

PARTY AFFAIRS

A PUBLICATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
23 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

Vol. IV, No. 6

Price 25c



April 1971

REPORT ON THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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The March 12-14 meeting of the National Committee set in motion the placing of the Party on a totally new level in the mass struggle against racism and with respect to internal standards in the fight against reflections of ruling class white chauvinist ideology. This process was begun by the report of Comrade Gus Hall, by a lengthy critical and self-critical and most fruitful discussion and by the decisions of the Committee.

The importance of the meeting was also seen in the reports and discussions on three other subjects, each reflecting a much further development of Party mass ties, influence and growth of appreciation for the role of the Communist Party among non-Communists and rapid growth of opportunities to build the Party and its press. These were:

1. The opening remarks of Comrade Hall on the crisis in the war in Vietnam and the report by Comrade Gil Green, one of our Party's representatives in the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice,

on developments in the peace struggle.

2. Developments and tasks in the building of the rank-and-file movement among workers was the subject of a report by Comrade Jim West, Secretary of the Industrial Concentration Task Force sub-committee of the Political Committee.

3. Comrades Jim Tormey, Chairman of the Defense Commission, and Charlene Mitchell, Secretary of the Black Liberation Commission, gave a joint report on the struggle for the freedom of Comrade Angela Davis.

CENTRALITY OF FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

Comrade Hall's report on racism and intense reflections of white chauvinism posed the centrality of this struggle, the state of white workers, estimated the situation among the masses and in our Party, dealt with examples of the chief manifestations and set tasks. It also examined the history of the Party during the 1949-1953 period and since. It was viewed that a process of struggle had been set in motion that could make a real change in the mass movements, as well as within the Party, if fully followed-through. The decisions of the Committee were aimed at assuring this follow-through. They were:

1. Unanimous approval of the report (all reports at the meeting were approved without dissent) and its specific proposals which include:

a) That a Party-wide discussion be opened at all levels with the Educational and Organization Departments responsible for preparing the materials.

b) That all levels of the Party set control tasks for themselves in the fight against racism and its interval reflections.

c) That each district select shop and/or neighborhood points of concentration in the fight against racism.

d) That a pamphlet be prepared addressed to white Americans on the question of racism.

e) That we encourage the Daily World and the People's World to step up their work in the fight against racism.

f) That Political Affairs publish a special issue on the subject.

g) That the Political Committee review the activities in the struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis from the standpoint of combatting reflections of ruling class white chauvinism.

i) That all Commissions examine their work from the same standpoint.

j) That dates be set for check-up and review.

k) That we take up with our Comrades and non-Party forces on the non-Party publication Glos Ludowy how it was possible to publish an article of a racist character that was cited in Comrade Hall's report.

TWO PAMPHLETS TO BE ISSUED

2. The report of Comrade Hall, with an Introduction by Comrade Lightfoot, is to be published as a pamphlet. Excerpts will appear in the Daily World and Political Affairs.

3. The report is to be made available as a tape and also mimeographed, with every club to discuss it within one month of receipt.

4. The lecture of Comrade Winston on the struggle for Black Liberation and against racism to the seminar of younger full-time functionaries is to be published as a companion document in pamphlet form.

5. A pamphlet is to be published on welfare struggles and the racist attack on welfare programs.

6. The Education Department is to prepare material answering the challenge to our concept that genocide is involved in the racist attacks on the Black community.

7. Representatives of the Black Liberation, Women's, Labor and Organization Commissions should meet to work out an approach to the development of Black women workers in leadership.

Comrade Hall's opening remarks estimated the sharp crisis in the Vietnamization policy and the rout in Laos, the new dangers that arise from this, the new wave of mass opposition and new possibilities. Our insufficient activity on the Middle East struggle was dealt with.

