

14 Charles Lane
New York, New York 10014
April 15, 1975

TO ALL ORGANIZERS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Dear Comrades,

Attached for your information is a copy of the
"Draft Main Political Resolution for the 21st National
Convention, Communist Party USA."

Comradely,

Barry Sheppard

Barry Sheppard
National Organization
Secretary

HOW TO USE THE DRAFT RESOLUTION

The text of this Draft Resolution, prepared by a committee headed by our general secretary, Gus Hall, has been discussed and generally approved by the Political Committee and subsequently by the Central Committee of the Party. It has been revised in accordance with the proposals and criticisms made in these discussions.

The Draft is intended not as a piece of popular mass literature but rather as a detailed, critical review and analysis of the present state of affairs in the world and in the United States, of the mass movements and struggles in progress and of the status and role of the Party. It is addressed primarily to the Party membership and is intended to provide the main basis for our pre-convention discussion, leading to the adoption of a final resolution at the convention, to be held in Chicago on June 26-29 of this year.

The Draft resolution should be studied by every member, and every member is urged to submit written contributions to the pre-convention discussion, to be published in Party Affairs. But more than this is necessary if the Resolution is fully to serve its purpose. It must be studied collectively and discussed in all clubs and other Party bodies. A series of discussions should be organized, each based on a specific section of the Resolution and with every member having read the section in advance. In these discussions every effort should be made to relate the content of each section to the specific tasks, experiences and problems of the particular club or other body. In this connection, special attention should be given to the sections dealing with mass movements. The discussion should be critical and self-critical and should provide a basis for resolutions to be submitted by the Party bodies.

In this way the pre-convention discussion will contribute most fully to improving our Party's work and to the holding of a fruitful convention.

Other material is being made available in the form of reports presented to the Central Committee meeting on December 7-9, 1974. The opening remarks by Gus Hall appear in Party Affairs, December 1974. The report by Henry Winston has been published as a New Outlook pamphlet entitled Strategy for a People's Alternative. The report by Daniel Rubin, entitled "The Fight Against Inflation and Unemployment," appears in the January 1975 Political Affairs. Other reports are published in Party Affairs, February 1975

Political Committee

I. INTRODUCTION

For 200 years the United States has been exhibited to the world as the showcase of capitalism and although the glimmer has faded and the balloon has been deflated, it is still hawked as "the best of all systems." This is also the theme of the observation of the coming Bicentennial.

It is therefore appropriate in this year of the eve of the Bicentennial to draw a more truthful balance sheet on the performance of U. S. capitalism. It is particularly instructive to draw such a balance sheet because no system has ever had the benefits of such a set of favorable objective circumstances upon which to build.

For 200 years U. S. capitalism has had everything going for it. To begin with, there are the riches of nature--mineral resources in great abundance, vast areas of extremely rich and fertile soil--the right amount of rainfall and sunshine. And because U. S. capitalism appeared on the stage of history relatively late it had the benefit of readily available skilled manpower in the form of European immigrants.

Also, the institution of slavery provided a large supply of slave labor, including many slave workers skilled in such occupations as farming and building crafts. This labor was a major basis of initial accumulation of capital, and after slavery an important part of the labor force.

Because of its geographic location the United States was able to escape the devastation of two world wars. Instead, the wars became a source of great enrichment. The U. S. corporations became the suppliers of arms and the biggest blood-money grubbers in all of history. The U. S. banks became the loan sharks for world capitalism. As a result of these circumstances, U. S. capitalism became the world's biggest imperialist power.

To be sure, historically capitalism represented an advance over feudalism. There is no denying the great advances in industrialization and technology which have taken place. But these are by-products of a system whose only guiding motivation is private profits for the few. On the 200-year balance sheet it is necessary to include factors that the hawkers of the private enterprise system invariably leave out.

The United States at its birth was disfigured by the inhuman institution of chattel slavery. In the Declaration of Independence the words "All men are created equal" did not include Black Americans. For much of its history the country was half slave and half free and the fight to abolish slavery stood at the heart of the democratic struggle. And since the abolition of slavery

during the Civil War, the Black people have been engaged in a ceaseless struggle against discrimination, segregation and persecution, a struggle for the right to vote, to obtain an education, to enjoy the most elementary aspects of human dignity and even the right to life itself. In our 200-year history more Black Americans have been lynched than in all the rest of the world put together.

U. S. capitalism was built also on the expropriation, inhuman exploitation and genocidal slaughter of the Indians. When Karl Marx wrote that "capital comes (into the world) dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," he was referring to the genesis of capitalism on this continent no less than in Europe. It was in large degree through the robbery and murder of the Indian population that the foundations of the great financial empires were built. And today these peoples continue to be subjected to the most flagrant robbery and inhuman exploitation.

U. S. capitalism is and has always been a brutal, cold-blooded, aggressive, racist monster, with a total disregard for human considerations, for national interests, for morals or ethics. It has singlemindedly pursued the selfish goal of maximum profits. As a result, the achievement of the highest level of technological development in the world is accompanied by the fact that U. S. workers are the victims of the highest rate of exploitation. As a result, 40 million of our people-- Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian American--are the victims of special systems of racial exploitation and oppression. The corporate bulldozers have plowed under millions of small businesses and 25 million small farmers. The privately owned corporate monsters have stolen and raped nature's riches, without any compensation to the people.

For 200 years U. S. corporations have exploited and enslaved more foreign-born workers than any other country in the world.

The 200-year history of U. S. capitalism has been a history of heroic struggle of our people for their democratic rights. These rights are not gifts benevolently bestowed upon the people by capitalism. They represent important victories, the fruits of long years of battle. The essence of U. S. democracy in no way resembles the picture the bourgeois venders of capitalism peddle around the world.

For most of the 200 years of U. S. history, trade unions had no legal status. Often they were treated as "conspiracies to force wages up" and their leaders were jailed. Up to 1937 the big corporations looked upon trade unions as outlaws, and with the assistance of federal troops and the courts they maintained a reign of terror against the right to organize. Many workers suffered death in the struggle for this right; many served long terms in prison; and many were banished from

employment in industry for life. In the shops, workers have long suffered injury and death; in 200 years, more workers have lost their lives through industrial accidents than the total number of youth killed in two world wars.

The bourgeois founders of the United States looked upon democracy as the privilege of the rich, of the property-owning classes. Only these had the right to vote. And today only the rich can afford to run for office. The original Constitution contained no guarantees of civil liberties. These were added afterward under popular pressure as the first ten amendments comprising the Bill of Rights. The right to elect public officials was restricted. Senators were elected by state legislatures and the President by an independently acting Electoral College.

The working people of this country have waged long and difficult battles against the efforts of the rich to hold exclusive political power. They fought to abolish property requirements for voting, for the right to elect Senators by popular vote and for other democratic rights. They fought for free public education.

Women have had the right to vote for only 50-odd years of our 200-year history. And Black people in the South have effectively achieved this right only in recent years.

But bourgeois democracy has always been an instrument of capitalist class rule. For 200 years U. S. corporations have been able, through corruption, terror and demagoguery, and through unjust election laws, to keep political power within the closed two-party system they control. For 200 years bourgeois democracy in the United States has not meant electoral democracy.

For nearly all of the 200 years, Marxism has been an illegal, forbidden subject in our schools and universities, and even now is only semilegal.

The anti-democratic features of the capitalist class become especially pronounced in the monopoly stage of capitalism and are further developed with the emergence of state monopoly capitalism. The "strong presidency," the constant usurping of the powers of elected bodies, the "invisible government," the Committee of Forty, the growth of the military, the power of the CIA and FBI--all these are in keeping with the anti-democratic direction of the capitalist class. Monopoly capital is inherently anti-democratic. The democratic traditions are the traditions of the people, of the working class, the racially oppressed and the poor.

There have been economic and social advances in these 200 years not because of but in spite of the anti-human policies of capitalism. The human rights that have been gained have not been gifts from a charitable capitalist class. They are trophies won by the people through struggle.

The 200-year history of capitalism in the United States is the ultimate proof, the irrefutable demonstration of the truth of the opening words of the Communist Manifesto, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels 130 years ago:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.... The modern bourgeois society... has not done away with class antagonisms.... Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, the distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

The 200-year history of U.S. capitalism is indeed a history of class struggle, of a struggle between the exploited and the exploiters. The contradiction between these two classes has been and is the main contradiction of the 200-year existence of our society. United States society has indeed become "more and more split into two great classes directly facing each other."

The coming Bicentennial is important as a backdrop. But for the present and future generations the more basic question is: What are the present and future states of affairs? Where are we and where are we headed? This is becoming an ever more burning question for the people of the United States. But it is also of great concern to the peoples of the rest of the world. For if capitalism cannot make a go of it in the "showcase" where it has had all of the objective advantages, then one must conclude that capitalism cannot make it anywhere else in the world.

In this sense, U.S. capitalism has become a showcase of monopoly domination, of instability, crises, corruption, class exploitation, racism and general decay. It has become a showcase of capitalism in the stage of its decline--a showcase of its growing deterioration.

II. THE WORLD SCENE

The picture of the world scene that is coming into ever sharper focus reveals that this is an epoch of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, the last days of colonialism and the emergence of socialism as the advanced and leading force in the world arena--an epoch of the world-shaking transition from capitalism to socialism. The last of the systems of exploitation of the many for the enrichment of a few is on its way out.

For capitalism, the general crisis is a crisis of decay, of decline. Internally it is driven by the basic contradiction between the increasingly social nature of production--to which the scientific and technological revolution is adding a new dimension--and the increasing private monopolization and appropriation of

the fruits of social labor.

In the world arena the general crisis of capitalism is intensified because capitalism is being challenged by the coming together of all the contemporary revolutionary forces into a united anti-imperialist alliance of the socialist states, the forces of national liberation and the democratic movements of the capitalist countries, led by the working class. In the words of V. I. Lenin:

We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know which class stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc.

(Collected Works, Vol. 21, p. 145.)

On the scales that measure which force "determines the main content" of this epoch, the balance has tipped against world imperialism. One of the factors in the new stage of the general crisis is the fact that this qualitative shift has reached a point where it has for some time been irreversible.

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The most basic and most decisive factor of this new reality is the existence of the two world social systems, socialism and capitalism, each embodying the state power of one of the two basic antagonistic classes. The contest between the two systems embodies the main contradiction of modern society in circumstances in which both these classes have state power. This has been the main contradiction and the cardinal feature of the world scene since the birth of the Soviet Union. The explosive emergence of the first socialist state marked the beginning of the end of world capitalism, the beginning of its decay, of its general crisis.

The general crisis of capitalism has passed through a number of stages. The stages are related to the continuing shift in the balance of world forces. This shift has now brought about a new qualitative and irreversible change. The general crisis has entered a new stage.

The new stage is characterized by the breakup of the U.S.-dominated world imperialist pyramid. It is characterized by the crumbling of the Portuguese colonial empire, the oldest and the last of the capitalist slave empires, by the liberation of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, which sets the stage for the end of colonialism in Africa. It is characterized by the defeat and forced retreat of imperialism on a number of fronts--the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, the retreat of West German imperialism from its positions of aggression on its borders with Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic; the retreat of U.S. imperialism from its cold-war bunkers of economic blockade and boycott. The first pre-

liminary steps in the process of retreat in the Middle East have also been taken by Israel and U. S. imperialism.

Previously it was other imperialist powers, in particular Britain and France, which were compelled to retreat, while the more powerful U. S. imperialism could pose as their rescuer--at a price. But in the present stage of the general crisis U. S. imperialism finds itself in the same boat as the others, and now there are no rescuers.

The new stage in the general crisis of capitalism is also characterized by the new relationship between the countries which possess raw materials and the leading imperialist countries. The ability of the raw material-producing countries to refuse to sell their output at imperialist-dictated prices, and the inability of the imperialist countries to impose their will on them, is a reflection of the new balance of world forces.

The new stage is evident in the changed relationship of forces in the United Nations. The advancing tide of national liberation and the decline of U. S. domination in Latin America, manifested among other things in the growing trend toward disintegration of the Organization of American States, has vastly changed the makeup of the United Nations. U. S. imperialism has for some time lost its power to dominate that body and now finds itself in a small minority on many key questions.

The new stage is reflected in the economic sphere--in the accelerating and devastating rise of inflation, in the crisis of the capitalist monetary system, in the new economic crisis of simultaneous overproduction and inflation.

The new stage reflects a qualitative shift in world relationships. The shift is a many-sided, cumulative, dialectical process.

There is a shift in the balance of military forces. This acts as a deterrent against imperialist aggression. There is in particular a shift in the balance of nuclear forces. The Soviet nuclear arsenal acts as a deterrent against imperialist nuclear aggression.

There is a shift in the balance of economic production. Between 1913 and 1973 production in the Soviet Union increased 113 times. In the same period production in the United States increased 9 times.

There is a shift in the balance of the overall quality of life between the two systems. Socialism has now surpassed capitalism in providing a higher, a more satisfying quality of life. It has surpassed capitalism in providing social and economic security, high standards of education, medical care, culture and the overall conditions for a more meaningful, happy and secure life, making possible the flowering of the full human

potential. This has raised the status of socialism and the competition of the two systems to a new level.

In striking contrast to the example of socialism is the sharp decline in the overall quality of life under capitalism. For the masses, there is less and less social and economic security. Medicine and education become less accessible. Millions become more alienated and frustrated. All this adds a new dimension to the shift in the balance of forces and the new deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

There is, in short, a shift in the balance of forces because of the continuing rise in the prestige and influence of world socialism and the continuing decline in the ability of world imperialism to influence or determine the course of human events.

The new stage is reflected in the new level of class struggle and the growing influence of working class revolutionary parties in the industrialized countries. We may note, for example, the new level of the demands of the French working class, calling for greater inroads on the power of the monopolies, and opening the way to the victory of the anti-monopoly forces.

There is a new level of the contradictions and the centrifugal forces that tend to keep the forces of world imperialism scattered.

There is a new shift in the balance of forces in the field of ideology. Bourgeois ideology is less and less believable and more and more on the defensive. The influence of socialism on the ideology of masses and the continuing growth of the influence of Marxism-Leninism constitute a new factor in the crisis of capitalism. Bourgeois culture decays and declines, and the bourgeois assault on science, culture and reason grows, while working-class culture is making tremendous gains throughout the world.

The rise of the struggle for detente has its roots in the shift in the balance of world forces and the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism. World imperialism is forced to deal from a position of waning influence and growing weakness, while world socialism, the main power base for the forces of the world revolutionary process, increasingly deals from a position of greater influence and strength.

The struggle for detente arises from this new relationship. The achievements of that struggle are becoming as irreversible as the changes in the balance of world forces. It represents a new level of the struggle for peaceful coexistence, of the class struggle on a world scale.

The shift in the balance of world forces dictating the changes in imperialism's policies and tactics does not change the nature of imperialism itself. Imperi-

alism does not give up its aggressive character and its efforts at penetration of other countries. Threats of war, preparations for war and war itself continue. But because of rising opposition at home and abroad, U. S. imperialism has turned to greater use of internal forces in these countries through corruption and subversion. The undermining of the Allende government in Chile was a classic example of the combined efforts of the U. S. government and U. S. corporations--of a state-monopoly operation. Wherever it can, U. S. imperialism is following the same policies--in the Middle East, Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, Vietnam, Cambodia, South and Central America, and Africa.

In the context of the present stage of capitalist development the unprecedented leap in science and technology has become a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the new technology serves to expand production and leads to new lines of products and the retooling of the older lines of production. On the other hand, it creates new contradictions and more swiftly sharpens all of the old contradictions. Under capitalism the new technology is an instrument of speedup. It serves to increase the rate of exploitation. All this results in a sharpening of class contradictions. It also serves to increase the size of the industrial reserve army and to swell the numbers of the permanently unemployed. It sharpens the problems of overproduction while millions go hungry.

Because the research and application of the new technology requires huge amounts of capital, it follows that only the biggest corporations and the capitalist countries with the greatest hoards of capital are in a position to take full advantage of the revolution in science. It is therefore a new factor in the process of monopolization. It adds to the inequality and the contradictions between the larger and smaller capitalist countries and to the contradictions between the industrialized and the developing countries. The new technology in the hands of the biggest corporations is a powerful instrument for the growth of multinationals and the extension of production on a world scale.

Because of the large amounts of capital required for both the development and application of the new technology, new pressures arise for the greater use of the resources of the state for the benefit of monopoly capital. As a result, the state has become a bigger factor in scientific research, in the manufacturing of the new automated equipment and in the construction of factory buildings. The state has increasingly aided the monopolies through "capital investment grants," accelerated tax write-offs and gifts of all kinds. In industries like space technology and atomic energy, where initial investments are extremely high, "partnerships" are set up in which the state makes the investments while the big monopolies reap the benefits. Thus, the leap in technology has pushed the state-monopoly relationships to a new level.

At the same time, these relationships have grown

also because of the deepening of the general crisis in the economic sphere, compelling the monopolies to rely to an increasing extent on government economic resources to bolster their profits.

These contradictions and the technological gap that exists between capitalist countries do not appear in the relationships between socialist countries. Joint research and sharing of technological breakthroughs are new dimensions which socialism adds to human and national relationships. Under socialism the new technology serves to erase remaining class patterns; under capitalism it serves to further delineate and sharpen them.

In a sense the past period has been a "honeymoon" between the technological revolution and capitalist production. The fact that the rise of the new technology contributed to expanding production has served to cover up the contradictory factors in these relationships. Now we are entering a period in which the contradictions will come into ever sharper focus. The leap in technology thus serves to sharpen all contradictions and to emphasize the basic fact that capitalism in this stage of its general crisis is in growing contradiction to the new level of science and technology.

On the world scene one of the most helpful auxiliary forces that imperialism has is Maoism. Opportunism has always been a tool of imperialism, whether in the form of social democracy or of Leftism. Maoism is opportunism on the level of betrayal. It is a form of petty-bourgeois radicalism, of "Left" revisionism which, in the name of "revolution" betrays the interests of the working class.

Imperialism has always used misdirected nationalism. Maoism is rampant nationalism turned into great power chauvinism. In Maoism opportunism and nationalism have combined to become the central auxiliary force for world imperialism. It is small wonder that the U. S. ruling class goes to such lengths to picture China under Maoism as a "model" of socialism, in contrast to its unrelenting anti-Sovietism.

In the world struggle between the two systems, Maoism is an accommodation, a capitulation to the wishes of imperialism. Imperialism hopes to divide the ranks of world socialism. In this effort Maoism is doing its very best. Imperialism hopes to divide the non-socialist anti-imperialist forces from the socialist community. Maoism does its very best to create such a division. U. S. imperialism did not want the world to support or recognize the independence of Bangladesh. Maoism accommodated itself to that imperialism wish.

In Chile U. S. imperialism wanted as many states as possible to support and recognize the government of the military butchers. Maoism rushed to comply with

this wish.

U. S. imperialism wants to bolster the NATO forces in Europe. Maoism is its main propaganda mouth-piece in this effort.

U. S. imperialism wants to keep its troops in South-east Asia. Maoism is the chief advocate of this policy.

The ultra-Right and fascist forces in the U. S. are against the policies of U. S. -Soviet detente. Maoism is completely with them.

U. S. imperialism is for keeping the Arab countries divided in order to be able to dictate the prices of oil. Maoism is the most active force in attempting to create such division.

The most reactionary forces headed by the Pentagon military brass are against mutual arms reductions. Maoism is the most vocal and vociferous opponent of any such reductions.

World imperialism wants to split the world Communist movement. Maoism is its most effective instrument.

Strategically, U. S. imperialism sees the Soviet Union as its most formidable opponent, as the road-block to its policies of aggression. Hence anti-Sovietism is the heart of its ideological and propaganda campaign. But it cannot keep up with the anti-Sovietism of Maoism.

The nature of the epoch and its place in history are unmistakable. It is the epoch of history's greatest turning point. It is the epoch of the end of socio-economic systems based on exploitation, of the transition to a socialist system motivated solely by the well-being of all the people. This transition resolves the main contradiction of capitalist society--the contradiction between the exploited and the exploiters, between the working class and the capitalist class as it is expressed in the class struggle. The main revolutionary force is also clearly defined. That force is the working class.

The total force propelling the whole world revolutionary process is likewise sharply defined. It consists of the three currents: the socialist countries, the working class and the democratic movements which it leads in the capitalist countries, and the movements of national liberation. These act as a unified force in the struggle against world imperialism.

Thus, a powerful, healthy force is emerging from a sick and dying social order. History has assigned this force a unique task. As Frederick Engels puts it, "this struggle... has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no

longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie) without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggle." (Communist Manifesto, Preface to German Edition of 1883, Marx and Engels, Selected Works, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, p. 24.)

III. THE GENERAL CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

Whithin the United States the new stage of the general crisis makes itself felt in all aspects of national life. Its effects are especially pronounced in the sphere of foreign policy and in the economic and political spheres. In these the U. S. ruling class faces crisis developments of exceptional severity. It is confronted with growing dilemmas, with problems to which no ready answers can be found. To be sure, monopoly capital is not at a dead end; it retains considerable capacity to maneuver. However, its area of choice has been markedly restricted.

Monopoly capital seeks to meet its worsening situation at the expense of the masses of working people, through intensified exploitation, through increased fomentation of racism and racial conflict, through heightened political repression and undermining of democratic rights and institutions. But at the same time it is compelled by the ever more adverse relationship of world forces, as well as by the growing magnitude and strength of democratic movements and struggles in this country, to give ground and to yield some concessions.

The present period, therefore, is on the one hand a period of sharpened dangers--dangers of adventurist aggression abroad and mounting trends toward repression and fascism at home. On the other hand, it is a period of mounting anti-monopoly struggles, of growing strength and cohesion of the anti-monopoly forces, of great potentialities for new victories and advances. It is essential to take into account both of these aspects.

This is a time of increasing class polarization and of sharpening contradictions within the ranks of monopoly capital itself. It is a time of heightened struggle, but of struggle on a new plane and with new possibilities of success. Significant popular victories have already been registered in the steps toward detente and in the exposure of the Watergate conspiracy. New victories lie ahead--in the advancement of detente, in the securing of economic gains, in the building of political independence, in the defeat of racism and repression. It is with the view of mobilizing our Party's forces for these struggles that our examination of the features of the general crisis in the United States today should be approached.

1. The Crisis of United States Foreign Policy

This is a period of painful reassessment and re-adjustment for U. S. imperialism. It must examine its new status in the world and must readjust to the new relationship of world forces.

