active overwhelming political majority of the whole people

of the nation, retrieved and upheld the honor of the country which the monopolist ruling class had dragged in the dirt of one of the most immoral, piratical wars of naked aggression known to history.

A second great teaching of recent events is present in the Watergate disclosures of the Nixon years. Among other things, Watergate underscores a feature of imperialism in its historical twilight time --that is, the manifestation of the contradictory aspects of its policy, its conduct in the field of foreign policy where it must accommodate to a new reality of a changed and ever-changing relationship of forces between its waning world and the rising world of proletarian hegemony, of the socialist and independent non-imperialist states on the one hand, and on the other, continuing perverse (even if sophisticated and camouflaged) moves to compensate losses or shore-up against retreats by recourse to fascist-like incursions against the hard-won democratic rights and social achievements of the working people.

Tens of millions of our citizens have drawn proper lessons from the Vietnam war and have demonstrated, at more than one crucial moment in the course of the liquidation of the consequences of U.S. aggression in Indochina and in respect to flashpoint tensions which have arisen at times in the Middle East, that they want an end to policies of military adventurism and armed confrontations, that they demand from the politicians and the government an uninterrupted advance along the way of detente: to make the steps already taken toward peaceful coexistence irreversible and to progress further toward the realization of humanity's long sought-for goal of general disarmament. An awareness is growing in our country among the working people and wide strata of the general population that serious expectations for meeting the growing social need of the people requires, in the first place, a victorious struggle to force a massive cut in the colossal military budget. Life experience is teaching our people the indissolubility of the struggle for peace and the fight for social progress and democracy.

HOW PEACE SERVES PROGRESS

The wide-ranging, ceaseless activity of the Soviet Union in advancing and nurturing all prospects for the furthering of the sacred cause of world peace has penetrated the consciousness of ever greater numbers of our people as a standard against which to measure the deeds and assess the words of their own and all other governments on the decisive issue on which mankind's future hinges--the issue of a true policy for peace, to stop the arms race, to insure against the outbreak of a third world war.

Comrades, not Europe (the cradle of the two previous world wars), not Asia, certainly not Latin America, nor Africa, BUT the United States of America is the sole remaining country on earth which is still capable of pursuing policies and generating deeds that could

result in endangering the survival of the world through a third world war. This harsh truth gives ever-present moment to the movement for the struggle for peace in our country.

"An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence--that is our ideal," Lenin proclaimed in the wake of the October Revolution. As decisive policy for transition to the realization of that ideal, Lenin put forward the concept of peaceful coexistence as the principled basis of relations between states of different socio-economic systems.

THE SOVIET UNION'S POWER OF EXAMPLE

The multi-level of its activity and the broad sweep of its work in the world arena for the fulfillment of the great design of the Program for Peace set forth at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has made an immeasurable contribution not only to making peace possible and attainable, but also to the establishment of conditions favoring new democratic and revolutionary victories and for the consolidation of the gains of the world revolutionary process. The quality and extent of its proletarian internationalism is only matched by the great advances in well-being, science and culture which its people are steadily adding to the enrichment of their lives and the benefit of all mankind. The material achievements and spiritual values which the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin's party are modeling before the world have an attraction power for firing the democratic socialist and revolutionary aspirations and struggles of the oppressed and exploited and against this appeal, capitalism stands ugly and disheveled, rejected by even those who yesterday were intrigued by the tinsel glitter of its gaudiness.

At just such a moment, when U.S. and world capitalism are seized by deep-going economic and political malaise, there are certain elements who seek its revitalization. Having departed from principledness, and lost all sense of history and understanding of the motion of the political realities of our epoch, having sunk into a swamp of chauvinistic national narrow-mindedness, pursuing policies abroad and at home such as dirties the image and wastes the moral strength of socialism, Maoism is trailing at the tail of a diminishing world imperialism, dragging China's once glorious banner of revolution in the mud and wasting its socialist achievements.