The report of Comrade Green dealt in detail with the struggle for a principled unity in the peace movement,

the relationship of the struggle against racism and the Black Liberation movement, labor and the struggle for peace, the Trotskyites and the tasks of the Party in relation to the calendar of events in the Spring Peace Offensive. These include April 2nd to 5th, in which the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Welfare Rights are cooperating in commemoration of the assassination of Dr. King with a national focus on the Wall Street Action of April 5th, the April 19th to 23rd Vietnam Veterans Actions in Washington, D. C. and the mass action in Washington and San Francisco April 24th, sponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, as well as the Trotskyite-dominated National Peace Action Coalition, May 2nd to 4th lobbying in Washington and May 5th Moratorium in memory of the students of Kent and Jackson State.

Comrade Hall's remarks will appear in abridged form in the Daily World and Political Affairs. The complete text, together with that of Comrade Green's report, all other reports and the slightly-abridged proceedings of the entire National Committee meeting will be made available in a mimeographed form.

EXAMINED STATUS OF ANGELA DAVIS CAMPAIGN

The reports of Comrades Jim Tormey and Charlene Mitchell reviewed some of our basic policy positions, estimated the level of mass sentiments internationally and domestically and the status of the organized committees. Examples of weaknesses in broad united front approaches were given, as well as of reflections of white chauvinist and, secondarily, of nationalist positions that hampered the work were given. The bail fight, actions on March 16th, opening of pre-trial motions and pressure on the repressive and brutal conditions of confinement were singled-out. Comrades Kendra Alexander and Bettina Aptheker graphically detailed these conditions of confinement. The decisions were as follows:

1. The reports were approved (with one abstention) and will be duplicated as part of the proceedings of the meeting. A Political Affairs article is to be prepared on the basis of the reports.

2. We call on our Party in all parts of the country to help build labor committees, teachers, and university committees to free Angela Davis.

3. We support the mass fight for release of Angela Davis on her own recognizance or on bail and support the

effort of the mass Defense Committee to establish an international Department.

4. We support the effort of the Young Workers Liberation League to establish a mobile task force for the freedom of Angela Davis (one abstention).

5. The National Committee went on record in favor of freedom for Ruchell Magee and for his right to be his own attorney.

6. Protests on the jail treatment of Angela Davis are to be directed to Captain Teague and Deputy Sheriff Gossett, Marin County Jail, San Rafael, California.

The report of Comrade Jim West estimated the mass upsurge among workers, the conditions that gave rise to it, the status and problems of the organized rank-and-file movement and our tasks. It placed the need for struggle initiatives to give organized form to the mass discontent and link it up with the national rank-and-file forms.

STEEL JOBLESSNESS SINGLED-OUT

The steel struggle and unemployment were singled-out as tasks needing maximum Party support, building of committees of the unemployed and of the Action in Washington, D. C., May 22nd to 23rd. The relationship between point-of-production issues, trade union democracy and broader social issues, like peace, freedom for Angela Davis and all the special needs of the Black community were discussed. The decisions were:

1. Approve the report. It is to appear in Political Affairs, excerpts in the Daily World and in a mimeographed form.

2. To re-issue "Hard Hats and Hard Facts" with a new special Introduction, prepared by the Labor Commission.

3. We call for discussions and adoption of plans of work on steel in all districts and clubs, based on material coming out from Labor Commission.

4. This meeting of the National Committee reaffirms the decisions of the last National Committee meeting on Unemployment and of the Special National Conference of February 20th and 21st. We call for urgent and special attention and concentration on the disaster-crisis areas of mass unemployment and long-standing privation in the building of organizations and movements of the unemployed

and in support of all the preparations for the Washington Open Hearing. In each district, a Comrade and a collective body is to be given the responsibility for the unemployment work. A plan of work on unemployment is to be acted on by the political leadership in each District, including measures for mobilizing the whole Party. The Labor and Organization Departments are to check-up on the progress in the Districts, the building of local unemployed organizations and the work for the May 22nd and 23rd Open Hearing in Washington, D. C.

5. Every District is called upon to fully cooperate with the Labor Commission in helping to establish a National Labor Committee to Free Angela Davis, to help set up local committees and to give fullest support to insure the widest possible distribution of the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy folder on the case.