Post -World War II United States foreign policy was based partly on delusions of grandeur and partly on an historic miscalculation. It was a miscalculation of the nature and potential of the rising forces of the world revolutionary process. It was a miscalculation of the nature and extent of difficulties experienced by U. S. imperialism's capitalist competitors. It was a miscalculation of the ability of U. S. imperialism to maintain its dominance and its ability to dictate terms to the world, including the countries producing oil and other vital raw materials.

The U. S. -dominated postwar world has crumbled. U. S. imperialism remains the strongest of the imperialist countries, but only in relationship to a generally weakened capitalist world. Moreover, its position of dominance in relation to other imperialist powers has been greatly reduced since World War II. The old cold-war policy of U. S. imperialism has led to its increasing isolation. More and more its imperialist allies are moving out of the Yankee orbit.

The reassessment has led to steps of retreat, of readjustment to the new realities. But the most basic guiding principle of U. S. imperialism continues to be exploitation of other peoples, which means a policy of oppression and aggression wherever and whenever it can be imposed. Only tactics change, to take into account the new relationship of forces in specific situations.

It is this policy that led to the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile. This is the policy still in effect towards Cuba. It is the policy that prevails in relation to Latin America as a whole and to Africa. It is the policy followed by U. S. imperialism in South Africa, while tactically taking into account the changing situation and working with the racist apartheid regime accordingly. It is the policy pursued in the Middle East, taking into account the enhanced strength of the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab countries as well as the possibilities of utilizing the Israeli ruling circles in addition to the pro-imperialist Arab forces. Reflecting the specific conditions in each case, the policy is the same in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

It is necessary to avoid illusions about the basic nature of imperialism. But it is also necessary to take into account its tactical maneuvers and retreats, to see clearly the new reality in which the principle of aggression is forced to operate.

The overall factor that determines world relationships and the application of U. S. foreign policy is the balance of world forces. Because world imperialism has lost its position of dominance, U. S. foreign policy cannot be based solely on open aggression. Because the forces of the world revolutionary process have become the strongest, increasingly influencing and determining world events, the cold-war policies of U. S. imperialism have become more and more counterproductive.

Thus, the new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism is reflected in a deep crisis of U. S. foreign policy. This crisis forced the new assessment. With hesitations and splits in their own ranks, key sections of monopoly capital moved to support policies of maneuver resulting in partial retreats, policies of curbing the cold war and adopting an outlook of detente and positions of peaceful coexistence with the socialist world. Nixon carried out this class decision and now Ford is implementing it.

For a number of reasons, this was an easy policy to carry out. The majority of the people support the policy of detente because they had opposed the policy of aggression in Indochina. They are tired of the cold-war tensions and they see the benefits of trade with the socialist countries. Large sections of monopoly capital support the shift because of their own economic interests. Because of this strong support, even though for varying class reasons, the shift in foreign policy can be made irreversible.

Detente will not, however, become irreversible on its own power. It must become an objective of mass struggles, directed against specific points of resistance.

The first is the Pentagon and the industrial and financial interests clustered around the production of war goods, the beneficiaries of the \$100-billion war budget, which make the struggle against detente their main offensive campaign. They fear that as detente develops the people will conclude that there is no need for the huge military structure and its related industrial complex.

The second enclave of resistance to detente is the AFL-CIO leadership and those around it. This resistance is not the ordinary kind of class collaboration. This is collaboration with the most reactionary ultra-Right, racist, anti-democratic and military-oriented sections of monopoly capital, which is totally contrary to the interests of the workers.

The third nest of opposition is the social-democratic elements, most active among whom are those in leadership positions in the trade unions and those associated with liberal publications. They, too, are ball-carriers for the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital.

The fourth anti-detente bunker is manned by the forces of Zionism. They see detente as an obstacle to the Israeli government's policies of aggression. They work to pervert the national feelings of the Jewish people, to lead them into supporting reactionary, pro-imperialist, anti-detente positions. They seek to revive the Big Lie of "Soviet aggression" and to compare U.S.-Soviet detente with "dealing with Hitler."

These enclaves have joined hands in an anti-detente cabal. As long as they are not exposed and fought, the policies of detente will not become irreversible. This is a struggle that can be won. All objective factors are moving in the direction of pressures for policies of detente. The forces opposing detente are swimming against the tide. It is a struggle in which the ruling class is split. It is a struggle in which the best self-interests of the people and the nation are easily identifiable. The opportunities exist to raise U.S.-Soviet relations to a new plane and to make a major advance in the fight for peaceful coexistence.

2. The Economic Crisis

The new features of the general crisis of capitalism have emerged with particular sharpness in the economic sphere. The growing instability of capitalist economy, covered over for a time by accelerated rates of growth and surface manifestations of "prosperity," has now erupted into a chronic state of economic crisis affecting the entire capitalist world, and not least the United States.

The crisis is especially evident in the monetary and financial spheres and is marked above all by a pronounced upsurge of inflation afflicting all capitalist countries. And within this framework there has developed in the United States and a number of other countries a cyclical crisis of overproduction. This crisis is not just "another recession." We are in a depression which is not only much more severe than any previous postwar downturn, but possesses certain unique features. It is simultaneously a crisis of overproduction and of pronounced inflation. And it occurs within the context of a deepening overall economic crisis affecting the entire capitalist world. The crisis of inflation and overproduction is a new phenomenon, one which poses new problems and new kinds of struggle for the people of our country.

Within capitalist circles the crisis has given rise to consternation and to mounting uncertainty, pessimism and fear of the future. On all sides, predictions of a world depression of disastrous proportions are heard, accompanied by expressions of despair of preventing it. In this country, government spokesmen openly express their inability to cope with the economic problems currently besetting the U.S. economy. And economists who only a decade ago declared that they had discovered the secret of crisis-free capitalism are

today admitting that their economic theories are incapable of providing answers to the problems of inflation and overproduction. All this testifies to the progressive crumbling of the edifice of U.S. monopoly capital and the failure of increasing state monopoly capitalist measures to avert it.

The international monetary system constructed at Bretton Woods in 1944, based on the dominance of the dollar in world capitalist finance, is now a shambles. The very idea of a stable system of currencies with fixed relations to one another has been abandoned and "floating" rates of exchange, with currencies fluctuating in value from day to day, have become the rule. The dollar has progressively lost its former privileged status. It is no longer redeemable in gold and, thanks to chronic and increasing balance of payments deficits, two devaluations and mounting inflation, it occupies a deteriorating position in the world economic arena. Recent years have witnessed repeated monetary crises and there are well-founded fears of even worse crises to come, with growing threats of the erection of monetary and trade barriers between countries like those which wrought such havoc during the thirties.

Tied in with the growing monetary problems of world capitalism is the alarming surge of inflation throughout the capitalist world. Inflation is, of course, no newcomer; in the United States it has long been a built-in feature of the economy. With two minor exceptions, consumer prices have risen every year since World War II, in bad times as in good. But since the mid-sixties the rate of increase has steadily accelerated. By 1970, according to the official figures, consumer prices were rising at a rate of 6 per cent a year, and during the past year at a rate of well over 12 per cent. Inflation has reached "double-digit" proportions, and with no visible prospects of reduction.

The source of the mounting inflation lies first of all in the growing power of the big monopolies to create artificial shortages and to raise prices incessantly. This is facilitated by the rise of state monopoly capitalism and the efforts of the government to "regulate" the economy in the interests of big business through the inflationary practices of deficit spending and the creation of fictitious money. It is further augmented by the inflationary impact of the \$100-billion-a-year military budget.

It is the working class which pays the price of inflation. For the workers, soaring prices mean falling real wages and deteriorating living standards. They lead to growing economic hardships and suffering. They are a source of mounting unemployment.

Inflation bears especially hard on the poor and the elderly. Thus, the Department of Agriculture's low-cost food budget rose 17 per cent between mid-1973 and mid-1974, while its higher-priced budget rose only

12 per cent. Those compelled to live on the miserly fixed social security payments have already been reduced to desperation.

Inflation has its most devastating impact on the masses of Black and other oppressed peoples. Already the victims of price and rent gouging, the residents of ghetto communities are today the special victims of inflation. The already excessive prices rise more rapidly than in white communities and in the absence of housing construction rents become more and more extortionate.

On the other hand, for the oil companies, the food trusts, the steel corporations and other key sectors of monopoly capital, rising prices have meant soaring profits. For the capitalist class inflation is a device for multiplying profits and holding real wages down. It benefits from inflation--indeed, it needs it--and therefore does not conduct any serious struggle to end it.

The crisis is marked also by the persistent recurrence of financial difficulties--of soaring interest rates, of credit crunches and near-crises of liquidity, and of a rising number of bankruptcies of big firms and banks. And hanging overhead like a sword of Damocles is a mountainous volume of debt, private and public, totaling some \$2 1/4 trillion or twice the gross national product, which threatens in the present state of the economy to disrupt the entire system of payments. But meanwhile, astronomical interest rates provide the giant banks with a huge profit bonanza.

Further compounding the contradictions of monopoly capital are the sharply rising prices of raw materials. This grows out of the movements of developing countries to take control of their raw materials and to put an end to the price scissors by means of which the U. S. and other monopolies have been plundering them. To this the monopoly corporations have reacted in characteristic fashion. They have compensated themselves many times over by retaining control of distribution and processing, and by exorbitant increases in prices to the consumers. Thus, the oil monopolies have tripled their profits in the past two years while prices of oil products have skyrocketed. At the same time they have tried to cover up by blaming the oil producing countries, though the increased prices of crude oil are but a minute fraction of the total price rise. Their aim is to dissuade workers from fighting against high prices, also to mobilize public opinion against the Arab states and in support of U. S. - Israeli aggressive policies in the Middle East.

The energy crisis has come to the fore as a key aspect of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. It is a consequence not of the depletion of resources but of the vastly sharpened contradictions of capitalism in this stage. As Gus Hall notes in his book The Energy Rip-off: Cause and Cure, "the world is not running out

of sources of energy tomorrow." He charges that "the monopolies have created the so-called energy crisis" and have used cooked-up shortages and the resulting panic "to put over the most expensive price squeeze on the consumer in all history." (International Publishers, New York, 1974, pp. 29, 41.)

But there is also a real energy crisis. Hall states:

...the real energy crisis is the product of a number of historic processes coming together, creating a number of contradictions that demand fundamental resolutions. There is, first, the conflict between the energy needs of the people and the monopoly corporate control of the sources, production and distribution of energy for the sole purpose of maximizing private profits... There is also the contradiction between the growth of energy production with its more sophisticated and complicated energy technology, requiring centralized planning and control, and the inherent incompetence, the anarchistic, dog-eat-dog nature of monopoly capitalism... Lastly, there is the conflict between the greater need for science and scientists and the decline in government and corporate money for science and the declining number of students in science...

(The) sharpening conflict between the countries providing the raw material and the international monopolies is another, major element of the real energy crisis and requires new and more basic solutions. (pp. 41-42.)

The extortions of the monopolies in this situation have greatly added to inflation and have aggravated the current crisis.

Within the framework of this protracted state of crisis, the cyclical pattern of economic development--the pattern of booms and busts inherent in capitalist production--continues to unfold. The economy undergoes repeated cyclical crises of overproduction. But these now exhibit new features, arising from the new level of the general crisis. In this period we witness the occurrences of such crises in the face of rising military expenditures and even during large-scale warfare as in the 1969-71 downturn. We witness crises in which mounting unemployment and falling production are accompanied by marked inflation--something which bourgeois economists had only recently declared to be impossible. Cyclical crises in this period tend also to be more aggravated and protracted than before. That of 1969-71 was the longest since World War II.

The present crisis of inflation and overproduction exhibits these features in much more pronounced form. It has been swift in its development. Unemployment is rapidly rising and the gross national product is falling,

A depression of marked proportions has developed. But these facts only begin to tell the story. The disruptive effects of inflation are far greater than ever before. Because of skyrocketing prices coupled with astronomical interest rates, housing construction has fallen by 50 per cent. Auto production has declined by one-fourth. Unemployment in these and other industries has risen to levels far above the national average and is becoming chronic. Yet the prices of building materials and of cars continue to rise apace. Farmers slaughter calves to protest against the impossibly low prices they receive while retail food prices climb more than 2 1/2 per cent in a single month. Real wages have fallen 10 per cent in the past two years and consumer buying has declined, yet inflation continues unabated. The indications are that the crisis will be severe and drawn out, with unemployment reaching high levels and prices continuing to rise, and that recovery will be slow and difficult.

Along with the rising cost of living, spreading unemployment is increasingly taking its toll among the workers. And here, too, the impact on the Black and other oppressed minority peoples is by far the most severe. Unemployment among Black workers, according to even the inadequate official figures, is more than double that among white workers. In the ghetto areas it is actually 3 to 4 times as high and in some cases even higher. Among Black teen-age youth in the ghettos, in some instances as many as 80 per cent are unemployed. Chronic mass unemployment is already a severe problem of some duration in the Black communities. Because of the lower seniority of Black workers, a consequence of the long-standing discrimination in hiring and upgrading they have suffered, the gap between Black and white unemployment grows.

Also among the special victims of unemployment are women workers, who already suffer gross discrimination in hiring and upgrading and who, in many industries, have very low seniority. In addition, unemployment hits hard at the younger generation, and particularly against Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other minority group youth. Many of these are shut out of employment altogether and growing numbers who have come out of school have never had a job.

Finally, the crisis of inflation and overproduction is not confined to this country. In other leading capitalist countries, consumer prices since 1970 have risen by anywhere from 28 to 55 per cent. And a number of them, most notably Britain and Japan, are also experiencing marked cyclical downturns. In addition, unemployment is rising in all major capitalist countries. Indeed, President Giscard d'Estaing of France has declared that the capitalist world is already in the grip of a general economic crisis and that "all the curves are leading us to catastrophe." And in its annual report the International Monetary Fund states that as of mid-1974 the situation

of the world capitalist economy "constitutes perhaps the most complex and serious set of economic problems to confront national governments and the international community since World War II." All this imposes limitations on the speed and extent of recovery from the current cyclical crisis in the United States. In general, the outlook is one of deepening overall crisis which may reach very serious proportions. In the economic sphere, the general crisis of capitalism has truly entered a new stage.

In this situation, as at all times, the ruling class seeks to resolve its difficulties and to bolster its profits at the expense of the working people. But in today's conditions of simultaneously rising inflation and unemployment it is confronted by new contradictions. Since it views inflation as caused by "excessive" wage levels, the cure it proposes is to curtail mass purchasing power, to raise taxes and limit government spending (except for military purposes), to restrict economic growth and "cool off" the economy. But this means accelerating the rise in joblessness and deepening the crisis of overproduction. On the other hand, to resort to deficit spending and tax cuts to stimulate the declining economy also stimulates the process of inflation. In view of this contradiction, it is small wonder that there is such confusion in the ranks of monopoly capital, its political representatives and its economic theoreticians, and that such a profusion of conflicting views were expressed in the recent "summit conferences."

But whatever the differences, it is clear that monopoly capital will not of its own accord undertake to combat inflation by freezing or rolling back its swollen prices and profits. Nor will it do so by cutting military spending. On the contrary, unless it is prevented from doing so by mass popular struggle, it will continue its assault on living standards and jobs of the workers. This was evident in the conferences and it was made even more evident in President Ford's 1974 economic message. To the big corporations he offered new tax concessions in the name of "stimulating investment"; to the working people he offered chiefly advice to "drive less, waste less, heat less and eat less." He called for reducing the federal budget, not at the expense of the huge military outlays but of social welfare and public service expenditures. He professed to reject wage and price controls but established a "watch-dog" Council on Wage and Price Stability whose real function is to press for de facto wage controls.

Ford's latest economic message, in the face of the deepening cyclical crisis, calls for a record deficit in the federal budget, proposes an insignificant cut in the taxes of working people and an equally insignificant jobs program, while he projects increased taxes on oil products which will send fuel prices skyrocketing.

Nor do the Democrats, despite their partisan attacks on Ford, offer any real alternative. They, too, seek

to hold down the purchasing power and living standards of the working people. In opposition to Ford, they call for wage and price controls which, as all experience shows, will mean solely wage controls. They, too, are for "fighting inflation and recession" by helping big business at the people's expense.

In fact, in recent years there has developed through the instrumentality of both parties of monopoly capitalism a longer-range shell game which might be termed "up the downstairs economic ladder." A wave of price increases occurs, while workers remain tied to wage contracts. Just before the contracts come up for renewal, wage-price controls are imposed which permit only limited wage increases in the new contracts. Then the controls are removed and the process is repeated. This is the pattern which lies ahead for the working class, with the connivance of both parties and the top trade union leadership. Unless this is checked, the outlook is one of continuing decline of real wages and rising profits.

But if the ruling class strives to meet the new stage of economic crisis by intensifying its offensive against the living standards of the working people as a whole in order to bolster its profits, it also strives no less to do so by intensifying its racial oppression and super-exploitation of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed minorities in order to maintain and enlarge the superprofits it derives from these sources. It greatly steps up its instigation of racism and the fomenting of racial strife and violence, as the means of splitting the working class, of pitting white against Black, in order to intensify the exploitation of both.

In the Black and other ghetto communities, as has been noted, rising prices and rents and mounting unemployment strike hardest. Here the deterioration of living standards is swiftest and deepest, the growth of poverty, hunger and degradation the greatest, so that living standards fall increasingly behind those of white workers. And this special oppression and exploitation, in turn, becomes the means by which monopoly capital, relying on disunity between Black and white, attacks also the working conditions and living standards of the white workers.

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But a growing mass movement against rising inflation and unemployment is now taking shape. Tremendous economic struggles are in the making as the working class and its allies move into their counter-offensive against the monopolies. The class struggle in the United States is entering a new, more advanced stage. It is taking on a new content and urgency.

It is these mass struggles and the advancement of class consciousness stemming from them which will be decisive for the future. At their heart lies the struggle for Black-white unity as the foundation of working-class unity, a struggle which demands and must lead

to a vastly increased fight against the poison of racism, against the striving for racist privilege at the expense of the working-class solidarity and the best interests of the white workers themselves.

In the forefront of the people's struggle against inflation and unemployment is the fight for price and rent controls and rollbacks and against any form of wage controls. This must be accompanied by a fight for a sharp cut in military expenditures and an equally sharp increase in spending for social welfare and public services. Other key demands include tax reforms to make the wealthy and the big corporations foot the bill, vastly increased social security payments and drastic improvements in unemployment compensation, large-scale federal and municipal housing programs, a multi-billion-dollar federal jobs program sufficient to employ all who are jobless at union wage levels. Of special importance in the struggle against unemployment is the demand for a six-hour day with no reduction of pay. A special program of jobs for youth is needed. And woven throughout all these struggles is the battle against all forms of discrimination on the basis of race, nationality or sex. Also important is the fight to open the doors to large-scale trade and other economic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including Cuba. This is not only essential to the struggle for detente; it is also a potential source of large numbers of new jobs for workers in this country.

Such a program of struggle will help greatly to defend the economic interests of the working people, to mitigate the effects of the crisis. It will help to build the people's coalition against the monopolies and to curb monopoly power. It will not, however, bring about the abolition of inflation or unemployment. This is not feasible within the framework of capitalism. It can be achieved only through the elimination of capitalism and the victory of socialism. Of this the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are living proof, for in these countries there is no inflation, no joblessness, no crisis. Prices are stable and living standards are constantly rising. This is the direction in which the struggle must be directed in our country, and herein lies the special role and responsibility of the Communist Party.

3. The Decay of Bourgeois Democracy

The new stage of the general crisis is manifested in the current political crisis, in the decay of bourgeois democracy. The political crisis is an outgrowth of the increasingly frustrating problems faced by monopoly capitalism, which is inherently anti-democratic, problems which have become all the more acute with the continuing growth of monopoly and of state intervention. The new stage of the general crisis is also reflected in the increased fomenting of racism, in attacks on the living standards and organizations of the working people and in an assault on democratic institutions.

As in the thirties, the growing magnitude of the present economic crisis is creating increasing splits in the ranks of monopoly capital over the question of how to cope with it. Whether the way out is to be sought through open class aggression and fascist repression or through concessions is again emerging as a decisive question. Fascist tendencies are on the rise, expressing themselves in many forms.

The extremists of the ultra-Right--the hooded KKK, the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society, the Liberty Lobby, the White People's Party, the Minutemen, together with the book-burners and others of their kind--have come forward in growing measure with their vicious racism and anti-Semitism, their rabid anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism and their lynch-mob hoodlumism. Only a step removed from these is the "respectable" ultra-Right--the Buckley-Goldwater-Reagan combine and its cohorts--which is also increasingly active politically.

The conspiratorial role of the CIA in the violent overthrow of elected governments and the installation of bloody dictatorships abroad is already well known. Now its role in spying upon and harassing U. S. citizens here at home is coming to light. The despicable activities of the FBI--its surveillance, harassment, disruption and use of agent provocateurs, as well as the blackmail, extortion and other criminal actions of J. Edgar Hoover--are also beginning to be told, as is the part played by the Internal Revenue Service and other government agencies. The exposure of the utter corruption and high-priced payoffs of Nelson Rockefeller, billionaire monopolist and murderer of the Attica prisoners, adds to this picture of capitalist degeneration. All this is part of the decay of democracy and the growing threat of fascism.

Racism is an especially virulent weapon of monopoly capital in its drive toward the destruction of democracy and the rise of fascism. Racism is a basic ingredient of the stock-in-trade of the fascist ultra-Right, which is increasingly instigated and encouraged to launch violent assaults on Black Americans. This campaign is spearheaded by the racist hoodlum offensive against Black schoolchildren in Boston with the blessings of President Ford and other government figures. The struggle against this racist offensive of monopolist reaction is a central front in the fight for democratic rights of all sections of the people.

The rise of fascist trends is indicated also by the serious growth of anti-Semitism. The ultra-Right groupings are increasingly vocal on this front, and there have been a disturbing number of public anti-Semitic utterances by public figures, among them Richard Nixon and Chief of Staff General George S. Brown. The focus of this anti-Semitic upsurge is the hoary Big Lie that the Jews control the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country and

use this control for their own sinister ends. This is the old Hitler-Goebbels Big Lie which led to the gas chambers. Anti-Semitism is also being stirred up in connection with the high prices and shortages of fuels, which are attributed to the Jews. Essential to the struggle for democracy, therefore, is the development of an energetic fight against anti-Semitism.

The anti-democratic process is bipartisan and is conducted in the interests of monopoly capital as a whole. Not only has monopoly capital chipped away at the democratic rights of the people, but in its desperation it now makes a major attack on those rights and invades the field of the judiciary as well as other democratic institutions. The process is one of monopoly usurpation of power and the exercise of that power through the appointed agencies of the executive branch. The exposure of this creation of a secret, police-state apparatus in the Watergate and impeachment hearings opened up a national discussion of the danger of fascism in this country. We were the first to warn against this danger, and many events have confirmed our analysis, which has now also become the accepted view among the masses.