THE MALAISE OF MAOISM

In one area after another, Maoism takes up positions of a not-so-silent partner of the right-wing of U.S. imperialism, unregenerate fighters against the detente process of normalizing relations between states and of universalizing the realization of interlocking

zones of peace to make the whole globe secure for social development and political advancement. No defaming invective is too crude for Maoists to employ in their unremitting campaign of slander and abuse of the Soviet Union, of other socialist countries, and of most of the Parties which are leading the world working class and national liberation movements. The mailed fist of Maoism is raised not against U.S. imperialism, but against the strivings for maximum unity of the Communists, working people and popular masses for advancing the struggle against imperialism and for the liberation and well-being of peoples.

The forging of a firm Communist unity as the vital core of the growing united front of the working people, as well as the broad popular front of all anti-imperialist forces, necessitates a continuing exposure of the Maoist divisionists and the mini-groupings of diversionists who conspire against the unity of the revolutionary and progressive forces from positions on the left and on the right of the Marxist-Leninist true path of struggle.

Since the growth of detente relations is in the factories, a new theme in the shop-talk of millions is: "Will our plant get a piece of the action from the expanding US-USSR trade deals?" "How come nobody's looking for work there and they can even throw some jobs our way?" "These bucks in my pay envelope are from doing business with the Communist countries." "This detente with the Communists not only makes a dollar for us, it makes a lot of sense to us."

Here, then, are voices of the wide, new constituency, born of detente successes and the new features of the current stage of the advance of socialism.

Detente accomplishments have greatly enlarged dimensions of the United Front for the offensive vs. the monopolies, vs. imperialism. The base is the broadest working-class unity.

The wheel of the United Front can be as large as the strength of its hub will permit. The hub, the axis of the United Front, is the Communist Party.

The essence of United Front is the linkage of the Party to the wide masses, first of all, the industrial shop workers--white, Black, Chicano, Indian, Asian; also, of all nationalities of the organized and unorganized communities of youth, women, cultural workers, professionals; of believers and non-believers; of all who are victimized by the reign of the monopolies.

The Party is the vital force for realizing the rally of the anti-monopoly masses to united action on urgent issues.

The United Front is the Party with organized masses.

You can link a number of little pebbles of various hues together and make a necklace. But you cannot align an assortment of micro-groupings of all kinds of political shadings of anti-Soviet lefties into a united front that can either advance progress or

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Report from Party Education Panel



BY SYLVIA NEWCOMB, SECRETARY
NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMISSION

I would like to join with others in expressing my appreciation for the brilliant report by Comrade Gus Hall and am honored to be the first to greet the truly inspiring address by Comrade Henry Winston.

The discussion in the Panel on Party Education, I am happy to report, fulfilled its purpose of charting a course for educational work and setting priorities for the coming period. The plan of work endorsed by the panel, we feel, is in accordance with the challenges posed in Comrade Hall's report; that is, it is a plan that will help equip every comrade to carry out the consistent work necessary to build the anti-monopoly coalition, especially to reach new levels of united front work. It is also, a plan which helps implement the proposition that Party building is the most important task of our Party. It includes plans to share and popularize our science with the great masses of people.

The plan of work as introduced into the workshop was adopted in totality and the copies are before you. (It immediately follows this report--Ed.) In essence, it calls for a fight for club educationals as agenda point #1 of each Party club meeting, an educational director in every club, a district educational director and collective in each district, and the strengthening of communication and exchange with the National Education Department. We are for the preparation of more outlines especially for club education, district part-time and full-time schools, regional schools and national cadre schools. Schools are to be increased as our Party is growing and more comrades are available because of mass lay-offs. Special schools are to be organized for particular industries, for different levels of Party leadership and for comrades in various mass and liberation movements. We want to systematize new membership classes and strengthen our Marxist Centers, study groups and public forums. We want to insure a steady improvement in teacher training in the art and methodology of instruction.

The work of the panel sought to single out the most important priorities and focus on the most important educational forms. From there we proceeded to project some of the methods of strengthening our work in all these areas.

Our conclusions: Our Party must place the question of ideology in its rightful place of honor, as stated by Comrade Jackson whose report led off our workshop, alongside of the other two pillars of Party work, political and organizational. These three aspects of Party work are a tripod which stands straight so long as each of its legs is in proper shape. In many areas the need to strengthen the ideological leg is great.