6. The Labor and Education Commissions shall prepare and get out materials for opening a discussion on what is the Left in the labor movement, its meaning and how to build it, including lessons from the past.

* * *

STATEMENT ON THE ATTACK ON LABOR
BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION - March 14, 1971

The National Committee of the Communist Party goes on record condemning the illegal nullification of the Davis-Bacon Act by President Nixon and urges mass actions by the trade unions to force its immediate reinstatement.

At the same time we demand an immediate end to racist discrimination against Black and other minority workers by the Building Trades Unions that has weakened these Unions--the unity of the entire trade union movement--and is a source of division with its most important ally, the Black peoples' liberation movement; we pledge to elevate the struggle against it.

An Important Aspect of the Fight Against Repression

The National Committee also takes this occasion to again alert the Party, the trade unions and all democratic forces to the pending anti-labor drive by the Nixon Administration. This drive has the following aspects:

1. Proposals to expand the so-called criminal section of the Landrum-Griffin Law, which would add perjury and other charges to hold over the heads of trade union officers and emerging rank-and-file leaders.

2. Renewed threat to outlaw the right-to-strike in the transportation industry as the West Coast Longshoremen enter into difficult negotiations with the shipowners.

3. Constant moves toward abolition of the right-to-strike, imposed settlements on the rank-and-file, a threatened freeze on wages as steelworkers enter collective bargaining in the aluminum, non-ferrous and steel industries.

The National Committee received two flags from the Communist Party of Puerto Rico in appreciation for the visit of the delegation headed by Comrades Hall and Pat Toohey. In addition to expressing its appreciation for the flags, the National Committee adopted the following statement:

STATEMENT ON REPRESSION AT UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
March 14, 1971

The National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A. calls for all progressives in the United States to give immediate support and all available assistance to the revolutionary youth and anti-imperialist forces of Puerto Rico who now confront conditions of severe repression.

We call upon all progressives to protest against and vigorously denounce the unprovoked and brutal attacks of the colonialist police against the 30,000 students of the University of Puerto Rico and the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico.

The people of the U.S. NOW must vigorously demand an instant halt of the repeated assaults against the students by the insular police, which is an arm of and directed by the Nixon-Agnew Administration.

The current bloodshed on the University of Puerto Rico campus is a repetition of March 4, 1970, when an armed police attack against students resulted in the wanton murder of the young student, Antonia Martinez, and attempts to destroy the headquarters of the Independence Movement and to assassinate its leaders.

The current bloodshed on the campus of the University

of Puerto Rico is part of the pattern and stems from the policy of violence utilized and encouraged by the reactionary Nixon-Agnew Administration in trying to suppress student protest against the dirty war waged by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people, and which also resulted in the murder of students at Kent and Jackson State Universities.

The militant youth of Puerto Rico are under attack because they energetically oppose the war of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia; because they resist attempts to militarize their University and demand dismantling of R.O.T.C. and pro-war programs; because hundreds refuse to register for obligatory military service and be used by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese and other peoples; because they demand the evacuation of the U.S. Navy from Culebra, and because they demand the independence of their homeland. The demands of the Puerto Rican youth and the Independence Movement are just and deserve the full support of every progressive in the United States.

The National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. transmits warm fraternal greetings to the Central Committee, Communist Party of Puerto Rico, to El Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico, to the revolutionary youth and all anti-imperialist fighters of Puerto Rico who lead the struggle against the repression of the reactionary Nixon-Agnew-Ferre Administration. We struggle side-by-side with you to defeat our common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

We urge all progressives in the United States and their organizations to adopt resolutions and send telegrams which demand an immediate cessation of the repression of the Puerto Rican Student and Independence Movement by the Nixon-Agnew-Ferre Administration, to organize demonstrations, to energetically support the demands of the Puerto Rican people for withdrawal from the Island of Culebra by the U.S. Navy; to support the demand for dismantling of R.O.T.C.; for an end of compulsory military service; and support the demand for the independence of Puerto Rico.