In this period monopoly capital established the "Committee of Forty," a U. S. version of the juntas which have exercised dictatorial rule in other countries, as the policy-making body on foreign and domestic questions. The Committee takes the place of the Cabinet and of publicly approved government bodies--and so contributes to the decay of democracy. That Committee, established under Nixon, continues under Ford.

The executive branch of government has become the home office of the military-industrial complex and of monopoly capital generally, under the cover of a "strong Presidency." Through the Presidency, monopoly capital exercises power in the distribution of contracts and other benefits provided by the \$100-billion military budget. It also determines the expenditure of other major parts of the federal budget, which now totals more than \$300 billion a year. It controls the tax program, the tax giveaways and subsidies, and the course of the economy. This constitutes a gross usurpation of power and a source of corruption on a new level--a part of the decay of democracy.

In this usurpation of power the executive branch has made repeated use of the concept of "executive privilege," of the claim that the executive is primary and decisive and can supersede both other branches of government. Under it the executive claims the right to act independently and in secrecy, under the guise of "national security."

In a similar way the granting of national emergency powers to the President has added to the decay of democracy. There are four national emergency proclamations

now in effect, and Ford continues the process, becoming even more brazen in bringing a Nelson Rockefeller, unelected, into the executive branch as Vice-President. At the same time the ruling class seeks to give fascist, anti-democratic measures a legal cover through the medium of repressive legislation such as that now pending in the Senate which contains a host of repressive provisions and invasions of democratic rights in the name of reforming crime control.

The transition from Nixon to Ford has not changed monopoly capital's designs for scuttling much of bourgeois democracy and concentrating ever greater power in the executive branch. Hence the fight for restoration and strengthening of the instruments and practices of democracy in a meaningful way is very much on the agenda. This calls for a new, more active role of the working-class and people's forces in the democratic process, directed toward halting the decay of democracy and toward making democratic institutions and processes serve the people against the monopolies.

Nixon became discredited for five good reasons. These were:

First, he went too far in discarding the traditional processes of bourgeois democracy. The people have much at stake in the preservation of democracy, and the struggle for democracy is an inherent part of the fight against trends toward military dictatorship and fascism.

Second, his program cut down the living standards of the people, slashing funds for the growing needs of the people in every area.

Third, he brazenly enriched the wealthy individuals and the giant corporations through tax steals, wage freezes and inflation, leading to soaring profits.

Fourth, he openly projected a racist policy calling for the scuttling of all desegregation programs and turning the country over to the naked, extreme forces of racism.

And fifth, his administration witnessed a growth of corruption without precedent.

Each of these reasons represents a further step in the undermining of democracy. The people were right in demanding Nixon's ouster. His exposure and ouster clear the way for tackling in earnest the insidious anti-democratic role of monopoly capital. The growing employment of the formidable power of state monopoly capitalism against the institutions of democracy arises from weakness and desperation. Monopoly's two-party system is bankrupt. Its conspiracy against democracy can be challenged and defeated by a committed coalition of democratic anti-monopoly forces.

Among the lessons and tasks arising from the experiences of Watergate and the impeachment proceedings are the following:

The 25th Amendment serves no democratic purpose and must be repealed. The full, unrestricted right to elect the President and Vice-President by popular vote must be restored and strengthened.

The national emergency proclamations must be terminated. Congress must enact legislation to curb executive power and to give the people a voice in control over the organs of the executive branch.

Congress must be pressed to abolish all agencies and practices which violate basic constitutional rights -- the FBI, the CIA and other "intelligence" agencies and similar bodies, the wholesale use of wire-tapping and bugging, etc. A campaign must be waged for the defeat of all repressive legislation now pending in Congress.

Congress must be brought to repeal the Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and other anti-labor laws and to enact legislation guaranteeing and strengthening the rights of unions, as well as laws which vastly improve existing minimum wage, social security, health and education provisions.

Reforms are needed to abolish pre-election registration and establish registration at the voting booth, and to abolish gerrymandering and other devices which perpetuate the bankrupt two-party system. Full ballot status must be guaranteed for the Communist Party and other minority parties, as well as for new electoral groups seeking to give expression to the anti-monopoly demands of the people.

A mass struggle is required to increase the direct representation in government office of representatives of labor and of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, and Native American peoples. This is an essential step in the struggle for democracy today. A coalition of these and other popular forces has been in the process of development for some time. The present political crisis makes this an urgent necessity.

The Watergate expose brought into vivid relief the pattern of corruption, thievery, bribery and blackmail by the highest administrative, military and police agencies of government in collusion with the most powerful representatives of monopoly capital. It revealed the President of the United States wallowing in scandal and crime. It brought to tens of millions a recognition of the gangland nature of big business in command of the government.

It alerted the people to the White House conspiracy operating behind the claim of executive privilege to wipe out democratic liberties and to erect a fascist-type

structure which would guarantee control by monopoly capital over the government at all levels. This was the objective sought in Nixon's "Huston Plan" and the "plumbers" operations.

Watergate shattered the illusions held by millions of people concerning the character of those to whom the monopolists entrusted governing power and who acted as the servants of monopoly, doing its bidding. It showed that the political parties of monopoly capital bring into public office persons without character or morality, individuals who are guided not by principle but by the compulsive lust of big business for profits.

Watergate produced a powerful ideological shock wave which shattered the illusions held by millions concerning the quality of the democracy of capitalism. The impact of Watergate and of more recent events upon the thinking of masses has contributed greatly to the process of radicalization and has opened the way for many of those seeking new areas of solution to look toward the scientific truth of Marxism-Leninism and to the Communist Party for answers.

IV. Mass Movements

Introduction

The crisis developments are giving rise to new waves of struggles. These are reaching new levels, as is shown especially by the fact that the working class is coming increasingly into their forefront. The main danger which remains is that we will not become fully aware of these upheavals in time to lead and influence them. Such underestimation will lead to tailism--to trailing events.

The test of a vanguard party is not only to recognize events when they take place and record them. The test is to see the straws in the wind that precede them and to react to them in time. The test of a vanguard party is how well it can pick the key issues, how well it formulates the demands and how well it is able to find, in time, the appropriate organizational forms of struggle.

During a crisis, masses are angry and frustrated. The test of a vanguard party is how well it can channel this anger and frustration into productive movements and actions. The test of a vanguard party is whether it can organize and lead united front struggles and movements.

Our Party must respond to the present moment by shifting gears as quickly as possible. The test is whether we can put an end to all routinism, to the formal going-through-the-motions style of work. That is the challenge we must respond to in a Marxist-Leninist, Communist manner.

This section deals, in the light of these considerations, with mass trends and mass movements and with some of the problems of these movements.

1. The Trade Union Movement

The new stage of the general crisis of capitalism has brought unprecedented attacks by monopoly capitalism on the living standards of the people of the United States. The answer of the working class has been an intensification of the class struggle and a measurable growth of radicalization in its ranks. These developments are having a decisive effect on the trade union movement. Expressions of a new trend in labor are already emerging. In particular, a new, militant Left trend is clearly emerging. Other expressions include:

1. The ongoing growth of rank-and-file movements and their powerful impact in such basic industries as coal, steel and auto;

2. The continued role of the Black caucus movement and the formation of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists;

3. The role of Trade Unions for Action and Democracy (TUAD) and the publication Labor Today;

4. The contribution made to trade union militancy and solidarity by the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW);

5. New expressions of Black-white unity in the face of the stepped-up resort to racism by the monopolies and the government;

6. Growing initiatives for organizing the unorganized;

7. The emergence of healthier, class-struggle trends in trade union leadership as a result of intensification of the class struggle and the positive impact of rank-and-file pressures on trade union elections;

8. The search for new forms of independent political expression in sections of the trade union movement;

9. The challenge to the reactionary position of the AFL-CIO Executive Council in the 1972 presidential elections;

10. The formation of the Labor for Peace Committee; the boycott of South African and Rhodesian coal and ore; the extensive official and rank-and-file trade union opposition to the fascist takeover in Chile and to the role of the U. S. monopolies and government;

11. The growth of coordinated multi-union collective bargaining; the broad support of the United Farm Workers and the victory of the Farah boycott.

The crisis of capitalism has created a crisis for the reactionary class-collaborationist policies that still dominate the top levels of the labor leadership and in particular the AFL-CIO Executive Council. The claim of this leadership that capitalism is the best of all systems for the working class grows more hollow with each day of mounting inflation and unemployment. At the same time, workers are learning of the growth of class-struggle trade unionism and unity in other capitalist countries, of the growing rejection of class collaborationism on the international front, of the advances of workers in the socialist countries. And they are doing so in spite of the iron curtain of lies and misinformation the monopolies have tried to build around the U. S. working class with the help of the Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO.

The growing sentiment for detente and trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has further weakened class collaboration with its rabid anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. The reactionary character of the Meany policies stands out more and more glaringly. As a result, disagreements are emerging and a significant differentiation is beginning to appear within the top leading circles,

Rank-and-file movements are consolidating and becoming battle-wise in their valiant fight to win their unions to democratic, class-struggle trade unionism. They are rapidly learning that victory lies in developing programs that attract and hold the more radicalized workers. But at the same time they are learning the necessity of winning a broad base among those less radicalized workers who are seeking militant class-struggle leadership that will deal effectively with their pressing problems both on the job and in their communities.

Experience has proven that the road to militant, democratic, class-struggle trade unionism begins at the grass roots. The struggle for the fundamental restructuring of the trade union movement begins with the building of rank-and-file movements around struggles on specific issues. Experience has proven again and again that there is no other durable way.

Rank-and-file unionism has nothing in common with the horde of petty-bourgeois radical groups that infest the perimeter of the working-class movement. Revolutionary Union, Workers Vanguard, Trotskyite or Maoist phony "Leftists" and the CIA-FBI agents in their ranks, as well as such enemy-instigated outfits as the National Caucus of Labor Committees and its so-called "U. S. Labor Party," are basically the "Left" flank of monopoly attack on honest trade unionism. Rank-and-file movements must firmly disassociate themselves from such unsavory elements. Misguided attempts to form alliances with them lead nowhere.

Class-struggle trade unionism means the total rejection of the twin ideological poisons of capitalism, racism and anti-Communism. It means democratic rank-and-file control of the unions, including conclusive membership votes on strikes and contract settlements. It fights for trade union solidarity at home and cooperation with organized labor in other countries -- capitalist, socialist and newly developing.

Class-struggle trade unionism means a militant struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. This fundamental component of the class struggle must never be neglected or underplayed. But at the same time organized labor only begins to reach its real potential when it sheds the shell of "pure and simple" trade unionism and becomes immersed in the great struggles that confront the working class beyond the coal face, the mill floor and the factory gates.

The trade unions have a tremendous responsibility in the struggle to prevent the disaster of nuclear war. The fight to make detente irreversible, to develop peaceful relations and trade, is a key to the assurance of world peace. But class collaborationism with its paranoid anti-Communism is a dangerous roadblock to this struggle. The top trade union leadership strives to make organized labor the obedient servant of the military-industrial complex and its imperialist policies. Rank-and-file, class-struggle trade unionism has the task of placing the organized labor movement at the very forefront of the struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence.

The mushroom growth of the multinational corporations has created problems for workers in all countries, problems which can be met only by international trade-union cooperation. This has led to a lowering of cold-war barriers and to growing contacts and cooperation between unions and international centers of varying ties and views. The U. S. ruling class, in league with the Meany leadership and Right-wing social democracy, has endeavored to isolate unions in this country from these positive developments. But such efforts are doomed to defeat. The Meany leadership has never been so isolated in the world trade union arena. The struggles of the rank-and-file together with sections of the trade union leadership can make this defeat a reality.

The increased intervention of the government on the side of the corporations in capital-labor relations imparts a growing political character to all economic struggles. This gives mounting urgency to the development of mass independent political formations over which the workers have some measure of control. The class-collaborationist union leadership, however, works to keep the working class within the confines of the two parties of big business. Class-struggle policies demand a fight to build a mass, independent, people's political party with a firm base in the trade union movement. The Meany class collabora-

tionism has shown its utter bankruptcy, particularly in the Democratic mini-convention in Kansas City.

The paramount necessity of maximum unity of the working class in this crisis has created new, favorable opportunities for winning white workers to a mighty assault against racism within the framework of the class struggle and in their own working class interests. Examples of such opportunities are all around us: the unity of Black, Brown and white workers in the growing wave of strike confrontations; their growing unity in the fight for union organization in the South and other parts of the country; the large number of Black and white caucuses as white workers unite with their Black brothers and sisters in the fight for militant unionism; the strong position against racism in numerous rank-and-file movements; the increasing election of militant Black trade union officials by the united votes of Black and white members.

At the same time the government and the monopolies have launched an intensive racist campaign to convince white workers that Black and other minority workers can advance only at their expense. This vicious campaign extends to jobs, promotion, schools, housing and every other area of working-class concern.

Communists have the weighty responsibility of proving to white workers over and over the need to fight racism as their own enemy, of showing that it is a barrier to the advancement of the whole class and to the building of a strong, militant trade union movement. Class collaborationism cannot possibly be defeated without a smashing attack against racism. This is an essential component of class-struggle trade unionism and the development of class and socialist consciousness.

The massive entry of young workers into the labor force and the growing struggle for women's equality have added new dimensions to the class struggle. They bring a new quality of militancy to the trade unions. This is especially evident among Black women and Black youth, who bring the strength and spirit of the Black liberation movement into the factories and mills with them.

Women comprise 43% of the work force and the number is rising. They are a permanent, growing force in the working-class and trade union movements. The struggle for equality in hiring, pay and upgrading, for adequate child care, for pregnancy leaves and other needs of women workers becomes an increasingly important aspect of the class struggle. The fight for women's equality is indispensable to class unity. It is in the interest of male workers to be in the thick of this struggle. The fight for the rights of young workers is similarly essential to class unity.

Rapidly rising unemployment and short time are again serious problems for workers. To combat unemployment, class-struggle trade unionism must place in the forefront the demand for a six-hour day with no reduction in pay. This is a key demand, without whose realization millions of workers now being laid off and other millions just entering the labor force face a future of chronic unemployment and poverty. It must therefore become a major issue in the economic and political struggles of the trade unions.

"Productivity" clauses have absolutely no place in union contracts and must be abolished. People- and job-killing speedup drives must be stopped. "Attrition" agreements which legitimize job elimination must be replaced by contracts that forbid any cut in the work force. The trade unions in the United States must join with unions in other capitalist countries in the struggle against arbitrary layoffs and plant shutdowns. Unemployment benefits must be greatly increased. They must be extended to cover the period from day of discharge to day of rehiring, and to cover those seeking their first jobs.

There is a growing demand in the trade union movement for public ownership of natural resources such as oil and coal, of all sources of energy and of all public utilities. This demand must be raised much more sharply and must be extended to include other industries, also factories that are closed down by the corporations.

But the significance of nationalization goes much beyond this. Nationalization of key industries and enterprises under democratic controls is an essential demand in the anti-monopoly struggle. It is of vital importance to the working class. It is a powerful weapon for doing away with plant shutdowns, layoffs, speedup, unsafe working conditions and other evils perpetrated by the monopolies in the name of "management prerogatives." It is a potent means of putting an end to monopolist policies of racial discrimination in hiring, training, and upgrading. It is an effective instrument in fighting monopoly price-fixing and wage restrictions. In short, nationalization represents a major step toward curbing monopoly power.

Only a little more than 20% of the workers in the United States are organized. This is a disgracefully low level. It is a major obstacle to a unified working-class confrontation with monopoly capital on the political and economic fronts. It has meant billions in superprofits for the corporations, while for millions of workers it has meant low wages and abominable working conditions. It has held back the development of independent political action and the emergence of a mass political party based on the trade unions. It is directly related to the low level of class and socialist consciousness among U. S. workers and is a serious impediment to the building of the Communist Party.

The main roadblock to union organization, of course, is the intense opposition of the ruling class, which uses the powers of government to keep the unions weak and on the defensive. In this it is aided by the reactionary craft union outlook of the dominant section of the trade union leadership exemplified by George Meany. It is this which has prevented the development of a powerful, unified drive to organize the unorganized in the South and other unorganized areas of the country.

Large-scale union organization must be a foremost demand of class-struggle trade unionism. A successful organizing drive will bring new, militant forces into the ranks of organized labor. It will shift the balance of forces in the AFL-CIO from the present dominance of narrow craft union leadership to a leading position of the giant industrial unions. It will speed the restructuring of the trade union movement into a more clearly defined, democratic body.

The growing merger of smaller unions with larger ones is a reflection of the need for stronger, more powerful unions. However, the creation of conglomerate-type unions such as the steel and teamster unions is a distortion of the necessary process. They are, in effect, creating not stronger unions in given industries but a number of diverse trade union centers.

There is a basic need for structural reforms which would replace the outmoded craft unions with industrial unions. This is needed in construction, in printing and other areas now dominated by craft organization. What is needed is a consolidation of unions on an industrial basis. A consolidation of the numerous unions in electrical, chemical and other industries into cohesive, industry-wide formations should be pushed, keeping in mind how to guarantee that merger will bring greater union democracy to the membership and what will be the general political outlook of the merged union.

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Our policy of working for united front relations at all levels of trade union leadership within the basic framework of helping to initiate and build rank-and-file movements on issues of class-struggle trade unionism has proven sound. These movements work within the structure of the trade unions. On the whole they reject parallel unionism except in cases where racist and other exclusive practices bar membership.

The policy of relentless struggle against the class-partnership, racist, anti-Communist leadership that now dominates the top trade union circles has also proven correct. At the same time, we reject a generally negative, anti-leadership approach. We must be on the alert for new trends that are finding their reflection in trade union leadership as a result of the intensification of the class struggle and the pressure of the rank and file.

The split that has developed among U. S. social democrats as a result of such pressures is reflected in the trade unions. Generally speaking, there are the "cold war" social democrats such as Shanker, Rustin, Kahn and company who have emerged as the staunchest supporters of George Meany's paranoid anti-Communism.

Then there are the more moderate social democrats such as Harrington, Wurf, Lucy and Selden, who shun Meany's more reactionary positions but are reluctant to challenge them. They continue to waver under the influence of cold-war inertia and anti-Communism. Many of these can be brought to a pro-detente stand and to more consistently democratic and class-struggle positions in the trade unions to the degree that they feel the strength and pressure of their rank and file. Along with other elements in the trade union movement, they represent potential forces with whom a Left-Center united front can be built.

However, such a united front can only emerge to the extent that the rank-and-file movements elevate the level of class-struggle demands. These rank-and-file movements are producing a new brand of militant, class-struggle trade union leaders. They are producing a new brand of independent labor candidates for political office. They are producing a new generation of trade union leaders fighting to place the trade unions in the front ranks of a grand alliance against the monopolies. In this lies the future of the trade union movement and the working class as a whole.

2. Political and Electoral Struggles

The past two years have witnessed a growth of the mood of political independence. There is increasing evidence of a mass revulsion against the bankrupt two-party system of monopoly capital and a search for an anti-monopoly alternative.

The independent mood takes on various forms. The vast stay-away vote in 1974 (only about 38 percent of eligible voters turned out as against 42 percent in the last off-year elections of 1970) is one expression of mass discontent with the two old parties. Widespread ticket splitting is another. The 1974 elections also saw more candidates stressing anti-monopoly themes (inflation, monopoly profits, utility rates, tax reforms, etc.). At the same time, the elections saw reactionary and conservative candidates (e. g., Longley in Maine) who, sensing the popular mood, demagogically paraded as "independents." Ultra-Rightists can be expected increasingly to maneuver in this "independent" fashion. Many so-called "independents" are diversionary elements. We support only that kind of independence which leads to more meaningful democracy and to advancing the anti-monopoly struggle. There must be vigilance against the misuse of the label "independent" by demagogic ultra-Rightists.

The major thrust of political independence can be seen in the increasing candidacies of Blacks, Chicanos and other national minorities, women, youth and workers, voicing anti-monopoly positions in varying degrees.

The most conscious element of the struggle for political independence was that provided by the Communist candidates. In 1974, the Party had candidates in 15 states, a net gain over 1972. However, there were no candidates in Kentucky, Tennessee, Iowa and Arizona where the Party was on the ballot in 1972. In the states where the Party won ballot status, its candidates raised the people's demands, and helped advance the movement for independent political action. It helped to speed the process of mass breakaway from the two-party system and the formation of a wide anti-monopoly political coalition with the working class as its core.

Party participation in local campaigns, including those run in a nominally non-partisan framework (Boston school board, San Jose tax assessor) showed that it is possible to build strong electoral united fronts at the grass roots level. These elections show the possibility of broad united front formations in support of Communist Party candidates as well as in support of Communist candidates participating in slates with other candidates. There is a need to probe further the creation of such electoral united fronts. At the same time, in the case of Party candidates, such alliances cannot be viewed as substitutes for involving the entire Party in the campaign.

Proliferation of independent movements -- some still within the framework of the two old parties but many outside -- now involves millions of voters and potential voters. These movements include varied forms within the labor movement where many unionists are showing independence from and resistance to the George Meany top cabal. Among the most advanced forms are those involving the 3,000 Black elected officials, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Voter Registration Project and the Black Assembly. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, active in both the political and trade union fields, strengthens the independent political current.

Similar independent organizations have developed in one degree or another among Chicano, Puerto Rican and other minority peoples, as well as among women and youth. All such independent movements constitute an essential factor in the building of an anti-monopoly movement.

Independent forms have also grown up around specific issues: the impeachment struggle, the battle against inflation, cutting the military budget, the struggle for detente, and many others. These movements, while not avowedly political, nevertheless have

an impact on Congress and on the popular political outlook, as do the rising economic struggles of the working class.

The totality of these movements and the disaffection with the two-party system are of such magnitude as to place the possibility of a new people's anti-monopoly political vehicle on the agenda for 1976. Our efforts must be commensurate with this objective development.

A central element of the struggle for political independence is the fight to strengthen working-class electoral independence. In this connection, we must combat some wrong political views. There are some who underestimate the movements for Black political independence and political independence generally because they take place largely within the Democratic Party or within its orbit. Such people fail to see that whatever the origin of these movements, and whatever current political vehicle they may utilize, they have an objective direction -- against monopoly capital and its two-party system.