Therefore, our first priority must be to initiate and strengthen, as the case may be, a structure of Party education in every district.

The minimal requirement for structure, of course, is one person to take charge of the work. But we must fight for a strong collective guiding our work in this field. The carrying out of this task, of course, is intertwined with the need to improve communication, coordination and leadership from the National Education Department.

In addition to providing and exchanging outlines, the National Ed Department should be charged with the responsibility for issuing periodical bulletins for the exchange of experience and as a guide to the use of literature and to resources for more creative educationals, such as video and audio tapes, slides, films, posters, etc.

No plan for a program for the ideological advancement of our Party is realistic beyond routinism or "ho-humism" without setting up definite structure and leadership responsibility. The successful carrying out of the other priorities is directly hinged to the leadership necessary to carry them out.

Party club education is our major priority. Along with the fight to make education the starting point of every agenda and having educationals geared to the helping of every comrade to carry out their mass and trade union work, we call for more club open educationals, using creative forms to help attract contacts and build the Party.

The workshop proposes, in addition, as a major priority of our educational work, that we undertake a special ideological campaign, a three-month campaign in the Party for rearmament, the ideological rearmament of our Party, to bring its ideological tools up to the tests of this moment of great class battles and upsurge, to prepare us for the new offensive. During this period, every new member will attend a New Members Class. We have been recruiting rapidly, but we have not fully prepared to consolidate these new members. Along these lines, a kit should be prepared explaining what Party membership means and providing some of the basic pamphlets of Marxist-Leninist classics. At the same time, during this three-month

campaign, we would seek to involve the very highest percentage of our membership as possible in refresher courses to review the basic tenets of our science. All these courses would seek to imbue in our membership - old, young, new and veterans - a real sense of pride in our Party and an understanding that our Party is an objective, historically absolutely necessary vehicle for the carrying out of revolution. The key tool in the refresher courses must be Gus Hall's Main Report to this 21st National Convention.

The Panel fully endorsed the directive of the main report to "raise to a new level our internal educational work, running from the basics on racism and the national question to the typical forms of expression of white chauvinism in our ranks" and the demand "to burn out the ideological influence of white chauvinism in our ranks."

In addition to the call for special schools in given industries, we recommend the initiation of schools of basic trade unionism dealing with the basic norms of trade union functions and how Communists must function in the unions. (In this connection, there is need to strengthen our teaching of economy and political economy.) This is a very important form especially for younger comrades who are just coming into the shops and into the unions.

We also propose that the major documents of the Party, starting with the documents of this Convention, be published in suitable form and that the National Education Department promote a real study of them. The call in the plan of work for a national conference of personnel in our Marxist Centers was enthusiastically endorsed. The need to accelerate our study and polemics on the question of Maoism was stressed, especially to give assistance to our comrades fighting alien class influences in the trade union and mass movements.

Other topics we want to stress for educational attention are inflation and unemployment, their cause and cure, and, the problems of mass culture.

Our workshop also gave attention to literature use, and the need to better combine our literature and educational work and the need for certain pamphlets and books on various topics.

We endorse Comrade Hall's call to put an end to sectarian concepts of the use of the science of Marxism-Leninism and of regarding pamphlets as inner-Party property. Along these lines we are proposing a list of several very needed pamphlets and books to the National Literature Commission.

Finally, on methodology and teacher training, we stress the need to multiply our teaching cadre, to imbue workers with the self-confidence that they can teach, to select, discover, care for, inspire and encourage comrades to enlist in this very crucial area of multiplying the number of those who embrace our science.

Comrade Chairwoman, I move the adoption of the Education Workshop report.

(The report was adopted by the Convention.)

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Resolution on Party Education

The primary objective of educational work within the Party is to provide the membership with the fundamentals of the science of Marxism-Leninism as the solid foundation for their devotion to the Party and loyalty to its policies, program and great goal of socialism/communism.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism lights the way of the revolutionary process, arms the working class and its allies in struggle with powerful ideological weapons, and vital strategical and tactical guidelines.

