



the

communist party

now more than ever

**henry
winston**

15¢

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

HENRY WINSTON, National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. since 1966, was born in Mississippi in 1911. His grandfather was a slave. At the age of 19 he joined the Young Communist League and entered the struggles of the unemployed in New York City. In the 1930s he was a leader of the YCL. He participated in the National Hunger March to Washington in 1932, aided the defense of the Scottsboro Boys, and took part in other major struggles. During World War II he served in the Army engineers and received an honorable discharge. Over the years he has held a variety of leading posts in the Communist Party. In 1956 he began an 8-year prison sentence under a Smith Act frameup. While in prison he became blind as a result of deliberate neglect of his health by the prison authorities. World-wide protests brought about his release in 1961. During the attempted frameup of Angela Davis he gave special attention to organizing the movement which led to her acquittal. Henry Winston is the author of numerous books, articles and pamphlets. His *Strategy for a Black Agenda: A Critique of New Theories of Liberation in the United States and Africa*, was published in 1973 by International Publishers. He also authored *Strategy for a People's Alternative: A Critique of New Theories on the Working Class, Liberation Movements and Social Strata*, published earlier this year by New Outlook Publishers.

This article is reprinted from the September 1975 issue of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, theoretical journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Subscription rates:

1 year—\$10.00 6 months—\$5.00 Single copies—\$1.00

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

Additional copies of this pamphlet are available @ 15¢;
in bulk orders of 25 or more @ 10¢

Order from Political Affairs Reprints

23 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

HENRY WINSTON

The Communist Party, Now More Than Ever*

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

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

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

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

The Communist Party which you helped found has written great and glorious pages in the history of class struggle in the United States. The contributions of our Party yesterday are glorious and will become even more so today and tomorrow. We welcome your presence here. We are honored by that presence.

* Address to the 21st National Convention of the CPUSA, June 27, 1975.

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

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

The Main Contradiction Today

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Road of Class Struggle Leads to Class Solidarity

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

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

What is involved here? There is, on the one hand, the decisive question of the future of our class which necessitates the speediest maximum struggle for its solidarity along class struggle lines and,

on the other hand, the policies of the monopolists who consciously strive for division and disunity within the ranks of the working class which becomes possible only on the basis of class collaboration, racism and anti-Communism.

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

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

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

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

in the struggle for economic independence. This is the path which will, at the same time, guarantee new successes in the struggle against monopoly in the U.S. and all capitalist countries. This is the path which will also guarantee new successes in the building of socialism and communism. This is the path which leads to the fulfillment of the dreams of humanity through the ages.

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

The Inspiring Example of the Soviet Union

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

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

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

The Soviet Union has no equal anywhere in the world when it comes to the question of the quality of life. The working people are actively engaged in communist construction. The various re-

publics which long ago achieved equality are together molding the new Soviet man and Soviet woman.

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

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

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

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

The Growing Opposition to U.S. Imperialism

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

The criminal war of aggression by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and all of Indochina was waged by demagogues of genocide and

racism in the name of "freedom" against an alleged "Communist danger," and this was also peddled by all of the apologists for state monopoly capitalism as being in our "national interest."

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

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

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

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

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

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

stead of poverty, health instead of disease, equality instead of racism and national oppression—in short, freedom instead of slavery.

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

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

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

Socialism as the Way Out

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

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

ployees and has the encouragement and support of a number of others.

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

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

But there is also a negative side to this. What these people mean by socialism is actually a popular type of movement and government that would begin to hit out at monopoly power and nationalize the energy, oil and some other industries. They do not yet see socialism as a transformation of state power from one class to another—to the working class. The other negative side is that by making socialism synonymous with some radical reform measures, particularly nationalization, they give credence to the charge of the ultra-Right that every movement and action against the monopolies is socialism. Thus, even Roosevelt’s New Deal which called for limited reforms within the system of capitalism was called “creeping socialism.”