Those Black or other independent public officials who have utilized the Democratic column as the basis of their election are not apt to be misled by advocates of Leftist or premature breaks which separate them from their constituents. Those who have won victories in elections want the independent formations to advance toward further electoral victories. They can do so when they are related to struggles on issues and to a program to meet the people's needs. They must be massive movements.

There is another view that starts with a correct idea but pushes it to absurdity. For example, it is maintained that because one or another independent-minded candidate with a somewhat advanced position and an independent following obtains the nomination of one of the two major parties, he or she is a "bourgeois candidate" and is to be shunned. This ignores both the people supporting such a candidate and the potential for independence within such a movement. It is basically a reflection of petty-bourgeois radical and sectarian pressures. Nor can one justify such a position by the "Lame Duck" pamphlet issued after the Party's December 1972 Central Committee meeting. This is a one-sided presentation which fails to see the totality of "Lame Duck."

To advance the movement for independent political action, looking forward to 1976, certain aspects of our work must be stressed:

1. Active participation and initiative in the mass popular political struggles (against inflation and unemployment, against racism in all its manifestations, for detente and trade relations with the socialist world, for tax reform, for an effective national health bill, etc.)

2. Strengthening and widening of all grass roots independent political formations, with emphasis on the various

forms within the labor movement and at the shop level, and on the movements for increased representation of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other oppressed minority groups. In particular, efforts must be made to develop movements in support of workers running for public office at all levels. All existing independent parties and formations must be evaluated in terms of whether they do or do not contribute to the building of a mass people's anti-monopoly movement. Every possible initiative must be taken to build independent formations leading toward that goal, and in projecting and agitating and educating for the building of such a party.

3. Vast widening of the voting rolls through automatic registration, post card registration, making Election Day a paid holiday and other measures. Mass involvement of trade unions and community organizations in registration drives.

4. Stepping up of legislative activity on the part of all independent forces, including the Party, on a broad range of political, social and economic issues.

5. Increased Party participation with its own candidates in every election. This does not necessarily mean running candidates for every office, but there must be active, serious Communist campaigns, with early planning and selection of qualified candidates who have participated in working-class or other mass struggles and who have developed mass ties.

Carrying out these aspects of our work will advance the whole movement for political independence and help unite the working class and its allies to defend their interests against monopoly capital and to speed the creation of a new, people's anti-monopoly political party.

3. The Black Liberation Movement

A unique feature of U. S. capitalism is that in addition to its basic system of class exploitation it has spun a web of special systems of racial and national oppression and exploitation. The purpose of these is to squeeze out corporate superprofits. Over 40 million people are victims of these special systems, each with its unique features. Their keystone is the racist oppression of the 25 million Black Americans. Hence the struggle for Black liberation is a central factor in all struggles for social progress in this country. It is the cornerstone of the struggle against all forms of racial and national oppression.

Most of the 40 million are workers in basic industries, in manufacturing and agriculture. This fact presents a special task for the working class, for the anti-monopoly movement, for the progressive movement and for our Party.

It is not only the Black and other minority people who are the victims of racial and national oppression,

White people are also its victims, economically, socially, morally. Only the monopoly corporations profit from it at the expense of all the people.

Racism, by lowering the wages of Black workers, also results in lowering those of white workers. Racism, which compels Black people to live in grossly substandard ghetto housing at astronomical rents, also leads to deterioration of housing and skyrocketing of rents for white working people. Racism, which has brought about the utter deterioration of education in the ghettos, is giving rise to the destruction of the entire public school system throughout the country. And so it goes with every aspect of life. To all this must be added the morally corrupting effect of racism on whites, a process which begins in the earliest grades of school and which has placed a hideous moral blot on the white population of our country.

So long as white working people can be made to believe that the interests of Black people are opposed to their own, they will continue to pay the price of racism -- the price of their own increasing exploitation and the growing deterioration of their own conditions of life. And so long as they fail to see that Black and white workers have a common interest against a common enemy, against whom they must unite, so long therefore as they do not fight against national and racial oppression, they will be unable to make any serious advances in the fight for their own interests.

The working class cannot unite its ranks without taking the lead in the struggle against racial and national oppression. There can be no victorious anti-monopoly movements or struggles without a fight against the racist policies of the monopolies. There can be no successful struggle against reaction and fascism unless there is a struggle against the racism that divides the ranks of the forces which must be mobilized in the struggle against reaction. There can be no successful fight for socialism unless there is a struggle to burn out this pervasive ideological influence that diverts, divides and confuses the forces that are necessary in the struggle for socialism. What must be brought home to the white masses and particularly to the white workers, therefore -- concretely, graphically, convincingly -- is that racism is their enemy, that it can destroy them. This is the central task.

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The struggle for Black liberation is closely tied to the class struggle. On the one hand, the vast majority of Black people are proletarians; on the other hand the interests of the working class as a whole and of white workers in particular, can be advanced only by fighting against racial oppression and for Black-white unity. Without this the fight for class-struggle trade unionism and against class collaboration cannot be successfully waged. Recent years have witnessed a further proletarianization of Black people, with an increasing proportion employed

in basic industry, and with this the ties between the liberation and class struggles have tended to become still closer.

Added to this is the impact of the economic crisis on the Black community, sharpening and giving greater prominence to economic struggles. The crisis is wiping out the hard-won economic gains of Black people. The mass layoffs in auto and steel are eliminating large numbers of Black workers whose seniority runs no higher than 12-15 years and who are therefore especially hard hit. The family income gap between Black and white, which had narrowed somewhat, is again growing. It had begun to widen even earlier as a result of discrimination in employment in relation to the changing composition of the working class. The growing number of higher-paying skilled and technical jobs arising from the scientific-technological revolution go to white workers, while Black workers lag behind in lower-paying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. To this is now added the impact of the deepening crisis.

Black-owned businesses which are dependent on the Black working people as their customers, are becoming seriously affected. The effects of the crisis are felt by the entire community.

Within the Black ghettos inflation strikes with special force. And mass chronic unemployment, which exists even in so-called "good times," becomes an even more severe problem. Its effects are compounded by President Ford's drive to cut social welfare expenditures. Poverty and suffering are becoming increasingly widespread.

Indeed, the effects of the crisis within the Black community are not only more severe than among whites but take on a special character, the product of racist oppression and discrimination. Hence a special kind of struggle is required to overcome them. What must be sought is, of course, the ultimate abolition of segregation. But special measures are needed immediately to assure adequate jobs, housing, education and other needs for those compelled to live in the ghettos. A struggle must be waged for compensatory measures in hiring and promotion, in wage increases, in seniority and other areas. The demand must be raised for nationalization of firms and industries as a means of ending the system of crass discrimination practiced by the monopoly corporations.

The crisis has also led to intensification of the racist assault on the Black people. Monopoly capital, seeking to cope with the economic crisis at the people's expense, has among other things greatly stepped up the incitement of racism and repression. Its aims are to pit Black and white workers against one another and to weaken their fight against the monopolies, and to intensify

superexploitation and the extraction of superprofits. Big business strives to create hostility between Black and white in all spheres--economic, political and social.

It has built up and encouraged the ultra-Right forces of racism and fascism. It has made the issue of busing a spearhead of its drive and has instigated the hoodlum attacks on Black schoolchildren in Boston as an opening gun, with the sanction of President Ford and others in top circles of government. It has greatly stepped up the propagation of pseudo-scientific racist "theories" of inherent Black inferiority and has attempted to justify cutbacks in education in Black communities on the false grounds that Black children "can't learn."

The crisis and its consequences have raised the demand for a new level of struggle and, as the experience of Boston demonstrates, the Black community, its organizations and its leaders, have shown themselves well able to rise to the occasion. There is a growing pressure for action among the Black people and the Black leadership is showing that it is sensitive to these currents among the masses and prepared to respond to them.

The Black liberation movement has by no means disappeared from the scene. Black organizations are active--even more than before. They are a key force in many areas--in the class struggle, the trade unions, the fight against racism and repression, the struggles for political independence, women's rights and education, and not least in the fight against inflation and unemployment.

The forms of struggle are changing. The focus of struggle has tended to shift from the streets toward other arenas of struggle. In the new situation there is a probing for new forms and new directions. There are changing and at times contradictory positions.

Gains have been made in the recent period, chiefly in the electoral field, with the election not only of a growing number of Black officials but also of Black candidates in areas with a decided majority of white voters. There are today more than 3,000 Black elected officials, including the mayors of a number of our largest cities.

Within the limitations of the two-party system, it is the Democratic Party which has served as the vehicle for successful Black candidacies. The vast majority of Black people vote Democratic; witness, for example, their overwhelming repudiation of Nixon in 1972. Black officials are subject to certain pressures from the Democratic Party. However, they characteristically display a considerable degree of political independence.

An important role is played today by the Congressional Black Caucus, and by similar caucuses at state and regional

levels. These have programs much in advance of the two major political parties and are of key importance in the movement for political independence. They provide the core around which coalescence in the Black community on the question of political independence can take place. They are a significant factor in the development of the anti-monopoly coalition.

In this connection a noteworthy development is the formation of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, an organization which emerged in response to Meany's phony "neutrality" in the 1972 Presidential elections. The Coalition is concerned with political issues as well as immediate trade union problems. Its establishment provides a basic instrument for the advancement of political independence.

The political arena has become a gathering point for diverse movements and organizations among Black people. Here these groupings are increasingly coming together in common action. Undoubtedly this arena will grow in importance as a focal point for coming struggles.

With the deepening crisis, organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League are today more and more active in economic struggles. The NAACP took part in the economic summit conference where its representatives played a significant role.

In the trade union field the separatist Black caucuses are on the downgrade and the tendency is toward the formation of caucuses which link Black and white workers. Black workers are playing an important role in rank-and-file movements and struggles for trade union democracy as, for example, in the United Mine Workers and in the smashing victory won by Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers in opposition to the Abel bureaucracy.

With the growing numbers of Black workers in basic industry and the resulting development of closer ties between the Black liberation movement and the class struggle, the influence of separatism, neo-Pan-Africanism and Maoism has tended to wane.

Among the groups espousing Black capitalism there are considerable differences. Operation PUSH, headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson, has taken a progressive position on a number of questions. On the other hand CORE has completely deteriorated and plays a disruptive role.

It is clear from this brief picture that a firm organized base for struggle exists, offering considerable opportunities for Left and Communist initiatives. And such initiatives have been taken. An important example is the National Anti-Imperialist

Conference in Solidarity with Africa held in Chicago last year, whose aim was to relate the struggle for Black liberation in this country to the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa and to strengthen its anti-monopoly character. The Conference brought into existence the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, which has launched a national petition campaign for the expulsion of South Africa from the U. N. and is conducting other activities.

A further significant example of such initiatives is the formation of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, an organization whose stated purpose is to unite all peoples in the struggle against racism and repression. It arose as a defense organization, starting from a core of active workers in the Angela Davis case. In its top leadership are such well-known Communist leaders as Angela Davis and Charlene Mitchell. The Alliance has played a unifying role, bringing together people from diverse organizations in a common struggle. It has also brought together the fight against racism and the fight against anti-Communism. An outstanding achievement of the Alliance was the mass demonstration held in Raleigh, North Carolina last year in protest against the barbaric racist practice of behavior modification and the opening of the Butner Center designed for that purpose.

What stands out in these examples is the ability of Communists to initiate and give leadership in mass movements of considerable breadth and the wide acceptance of Communists as a legitimate and leading force in the Black liberation movement.

It is clear that the Black people will be a prominent factor, in the unprecedented democratic struggles which are in the process of development. The prospects exist for bringing the various sectors of the Black liberation movement together in a national front of struggle, united around a common program. This will be a tremendous source of added strength.

In this connection the Communist Party has special responsibilities to fulfill as a vanguard working-class organization. In the forefront of these is the responsibility to expand greatly the exercise of Communist initiative and participation in mass movements. The Party also has the task of building working-class leadership in these struggles and movements. Further, it is called upon to work for the unification of the movement and the building of a national front of struggle, and for developing unity with other groups and movements.

But if real headway is to be made in the developing struggles, the Communist Party, as a party of Black and white, has one paramount responsibility which falls in particular on its white membership -- the fight against racism. There is the responsibility to make clear to white workers their stake in the struggle against racial

oppression and discrimination, to help them to understand that whatever injures the Black people is an injury to them. It is necessary to penetrate and to break down the barrier of racism which the ruling class incessantly strives to build, and which so shamefully blinds white working people to their own best interests. Only on this basis is it possible to establish that unity of the working class and the Black people which is the indispensable foundation of the people's coalition against the monopolies.

It must be said that the Party has lagged in its fulfillment of this responsibility. The tendency persists to keep the issue of racism on the plane of generalities and empty moralizing. What is still lacking is concreteness and organized action, a lack which became only too evident, for example, when it came to mobilizing white opposition nationally to the racist outrages in Boston. What is needed is to seek out handles for effectively tackling specific manifestations of racism and to develop organized struggles against them. What is needed also is to deal more concretely with influences of racism within the ranks of the Party itself.

Great struggles lie ahead and the prospects of great victories for the people. The extent to which our Party fulfills its vanguard role in this area, as in others, will have much to do with their realization.

4. National Group Oppression

All crises of capitalism have a racist edge. The people already suffering from special systems of racial and national oppression are special victims of the crisis developments. There is old, long-standing unemployment among them, but they are now the largest section among the newly unemployed. They have long been paying the highest prices and rents. But now inflation cuts deepest into the living standards in the ghettos and barrios. They have been discriminated against in housing and education. But now the biggest cuts in housing and education are those which affect the racially oppressed. Therefore, the economic crisis has a special, qualitatively different effect on the victims of racial oppression.

The Chicano Movement and Struggles

The second-largest of the specially oppressed groups in the United States is the Chicano community of some 10 million.

The Chicano community has its unique features, characteristics and history. Its modern history goes back to the imperialist annexation of land and people that were a part of Mexico. It maintains close social and economic ties with Mexico. The Chicanos are the dominant labor force in the fields and factories of the agribusiness conglomerates of the United States. But

beyond all else, the Chicano people are the victims of a special system of national oppression sustained by a specially designed anti-Chicano chauvinism.

But, though the Chicano community has its unique characteristics, it is an integral part of U. S. economic, social and political life. Some millions are wage workers who are part of the U. S. working class.

The Chicano people are part of the movements and struggles against the U. S. corporate-monopoly monster. They are part of the overall people's democratic forces.

At our last National Convention we adopted a basic resolution on the struggles of the Chicano people. It remains a correct guideline to our work. It states:

The brutal oppression of the Chicano people by U. S. monopoly capital is indeed the oppression of a national group. Their status as second-class citizens devoid of rights is an attempt to deprive them of any legal weapons to attain equal citizenship with the white citizens of the U. S. The robbery of their lands, the attack against their language, is a racist attempt at cultural genocide. It is an attempt to weaken their struggle for liberation from the brutal attacks against them as a people with a distinct history, culture and desire for freedom and equality. (Toward Chicano Liberation, New Outlook Publishers, New York, pp. 1-2.)

Since our last Convention the movements and struggles of the Chicano people have continued to progress and develop. This is especially true in the field of political action and in the field of economic struggles. Two state governors, in Arizona and New Mexico, have been elected in response to the movement for political representation for Chicanos.

The economic crisis is compelling the Chicano people's movements to focus increasingly on the economic questions. As a result there are new ties developing between the Chicano movements, the trade unions and working-class struggles in general. In a very basic sense the outcome of these struggles will determine the path ahead and the nature of the solutions to many of the other questions.

All of these questions emerge sharply around the struggles of the agricultural workers. The United Farm Workers is the best instrument the farm workers have. But this union faces a three-pronged conspiracy involving the huge agribusinesses which are tied to the banking interests, reactionary state and federal government bodies, and the Right-wing class-collaborationist sellout section of the Teamsters Union leadership. It is a state-monopoly, class-collaborationist cabal. The immigration policies of the federal government are manipulated to serve this big business conspiracy. Their aim is to smash the United Farm Workers,

Their tactic is to isolate it through back-door sellout labor-management agreements, through terror and provocation. Their tactic is to split the Chicano community over these immigration policies.

It is in the best interests of the working class of the United States and the trade union movement as well as in the best interests of the Chicano community to defeat this conspiracy. Our Convention Resolution states:

U. S. imperialism has always used the border to sharpen the racist exploitation and oppression of the Mexican and Chicano peoples. These same greedy U. S. monopolists, bandidos that ~~control~~ the fabulous resources of this country, also dominate major sectors of Mexico's economy. In this way, a huge unemployed army is maintained in Mexico, utilized by Anglo monopolist interests as a ready source of cheap labor. They are shipped in, when needed, to maintain maximum rates of superprofits, prevent trade union organization, and project and intensify racist divisions among workers. When used up, they are shipped out -- deported -- by the hundreds of thousands each year, including children born in the United States. The racist illegal practices that accompany these deportations do violence to the inalienable rights and humanity of the Mexican people.

Border crossing between Mexico and the United States must be liberalized to do away with all forms of harassment, persecution and prosecution. Mexicans who enter the United States to work must be granted immediate legal resident status, with all rights similar to other residents. Present immigration quotas must be eliminated. Mexicans living and working in our country must have the right to reunite their families by bringing them into the United States. . . .

Every worker in the United States, including Mexican nationals, must have the right to join trade unions without threats and fears of deportation, and be paid prevailing trade-union wages and receive all of the benefits that are part of contract agreements. . . .

All Mexican nationals who have been living in the United States for at least a year should be permitted, if they desire, to retain U. S. citizenship in Spanish. (Toward Chicano Liberation, pp. 21-22)

Why should not the United Farm Workers be given the task of operating union hiring halls for all of the farm workers, including Mexican nationals? We must initiate struggles for demands that will take the superprofits out of the immigration policies.

While 85% of the population of Mexican origin resides in the five southwestern states, there is a fast-growing increase in numbers of Chicano workers in many of the industrial states. In fact we cannot seriously talk about industrial concentration or working-class unity in industries like steel, mining and copper without paying special attention to the Chicano workers in these industries. We must put an end to the concept that the Chicano liberation movement is a regional matter limited to the Southwest.

Like all movements of struggle the Chicano people's movements have gone through important experiences from which they are now drawing some lessons. Based on these experiences they are seeking new forms through which they can build a united Chicano movement or movements which can then look for broader alliances and coalitions with other forces. The direction of this probing is definitely anti-monopoly and pro-working class. It also moves in the direction of unity with the liberation struggles of the Black people and with the movements in the broader Spanish-speaking community.

The Chicano workers in mining, steel and copper are very active in rank-and-file movements. They are a strong support and give leadership in the struggles for policies of class-struggle trade unionism. Because of this stronger class base the Chicano workers are becoming an even greater force in the overall Chicano movements.

One of the new, important factors influencing and contributing to the Chicano movement is the appearance of the Chicano Marxist-Leninist Institute in Los Angeles. Out of its classes and seminars new working-class leaders are emerging. It is an important contribution with lasting value.

The weaknesses in the struggle against racism in general are reflected in the struggle against anti-Chicano, anti-Mexican chauvinism. In too many cases this is viewed as something that can be left to the Chicano workers and people to fight. In too many cases there are influences of this chauvinism in the ranks of our Party. It shows up in many ways: in ignoring the issues and the movements; in placing special standards for recruiting Chicanos into the Party. And we are too slow in getting literature and papers out in the Spanish language.

The process of radicalization in the Chicano community continues. The ideological influences of various petty-bourgeois radical concepts of Maoism and Trotskyism are receding. Red-baiting is less and less an effective instrument. And side by side with these developments the influence of our Party has grown greatly.

We must put an end to any underestimation of the significance of the Chicano movement. It is a task for the whole Party and cannot be left to the Chicano Commission, which since our last Convention has done some very good work.

The Movement and Struggles of the Puerto Rican Community

The third largest in numbers among the specially oppressed peoples are the approximately 2 million Puerto Ricans. Of these, more than a million live in New York. In many states they are concentrated in heavy industries such as steel, auto and electrical.

As U. S. imperialism sinks its claws into the life of Puerto Rico the result is a continuing process of forced emigration. In the United States the Puerto Rican immigrants become victims of a special system of oppression and exploitation. The imperialist oppression of Puerto Rico as a colony, the forced migration and the system of Puerto Rican oppression in the United States are all parts of an integral process of special exploitation resulting in extra corporate profits.

The nature of the system of national oppression is evident in the following facts: the per capita income of Puerto Ricans in the United States is about 40% of that of whites. They are forced to work in the lowest-paid jobs. Unemployment is many times greater among them than among whites, and they are twice as likely to live in slum-condition housing.

Spanish-speaking people in this country lag far behind in educational attainments. The 1970 Census shows that median years of schooling completed by persons 25 years of age or over averaged 9.6 for Spanish-speaking people compared with 12.1 for the entire population. For Puerto Ricans the level is still lower, ranging from 8.0 years in Pennsylvania to 8.6 years in New York.

A victorious course of struggle must take into account the full scope of Puerto Rican oppression. The struggle for Puerto Rico's independence from U. S. imperialism and the struggles for complete economic, political and social equality of Puerto Ricans in the United States are separate, but are also closely intertwined. The mass rally in New York at Madison Square Garden on October 27, 1974 was a demonstration of the interrelationship of the two areas of struggle. But while they are thus related, to view the struggle for economic, political and social equality in this country solely as an extension of the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence is wrong and leads to deadend positions.

Puerto Rico itself serves as a source of huge profits for U. S. corporations and their comprador lackeys. U. S. corporations operating in Puerto Rico extract huge profits through superexploitation of Puerto Rican labor. Also, Puerto Rican exports to the United States run about \$2.5 billion annually while imports from the U. S. come to \$3.5 billion -- a net deficit of \$1 billion. It is the U. S. corporations which gain from this, selling their goods here and in Puerto Rico at high profits. It is

the poverty inflicted by this colonialist exploitation which forces so many Puerto Ricans to migrate to the United States.

The struggle for Puerto Rican independence is a feature of the struggle against U. S. imperialism in general. This is a task that must be accepted by the U. S. working class and by the people of the United States. It must be made an integral part of the anti-imperialist movements in the United States.

We must do more to expose to the people of the United States the various schemes supported by U. S. imperialism, all designed to divert the struggles for independence. These include the "statehood" and "commonwealth" concepts, which are used in the United States to convince people here that the people of Puerto Rico do not want self-determination and independence.

The struggle against the system of national oppression sustained by the fomenting of chauvinism is closely related to other struggles. The struggle against job discrimination is closely related to the other economic struggles of the working class and trade union movements. Our Party must accept the task of convincing workers and the trade unions that in their own interests, in the interests of class unity, they have to take up the struggle against discrimination.