The proper organization of a complete system of education of the membership and cadres as a continuing function of leadership at every level will make the greatest contribution toward the most efficient utilization of the talents and revolutionary energy of the membership. Education strengthens the ideological staunchness and fighting armament of our members to engage and defeat the purveyors of bourgeois ideas and to carry forward with confidence and initiative the program and policies of the Party and its Central Committee.

The Central Committee entrusts the responsibility for the practical organization of the education work of the Party to the National Education Department headed by a member of the Political Bureau.

Since the last National Convention the National Education Department has organized and successfully carried out three national schools of two months or better duration which graduated some 100 students. The National Education Department also conducted during the last year a series of 9 day or 2 week schools in five different districts which provided full-time intensive training for an additional 90 students. These school experiences were all marked by enthusiasm and earnestness of application on the part of the students. It is these successful schools that have triggered a widespread demand for a full program and a permanent system of ongoing Party education to be institutionalized in the total system of Party organization. There is the need to digest the experiences from the recent past and standardize an educational pattern which would provide the following:

PLAN OF WORK FOR PARTY EDUCATION AND SPECIFIC TASKS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

A long range plan of work should be adopted for a period of at least a year. The scope of work should be "limited" to internal Party education:

1. Club Education: We must fight for educational discussions starting off every club meeting and along with this, a club education director in each club who is a member of the executive committee. The goal should be a consistent (perhaps three month) plan of educationals for each club meeting which gives primary attention to the club's ideological obstacles to performing its work better. Every educational must find a way of linking the ideological discussion to the concrete work of the club and its members.

The National Education Department should provide a monthly outline on topics corresponding to the Party's overall major emphases as well as on particular ideological problems that manifest themselves generally within the Party. They should be incorporated and revised by the clubs in whatever manner that would render them of most assistance. Discussion guides for club analysis of all major Party documents and reports should also be prepared promptly by the National Education Department and be included in the monthly educationals mentioned above. The outline for the alternate monthly meeting should be prepared by the district or club.

The purpose of the outline should be to assist the discussion leader with facts and analyses which should be extracted through discussion. Thus the emphasis should be on very brief lead-offs and the posing of questions for everyone to dig into. Such discussions should be brief (45 minutes to an hour at most).

2. District 9-day full-time or part-time schools: (full-time - two weekends and five full days in between for those who can devote a full week to education; part-time - two weekends and all or most evenings in between for those who cannot get off from work. A combined full-time, part-time and night shift school can be arranged if there are people present in all categories.)

All medium and large districts should schedule such schools on a regular basis (perhaps every six months) and try to put the maximum number of cadre through such schools.

The school should concentrate on basics: the working class and class struggle, the world revolutionary process, economic struggle, the national question and struggle against racism, strategy and tactics including emphasis on the united front, the Party and the struggle to build it. But it should not routinely cover these subjects. It should be geared to the main work of the district and Party nationally at the given time. To this end, the National Education Department should prepare a basic outline to be regularly updated, and revised in accordance with the educational needs of the given district.

3. Regional Schools: These should be conducted similarly to the district schools and involve either a group of smaller districts (such as in the South) or inviting nearby smaller districts to the district schools outlined above.

4. National Full-time Cadre Schools:

A. Frequency: Frequency should be based on the actual availability of qualified cadre to attend. In this period of mass layoffs, there is the possibility to have three or four schools of one or two months duration throughout the year.

A school should be scheduled for the late winter or early spring of 1976 with exact dates to be announced immediately so that shop workers who have not been able to get time off previously because of short notice for the schools can begin to try to get that time.

B. Size of Student Body: The emphasis should be on more schools and less students in each. "Quality education," as comrades working in the field of public education know, is directly hinged to the student-teacher/staff ratio. The reasons are obvious--more attention to the growth and development of each student, the ability to discover the main questions on the minds of each individual and make some progress in dealing with them, the ability to discern strengths and weaknesses.

C. Qualifications: The basic qualification should be a rudimentary understanding of what the Party is all about. One year in the Party is generally when this is reached, but it varies (sooner or later) with the individual and that should be taken into consideration.