An information report on the progress of the recruiting drive was presented by Comrade Rubín. It indicated some significant progress in recruiting 150 new members since the start of the drive, but the pace is too slow. Some of the problems and methods of overcoming them were discussed. The report will appear in Party Affairs.

An information report on Indian Liberation was also presented dealing with some of the mass struggles, particularly around fishing rights and some of the work of

our National Commission in this field. It will appear in the proceedings.

SUMMARY BY HENRY WINSTON

Comrade Henry Winston summarized the meeting, singling out the most important conclusions and tasks under each report and discussion and highlighting the historic importance at this moment of the report and discussion on the struggle against racism and reflections of white chauvinism in our ranks. He also went into some experiences in recruiting and some of the problems pointing up the need for great thought, concreteness and planning in the fight to enlarge the Party and for the life of the clubs.

There was a sense of great confidence and enthusiasm at the end of the meeting.

As they left the National Committee meeting, the Comrades had the task of giving leadership in such a way that the inter-relationship of the many tasks facing the Party could be properly understood. In all struggles, we try and orient that particular movement toward the workers. In all struggles, we try and show in what way the struggle for Black Liberation and against specific manifestations of racism is central. We try to show how ending the aggression in Southeast Asia and the Middle East is key to being able to move forward on all other social issues. In all mass struggles, we try to show the relationship of repression, and particularly how the persecution of Angela Davis is related. While we do not try to make all struggles, movements and organizations multi-issue, as such, at this stage of development, there are these concrete inter-connections that we do try and demonstrate and develop responses on every issue possible.

In addition, there is the need for multi-issue forms and for the building of the Communist Party, which sees the fullest interrelationship of all issues and gradually imparts that to masses.

"VIVA LA RAZA!"--UNA POSICIÓN COMUNISTA SOBRE LA LIBERACIÓN DE LOS CHICANOS. The Spanish translation of "Viva La Raza!"--A Communist View on Chicano Liberation is now available. 16 pages, 25 cents. (The English edition is also still available--25 cents.)

- Order through your bookstore or literature department, or send orders to New Outlook Publishers, 32 Union Square East, Room 801, New York, N. Y. 10003.

PARTY CONFERENCE ON WORK AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

By George Meyers

This Conference is a continuation of the decision of the National Committee to place the question of unemployment high among the priorities of Party work.

At the November meeting of the National Committee, a Special Sub-Committee on Unemployment made the following evaluation:

"All signs point to the continuing growth of the army of unemployed in the U.S. It is already greater than the reported six per cent of the national work force."

Contrary to President Nixon's phony promises that unemployment would be reduced, the estimates of the November National Committee meeting of the Party have proven to be correct.

In many ways, we must consider the Conference this weekend as a check-up on how we are implementing these decisions. In the discussion, we have to address ourselves concretely to them. What did we do to carry them out? What did we not do? What have we accomplished? What are the problems we have to overcome? If we have not begun to move, then why not? What is needed from the National Office to implement the work in the Districts? Have we been able to use the Daily World and the People's World effectively?

The main thrust of the report on unemployment to the November meeting of the National Committee was the need to organize the unemployed. The National Committee then went on to adopt the following proposals to implement this undertaking:

1. We propose that the National Committee instruct the Organization Department to assign at least one full-time organizer to head a Party Committee on Unemployment to launch this work.
2. We propose the National Committee instruct each District to establish such Committees, the larger Districts to assign a full-time organizer to head them.
3. We propose a Conference of representatives of these Committees be held nationally to compare experiences and

plan further work, as soon as possible.

4. We urge consultation with the Coordinating Committees of the trade union Rank-and-File Movement, nationally and in each area, on the possibility of this Movement taking the lead in initiating and coordinating permanent organization for the fight against unemployment and its effects.

5. Every Party Club should be called upon to discuss the task of organizing the unemployed and assign forces for its fulfillment. This outline to be sent to all Clubs at once to contribute to such discussions.