The struggles against slum housing in the barrios are related to the overall struggles and movements on housing and rents. The Party must accept the task of convincing the housing movements of the need to give special attention to the struggles against such slum housing. The same applies to the policies of discrimination in education, medical care and other areas.

In the interest of the working class and of the struggle against national oppression, there is a need for special emphasis on organizing the unorganized. Many of the Puerto Rican workers are employed in the lowest-paid, unorganized industries. It is necessary to give greater attention to the organizing of rank-and-file movements among Puerto Rican workers, especially in unions with bureaucratic, class-collaborationist leaderships, as in the garment industry. We must also join in strengthening the Centro Obrero Latinoamericano as an organization which embraces Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking workers.

Our Party can make a special contribution by showing initiative and leadership in building a united movement in the Puerto Rican community, a movement that rejects non-working class, petty-bourgeois radical concepts, a movement built on the basis of mass actions, mass involvement, especially in the fields of electoral and economic struggles.

The struggle for equality in the Puerto Rican community is very closely related to the struggle for Black libera-

tion. Our Party must do more in finding ways and creating conditions for a closer unity between these two movements and struggles.

The base for such a movement already exists. In some Puerto Rican communities, most notably in New York's School District 1, Puerto Ricans are united with Black and Asian groups in defense of education and other interests.

Puerto Ricans are also moving in the direction of political independence. Puerto Rican candidates running in the Democratic column have been elected to the New York City Council and to the State Legislature. Like Black elected officials these have programs much in advance of the two major parties and exhibit a marked degree of political independence. Here, too, lies the basis for the building of a united movement.

It is an error to view the two million Puerto Ricans in the United States as in any way temporary "visitors." It is true some travel back and forth, reflecting the economic trends. But most are a part of U. S. life, a part of the U. S. working class. They are part of the 40 million suffering under the special systems of racial and national oppression. They are part of the much larger Spanish-speaking community. We must critically examine our Party's work in this area and we must take special measures to build the Party and the YWLL in the Puerto Rican community. An important step would be the establishment of a Puerto Rican center for Marxist-Leninist studies.

Indian Liberation

The Indian peoples in the United States have heroically withstood centuries of inhuman and genocidal oppression. Beginning in the early 16th century, the development of the Indian societies, then chiefly at the stage of clan and tribal organization, was distorted and disrupted by the European invasion and by mercantile capital seeking quick profits.

Later the U. S. government brutally stopped independent Indian development as rapidly as it could dominate new territory. The Indian peoples were continually forced to yield their ancestral lands by war, fraudulent purchase and broken treaties. Further reduced in numbers by starvation and infectious diseases, the survivors were driven to the outer margins of the capitalist economy as specially oppressed tribes, deprived of political rights and means of livelihood.

Today approximately one million Native Americans are engaged in a wide range of struggles against repression, racism, discrimination and impoverishment, as well as to preserve their remaining land base and further develop their cultural heritage. The essence of the struggle for Indian liberation is the fight for the demo-

cratic right of full freedom of choice with respect to jobs, residence, education, culture and all other aspects of life.

Almost half a million, 44 percent of the 1970 Census count, now live in urban areas. The non-reservation Indian work force, 16 years and older, approaches 250,000. Their precarious position and the extent of racist discrimination is shown by the astronomical level of unemployment they suffer. In 1970, 52 percent of urban and over 60 percent of rural Indians were jobless. Among those with jobs nearly 45 percent are blue collar workers. More than 35 percent are women.

A special feature of the Native American struggle is their continuing, though diverse, legal and economic relationship to reservation land, which is defined by 371 treaties and numerous statutes between the federal government and over 200 tribes. Many tribes on the eastern seaboard exist on remnants of their original territory, on 18 state (not federal) reservations.

Also, east of the plain states are 17 federal reservations, mostly in the Great Lakes region. It is noteworthy that in the eastern region there have existed for many years at least a hundred distinctly Indian communities, not reservations, with a population of more than 100,000 Native Americans.

The majority of federal reservations are located west of the Mississippi River.

Over 250 of the tribal treaties were made between 1815 and 1860. Some of these areas more nearly conform to the original Indian lands while others represent small allotments to which many tribes were forcibly moved. Oklahoma is the exception among states. Although it has a population of nearly 100,000 Native Americans there have been no reservations in that state since the Curtis Act of 1909.

The Iroquois in New York, the Navajo, Hopi, tribal Cherokee and Sioux are among the tribes which provide the main ideological thrust for continuing the historic concept of Indian sovereignty as defined by treaty status. A basic principle of U. S. Indian law, supported by cumulative decisions, is that the powers vested in an Indian tribe are inherent powers of a limited sovereignty which has never been surrendered. Most of the treaties themselves do set limitations upon the sovereignty and independence of Indian tribes. However, the courts have ruled in many cases that the treaties have status which supersedes state law. (Federal Indian Law, Felix Cohen, U. S. Dept. of Interior, 1944.)

The current federal drive to abrogate treaties by fraud and statute is designed in part to hasten the monopoly expropriation of remaining Indian Land, and in part to escape federal responsibility for the

severe economic plight of Native Americans,

We support programs now being fought for by various tribes which would raise by \$50 million the amount of money available through the Bureau of Indian Affairs for reservation programs in the next fiscal period. The BIA revolving loan fund has been voted Congressional appropriations of only \$25.1 million over 34 years. In that period it generated \$72 million in loans (and \$8 million in interest!). The BIA itself estimates that the reservations currently need \$1.8 billion in loans for economic development. ("Federal Programs for Economic Development of Indian Reservations," Michael J. Schmid, 9th District Economic Information Series, Minneapolis, 1973.)

It is a task of our Party to help win the working class and anti-monopoly movement to join with Native Americans to win massive federal spending for reservation housing, schools, health care and jobs at union wages with adequate health and safety standards, under democratic Indian control.

The new level of struggle over the status of Indian treaties, and for Indian control of reservation development was expressed by the Trail of Broken Treaties march in 1972, planned by eight national Indian organizations and endorsed by four more, and the Wounded Knee occupation of 1973 which won nationwide people's support and assistance.

Federal policy is and has been to exploit and/or expropriate additional Indian land at the lowest possible price, and to corrupt reservation governments for this purpose. We support repeal of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which is a major instrument for such corruption.

Faced with an upsurge of Native American struggles along with increased class struggles, the federal government is somewhat defensive and unsure about the legality of its Indian policies over the past century. It is rushing to settle old Indian land claims for paltry financial sums, while turning the land over to monopoly exploitation.

We support the legal and mass fight of the Indian peoples against the government's policies of termination and treaty abrogations, and to test to the limits Indian rights to reservation self-government. There are court battles yet to be won which can improve living conditions on the reservations, and in the process widely expose the government's racist and corrupt treatment of Native Americans. Further, resolving age-old legal claims, treaties and statutes would assist the Native American leaders and organizations, as well as their allies, to formulate the clearest and most realistic tactics and long-term strategies against

monopoly and for full liberation.

As an example, during the trial of the Wounded Knee occupation leaders, many people thought that the main issue before the court would be the validity of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. This encouraged the focus on the issue of sovereignty, but decreased attention to the fight against racism and to upgrade living conditions of Native American masses,

The emergence of some Indian leaders among the national leadership of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) is an indication of the new level of Indian and people's unity.

While many militant Indian initiatives in struggle are relating more closely to the struggle of the working class, most Indian leaders do not yet see the capitalist system as the root cause of their oppression.

While we support the struggles to clarify reservation self-government and the legal status of treaties, even full victory in these areas would not abolish the exploitation of the reservations and Native American peoples by finance capital. Capitalism takes hold of all prior forms of property and subjects them to its laws of production and exchange, as well as to its purpose--ever greater private profits--independently of the subjective desires of any group within the economy. Full political power on reservations, unless accompanied by extensive curbing of monopoly by the working class together with Black and other oppressed peoples, will not achieve Indian liberation. The Indian reservation leaders would be in a position somewhat like that of the elected Black mayors of several major cities, with similar limitations upon their ability to force concessions from monopoly.

In addition to the special demands, we support and fight for the right of Native Americans to live and work where they please in full equality. There are many racists who would like to see all Indians confined to reservations, and in most states it is still not considered a crime to kill an Indian. It is an important responsibility of our Party to win the labor movement for greater struggle against racist anti-Indian stereotypes and practices, and to fight for jobs, job training and full trade union rights for Indian workers in urban and rural industries and where feasible, on the reservations, as well as for housing, schools and other social needs.

Another important area of developing unity of the Native American struggle with that of the working class is in the fight against the energy monopolies. Since 1887, monopoly capitalism has taken, in addition to its previous robberies, 90 million acres of Indian land, much of it containing strippable coal reserves, valuable timber and ore. In the Rocky Mountains, 56 percent of the Cheyenne land (243,000 acres) and nearly 300,000 acres of Crow

land has been leased or otherwise made available to monopoly, including rights to the coal at 17.5¢ a ton!

Those treaty rights which will assist in curbing monopoly exploitation and restoring land and resources to the Indian peoples are also in the self-interest of the anti-monopoly movement. It is a further responsibility of our Party to seek to strengthen the ties of the Indian liberation movement to the class struggle against the energy monopolies.

While it is not yet possible to foresee the exact future forms of Indian self-determination or autonomy over reservation areas, our Party must continue to study and discuss this question with Native Americans and encourage them to study particularly the experience of the USSR in working out democratic and socialist solutions to the problems of national group oppression.

Asian Peoples in the United States

According to the 1970 Census there were about 1 1/2 million Asians in the United States, including some 600,000 Japanese (two-thirds of them living in Hawaii), 435,000 Chinese and 343,000 Filipinos, as well as smaller groups of a number of other nationalities. Today the number is close to 2 million and is rapidly increasing. There is a growing influx of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Thais and Pacific Islanders, many of whom are entering this country without legal documents.

These Asian peoples are subjected to intense racial and national oppression exhibiting a number of special features. They are imported in growing numbers to the U. S. mainland to be brutally exploited, many of them with no legal status. At the same time, such areas of production as the Hawaiian sugar and pineapple industries are being transferred to Taiwan, Thailand and South Korea where labor is much cheaper.

Asians have been imported to this country as a source of cheap, highly exploited labor since 1850, first for agriculture, railroad, mining, lumber and fishing, and now for open-shop industries such as garment, electronic and restaurant. Their struggles against their special oppression, therefore, are directly tied in with the struggles of the U. S. working class as a whole.

Asians have been subjected to patterns of oppression directed particularly against them. Thus, the Constitution of the State of California contained a provision requiring all cities seeking to incorporate to provide for residential and business segregation of Asians. The world-famous Chinatown of San Francisco, with its clearly defined boundaries, is a landmark of this racist segregation. Its surface glitter conceals frightful ghetto living and sweatshop working conditions.

The news of the 1848 discovery of gold in California had a considerable impact in Asia. Chinese began to migrate in substantial numbers to Hawaii and the West Coast. Tens of thousands worked in railroad construction, mining, farming, sawmills and fish canneries under semi-slave conditions. They were forced to pay bribes to labor contractors and exorbitant prices in company stores. After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, Japanese came in large numbers to work in the same industries in which the Chinese had toiled and to face the same racist oppression. In 1903, Koreans were brought to Hawaiian plantations, followed by Filipinos in 1906. Southeast Asians and Indians also came. All were pitted against one another by the employers to increase profits and prevent organization. In 1924 the Japanese Exclusion Act was passed with the support of the AFL leadership, the Hearst and McClatchy newspaper chains, and Senators Hiram Johnson and Henry Cabot Lodge.

The history of Asian workers in this country is one of militant struggle against exploitation and in support of the organized labor movement. They were part of the struggles in the fields and plantations, in the fields and plantations, in the fishing and lumber industries. They were part of the Seattle general strike of 1919 and the Imperial Valley strike of 1930. During the thirties, thousands of Asians joined in unemployed demonstrations, strikes, civil liberties and civil rights struggles, and protests against shipping iron ore to Japan. During that period nearly 300 Asians joined the Communist Party.

Asian workers were the target of the extreme racism of the Gompers leadership of the AFL. In 1908, after more than 500 Japanese miners joined a local of the UMW, Gompers ordered the union to exclude all Japanese and Chinese, saying that "it is unthinkable for yellow men to sit with white men in the same lodge room and asking for the same wages as white men." Such virulent racism has continued. It reached a peak in 1942 when more than 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry on the Pacific Coast were forced into concentration camps and their homes and properties were confiscated.

Today Asians are actively involved in struggle everywhere--in strikes and demonstrations, in battles against racist practices in employment and in efforts to organize the sweatshop industries. The Filipino agricultural workers have joined with the larger body of Chicano workers to form the United Farm Workers.

Asians take great pride in the historic overthrow of imperialism by the people of China led by the Communist Party of China. The Maoist forces seek to exploit this national pride. Thus, Maoism has made special inroads among young Asians, many of whom have been won to anti-Communist and anti-Soviet positions. The reactionary character of Maoism needs to be fully

exposed among the Asian peoples in order to win them for a correct line of building unity among Asians, unity with the Black and other oppressed peoples and unity with all the anti-monopoly forces,

Most Asians are workers and their path to liberation is inextricably bound up with the struggles of the working class. These struggles must include an unending fight against white supremacist ideas, against discriminatory employment and trade union policies as these affect all oppressed peoples including those of Asian ancestry.

A growing number of Asians are being caught up in the terror campaign of the U. S. Immigration Department against those who have entered the country without legal documents. The purpose of this campaign is to make Asians less resistant to exploitation and less apt to take part in trade union and people's struggles. It is necessary to demand the right of all Asian immigrants to U. S. citizenship, as well as full protection of their social, economic and political rights on a par with all others. This is essential if the fight against the brutal monopolist exploitation of people of Asian ancestry is to be victorious, and if unity between them and the labor and people's movements against monopoly capital is to be won.

5. The Peace Movement

While living standards decline and unemployment goes up, while poverty and hunger spread, the federal government spends some \$100 billion a year--one-third of the entire national budget--to equip a vast military establishment with mountainous stockpiles of thermo-nuclear and other death-dealing weapons. And the sums allocated for military expenditures continue to rise.

All this is done in the name of "national security." But there is no threat to our national security. No country on earth threatens us militarily. The Big Lie of "Soviet aggression," once the refuge of cold-war hoaxers and McCarthyites, has long been exposed. It is clear to the whole world that the Soviet Union has never constituted a threat to the security and well-being of the United States or any other country. On the contrary, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have given leadership in the struggle for world peace and for the achievement of detente.

The objectives of detente are to relieve international tensions, to move toward disarmament, to develop trade and other economic ties and to build scientific cooperation and ever closer cultural relations--to achieve the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems. Of central importance in the fight for peace is the struggle to advance the process of detente and to render it irreversible.

It is within this context that the status and tasks of the peace movement must be viewed.

In the course of the Indochina War, the peace forces in the U. S. developed into a powerful movement embracing the majority of the American people, demanding an unconditional end to the war in Vietnam.

The movement brought together a wide range of organizations, with differences on many questions, to demonstrate jointly their opposition to the war in a host of militant actions which brought millions into the streets in many parts of the country and sent thousands to jail for their opposition to the war. This tremendous movement in support of the just struggle of the peace-loving people of Indochina was a big factor in compelling U. S. imperialism to retreat and in forcing Nixon finally to sign the Paris Peace Agreement in January 1973.

The struggle against the aggression in Indochina brought into being the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice which proposed that there are two wars being waged--one in Indochina and the other in the crumbling cities of the United States and that there are links between war, racism, crime in the streets, inflation, poor housing and other problems. Local peace councils, committees and coalitions for peace and justice developed in many parts of the country and PCPJ acted as a coordinator of these organizations and stimulated actions to oppose U. S. military intervention in Indochina and to show the relation of the swollen military budget to the cuts in expenditures for social welfare and attacks on the living standards of the people.

It was evident immediately after the signing of the agreement, however, that the U. S. was still at war in Indochina, in spite of the hopes of the majority in this country for peace. The U. S. government has violated every section of the treaty. Our tax money is still supporting the military and police operations of the corrupt Thieu and Lon Nol governments, and 200,000 political prisoners are still being tortured in the jails of South Vietnam. Nixon launched a new bombing war in Cambodia. The only change in the U. S. military intervention in Indochina was the return of most of the army from Vietnam.

Nevertheless, there was a new situation in the peace movement. Many peace organizations began discussing what direction they should now take. Discussions took the place of action. It was difficult to mount national mass actions against the violations of the peace treaty, against the increasing military budget in spite of the fact that the war was supposed to be over. During this period, PCPJ was faced with many problems and it had to close its doors. This contributed to the fact that nationwide mass actions were not organized.

But the struggle for peace has lost none of its urgency.

Apart from the continued aggression in Indochina, U. S. imperialism has by no means abandoned its aggressive policies elsewhere, giving rise to new threats of war. A serious threat to world peace exists in the Middle east, stemming from the aggressive and expansionist policy pursued by the Israeli ruling clique with the support and aid of U. S. imperialism. The overthrow of the Allende government in Chile with the intervention of the CIA in league with IT&T and other giant monopolies, the NATO plot to overthrow the legitimate government of Cyprus and the conspiracies against democratic, anti-imperialist governments in other countries all add to the danger of war. So, too, does the maneuvering of U. S. imperialism in Africa.

Moreover, the problems confronting the people of the United States--the crisis of everyday living--are in large degree the product of the war-oriented policy of the ruling class and particularly of the record-breaking military budget which eats up our income and resources and is a significant cause of inflation. This budget is a major source of sustenance for reactionary puppet governments such as the Thieu regime in South Vietnam. It provides the means for U. S. imperialist domination around the world through the expansion of U. S. military bases and the use of U. S. troops to defend bloody dictatorships. It is the source of arms for operations to block the movements for democracy and self-determination which are making real progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

These developments have by no means gone unchallenged. There were very effective actions around the country on the oil and energy crisis with demands for the nationalization of the oil industry. There was a large movement among peace groups on the impeachment of Nixon and the exposure of the corruption of Watergate. In fact, it was the peace organizations which raised the issue of including in the reasons for impeachment Nixon's bombing of Cambodia and his escalation of the illegal war in Indochina.

There are active organizations whose main objective is the fulfillment of the Paris Agreement, the release of the thousands of prisoners still in the tiger cages of South Vietnam, as well as withdrawal of all support to the corrupt Thieu regime. The week of September 29-October 6, 1974 was a Week of Conscience which saw vigils and rallies in several cities and lobbies in Congress.

There are organizations which are fighting for the elimination of nuclear weapons and for reduction of the military budget. Women Strike for Peace and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have directed this campaign to Congress, and have called for a drastic cut in the budget and the use of these funds to meet the vital needs of the people. They

related this campaign to the need for nuclear disarmament. The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has, within its limitations, continued to be active, as have many other organizations, among them the Quakers and other pacifist groups.

There is a growing movement for unconditional amnesty for the men who refused to fight in the immoral Indochina war, whether they are abroad, in prisons or underground in this country, or have suffered less than honorable discharges. This movement has accelerated since President Ford's pardon of Nixon and his phony offer of conditional freedom to those who refused to serve during the Indochina war.

The movement for solidarity with the people of Chile, who are in a life-and-death struggle against the fascist junta, is growing in all parts of the country, with many trade union, church, peace and other people's organizations participating.

The Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, established in the fall of 1973, has contributed greatly to the development of solidarity actions with national liberation movements and to the heightening of consciousness and activity in the struggle against racism at home and abroad. The Movement has launched a mass petition campaign for the expulsion of South Africa from the UN. Support for this campaign is an urgent task of our Party and all whom we influence.

There are numerous activities in solidarity with Cuba, including the Venceremos Brigades which assist in construction and agriculture, as well as cultural, health and labor delegations and a number of resource and information committees. All these are graphic expressions of anti-imperialist solidarity involving broad sections of the people of this country.

Also noteworthy in the fight for peace are the continuing extensive activities of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the publication of the magazine New World Review. To this may be added the informational activities concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea carried on by the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center and its magazine Korea Focus.

The democratic developments in Greece and Portugal and the liberation of the Portuguese colonies are the fruits of struggles involving anti-imperialist movements and actions in the United States.

Of special significance was the convening of the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow in October 1973. This gathering played a momentous role in mobilizing the forces of peace from all lands. It was attended by a U. S. delegation of 175, of exceptional

breadth. The delegates represented 95 organizations and 25 percent were Black, Chicano or Asian. The delegation has maintained its existence as a Continuations Committee which has potentialities for becoming an important force in the peace movement.

These activities indicate that thousands of people who took to the streets during the Indochina War are active in one or more campaigns for peace. What is missing, however, is a national center to coordinate efforts of the peace forces and to give leadership to the thousands unaffiliated with any organization but ready to react to the issues which face the people today. The present period requires a re-examination of the priorities of the peace movement.

It requires, among other things, a particular effort to build the peace movement within the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement. In the fight against the aggression in Vietnam the Labor for Peace Committee was a factor of some importance. There is a need today for developing organized forms of action against the pro-imperialist, warmongering role of the Meany cabal, against the disruptive AIFLD, against the extreme position of support to the Israeli ruling clique taken by Meany and others in the labor leadership.

An especially urgent task today is the building of a broad movement for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This is a matter of key importance in this country because of the grave danger of war in that area and further, of the special role which U. S. imperialism plays there--a role which contributes to the war danger. This issue has been kept out of the organized peace movement on the grounds that it would be divisive. However, both the conditions and the need exist for developing a movement of considerable breadth and effectiveness for a peace based on the implementation of UN Resolution 242 and assurance of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs. This is a task of prime importance for the preservation of world peace.

Serious attention needs to be given to the fight for establishment of a zone of peace in the Caribbean region. This includes campaigns to keep U. S. bases and war-whips out of Caribbean countries and waters. It includes the further development of struggle for ending the blockade of Cuba and, not least, for the independence of Puerto Rico.

One of the most important tasks facing the peace forces today is to mount a fighting national campaign to cut the military budget drastically and to demand that priorities in the federal budget be geared to the growing needs of the people. The reduction of military spending is a key factor in the fight to end the

militarization of the country. It will remove the last reservoir for the maintenance of puppet governments and will do away with a major obstacle to the complete abolition of colonialism. It will greatly weaken the reactionary influence of the industrial-military complex within the country.

At present such a campaign is being sparked by the U. S. Continuations Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, which has voted to organize a broad national conference on the military budget and its relation to inflation and survival. With the proper organization such a conference can be a factor in cementing the existing peace organizations into a strong political force whose impact will be felt in Congress and in the government. Furthermore, such a conference can result in establishing a coalition movement for peace and activities that would encompass an increased number of trade unionists and oppressed minority peoples.