The priorities for attendance should be continued as they have been: those who will take on district level assignments and club assignments, shop workers, trade unionists, Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian American comrades, women comrades. There should also be an inclusion of older comrades, especially in their forties and fifties, since the last couple of schools have had a distorted representation of our Party's composition. When districts continually bypass older comrades for such schools, comrades who could play a qualitatively more crucial role, it robs the Party of its fullest development of cadre. When districts send only youth, it foreshadows an attempt to get these youth to do Party work (as no older comrades are being developed). This of course is harmful to youth work.

D. Preparation of Curriculum and Faculty: The curriculum should be worked out at least two months before the start of a school and teachers assigned. Efforts should be made to limit the number of teachers so that the teachers can get to know the students better and provide more specific help. Whereas a general curriculum should be

the basis for all schools, similar to the curriculum of the last two schools, a collective assessment must be made as to what needs to be emphasized in each school based on the Party's main emphases at that time and the main ideological currents. A full day conference of all teachers and staff should be held at least one month prior to the school to discuss the general curriculum, how to correctly and dialectically interweave certain key questions (industrial concentration, struggle against racism, etc.) and at the same time receive appropriate emphasis by a given teacher. The teachers' conference should also discuss schedule and methodology.

6. New Members Classes: Every district should guarantee that every new member attends such a class within six months of joining the Party. Not to do so is to rob the comrade of the basic means to orient his or her thinking and the basic need of the Party to consolidate all new members. A basic outline is available from the National Educational Department though most districts which have instituted such classes have developed their own. This work must be ongoing and consistent.

7. Special Schools, Seminars or Classes:

A. Classes for Club Leadership: In an effort to overcome routinism and build the clubs as the basic unit of the Party, the National Education Department should prepare a course outline for a four session course (weekend or four separate sessions) and help districts which need assistance in carrying them out.

B. Industrial Schools: We have had some auto and steel schools in recent years. Plans should be taken to hold such schools for comrades in all basic industry as often as the availability of cadre permits (to be worked out with the National Labor Commission) and in other industries which the Labor Commission considers warrant them (in terms of importance and numbers of cadre).

A school for teachers (national) should be considered in the summer months which would include a real probe on methods of overcoming Shankerism. These schools should not be merely an attempt to give basic Marxist grounding to a specialized grouping but must through the collective preparation of the Education, Labor and Economics Commissions, combine that grounding with current problems, examples, and solutions.

C. Schools for District Leaders and Similar Schools: Several years ago a national school was held of younger, less experienced district organizers. In conjunction with the Organization Department, such schools or seminars should be continued, with emphasis on exchange of experiences, the Party's current priorities, building the Party and strengthening each collective and cadre development. Similar seminars or schools should be considered for full-time Party leaders to strengthen their work.

D. Schools with Emphasis on Certain Composition: On occasion, there is a need to have schools for groupings of cadre with similar backgrounds, who may come into the Party in groups, etc. (This is an area which needs further exploration. The Chicano School in Los Angeles, Party and non-Party, was quite successful. Leading Puerto Rican comrades have expressed a desire for classes mainly for Puerto Ricans which would elevate the educational level of a grouping of Puerto Rican comrades and place special emphasis on a full ideological grasp of the movement for Puerto Rican liberation. Women have expressed at many seminars an interest in classes with similar emphasis on the struggle for women's equality.)

E. Schools in Mass Work Fields: Short term national schools should be considered in any area of mass work where we have sufficient cadre and where a deeper ideological grasp can produce positive effects on the work. The Organization and Cadre Commissions should be thinking in these terms in areas such as economic crisis activity, anti-imperialist struggle, anti-repression, etc.

8. Marxist Centers: There have arisen a number of Marxist Centers throughout the country and with the exception of helping to provide speakers and teachers, there has been little contact with the National Education Department. To begin to remedy this, an extensive questionnaire was recently sent by the National Education Department to these centers to give us a better picture of how they operate. The cover letter indicated that we would try to convene a conference or seminar to help strengthen the centers based on the results of the questionnaire. The response has been slow. We propose a maximum effort be made to get a full response and that a conference be convened no later than early fall and that that conference help set guidelines as to how these centers should function, grow and how the National Education Department can be of more help.