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

A Broad Mass Movement of the People

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

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

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

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

The Communist Party Must Lead the Way

For these reasons the Communist Party has a unique role to play. It alone sees the need for a broad mass movement of the people and the possibilities for building such a movement. It alone understands the decisive role of the working class in the struggle ahead despite the present situation in most of the labor movement. And it sees the immediate struggle, not as an end in itself, but as the means by which to improve the lot of masses today and lead to the kind of a popular movement that can curb monopoly power, nationalize the great industries, and move towards a socialist

reorganization of society. Those who say they are for socialism but ignore the immediate struggle are not for socialism either, for you can't get to socialism except on the road of immediate struggle. And those who say they are for the immediate needs of the people but hesitate to hit out against the monopolists, hesitate to take radical measures against them, are also not really defending the immediate interests of the people.

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

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

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

Meany Serves Monopoly Well

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

The \$105 billion military budget is aggravating and helping to intensify the miseries of masses. Mr. Meany's support of this budget is consistent with his opposition to detente and peaceful

coexistence. This kind of policy of Mr. Meany performs a great service to state monopoly capitalism in the U.S. and by the same token provides a conscious misleadership to the growing millions in the ranks of labor seeking greater class solidarity and independence which is based on class struggle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Meany is right when he notes that Congress puts dollars

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

What is obvious is that Meany & Co. are totally incapable of providing that kind of leadership needed in this time of sharpening class battle. The rank and file must not delay for long the struggles of the employed and unemployed in raising the demand for the retirement of Meany from the leadership of labor and a reversal of class collaboration policies to that of class struggle policies.

The United Front and the Role of the Party

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

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

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

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

"What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defense of the immediate economic and

political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism must form the starting point and main content of the united front in all capitalist countries."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is fallacious on the part of the ideologues of capitalism to assert that the production workers are no longer decisive in the struggle. Some of the apologists of capitalism argue that the blue collar workers are being transformed more and more into white collar

workers. The production workers alone give stability to those who drop into the class. The production workers will proletarianize all old and newcomers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The interests of the working class, Black and white, can be defended only by a growing anti-monopoly unity taking the form of united fronts and coalitions. Such movements with such an orientation can grow only if the Communist Party is an equal and leading part of that development. And the mass growth of the Communist

Party will be determined by the degree to which it becomes an integral part of the mass struggles which such united fronts and coalitions will develop.

The Treachery of Maoism

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

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

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

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

tionary movement.

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

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

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

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

All socialist countries adopt five year plans. For more than 10 years China had had no session of the National Assembly, but they now say they have two five-year plans. Who adopted them? They do not publish figures but talk about economic growth in percentages; the starting point is not known.

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

Maoism is a betrayal of 1949, and because of that, it is anti-Chinese and anti-self-determination for the various nationalities in

China as well. I am certain that the people of China will reclaim the Revolution of 1949.

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

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

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

Build the Party—Strengthen Democratic Centralism

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

Dear Winnie:

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

Please write any particulars to me.

I remain, always respectfully yours. . .

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

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

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

1. The election of all bodies of the Party from the clubs up.

2. Party bodies report activities regularly through shops, industrial, community, professional and campus clubs, and the same is true of established Party committees on all levels.

3. The minority always abides by and helps to carry out the decisions of the majority.

4. The active participation of comrades in the work of the Party and in the initiatives in developing the work of the Party.

5. Regularity in the study of Marxism-Leninism and its application to the concrete conditions of work and the continuing involvement of individual members in collective study of the classics.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DAILY WORLD

CONTINUING the DAILY WORKER, FOUNDED 1924

- For daily news of the people's movements
 - For viewpoints of the Communist Party
- Published 5 times a week, including weekend edition with
World Magazine.

() 1 Year Daily \$20

() 6 Months Daily \$12

() 1 Year Week-end Issue Only \$8

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER

() 3 Months (week-end only) \$2

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make check or money order payable to The daily World or to Long View
Publishing Co. Inc. Mail to 205 West 19 St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

Annual Microfilm subscription - \$325

**THE
WEST'S
ONLY
MARXIST
WEEKLY**

PEOPLE'S WORLD!

**1819 tenth st.
berkeley, calif.
94710**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

**Rates: \$8 for one year; \$5 for six months; \$5 one
year students, unemployed, G.I.'s & prisoners**