The peace and broad people's movements must greet the advances which have been made in the process of detente and give recognition to the consistent peace struggle of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which underlies them. Each of these is a further step toward world peace and peaceful coexistence. But at the same time it is necessary to note that these gains also give added emphasis to the need to sharpen the struggle for detente in the United States all the more.

The crisis in our government is far-reaching. We need fundamental changes from militarism and imperialist war to meet the crying needs at home. We need a powerful united movement to turn this country around.

6. Economic Struggles

The growing impact of the crisis of inflation and overproduction on the masses of working people has catapulted economic issues into the forefront of struggles. Rapidly rising unemployment, now at a level of more than 7 percent by official count, has become an explosive issue. It is accompanied by the burning problem of skyrocketing prices.

Joblessness is a much more serious problem than is indicated by the overall government figures, which considerably underestimate its rate to begin with. In certain industries, particularly auto, the rate is far above the national average. A city like Detroit suffers not only from double-digit inflation but from double-digit unemployment. In growing measure this unemployment is chronic, outrunning the duration of both unemployment compensation and supplementary unemployment benefits. In the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican ghettos, mass chronic joblessness has already

reached very serious levels. Women are experiencing high rates of unemployment, as are young people, many of whom are being shut out of employment altogether.

The increasing hardships imposed by this combination of soaring prices and vanishing jobs are impelling growing numbers of people into action. An unprecedented growth of mass actions and movements is taking shape, both locally and nationally. These are responses to the growing urgency created by the crisis and reflects its new features. The fight against inflation takes place side by side with the fight against unemployment and the two are becoming increasingly intertwined.

The anti-inflation struggle takes place on a number of fronts. A key aspect is the fight for higher wages, which are vital if the workers are not to fall farther and farther behind the rising prices. While workers and trade union organizations at lower levels are displaying rising militancy in this struggle, it is obstructed by the policies of the Meany and Abels, who support employer demands for higher productivity, willingly serve on government boards to curb wages and devote themselves to supporting the demand of a section of the big corporations for easier credit to "stimulate business." Abel's no-strike agreement creates a special road-block for the steelworkers. It is necessary to wage a determined struggle against all limitations on wage increases and all "productivity" speedup schemes, and for the unfettered right to strike for higher wages.

A second major front is the fight against rising prices. From the sporadic picketing of supermarkets, meat boycotts and other isolated actions over the past few years there have now emerged the beginnings of national campaigns and movements with real staying power. Especially outstanding are the mass demonstrative actions carried out on November 16, 1974 in 39 cities across the country by a coalition fighting inflation and unemployment. The list of sponsors of the actions was a very broad one, and the demonstrations brought tens of thousands out on the streets. They laid the basis for establishing an effective national movement.

These nationwide actions, which centered on the demand for price controls and rollbacks, involved many diverse organizations and groups, each carrying on the struggle in its own way. Tenants' organizations, which have grown greatly in numbers in recent years, are engaged in a fight for rent controls. Other groups are coming forward to challenge rising transit fares. Senior citizens' organizations have become aroused. They are battling against the condemnation of the elderly to starvation on fixed social security pittance.

Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican community organizations-- labor, church, tenants, anti-poverty and others--are becoming increasingly involved. Peace organizations, by way of the mounting campaign for reduction of military expenditures, are also becoming involved in the anti-inflation struggles. Other people's organizations and groups are being similarly drawn in.

Thus, a mass people's movement is taking shape, increasingly directed against both inflation and unemployment, and extending to all sections of the people since all are affected. At present its actions are focused mainly on pressing legislative and other government bodies to act against the monopolies by reducing and controlling prices. It is necessary further to strengthen the anti-monopoly thrust of the movement through demonstrative and other actions against the monopolies themselves--against the food trusts, the huge supermarket chains and other corporate giants which are fattening themselves at the people's expense.

Closely tied to these struggles is the widening fight against unemployment. One major aspect of this is the fight for the well-being of the growing masses of jobless. The rise of unemployment and particularly of chronic unemployment is making painfully evident the gross inadequacy of present provisions for unemployment compensation and the urgent need for a drastic improvement of the unemployment insurance laws. It is also pointing up the need of other protective measures such as a moratorium on debt payments.

A second major aspect is the fight for jobs. Fundamental in this is the demand for a six-hour day with no reduction in pay and the repudiation of the phony "share the-work" schemes promoted by the corporations, which propose to "solve" unemployment by compelling workers to work part-time with a corresponding reduction in pay. The campaign for a shorter workday as an effective means of reducing unemployment must be greatly intensified and must become a major issue in the legislative arena as well as in direct company-union negotiations. To win this vital demand requires a united mass struggle of major proportions, a struggle cutting across individual trade union boundaries and extending beyond the trade union movement in its scope. In addition to this, the fight for jobs calls for setting in motion a serious drive for a massive federal jobs program, sufficient to give employment to everyone seeking it, with no discrimination on the basis of race, nationality or sex and with wage scales at union levels.

In all of these struggles it is essential to take into account the special impact of the crisis on the Black and other ghetto communities and to wage a special campaign to counteract it. This means combatting all forms of racist superexploitation. It means pressing for special measures and programs to provide jobs,

housing and other needs of those who live in the ghettos.

It is also necessary to fight against the diversion of workers into chauvinist paths of campaigns to oppose imports and to "buy American," as well as to expose the efforts of the monopolies and their agents to blame inflation and unemployment on the "greed" of oil-producing and other developing countries. The true interests of U. S. workers lie in international solidarity with the workers of other capitalist countries, themselves victims of inflation and unemployment, with the peoples of countries seeking freedom from imperialist oppression, and with the peoples of the socialist countries. They lie in unity against the common exploiter, world finance capital.

We stand on the threshold of tremendous economic struggles, of the emergence of people's movements of unprecedented size and scope. The potentialities exist for building the broadest coalition against monopoly capital in the history of our country. This offers a challenge to our Party to which we must respond.

In the realization of these potentialities, Party and Left initiatives are of the utmost importance. The November 16 demonstrations are indicative of the response which awaits such initiatives, of the possibilities which they hold for the building of a mass coalition on a national scale.

The base for such a national coalition lies in the communities, in the formation of local action-oriented coalitions and centers. It lies in the development of the trade union rank-and-file movements on the local union level. In the organization of these coalitions and movements, special significance attaches to the activities and initiatives of our Party clubs, in the communities and in the shops. The mounting economic struggles are an arena in which the Party clubs have an essential contribution to make; indeed there is no reason for any section of the Party not to be involved. In many areas our clubs have already begun to respond to these demands. And to the extent that they strive further to meet this responsibility the people's movement will advance and the Party itself will grow in influence and in numbers.

7. Agriculture Today and Farmers' Struggles

It is necessary that we approach the question of the problems of the farmers from the premise that farming is a basic part of the capitalist economy. It is subject to the same basic economic laws. If anything, monopoly domination over agricultural production is the most extreme of all economic sectors.

Today there is not a single agricultural crop or farm commodity of any importance which is not under

monopoly control. The food trusts are tied directly to the few large financial interests which dominate the entire economy. Big business and big agriculture have moved closer and closer together so that today they are intertwined and merged. We must recognize this interrelationship for what it is so that we can have a correct orientation to the whole problem of winning allies in the rural areas.

Farm problems are tied in with the problems of the working class. Farmers will find the road to a farmer-labor-consumer coalition only as they move in close cooperation with the U. S. working class and other anti-monopoly forces.

The technological and social changes taking place on today's agricultural scene are tremendous. Corporate farming, agribusiness, has replaced the family farms in most parts of the country. The growth of corporate farming varies in extent from state to state. It has encountered widespread anti-corporate sentiment among farmers which is reflected in the fact that in the Midwest grain states there are laws passed by the state legislatures prohibiting corporate farming. This is true in Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota. California, Florida and Texas are among the largest agribusiness states in the country.

During the past 40 years there has been a tremendous development in monopoly control of all phases of agricultural production. The ever-normal granary program of the Roosevelt era has been discontinued by the Nixon and Ford Administrations. The grain reserves and many other agricultural products are under the control of conglomerates, banks and oil companies.

In 1972 Continental Grain had cornered 72 percent of the total soybean market and of the reserves. Many oil companies have controlling interests in this sector of the economy. Big conglomerates control the fertilizer industry; they control production and determine the price of fertilizer. The interlocking directorates and banks control the production and prices of farm machinery. Big seed and feed companies control the prices of seed.

Big feed conglomerates have taken control of the chicken industry and carry on the production of fryers on their automated farms. The production of beef cattle in the huge feedlots in the midwestern and southwestern states are controlled by big conglomerates and giant food chain stores.

The complexities and contradictions of modern capitalist agriculture present some difficult problems. The dairy industry in the 8 midwest states is very much distressed, with farmers receiving today 12¢ per quart for milk, while in the supermarkets the consumer pays about four times that amount.

The same depressing picture faces the beef-raising sector of the farm economy where prices for beef are way down. The price the consumer pays for steak and other cuts does not reflect the price the beef farmers get. They are not the beneficiaries of the constantly rising retail prices. Thus, one farmer in South Dakota sold 500 head of beef cattle and lost \$41,000. This is what has led many of these farmers to vent their frustration in a calf-killing spree.

The development of mechanization in agriculture has reduced tenant farming and the need for agricultural wage labor. With the much greater efficiency of production in the 1960's and 1970's it is possible for a farmer to operate a considerably larger family farm than his predecessors could. In the half-century between 1910 and 1960 the number of farms declined from 6,3 million to 3,8 million, and down to 2,8 million in 1973, while the average size steadily increased. The average farmer of the 1960's and 1970's--aided by machinery, hybrid seeds, and chemical fertilizers--can produce four times as much per man-hour as the farmer of 1910. Since the end of World War II, the productivity of farmers has been increasing three times as fast as that of American industrial workers.

The various farm programs such as the AAA, disaster relief, etc., instituted by the federal government, in the long run did not benefit the small farmer.

Our Party should study very seriously, both politically and ideologically, the question of a farm program. In doing so, it is especially necessary to distinguish between small farmers and big farmers. Our Party, for a number of years, has failed to carry on study and research in regard to the farm problem as a part of our whole party program. The farmer must be won as an ally in the struggle against monopoly. It is important that we build and strengthen our Party forces in the rural areas of the country.

There are a number of national farm organizations in the United States. Historically, all of them were founded for the purpose of aiding the family farmer. But most of them, outside of the United Farm Workers Union, have degenerated into mercantile farm organizations.

The National Farmers Union, organized in 1902, carried on some very good struggles in past years. But today it is connected with a multi-million dollar Insurance and Central Exchange. It devotes itself mostly to promoting farm legislation.

The Grange, originally an association to further farmers' interests, is today a very conservative organization, anti-Communist and devoted to promotion of "free enterprise."

The Farm Bureau, the largest of farm organizations nationally, and very strong in the state of California, is a big-farmer agribusiness organization. In California it cooperated with the Teamsters, the growers and the big ranchers in helping to defeat the United Farm Workers. It is anti-union and very reactionary.

The National Farmers Organization (NFO) is patterned after the old Farmers Holiday Association which played a very militant role in the thirties. Their policy of withholding products as a form of pressure has proved very ineffective. They shy away from consumer-farmer cooperation.

The U. S. Farmers Association is composed of some active farmers but their membership consists mostly of retired farmers and people who are not farming. They accept, on payment of a \$10 membership fee, anybody who wants to join. Their recently-held convention was devoted mainly to moralizing about the farm question. It passed a number of good resolutions, but went no farther than this.

The United Farm Workers is an organization of agricultural wage workers. This is the most progressive and most militant of all organizations related to agriculture. It is multinational in composition, with Filipinos and Chicanos as its main core. These workers have a long history of militant and brutal struggle, matching that of any section of the U. S. labor movement.

We must come to some conclusions about working with farm organizations. There must be discussions as to what type of national farm organization there should be. There is the question of working within the existing farm organizations. There is the question of a national coalition of these organizations for joint action.

A farm program today must be anti-monopoly in character. It must include proposals for land reform and land tenure (permanence of possession). It must recommend taking the growing of food and fiber out of the hands of private monopolies, and this includes the processing of farm products.

The following should be included in a farm program:

1) Full parity (tying farm prices to farm costs) for family-size farmers to assure cost of production;

2) A grain reserve program, government-farmer managed, to meet national needs during periods of drought, bad crops or disaster;

3) Adequate government crop insurance for family-size farmers;

4) A moratorium (deferment of payments) on farm

mortgages for family farmers;

5) Government loans to people for family farming and to veterans and students for agricultural education;

6) Provision of federal and state funds for scholarships in the agricultural field;

7) Federal and state credit facilities to enable all who desire to enter farming to do so;

8) Government price controls to halt monopoly profiteering;

9) Support for a world food bank among exporting nations;

10) Encouragement of on-the-farm storage of reserves of feed grains;

11) Comparison of agriculture in a socialist society with the effects of agribusiness and monopoly control of agriculture on family farmers in the U. S.

The program must also deal with the question of young people returning to the land. The following points are important:

1) Young people are being sold on going back to the land, "getting next to Mother Nature," an idea which is being romanticized and has great appeal as a way to "beat the system."

2) They are being sold distressed lands, farms which were not productive before, and whose previous owners gave up trying to make a living on them, or grew old and weary in the process and have moved to towns or senior citizens' dwellings where life is less strenuous.

3) The land speculators are the only ones really benefitting at the point of sale. The more productive lands have become part of increased acreage of active farms in their area.

4) After young people--individual couples or groups--pool their money to buy the land and make the purchase, they are faced with the reality of eking out a living there--with the problem of finding money to fix up the living quarters and to get the land back into production;

5) Many young people who have grown up on the farm and who have worked it with their parents would rather stay there but cannot afford the inheritance taxes if they should inherit the farm. Parents should be enabled to arrange to have the farm carry on with their children at the helm.

Rural U. S. needs help in all these areas, to enable the farmers to cope with the problems of present-day agriculture.

8. Women's Equality

The United States now has the highest percentage of women in the work force of any capitalist country. Even more significant is the increase in the number of U. S. women entering heavy, basic industry. Another significant feature is the fact that a large percentage of these women workers in basic industry are Black. In fact, the percentage of Black women in the work force is larger than their percentage of the population.

The recognition of the strategic importance of women as a crucial section of the working class determines our policies and tactics in the fight for equal treatment of women on all levels. It is the foundation for our understanding of the overwhelming necessity for working-class women to determine the direction of the struggle for women's equality and become the decisive leadership in that struggle.

With the increase of women workers, the increased attacks upon the working class in the economic and political spheres have been marked particularly by a stepped-up use of male supremacy coupled with racism. Thus, monopoly capital attempts to immobilize and confuse workers by intensifying the divisions between men and women, and among women themselves. The monopolists continue to try to win women to reactionary causes, utilizing racism and male supremacy.

The goal of Communists is to initiate and organize struggles which will eventually win for every woman the right, if she so chooses, to enter fully into the productive forces of the economy in any job she wishes to work at. This is what is required to achieve full equality for women. Such a goal, however, can only be won by fighting for those conditions that will enable women to make this choice.

The ideology of male supremacy continues to stunt the growth in consciousness of women and also of men. Centuries of ideas that regard women as property, as sex objects, as physically and emotionally weak, have prevented men from seeing their own interest in the struggle for women's equality. They have encouraged the idea that this struggle is one for women to wage rather than part and parcel of the struggle for equality of all workers.

Consequently our program and policies concentrate on issues that will guarantee equality on the job: equal pay and equal access to job opportunities and to training for new skills, the right to sufficient maternity leave with pay, to higher wages, shorter hours, safety

and security. As these rights on the job are won for women, the conditions of all workers will be improved by the development of the basis for real equality of opportunity for all.

Our program calls for universal child care and for safeguarding the health, education and welfare of children--a task whose realization requires a conscious attack on racist practices which stand in the way of this goal.

Spiraling unemployment and the fact that millions of U. S. citizens live in poverty places in question the ability of growing numbers of people to survive. We fight for jobs as the basic long-term answer, but in the meantime we also fight for a minimum income so that no family or individual will be forced to live in poverty created by an exploitative system that prevents substantial numbers of people from earning a living.

But the struggle for full equality for women needs an advanced women's organization led by working-class women. It needs an organization that reflects in its leadership composition the most advanced struggles of the working class, among them the struggles of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian peoples in the U. S. It needs an organization which understands and bases its actions on the concept that the outcome of struggles depends on the degree of unity forged in the process of their development. Consequently, it must be recognized that the intensity and degree of success in the fight against racism has proven to be the determining factor in forging unity in all workers and peoples struggles in the U. S. The fight against racism, therefore, must also be given first priority in striving for unity of women.

A women's organization is needed that strives to understand the role of monopoly in maintaining and fostering inequalities. This organization must, as it comes to understand the role of imperialism, develop the necessary international links with women's organizations and struggles around the world.

A working-class women's organization of this character is desperately needed to guarantee the continued existence and effectiveness of the newly formed Coalition of Labor Union Women. CLUW's existence is even now threatened by the Right-wing social democratic forces within the trade union movement, which are frightened by the growing militancy of rank-and-file working women and by the struggle taking place within CLUW to make it a vehicle for winning the needs of rank-and-file working women. We must fight to build the kind of women's organization that will strengthen the voice and leadership of rank-and-file working women.

Just as the existence of trade unions does not exclude the existence of other working-class organizations, so the existence of a coalition of trade union women does not rule out a working class-led women's organization which includes trade union women together with representatives of the more than 29 million unorganized women plus those women not yet in the work force.

But leadership representing the multi-racial composition of the working class must be built from a rank-and-file base. It must bring into its ranks those women already participating in and leading struggles in their shops and communities. It must give these women the opportunity, through the collective experience of others like them, to unite their struggles and strengthen their effectiveness.

An organization called Women for Racial and Economic Equality, recently formed in New York, has the potential for becoming the type of organization described here. It has launched, as the basis for unity, a Women's Bill of Rights--a proposal for legislative action that has the potential for uniting these various sections of working-class women. Its present leadership begins to reflect the multi-racial working-class composition so necessary for the movement today.

To fail to aid in building this organization is to miss a potentially powerful instrument for strengthening the struggle for women's equality and for the interests of the working class as a whole. This is not a task to be left to women only. It is also a task for men whose self-interest is intricately tied to that of the growing numbers of working women.

9. The Youth

In the past two years conditions of youth have sharply deteriorated. For youth, the present crisis is most marked in the fields of employment, education and culture.

Young people have been exceptionally hard hit by unemployment. According to official figures one out of every four youth who is looking for work cannot find it. For Black youth it is one out of every three. If we include the youth who are underemployed, it would come to well over half. And there is absolutely no government program to solve or even alleviate the crisis.

The youth that are working have been severely hit by wage cuts, mostly through the recently adopted sub-minimum wage law, which permits payment of 80 percent of the legal minimum wage to any person working while attending school full time. This law covers over 13 million youth. While it was supposed to create work for youth it has not done so, but has

caused loss of jobs for older workers replaced by lower-paid youth.

The subminimum wage is evidently only the opening gun of a much larger attack on the conditions of working youth. A special panel commissioned by the Nixon administration in 1972 has proposed putting colleges on a trimester program with students required to work on a job for one term out of three. Other proposals include government work programs for youth, putting schools on half-session and requiring students to work half of each day, and giving students one year off to work between high school and college. In each case they would be paid the subminimum wage, turning the young generation increasingly into an army of scab labor.

Relatively few young workers are unionized. As of 1970, only .05 percent of the youth aged 16 to 17 were members of unions, and of the 18-24 group only 13.4 percent. The overwhelming majority of working youth, therefore, receive very low wages.

In the past ten years the youth composition of the work force in steel, auto, mining and other basic industries has markedly increased. These youth face special problems. They are used to increase exploitation of workers generally through speedup and job combinations, as in Lordstown and in some newer steel plants like Burns Harbor. They also face special problems of harassment and disciplining. The steel contract this year doubled the probation period to 13 weeks, thus doubling the number subject to arbitrary company action.

There are also increasing reports of police working in the steel mills, ostensibly to check on drug use. In one case such an individual, exposed as working for the FBI was then put on the company payroll to check on young workers who call in sick.

The institution of lines of progression, aimed at obstructing advancement of minority and women workers, also affects young workers. Young women workers, now entering basic industry in significant numbers for the first time since World War II, are in addition encountering special harassment and other problems.

These young workers in industry bring a new level and quality of militancy into the unions and constitute an important base of the rank-and-file movements. But at the same time, many are alienated from the unions, which they see as being controlled by older, conservative forces. There is little youth representation in the leadership of most unions. The companies use this to foster division between younger and older workers and to undermine the unions.

In education there have been sharp cutbacks in funding and enrollment. For college students tuition increases have once again emerged as a central problem. There are also sharp cutbacks in scholarships and GI tuition benefits have been ended. It is predicted that the new college freshman class may decline as much as 29 percent.

Black and other racially oppressed youth are especially affected by the cutbacks. From 10-12 percent of the student body in 1970, Black college enrollment dropped to 5-8 percent in 1974.

This is the result of the purposeful policy of the government. In view of the economic crisis and the ability of monopoly to make more profits by producing less, the aim of the ruling class is now to cut enrollment. The 1972 Presidential Panel on youth went so far as to advocate a totally new system of education which would in effect eliminate publicly funded and controlled colleges. The same trends are at work in the funding of high schools. There are now fewer high schools that really prepare youth for college or skilled trades. This is mainly true in the working-class communities and especially in communities of racially oppressed peoples. It leads toward a widening of the gap between funding for education in working-class and bourgeois communities.

It is to disguise this policy of intellectual genocide for working-class youth that the ruling class and the government have unleashed their racist campaign to convince white youth and their parents that Black youth are responsible for the deteriorating education in the country.

In the face of the massive rejection of the military by the youth the Pentagon has been forced to give up the draft. But it is now working hard to reestablish its hold on the young generation and is taking full advantage of the economic crisis to force youth into its bloody war machine. In the place of the old drafted army it is working to create an army of elite paid mercenaries. Supposedly most of these youth now serving in the military joined voluntarily. But given the existing economic conditions facing youth it can be said that they were in fact forced into military service. For working-class youth there is nothing voluntary about the volunteer army.

Yet despite tremendous economic pressures and a multi-million dollar advertising campaign most youth still refuse to join. To remedy this the Pentagon has launched a massive campaign to reinstitute ROTC and other recruiting programs in both high schools and colleges and to indoctrinate the youth in the spirit of militarism.