9. Public Forums: Many districts, clubs and press committees have ongoing forums. Frequently the National Education Department has been asked to recommend speakers and line them up. For nearby districts this has not caused problems, but at greater distances, the National Education Department has found itself not in a position to best coordinate with other travel plans. For this reason, it should fall mainly within the work of the Organization Department which oversees travel, but the Organization Department should consult with the National Education Department on how to get the most out of travel for organizational work in terms of education, internal and external.

10. Assisting Districts in setting up educational apparatuses: Every district should have a district education director who works with an education committee or commission. There should be steady communication between this person and the National Ed. Dept. on all special educational plans and cadre training needs. That person should let the National Education Department know periodically what kinds of national schools are needed to help the district's needs

as well as create a plan of work for the district including district schools, new members classes, club executive classes, and most important, provide materials and assistance to the club education director and help struggle for the goal of an educational starting each club meeting. The District Education Commission should prepare outlines for club educationals on topics that will carry out that particular district's plan of work.

Through correspondence, perhaps a newsletter, or occasional field trip, the National Education Department should try to help strengthen the districts' educational apparatuses and, through this closer contact will become more familiar with the basic, current educational needs of the whole Party.

RE: TEACHER TRAINING AND METHODOLOGY

In this connection, there is need for arriving at the best teaching styles and techniques by a combination of reviewing the results of the empirical models of our most effective teachers, plus making better use of the extensive work done in the professional field of "teaching." A major stress must be placed on "discovering" and preparing comrades for teaching in classes and schools at every level. In this task before the National Education Department and the Party generally, we should take judicious note of Lenin's advice in "A Letter to Students at the Capri Party School" (Lenin, C/W Vol. 15, pp. 472-473) he wrote:

"...in any school, the most important thing is the ideological and political trend of the lectures. What determines the trend? The lecturing personnel, entirely and exclusively...No control, no curricula, nor anything of that sort, can make the studies take any other trend than that determined by the lecturing personnel."

Problems of balance between lecture time and discussion and interchange with students need to be the subject of frequent exchange and examination of experience. This should have a permanent place on the agenda of conferences of teachers and workers in Party education.

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MEYERS--Cont. from p. 43

proach to TUAD, Labor Today, CLUW, CBTU and other questions which were of great value in helping the workshop deepen its understanding of these movements.

Comrades, that's the report. Thank you very much.

* * *

The Main Political Resolution Approved



BY HYMAN LUMER, CHAIRMAN

COMMITTEE ON MAIN POLITICAL RESOLUTION

First, let me add my voice to those of the many others who have spoken in such enthusiastic praise of this Convention. Let me say that I, too, look upon it as an historic landmark in the history of our Party.

In the limited time at our disposal our committee had to confine itself to certain key questions concerning the Draft Resolution and could not attempt to examine it in detail. To begin with, we had to give some consideration to the purpose of such a resolution. Why, some comrades have asked, in view of the outstanding political analysis contained in the report of Comrade Gus Hall and supplemented by the report of Henry Winston, is it necessary to issue another overall document covering essentially the same ground?

But these comrades, we feel, fail to grasp the nature and purpose of a resolution as distinct from those of reports. The resolution is not a political analysis duplicating the main political report (and it would be rash of us to try to match it in any case). It seeks rather to present a systematic, comprehensive picture of the present world and national conditions within which the Party operates, of the specific problems and tasks which face it in its work among the masses, and of its own growth as an organization. It is intended not as a documented analysis of events but as an overall guide to the work of the Party in the coming period. It supplements the reports adopted by the Convention, and with them forms a whole which gives direction to our work and informs the broader masses of working people of the Party's views and its program of struggle. Our concern was that the final draft of the resolution should fulfill this requirement to the best possible degree.