Recently there has been a great deal of propaganda about a decline in radicalization among the youth. But

radicalization has not declined; what has declined is the influence of the New Left. This has left a vacuum of leadership and even some temporary ebb in the student movement. However, the longer-range trend is toward greater anti-monopoly consciousness.

This is reflected in the increasing expressions of political independence among the youth and in the increased political involvement of mass organizations such as the YMCAs and YWCAs. It is shown in increased participation of youth in rank-and-file movements. It is expressed in the involvement of youth, especially of Black and other oppressed minorities, in the establishment of new organizations against racist and political repression and for solidarity with the peoples of Africa. It is expressed in the involvement of youth in the movement for Puerto Rican independence as well as in the growing movement for political independence among the Chicano people. Among students there are now clear signs that the ebb in demonstrative actions is rapidly coming to an end. The deepening of radicalization among the youth is also expressed in the maturing of the Left. There has been a significant shift in the balance of forces in the Left. Ultra-Left organizations, especially Maoist and Trotskyite, have sharply declined in influence and size, while the YWLL has emerged as the largest, most influential Left organization among the youth.

The struggles of the youth must not be the concern of the youth alone. Their outcome is important to the whole working class. Therefore the Party must give more attention and more support to them.

A central task of the Party is to fight against the increasing exploitation of the youth and the attempted use of the youth as scabs and wage cutters. This requires a struggle to repeal the subminimum wage for youth and for a real program to employ the youth through shorter hours and government work programs at union wages.

Of central importance is full support to the efforts among youth to win a comprehensive emergency youth employment act, a Movement which is growing in prestige and uniting various sections of the youth. A key aspect of the struggle is the unionization of youth, especially in the fast-food chains, the biggest exploiters of youth and a symbol of the whole subminimum wage policy of the government.

Particular consideration must be given to the struggle for the rights of young workers in industry and to their fullest involvement in the fight for democratic, class-struggle trade unionism, as well as to the special economic hardships imposed by inflation and high interest rates on young married workers establishing homes and starting families.

The Party must also give greater attention to the crisis in education. To tie these struggles together, it is imperative that the Party prepare a comprehensive program to solve the crisis in education. It must help to build parent organizations, especially among white parents, to fight for free, quality integrated education for all youth from the first grade through the end of college.

The fight against militarization of the youth is an important struggle which demands increased attention from our Party. We must mobilize parent organizations and others to oppose the use of the schools to militarize the youth.

In the peace movement we must fight to end all forms of military service. While we fight to win the youth for disarmament and an end to the military, we must also give much greater attention to supporting those youth who made the error of joining the armed forces and are now compelled to fight against the military's dictatorial rule, its racism and its aggressive policies. The establishment of a democratic movement among these youth would be an important step.

Among the youth there is much independent political sentiment, which could be crucial to determining the outcome of the 1976 elections. One task of the Party is to aid the YWLL in crystallizing this sentiment into independent forms of political organization.

Special attention should be given to further cementing and developing the fraternal ties that exist between our Party and the YWLL. We must strive for closer consultation and ever closer working relations. Greater efforts must be made to help the youth to develop more mass perspectives and to develop forms of organization which are suited to the special tasks of a youth organization.

10. Party Tasks

From the foregoing sections there emerges the need to project as a continuing task for the Party the organization of the following eight mass movements:

- * Building of rank-and-file movements of workers-- a central task of our mass work.
- * Building of movements of political independence.
- * Building a movement against inflation and unemployment and against the effects of the economic crisis generally.
- * Building a movement against racism and repression.
- * Building a movement for peace and detente and against imperialism.

- * Building a unified youth movement, as a Party task together with the YWLL.
- * Building a unified movement for the equality of women.
- * Building a movement of small farmers.

In setting these tasks it is important to recognize that in a number of these fields beginnings have already been made, from which we should learn. Most outstanding are the achievements of the movement against racism and repression. This is one of the first united front movements under our influence that has grown to truly mass proportions and has recorded some important successes. We have also made some significant contributions in building the movement against imperialism. And the November 16 demonstrations against inflation and unemployment offer a solid base for further organization.

These and other experiences have valuable lessons to offer. But it is essential to recognize that these tasks which we set for ourselves are not merely tasks of the present moment but are ongoing responsibilities, part of the continuing struggle against the monopolies. These eight areas of struggle must be considered as the ingredients of the anti-monopoly movement in the United States. We should not at the present time place the question of a specific antimonopoly movement; the eight areas in effect constitute the movement, and from them it must crystallize in more specific form.

Furthermore, these are not tasks for some future time. They are realistic tasks for today, around which our mass work must be built. We should tackle them now and assign our cadre and resources accordingly.

V. THE PARTY

Introduction

In all the democratic mass movements and struggles of today the Communist Party is an essential participant. The Party is not merely a relevant factor in relation to them; it is indispensable.

These movements and struggles are the basis of all social progress. But they cannot by themselves be the guarantee of the consistent advancement of the interests of the working class and other sections of the people, let alone of the advance to the revolutionary struggle for a socialist society. For this an additional factor is required--the conscious factor in the form of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard political party.

Mass movements and struggles can and do rise spontaneously, without the initiative or even the presence of such a vanguard. But left to themselves they lack longer-range direction or staying power. When the struggle progresses beyond the issues around which a given movement develops it often tends to become dispersed, or else it may become an obstacle to further progress. It is only the involvement of a vanguard party--a Communist party--that provides the basis for advancing the ideological level of such movements, for giving them power to endure, to grow stronger and more unified, to rise to new levels of struggle.

In the words of the Communist Manifesto:

The Communists... are, on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all the others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

Herein lies the indispensability of the Party. And to the extent that it displays initiative in launching and leading struggles, to the extent that it masters and develops Marxist-Leninist theory, to the extent that it has a correct grasp of strategy and tactics--to that extent will it fulfill its mission. To that extent will the struggles of the working class and the democratic forces be advanced.

Fundamental to the struggles to build the people's alliance against the monopolies, to forge the movement for a socialist United States is the unrelenting endeavor to build and strengthen our Party, to develop ever more closely its ties with the masses, to elevate its ideological and political level. This is fundamental.

I. Status of Party Work and Organization

The work and organizational status of the Communist Party can be measured in terms of its role in the class struggle, past and present. Despite the determined efforts of U. S. monopoly capital, the most powerful ruling class in history, to weaken and destroy our Party it has not only survived but is becoming an increasingly important factor within our country and internationally.

This growing strength and influence is shown by our ability to affect the thought patterns and actions of millions, as in the 1972 and 1973 elections and in many mass struggles. It is shown by the increasing success of our mass initiatives, nationally and on a local level. The Ree Angela Davis campaign, the November 16

demonstrations against inflation and unemployment and the July 4 demonstration against racism and repression are national examples. Local actions are daily occurrences.

These initiatives and evidences of organizational strength and influence are expressions of our vanguard role. We are part of the working class and have no interests separate and apart from its interests. But we are that part equipped with the science of Marxism-Leninism which helps us to see most clearly what the developing needs of our class are, which initiatives and struggles that have developed should be taken to a higher level, what new initiatives need to be taken. We play such a role in the struggle for the united front and in the development of broad anti-monopoly coalitions, and we support and participate in those initiatives of others which further the struggle for the needs of our class.

Our consistent struggle against the Vietnam war was a factor in the growth of the opposition to that war from the position of a small minority to that of the vast majority. Our stand against U. S. imperialism's policies of cold war and aggression, for detente and peaceful coexistence, is increasingly the position of masses in our country. Our views concerning the meaning of Watergate became the property of millions. The struggle for impeachment, which we first projected, became a movement of such power and proportions that, for the first time in U. S. history, a president was forced to resign.

Our line of building the rank-and-file movement within the trade unions based on struggle for the needs of the working class and fighting for class-struggle trade unionism is not only forcing some retreat by the class collaborationsists, but is increasingly weakening their position. Indeed, in the United Mine Workers the rank and file threw out the class collaborationsists and installed their own leaders.

The 1972 electoral campaign represented a significant breakthrough for our Party. Once again we began to speak to millions in our own name, a beginning which continued in the 1974 campaign. The process of speaking out increasingly in our own name continues in a number of other ways, but it can and must be raised to a still higher level.

The successful campaign for the freedom of Comrade Angela Davis moved millions. It not only resulted in her freedom but helped to stimulate greater mass struggles for the freedom of others and to bring victories in a number of cases. This laid the basis for the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, which in turn led in Raleigh, North Carolina, to the most massive demonstration in the South since

the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Our initiative in the struggle against the growing problems of inflation and unemployment has, in a short period of time, found enthusiastic and growing response among trade unionists, youth, senior citizens, political and religious figures. Among the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian peoples--among masses and leaders.

In the course of these and other struggles, we not only had to battle the class enemy in defense of the interests of our class and all others oppressed by monopoly. We had to defend the concept of the leading role of the working class and our Party against a variety of slanderous expressions by bourgeois ideologists and the rantings of petty-bourgeois radicals--the New Left and ultra-left currents: Marcuseanism, Maoism, Trotskyism, and FBI and CIA agents. While this ideological struggle will be an increasing factor in our work, we can say that we turned back the challenge, and that from this we have begun a new style of work, one which needs further development, of raising higher the banner of our class and Party. At the same time, successes in all these struggles raises the possibilities of still newer victories, and thus the need for ever higher standards.

The need for our Party and the correctness of its line and activity have been proven in life. This truth is becoming clear to an ever-growing circle around our Party. It is recognized by the class enemy, which in all ways is stepping up its activity against our Party. But it is becoming increasingly clear that if we anchor ourselves in the masses struggling against monopoly--the oppressed peoples, the working class, and especially in its bedrock, the basic industrial workers--if we continue to pursue a correct line and to develop further our leadership and the united front and the anti-monopoly coalition, the victories of the democratic struggles will prevail. The struggle for democratic victories today and for the anti-monopoly coalition prepares the road to socialism, U. S. A. But it is a road which cannot be taken without the vanguard working-class Party, the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Our Party is based on the science of Marxism-Leninism. It is the only working-class party in program, outlook and commitment, in membership and leadership. We are the only Party of Black and white, as well as of Puerto Rican, Chicano and other oppressed peoples, in membership and leadership. Ours is the only Party with a consistent record in the struggle against racism, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism. Ours is the only Party with a consistent position for international working-class solidarity. Our working-class press has a proud 50-year history of struggle for the people's needs.

The increasing success in implementing our line among masses is also a measure of our internal health. We are attracting more and more of the best popular forces, especially workers and youth, to our Party and the YWLL. New and younger leadership is emerging in the Party, blending in with the older, more experienced leaders. More and more shop clubs are being established. Party shop papers are making their appearance in great numbers for the first time in 20 years. The circulation of the Daily World has more than doubled since our last Convention. Our press and our leaflets are regularly distributed at shop gates. In 1974, two Party leaflets were distributed in a million copies each.

Political Affairs has made a valuable contribution on ideological and political questions and in giving a historical background to many developments. The publication and distribution of books by Party authors has increased. Notable contributions, among others, are Gus Hall's Imperialism Today and Henry Winston's Strategy for a Black Agenda, and more recently Gus Hall's The Energy Ripoff, each of which has gone into a second printing. Many pamphlets have been published and a number have been distributed in tens of thousands of copies. But we cannot be satisfied with the present circulation of our literature or of Political Affairs; it needs to be greatly increased.

Our Party is increasing its electoral activity and effectiveness. There is progress toward political independence. More and more Party candidates are running and our vote has ranged from 3, 5 percent in New Haven and 5 percent in Boston up to 15 percent of the total in Santa Clara County, California. We are becoming a greater factor in the electoral process. The respect for our Party is great and growing.

After saying all of this, we must also say that we cannot be satisfied. The possibilities for the growth in size and influence of our Party are considerably greater than what has been realized in practice, and they will become greater still. Therefore we have to assess what stands in the way, and what more needs to be done in order to realize the objective possibilities.

We can greatly increase our influence and the size of our membership within the working class, and first of all among basic workers, Black and white, in steel, auto, transport, mining and electrical. To do so means that we have to end, once and for all, the idea that industrial concentration and the struggle for developing the rank-and-file movement is a task only for our trade union comrades. This is the task of the whole Party-- the national leadership, including every commission,

every Central Committee and National Council member, of every district leadership and every club without exception. The only question is how best and most effectively to do the job. That this can be achieved throughout the Party is shown by the building of the Party and its influence in the shops and communities in such places as South Chicago, Gary and Youngstown. But the struggle must be an ongoing one if industrial concentration is to become and remain characteristic of the entire Party.

Part and parcel of this task is the need to conduct a consistent, determined struggle against every manifestation of racism, anti-Semitism and white chauvinism in the course of all our mass work, and on this basis to raise the level within the Party on this question. It is impossible to speak of the struggle for class and socialist consciousness, in the specific conditions of our country, and given the multinational composition of our working class, especially of its industrial core, without such a struggle. Sensitivity to every expression of racism and white chauvinism is essential, especially among white Communists.

To raise higher the Communist character of our work requires a rooting out of political isolation where it still exists in the Party. One form is lack of contact with masses in struggle for their needs, which is often coupled with thinking that education and exhortation alone can win masses. A Right-opportunist expression of political isolation is working in mass organizations without fighting to raise the level of class and socialist consciousness, without fighting for our program in the shop and among the masses.

We cannot raise the level of our work without raising still higher the standards of collectivity and of democratic centralism in the Party. To fight for the line of the Party requires that at every level, starting with the club, there must be a plan of work with definite assignment of cadre, checkup and control, criticism and self-criticism. Grappling with the real problems which come to the fore on the basis of this approach will raise the level of the club life and the life of all Party bodies. It will speed the process of development of industrial concentration, the struggle against racism and white chauvinism, the fight for women's rights, for the rights of youth. It will speed the building of intermediary forms, united and popular fronts, the use of our press and literature to influence masses, the spreading and deepening of our influence and the process of recruiting. It will hasten the recognition that though each of these requires particular attention, concreteness, discussion, and sometimes even special forms, they are not mutually exclusive but in fact, taken as a whole, are part and parcel of the content and style of mass work.

Particular attention needs to be given to improving the work and life of our clubs. It is the clubs which are at the point of production, the point of contact between our Party and the broader masses. It is the clubs which are the source of guidance for our comrades in their mass activities, and which must provide for the political and ideological development of the Party membership on an ongoing basis. It is the clubs which are the primary vehicle for education, of the older as well as the newer members. In all these respects there is more than ample room for improvement, for greatly strengthening the structure and work of the Party.

The objective factors which make it possible for our Party to become a mass Party are present and are still developing rapidly. We are increasingly achieving that style of work which is laying the basis for our becoming a mass Party in a very short period of time. The Party continues to make important political, ideological and theoretical contributions to the mass movement. Because the leadership of our Party and our class is the essential ingredient for victories today and tomorrow, realization of that goal will be a major contribution to the movement. It will be accomplished if every comrade and every Party body fulfills the basic duty of Communists to fight unswervingly for realizing the line of our Party in life.

2. Party Building

The very real and significant achievements of our Party since the last convention can serve as the framework for a critical but constructive examination of some of our weaknesses.

We have become a greater and more effective force in initiating movements and struggles of the people. This is an important plus. But the objective crisis developments have created a unique leadership vacuum. We are not as yet filling that vacuum in many important areas of struggle.

There are some significant new intermediary forms of mass organizations within which we are an important part of the leadership. But these are as yet exceptions to the rule.

The effort to build rank-and-file groups in the unions is not as yet the main concern of our trade union comrades and of the Party in general. Very often difficulties are generalized into arguments against the concept of organized rank-and-file groups. Doubts are raised about the policy of building rank-and-file movements without any proposals as to what should replace them.

There is some improvement in the struggle against

the influences of white chauvinism. But this struggle is not on a high enough or on a sufficiently sustained level.

These and many other weaknesses are dealt with in other sections of this resolution. However, they are in one way or another related to one very basic and nagging problem that not only persists but has become more urgent and critical.

In a nutshell, how do we explain the fact that while our Party's influence continues to grow our membership does not show commensurate growth? We are recruiting, but it in no way measures up to our growth in influence. There is daily evidence that in increasing numbers radicalized masses support and agree with our party's policies and program. There is growing evidence of this support and agreement among important mass leaders. They admire and work with the Party.

True, not all radicalized masses, not all who work with Communists in united front movements, are going to join the Party. But there remains the nagging question: Why do not more of them join?

Joining a revolutionary working-class party is of course related to the level of a person's ideological and political consciousness. To agree with and to work with Communists is a reflection of one level of political consciousness. To become a member of the Communist Party reflects a deeper understanding and commitment.

It takes a higher level of consciousness to be able to overcome certain obstacles that stand in the way of joining the Party. What we do about these obstacles is an important question in relation to Party building.

Fear continues to be an obstacle to our Party's growth. Some of the fear is based on real problems, some on misconceptions reflecting past periods. We must deal with both. Most people believe that it is illegal to be a member of the Communist Party. We are not doing enough to clear up this misconception.

There is fear of losing one's job, or of being discriminated against in the professions. This is a fear that reflects reality. We must, in the most serious and responsible manner, take up the question of safeguarding the jobs of Communists, and simultaneously conduct a public struggle for the right of Communists to work in industries and in the professions while publicly proclaiming that they are Communists. This struggle cannot be left to the individuals involved. It must be seen not as a "Communist" issue but as an issue that goes to the very heart of all basic rights. With proper work it is now possible to get trade unions to delete the anti-Communist provisions in their constitutions. With better effort, the United Steelworkers convention would have dropped the anti-Communist clause in its constitution.

Both fear based on misconception and fear based on reality are important factors affecting the growth of the Party. We must not ignore or sweep such fears under the rug.

Many "Left" ideological currents act as barriers to joining the Communist Party. The influence of anti-working class concepts is a deterrent to joining a working-class party. Any idea that the working class cannot fulfill its historic task, that it "cannot make it," feeds the idea that the Communist Party, because it is a party of the working class, also "cannot make it." To be serious about building the Party is to be serious about fighting against anti-working class ideas in a planned, organized and consistent manner.

On the left, anti-working class influences are very seldom in the open. In fact, they are most often covered over with cliches about "the centrality of the working class," but are manifested in an over-emphasis, in a one-sided concentration on the weaknesses of the working class. A constant carping criticism of the working class is a fad in some quarters of the Left. It is expressed in an attitude of cynicism about trade unions. It is expressed in an intellectual snobishness, unproclaimed but none the less present. These influences are obstacles which keep people from joining a working-class party.

The influence of racism is a roadblock to joining a party that fights racism as a matter of basic principle. People who accept the poison of racism and are influenced by it do not join the Party, and of course the Party cannot accept such elements. Thus, the struggle against racism is a key factor in uniting the progressive democratic forces, in uniting the working class, and it is a key factor in building our Party. The struggle against racism is not a matter of generalities. It must be a planned, organized feature of all struggles. The struggle against racism is basic in the ideological preparation of people for Party membership.

The influence of white chauvinism within the Party is an obstacle to its growth. The victims of racist oppression are not going to join or remain in any organization in which there are influences of the racism that they face every day of their lives. To be serious about building the Party is to be serious and consistent in fighting the influences of chauvinism within our Party. This struggle, to be effective, must be conducted on the ideological level. But it must take on each manifestation of white chauvinism whether in the Party or in the movements where Communists are active. The struggle against chauvinism is not an 8:00 to 5:00 responsibility.

The influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism is a roadblock to building the Party. Such influences are contrary to the class position, to the

concept of unity contained in the Program of the Party. Nationalism that leads to anti-working class positions or to separatism is misdirected nationalism. This becomes an obstacle to joining the Party.

The influence of the different strains of petty-bourgeois radicalism tends to divert and confuse many individuals. Maoism, Trotskyism and the different varieties of the phony "left" get open and under-the-table support from capitalist elements such as the mass media precisely because they create division and confusion. They destroy young cadre and divert people from joining the Communist Party. This is their main role and purpose. As long as honest people think that these elements are in some way connected to the Communist Party they are not going to join it.

Therefore, if we are serious about building the Party we have to become serious about exposing these elements and making it crystal clear that we are not of the same mold. We must do more in exposing them on a mass scale. For some 25 years there has been a special theoretical form of anti-Communism propagated by people like Sweezy and others around the Monthly Review. The Trotskyites are for "socialism", but they are violently against socialism wherever it is a reality. The Sweezy anti-Communists are for "socialism," for "Marxist Communist movements," but they conduct a misleading, "dirty tricks" campaign against every Communist Party that is a live and active political force. Like leeches they attach their brand of anti-Communism to every petty-bourgeois radical movement that appears anywhere in the world. The way they hailed Regis Debray as the new revolutionary messiah should alone disqualify them from ever being taken seriously. Their brand of anti-Communism has caused damage because it is couched in Marxist terms. It is a special web spun to attract the inexperienced for the specific purpose of keeping them from joining the Communist Party.

Sweezy and Huberman say of Debray, "He goes far beyond the rejection of the traditional Communist doctrine of revolutionary legitimacy," when "no person could be considered a Communist unless he or she belonged to such a Party." It is "not merely a sort of handbook of revolutionary tactics... but also, and in our opinion more importantly, a negation of the whole doctrine of revolutionary legitimacy, which has been one of the key components of the Communist orthodoxy." (Paul M. Sweezy and Leo Huberman, eds., Regis Debray and the Latin American Revolution, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1968, p. 4.)

What is it that grates the Sweezys? "In particular, each national party continued to assume that it was the sole legitimate representative and mouthpiece of the

revolutionary forces of its own country as well as the only party with the right to call itself Marxist-Leninist." (*Ibid.*, p. 3)

What is it that elates Sweezy? "The traditional Communist Parties are rightly treated as irrelevant to the revolutionary process." (*Ibid.*) In this regard life has treated Sweezy very harshly. Not only have all the movements blessed by him more or less disappeared, but Sweezy himself has become irrelevant. Life is a harsh judge as to who is or is not irrelevant, what party is "legitimate" and what party wins for itself the revolutionary franchise. Opportunism, petty-bourgeois radicalism, is never a match for Marxism-Leninism or for the Communist Party that pursues a working-class, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist course.

It is not immodesty or boasting to say that the Communist Party is not just "another Left group." We are the only working-class revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in these United States.

We will build the Party to the extent that we reject all shades of undermining, minimizing and liquidating the Party.

In a very broad sense the influence of reformism, and specifically the influence of class-collaborationism and social democracy, are roadblocks to workers joining a revolutionary class organization such as our Party. These keep workers ideologically within the capitalist class orbit.

Class and socialist consciousness are absolute and basic ideological ingredients in people's joining our Party, but especially in their remaining in it. Once people join, one of the most important tasks of the Party, and especially of the Education Department, is to imbue the new members with a deeper class and socialist consciousness.

These are all factors that affect the growth of the Party. But just to list them raises a number of questions. If, for example, we are aware of these obstacles, these negative political and ideological influences, what are we doing to help people overcome them? And if we are not tackling these questions then the obvious question is: why not?

We must raise our mass ideological work to a new level, and we must put much greater effort into it. We must also raise to a new level giving the new members the basics of our science and policies quickly, because even if we recruit more members but do not hold them, we are not building the Party.

With some exceptions, it is not easy for people to join our Party. Most of the people who write in for more information, or who indicate a willingness to

join, are not contacted. We make no provisions for people who come to public meetings and who want to continue some form of contact. Most of our members are not known as Communists in their shops and neighborhoods. Therefore, it is not easy for radicalized workers to make contact with our Party. To this we have to add that there are no thought-out plans for Party building on a national, state or club level.

There are very few organized efforts to recruit. Party building is very rarely on the order of business. There are very few new members classes and very few discussion groups for non-Party people who want to learn more about the Party. We have very little literature geared to convincing people to join the Party. The application form we present to a prospective recruit is not an application card. It is a bureaucratically conceived questionnaire that can frighten and discourage even a most determined applicant. This form is Exhibit A of our fear complex.

It is difficult to assess exactly how many of us take the initiative in asking friends and co-workers to join the Party. But there is enough evidence to conclude that a great majority of our members do not have in mind: prospective recruits and therefore they do not provide literature and carry on discussions with recruiting in mind.

Clearly, we need a much more aggressive, organized approach to recruiting. We need a program of classes, forums, discussions and other activities designed to bring people together with this specific purpose in mind. We need to go after new members. It is this approach which is so greatly lacking.

What causes these shortcomings is a very crucial question. The answers and the explanations are rooted in deep-seated weaknesses.

Many in our Party have a fear complex about people joining the Party. In most cases only people who are old friends can break into the Party. When the enemy is able to create a situation where Communists are afraid to recruit it has won the battle.

Unrealistic standards of political and ideological development are often set for joining the Party, going far beyond the Constitutional provision that anyone "who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party" shall be eligible to join its ranks. The doors of the Party should be open to all working people who see in it an essential instrument of struggle for their interests.

Many in our Party are not convinced that there are thousands of radicalized people--workers, professionals, middle class, youth--who, if asked, would consider joining the Party. This is a serious error of assessment

of the process of radicalization. Many in our Party are simply not convinced that it is possible to build the Party.

Many in our party are not convinced that with correct work we can win people away from the ideological influences of the phony "Left" and other expressions of capitalist class ideology. This is a serious underestimation of the radicalized sector, of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party.

Many in our Party think that without any special efforts masses, as a result of their experiences and struggles, will spontaneously develop class consciousness and even socialist consciousness. Such thinking is one of the most basic of all errors.

Many in our Party, because they believe in spontaneity, are not fully convinced of the absolute necessity, the indispensability, of a vanguard working-class revolutionary party. This is another of the most basic of mistakes.

If one passively relies on spontaneity, consciously or unconsciously, then the Party is not an absolute necessity. If one believes in the spontaneous development of class and socialist consciousness, then it follows that one believes in the spontaneous growth of the Communist Party. Then there is no need for special efforts to build the Party. Such erroneous concepts lead to policies and practices which include no organized efforts, no plans to help develop class and socialist consciousness and no concrete plans and efforts to build the Party. This is another of the most serious errors. Such concepts lead to passively waiting for people to demand to be recruited.

To fully appreciate the indispensability of the Party is to recognize this indispensability in the actual process of mass struggles. Class consciousness is the political and ideological foundation which makes it possible to raise all struggles to a higher level. It is the basic ingredient for class-struggle trade unionism. It provides the glue for working-class unity, the understanding of the need for working-class political independence. It is a key weapon in the struggle against racism. Class consciousness gives the working class the understanding of its role and makes it possible for it to lead and unite with other victims of monopoly capital. It is the key factor in making it possible for the working class to fulfill its historic mission. But this class consciousness does not develop spontaneously. A strike develops the consciousness of workers against the "bosses" or the "corporation." That is not yet class consciousness. The understanding that the strike is related to a system of exploitation, that the "bosses" and the "corporations" are a part of an exploiting class, and that the strikers are a part of an

exploited class whose interests are irreconcilable with those of the exploiters, is the basis for class consciousness. The fact that this does not develop spontaneously is a reason for the indispensability of the Communist Party.

Class and socialist consciousness simply cannot develop without a working-class revolutionary Party based on a social science. When we fully understand this we will also better understand the indispensability of building the Party.

When we fully understand the indispensability of the Party, then the taking of concrete steps to build it will likewise become indispensable. And when we fully see the Party as an indispensable element of the current struggles, then the building of the Party will become an indispensable feature of our work in these struggles. Our Party and the science of Marxism-Leninism are what "puts it all together"--the struggle for reforms and the struggle for socialism, the class struggle and the struggle against racism, the mass struggles and the electoral struggles, the class struggle and the struggles in the field of culture. It is our Party and Marxism-Leninism that put the objective developments and the subjective elements all together.

Putting it all together is a historic necessity. And it is the fact that only our Party and our science can do so that makes the building of the Communist Party an absolute, indispensable necessity.

The Convention must put an end to the obstacles, to the resistance to Party building. We must put an end to all concepts that somehow, spontaneously or otherwise, the Party will grow. We must put an end to all underestimation of the possibilities for Party growth. We must burn into the consciousness of our Party that because the Party is indispensable its growth is an historic necessity. Party building must become an organized, planned and checked-on everyday process.

3. Standards of Party Work

Our Party structure and discipline, and the obligations of membership, together with the overall standards of conduct of Party members, are determined by the historic role and tasks of our Party. Those standards include basic and active loyalty to our Party and to our class, expressed in fighting for the policy of our Party and winning others to the Program of the Party. This includes constant attention to the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, the basic theory and its application in life, in relations with masses and specifically with the working class.

An organization of agitation, a party geared totally to education, does not have to be structured

along lines of democratic centralism. A party limited to inner discussions does not need to demand a high level of discipline and commitment.

A petty-bourgeois organization reflects petty-bourgeois values and standards, attitudes and priorities. Therefore it acts on narrow opportunistic considerations, and often for personal, individual purposes. But we are a working-class party. We must, therefore, consciously cultivate working-class attitudes and values. We are a revolutionary vanguard party which demands higher standards, a deeper commitment and greater organized activity than do other types of organizations.

We are always under the obligation to test our ideas in life, to be judged by our deeds, by our performance. We are a party striving for working-class political power, a goal which demands a higher discipline in accord with the needs and demands of our class. Because we are a unique organization we cannot be satisfied with measuring our standards against those of other organizations. We have to fight for our own Communist standards. Having the reputation of being the most class-conscious organizers and the most dedicated fighters for our class interests, we must find the ways to demonstrate this in life, in our work. Our higher standards are part of our identity.

People joining our Party do not come in with an understanding of Communist standards and attitudes. They must develop such an understanding. At the same time we must recognize that without a constant, never-ending struggle there can also be a deterioration of standards. It follows, therefore, that the struggle for higher Communist standards must be a consistent and continuing effort. Without such an effort there is deterioration. Higher standards are not achieved by repetition of cliches or by revolutionary phrasemongering, which is often a coverup for deterioration of standards and of relations with the masses.

We must now add a new dimension to this struggle. Because of the critical nature of the moment we must raise the struggle for higher standards to a new level.

All Communist standards of work must be measured against the yardstick of leadership of masses in struggle. We can either add to or detract from the ability of the Party to give leadership in these struggles. Our Party has made great headway. The standards of our Party are higher than those of any other organization. But they are not high enough or good enough for this period.

All weaknesses in attitudes and standards have their roots in basic ideological weaknesses. Some of the weaknesses in the cadre of our Party appear in the forms, influences or expressions of bureaucracy,

individualism, elitism and irresponsibility.

Most will agree that these weaknesses do exist. But the best proof of their existence is the fact that most who agree see these weaknesses only in other people.

Most will agree that we need to cultivate the art of criticism and self-criticism. And the proof of this need is not difficult to find. A word of criticism often brings out a torrent of subjectivity, which serves as a preventive counter-attack against criticism.

Subjectivism, individualism, elitism are all close kinfolk. They are petty-bourgeois traits and have their origin in capitalist ideology. They are cultivated by the many institutions of capitalism. They have more difficulty growing in a working-class atmosphere. The ruling class is constantly seeking to influence union leaders and workers on the job with individualistic concepts and conflicts.

Most of our Party cadre agree with the need for collective methods of work. But not all who agree either understand or are ready to put such methods into practice. In fact, many agree with criticism at meetings yet do not draw lessons from the criticism for their mass activities. That is where the criticism really has significance. To be able to work collectively means to have respect and comradesly feeling for co-workers. Intellectual snobbery and individualism are obstacles to collective work. Some think collective work means that everyone else on the committee or commission, executive or in the club is there to serve, listen, collaborate, support and to applaud. Some believe the collective body is an adjunct to the individual--to be called or not to be called to a meeting depending on his or her wishes.

We must face the fact that many of the collectives, including those on a national level, do not meet regularly, do not have a collective system of work, do not have a system of checkup.

Most of our cadre agree that the Party needs firmer discipline. But again, the proof of this weakness is that while they agree it does not seem to be reflected in their work and that is the test. Communist discipline is more than anything else self-discipline. Standards of discipline are related to a sense of responsibility that is in turn related to commitment based on a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the class struggle.

Most agree that Communists must be of such political dedication that they will always respond to any political task with a healthy, positive attitude. A mutual confidence between members and leadership is necessary and needs to be developed.

Bureaucracy, individualism, irresponsibility, subjectivism--all undermine the ability of the Party to give effective leadership. Moral and ethical weaknesses are roadblocks to effective work by individual Communists. They are all serious obstacles to the growth of the Party.

Constructiveness and destructiveness are irreconcilable opposites. In the work of the Party the dividing line between them is very sharp and clear. It is also a dividing line that separates the enemy from the rest of the Party. It does not matter whether destructiveness is intentional or unintentional. It does not matter whether it comes in the form of factionalism, negativism, constant carping about weaknesses, continual one-sidedness, gossip, nastiness, pettiness, or raising questions in a form that keeps the collective in constant turmoil at inner meetings, or in the form of down grading the party and its achievements. It is the results that count. In the final analysis, it is also important to know whether these destructive actions are promoted by the enemy or by someone who is misled. The enemy must be rejected, the comrade who is misled must be corrected.

This is an important aspect of the struggle for higher Communist standards, because such standards are the most effective weapon against the enemy. Each member, each leading cadre, must always keep in the forefront of his or her thinking the questions: Are my actions constructive? Am I a factor in building confidence in the Party and our class? Am I a factor in clarifying issues and eliminating confusion? Do my actions increase enthusiasm and pride in the Party? And the Party Club or higher Party body as well as the Party leadership must ask how the Party helps the individual member to be clear, constructive and enthusiastic.

How are we going to fight against these weaknesses and for higher standards is a measure of our seriousness, our understanding and our commitment. The struggle for higher Communist standards must itself be constructive. It is an important aspect of political and ideological growth. It is a part of the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and for working-class standards.

The inner life of the club must revolve around its involvement in the leadership of mass struggles. The higher standards are a contribution to the mass struggles and to the life of the Party club and to the Party as a whole in relation to mass struggles. Thus, this becomes a struggle against elitism and bureaucratic methods, and for collective work in which the individual comrade contributes to an effective leadership, a working-class leadership, which is so much needed in today's mass struggles and for the future.

4. Ideological Struggle

The monopolist rulers of the U. S. cannot cope with the consequences of the crisis of their own system. The burden of the system's failures is falling upon the backs of the working masses. The crisis is general. There is disarray in the traditional features of political practice as Watergate and its aftermath have shown. Not only does the political superstructure display crisis manifestations, but the basis of the society has sunk into a deep depression; the system is seized by an economic crisis.

The needs of the people go unrelieved, impoverishment increases and the quality of life deteriorates. The masses are experiencing the failures of capitalism day by day in terms of growing numbers of unemployed, the inability of wage-income to provide a living in the face of skyrocketing prices and unbridled profit-gouging. This makes for deeply critical reflection in the minds of the masses. It has resulted in a deep crisis of confidence among the people in the system, in the institutions and leaders of capitalism. All the polls taken in the past few years attest to the deep-seated mood of cynicism and disbelief on the part of the masses toward all of the orthodox models of the establishment.

While capitalism in crisis demonstrates its bankruptcy and inability to meet the needs of the people, the socialist third of the world--the Soviet Union and other socialist countries--where the working class and its allies are the ruling power, is advancing from success to success.

In the minds of the masses, the decline of capitalism is contrasted to the spectacular advance of socialism. The victories won by socialism and communism over poverty, ignorance and racism and for social-economic progress, cultural flowering, racial and national equality and political democracy have confronted the defenders of capitalism with a profound ideological crisis. The reality of modern times belies all that the propagandists of imperialism have been declaring.

The U. S. capitalist spokesmen have insisted for years that the Soviet Union and communism threaten the security of this and other "Western" countries. But the masses see that it is the U. S. which committed aggression and war crimes in Indochina and continues to support aggressor forces in the Middle East and the intrigues of counterrevolutionary subversion in Latin America, Africa and elsewhere.

At the same time the people see that it is the Soviet Union that comes forward with one initiative after another to widen and deepen detente, to make it irreversible and establish peaceful coexistence between the countries of differing social systems as the accepted practice governing relationships between the states,

Given the ever-rising strength and moral influence of socialism, and caught in the web of multiple internal economic and political contradictions, U. S. capitalism is pressed to respond positively, however reluctantly, to replace airs of belligerency by attitudes of peaceful competition, cooperation and mutual interest.

It is precisely at this time, when the political reality exhibits such complex and oftentimes contradictory aspects, that the ideological struggle occupies such a vital position in the irreconcilable conflict between the classes. Even when forced to retreat, to accommodate to some new position of strength attained by the world forces of progress, peace, and socialism, capitalism endeavors to blunt the consciousness-raising impact of its concession or failure by laying down an ideological barrage to divert the minds of the working class from drawing revolution-oriented conclusions.

The ideological combat of the class enemy is a wide-ranging one. Nevertheless, there is a deliberate focusing on certain key questions. Correspondingly, the times are opportune for joining issues with the enemy along the whole of the ideological front. The working masses are earnestly seeking a progressive alternative to the ruinous reign of the monopolists and more than ever are open and responsive to the views of our Party. Global gains already made by the forces of social progress bear witness to the fact that detente creates conditions favorable to the cause of the working class. Detente, the pattern of successive practical measures being undertaken to secure relations of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist states, as a consequence of the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states, has substantially nullified the effects of the long years of cold-war hysteria and anti-Communist prejudices and fears which are so assiduously propagated in support of the phony invention of a Soviet menace. Thanks to detente's influence, a favorable atmosphere exists for gaining a widespread response to a new ideological offensive taken by our Party to challenge capitalism along the whole ideological front.

The following propositions delineate the most decisive areas of ideological struggle for advancing the cause of the working class and its allies along the road of peace, democracy and socialism:

1. The working class is the decisive social force in the struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of society.

This proposition of the leading role of the working class lies at the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, the science, the theory of social revolution. The enemy seeks to wipe out the recognition of this truth by

representing changes in the composition of the working class flowing from the scientific and technical revolution as a quantitative and qualitative loss in strength and importance of the working class. As the whole of the working class pivots upon its vital industrial proletarian center, the obligation of the Party to sharply focus its political, educational and organizational work precisely on this core of the class is greater than ever. The essence of correct concentration policy is to move the core to lead the class. The class-conscious mass action of the working class is decisive for real social progress; the source of the strength of the class lies in its organizational unity and its ideological clarity.

2. The Communist Party is the vanguard detachment of the working class. It is the leadership organization of the most farsighted, unselfish and class-conscious fighters for the urgent as well as longer-range needs and goals of the working class and the genuine national interests. It is guided by the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism and is structured along lines of democratic centralism which provides for common action after collective discussion and democratic decision. It is a decision-making, democratic and disciplined organization. The enemies of the working class, of democracy and socialism, seek to divide, weaken and destroy the Party with proposals of alternative models. The experience of history is that only political parties which have inculcated the organizational principles of Leninism in their practice and whose members strive for genuinely high standards are to be counted among the victors in the class struggles of our times.

3. The broad coalition of anti-monopoly movements capable of checking reaction and registering gains on issues of vital interest to the people, shapes up around the strategic alliance of the working class and the Afro-American liberation movement, supporting and in turn supported by the organizations of the oppressed national minorities.

Relying upon the self-destructive powers of racism which is cultivated among the white masses, the capitalist class constantly reinvigorates its time-tested divide-and-rule tactics against the unity of the working class and the strength of the anti-monopoly/anti-imperialist coalitions and alliances. Central to the building of the organized strength of the working class and its allies is the necessity to struggle incessantly against the divisionism of white supremacist racism in all of its manifestations. Nothing is so destructive of the unity and will to struggle against the common foe as the paralyzing poison of racism and national prejudice of all kinds.

Racism has been the chain binding the South to backwardness in every area. As this chain breaks in

first one area and then another the masses feel free to examine critically and without the blinders of prejudice, new policies and parties in their search for real solutions to problems.

4. We have indicated earlier how the struggle for peace and international detente creates favorable conditions for making secure the gains of popular democratic struggle and for the further advance of the cause of working-class emancipation and national liberation. The apologists for imperialism strive to interpret detente as signaling the end of class struggle and the abandonment of working class revolutionary perspective and Communist goals. They call for the "end of ideology" and of the ideological struggle against capitalism/imperialism. They push for new versions of the convergence theory to replace the ideological struggle between the classes. They also invoke the fact of the technical and scientific revolution to put down ideology and the class struggle, contending that the determining factor within both the capitalist and socialist systems is their superindustrialization. They assert that the advance of the industrial society, the post-industrial society, the technotronic society will make capitalism and socialism indistinguishable in an age of detente, and therefore the class struggle is an outmoded concept.

This offensive of the capitalist class to deprive the working class of the basics of its ideology is supported from another direction by the assault of the Maoists and Trotskyites on the struggle to make detente irreversible and peaceful coexistence an international law governing the relations between states of differing social systems. The Maoists and their associates interpret detente as a deal of the "superpowers" at the expense of the smaller powers, the "third world" and the aims of world socialist revolution.

The truth is that peaceful coexistence and the detente process of arriving at it, is a special form of the class struggle, not its negation, not its abandonment. Indeed, the road of struggle for peace is the only road for the world revolutionary process to take that brings the possibility of maximum achievement to the cause of the class struggle.

5. The requirements of detente have imposed the need of the class foe to modify some forms of his anti-Soviet ideological activity. But the capitalists have not abandoned their weapon of anti-Communism and their slander of the Soviet Union. We must expose and counter their ideological thrusts and lies in this direction. There is not and never can be a socialism or communism that is anti-Soviet.

6. Petty-bourgeois radicalism serves the interests of the ruling class by deflecting the energy of militants,

especially the young, from the true path of revolutionary struggle and leads them into blind alleys of adventurism and sterile rejection. This divergent tendency is today losing its attractiveness as the crisis deepens and the policies and ideology of the ultra-Left cultists and petty-bourgeois radicals prove to be barren and impotent. This is the case with the several groups of Trotskyites and Maoists, and with certain radical nationalist groups. Though they are in disarray and have not won a creditable status in the eyes of the masses, it is nevertheless necessary to keep a sustained barrage of truth leveled at them.

7. Communists are unrelenting in combating "great nation" nationalism, chauvinism and racism. They champion the right of oppressed nationalities to be free from all domination. Communists defend the true national interests of all peoples from the standpoint of internationalism. The patriotism of the working class, though national in form, is internationalist in content. Communists respect the national sensitivity and national pride of all peoples. Yet Communists of oppressed peoples and nationalities oppose every degree of misuse of national feelings for the selfish interests of the bourgeoisie and to divide the oppressed peoples from solidarity relations with the working class, whose members embrace white, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian workers. Zionism strives to pervert the national pride of the Jewish people. Neo-Pan Africanism would alienate the Black liberation cause from its basic class allies.

8. A whole ideological structure of anti-Communism was built on the ice floes of the cold war. As the warming sunlight of detente works its effects the established patterns of anti-Communism are being broken. Anti-Communism is challenged by the necessities of co-existence, and logic asserts itself against the hysterical unreason of anti-Sovietism and Red-baiting. In the ideological realm anti-Communism sinks deeper into a state of chronic and general crisis. Nevertheless, until the end of its days, capitalism will always seek to rationalize the unjustifiable, and will invent new bases for defamation and lying against the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states, and, of course, against the Communist Party and its policies and practices. Today the slanderous lie of "Soviet anti-Semitism" has become a leading weapon of the ruling class.

The constant factor in the class struggle remains that of the ideological confrontation. On this front there can be neither truce nor detente, only continuous battle until capitalism has ceased to exist.

9. Culture comprises the forms in which the ideological struggle is manifested and the media through which it is conveyed. There is no such thing

as a classless culture. Culture mirrors the life-styles, thought and aspirations of the struggles and strivings of one class or another, of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. The culture of a people begins in a national form and is conveyed in a particular national language. But cultural development is characterized by enrichment through inter-cultural association and exchange on the foundation of international working-class common interests.

The development of the cultural expression of the people of our nation and of the cultural product of the nation as a whole is an essential part of the work of fulfillment of the aspirations for freedom of the working class and the nation. The struggle for socialism is the fight for the political emancipation of the masses through their own class rule and control. The fight for socialism is not only to meet the material needs of the masses but also to create the conditions for spiritual satisfaction--the meeting of the cultural needs and aspirations of the people.

In recent years, mass struggles and movements have become widespread in the cultural field. A mass development of people's culture has taken place,

raising it to new levels. This development is evident in the mass media today. So, too, is the fact that the ruling class is making greater efforts to corrupt and divert the people culturally than at any previous time in our history. The promotion of cultural decadence is part of the arsenal of the forces of fascism in our country. Clearly, these developments demand of our Party far greater attention to the cultural field than it has been giving.

During the past period significant contributions have been made to the ideological arsenal of the working class and its allies through books, pamphlets and creative essays written by our comrades. But much more needs to be done in the production and publication of timely, popular political literature. An important initiative has been taken with the publication of The Cultural Reporter as an instrument for the Party to give critical stimulation and guidance to the cultural front of the creative arts from a working-class perspective. These must be seen, however, as beginnings from which we must proceed to develop cultural work to the level which is required.