The committee felt that the Draft Resolution provided a solid basis for this purpose. It was a considerable improvement over the Draft Resolution of the previous convention in that it was truly a product of collective effort. At the same time it had many weaknesses and omissions which were called to our attention in the pre-convention discussion in Party Affairs and in the June issue of Political Affairs. All of this material has been gone over carefully and the various proposals and criticisms have been itemized for the benefit of the drafting committee to be entrusted with preparing the final draft.

One feature of the preconvention discussion deserves special note, namely the virtually complete absence of factionalism and of basic disagreements with the basic Party line. This is a further demonstration of the unity of the Party which has been shown in so many other ways at this Convention.

In the main the criticisms consisted of correction of factual errors, omissions of certain points and proposed additions and improved formulations. The committee made no effort to discuss these, feeling that they fell either within the province of the Convention workshops or the ultimate redrafting committee.

A wealth of material for improving, correcting and rounding out the resolution has been provided also by the reports and resolutions coming out of the numerous Convention workshops, much of which consists of direct recommendations for amending or rewriting sections of it.

Third, the main convention report by Gus Hall contains a number of modifications of important points in the resolution, which should be changed accordingly, as well as a number of new ideas which should find reflection in the resolution. For example, the section dealing with the character of the present historic moment contains some significant new formulations on the character of the present historic epoch which will serve to strengthen the first section of the resolution.

The report by Henry Winston contains similarly valuable ideas in conjunction with the main resolution.

Finally, there are a number of proposals coming out of the discussion in the committee itself. We do not intend to present all the proposed and indicated changes. Most of these are of a minor character; they can be left to the discretion of the committee which is to do the redrafting and need not be taken up here.

There are, however, a number of points which we feel should be raised here. The chief of these has to do with the treatment of the subject of racism--a fundamental question which runs throughout the body of the resolution in its relation to all areas of work and struggle and which, in addition, is specially dealt with in the opening portion of the section on Black liberation. We feel in the light of the preconvention discussion, and in particular of the article by Roscoe Proctor, in the light of the work of the Black liberation workshop and of certain ideas projected by Gus Hall in his report here, this aspect of the resolution requires considerable strengthening.

In the introduction the historical role of racial oppression requires more stress, more indication of the special part it plays in this, the most racist of all capitalist countries, rivaled only by South Africa. In addition, apart from strengthening its treatment in the various sections of the resolution, the committee proposes that

a separate section on the nature of racism and the struggle against it be included, incorporating the ideas in the Proctor article and the other sources mentioned above, spelling out more fully and concretely its damaging effects on the white masses of this country and effective methods of dealing with it. This should precede the sections on Black liberation and on national group oppression.

Second, a serious omission in the resolution is the absence of anything beyond a few passing references to the struggle against anti-Semitism and Zionism. We propose, on the basis of the resolution produced by the workshop in this field, to add a section calling upon the Party to organize a struggle against the growing manifestations of anti-Semitism and against the reactionary influences of Zionism as struggles involving the entire Party.

In addition the resolution deals inadequately with the Middle East conflict. New possibilities for successful struggle in this field are opening up, as noted in the resolution on the Middle East and in other reports, which call on us to make this a focal point of struggle.

Third, the economic section needs strengthening in terms of presenting more sharply the severity of the crisis and giving greater emphasis to its special racist features and its special impact on the masses of Black workers as indicated in the resolution of the Black liberation workshop. It is also necessary to give more attention to the role of multinational corporations, now barely touched on, and to the struggle against the new and added aspects of exploitation they represent.

Fourth, a section on senior citizens must be included in the section on mass movements. These, as the pre-convention discussion makes clear, as well as the presentation of the convention workshop and the discussion, represent an important section of our population, one with special problems of its own, and one which is organized and engaged in militant struggles.

Fifth, it was felt that the resolution tends to treat the deepening of the general crisis and the shifting balance of world forces somewhat one-sidedly and needs to stress more, as does the main report, the sharpening threat to the economic and political rights of the people and the growing struggles which lie ahead.

Sixth, it was felt that the resolution must take note of the health problems of workers and the fight for adequate medical care, for wiping out the racist deprivation of the people in the ghettos and barrios of decent health conditions, for adoption of a suitable federal system of health care.

Seventh, while the international aspects of Maoism are well handled in the opening section, the disruptive role of Maoism and the need to fight it need much fuller treatment in the section of the re-

solution dealing with ideological struggle.

Eighth, the resolution must give special attention to the special crisis in our country, as indicated in the main report, and with the crisis of the cities which is today reaching mammoth proportions.

Ninth, much greater attention must be paid to the fight for vastly improved social welfare. In this area the European capitalist countries are far ahead of the United States, and it is necessary to strive to achieve for U.S. workers the gains which the European workers have already won, and more.

Tenth, apart from certain general weaknesses in the section on the struggle for women's rights which require correction in keeping with the report of the convention workshop and other presentations, special consideration must be given to the problem of the fight against male supremacy, now virtually neglected in the draft.

These proposed changes by no means attempt to cover all the necessary revisions in the resolution. We have sought only to single out those needing special consideration, in addition to the many others indicated in the preconvention discussion and the convention documents. We believe that with the necessary editing and revision the present draft offers the basis for an outstanding general resolution which will find not only widespread use within the Party but also broad interest beyond its ranks.

The committee therefore proposes a) that the Draft Resolution be adopted as the basis for preparation of a final draft incorporating all the revisions and improvements referred to in this report; b) that the incoming central committee establish a suitable drafting committee to carry out the necessary work of preparing such a final draft.

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BECCHETTI--Cont. from p. 40

Comrades, we are convinced that this plan of work is entirely realizable. In fact, it can be overfulfilled. It is a plan of work which will build our Party still further in its character as a working class Party. It is a plan which will build our Party toward that size needed to expand still more its vanguard role. It is a plan of work which, if fulfilled, lays the basis for our Party increasing several-fold by the 22nd Convention. It is a plan of work whose achievement will greatly strengthen our class and all working and oppressed people in their struggle against state monopoly capitalism. Success in this Party building effort would greatly strengthen the influence of our Party among working masses and in the first place among the industrial workers. Let us get down to the task at hand.

* * *

WINSTON--Cont. from p. 25

2. Adopt one Constitution which formulates an organizational structure, defines duties and rights, for without a single set of rules the Party cannot function.

3. The Convention is the highest body of leadership in the Party. It elects a Central Committee charged with the responsibility of fulfilling its decisions between conventions. The decisions of the Convention are binding on all Party organizations and individual members of the Party as well. There must be one discipline, one set of duties and rights for all.

4. The maximum thought given to realistic planning, consciously establishing guarantees against unrealizable projection of tasks, and guaranteeing the maximum coordination of objectives.

5. Checkup and control of the fulfillment of decisions must be systemized, and constructive criticism and self-criticism must become an indispensable aspect of our work.

* * *

JACKSON--Cont. from p. 49

stop reaction.

The anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly united front to uphold and advance the political interests and economic needs of the people is the most effective formation to develop to meet and defeat the fascist danger.

The maximum development of the broadest unity is the common requirement for both mounting the offensive to utilize the new opportunities, as well as being necessary for defending gains and achievements from the fascist danger.

* * *

FLORY--Cont. from p. 6

But our leadership and membership, especially our youth, have indeed, to the best of their ability, given very much to the work of preparation of the Convention to make it successful in the interests of the working class and all democratic sections, and to make your presence in our city constructive and pleasant.

This is a city where many of the self-sacrificing heroes of our Party are interred: William Z. Foster, Jack Johnstone, Pettis Perry, Geraldine Lightfoot, Ray Hansborough, Gurley Flynn, Jack Stachel, and many others. In the spirit of the historic struggles of the working class in this great industrial base; in the spirit of our Communist heroes resting in Chicago and elsewhere, again we greet and welcome you, and know that our deliberations will mark a further advance in the expansion of democracy, ending racism, building class consciousness, and leading to the achievement of socialism in our time.

* * *

"The real State of the Union Message was not delivered to the Congress by President Gerald Ford in January 1975, but was give to this 21st Convention of the Communist Party by our General Secretary, Comrade Gus Hall."

--Henry Winston Address to 21st Convention

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