6. It is proposed that the National Publications Committee of the Party prepare a popular pamphlet that would describe the experience of the organization and struggles of the unemployed, including the role of our Party during the great economic crisis of the '30's, written to be a practical guide for today's struggle, immediately get out a Memo of concrete suggestions on How to Get Local Committees off the ground.

I would like to deal briefly with several questions that seem to act as roadblocks in developing a struggle on unemployment by the Party and in the trade unions, the Peace Movement and other mass organizations of organizing committees of unemployed, themselves.

One question that frequently comes up, "Is this problem really serious?" Is this where we should put forces, when we have so many other problems and such limited cadre? Has the ruling class not learned something from the Great Depression? How about New Deal reforms, such as Unemployment Compensation, Supplementary Unemployment Benefits in some trade union contracts? It has been a long time since we have had mass unemployment. Is it possible the ruling class has learned to keep the problem within bounds it can handle?

Then, related to these questions, is this one. "Won't Nixon act to guarantee an economic upturn before the 1972 elections?"

These are all legitimate questions and require answers, if we are going to mount a real mass struggle around unemploymen

It is not our job to predict if or when unemployment will reach the disastrous proportions of the Depression, when between 19 and 20 million workers were without jobs. But we can declare, with all certainty, that unemployment is a serious problem--more serious than Big Business wants to admit. It is a growing problem. It is an inevitable product of the capitalist system, reforms or no reforms.

The Department of Labor admits that, as of January 30th, nearly 5½ million workers were out of jobs. But this is only half the story. Recent articles in the Daily World show that a more accurate figure would be closer to 12 million.

And this is 12 million out of work in a time of skyrocketing prices. A worker goes broke very quickly these days when he or she is laid-off.

As to controlling unemployment, it is true that Nixon stimulated unemployment in a deliberate effort to cool off militancy in the ranks of the workers. But, after he got clobbered in the November elections, he tried to reverse the trend. Has he been successful? It has been the other way around. Leaving aside the crisis of overproduction which is inherent in capitalism, there are other factors that are important in the unemployment picture.

Automation is growing by leaps and bounds. The multinational corporations are already costing U.S. workers jobs in the hundreds of thousands, and the figure is going much higher as unionized plants here are shut down and rebuilt in such areas of U.S. imperialist domination as Taiwan and South Korea, where unions are outlawed and wages average ten to 15 cents per hour.

While there may develop a temporary slowdown in the trend toward increased unemployment, there is nothing in the Nixon budget to provide any real relief, including the increase in military spending.

YOUTH, BLACK, PUERTO RICAN AND CHICANO WORKERS SUFFER MOST

Unemployment is hitting young workers the hardest. Among Black youth, the percentage is over 42 per cent, even according to U.S. Department of Labor figures, with jobs for young Black women almost disappearing entirely in many areas. Around unemployment, the vicious face of racism emerges in all its ugly brutality. And among older workers, the ratio of unemployed among Black workers is much higher than among whites. It is the same old story--the last hired and the first fired. In industries such as electric, where some breakthroughs had begun to be made, they are again almost lily-white.

If unemployed Chicano workers were listed separately (they are included in the "white" category), the relationship of racism to unemployment would be even more revealing. I recently read that San Antonio is the most poverty-stricken city in the country--more than half the population live below the poverty level. And San Antonio is followed by El Paso--30 per cent there.

The ruling class is incapable of effectively controlling unemployment, but they do try to turn it to their own

advantage. With the latest increase, we have numerous examples of this, including gloating statements to the effect that, "With so many unemployed, maybe the workers will hesitate before asking for higher wages." More and more workers are being asked to either forego wage increases or even accept wage cuts, so the "company can stay in business."

Since unemployment is an inevitable product of capitalism, the ruling class wants to make use of it by playing-off the employed against the unemployed. By making Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano workers the worst victims of unemployment, they seek to add the element of racism to their schemes.

Therefore, the fight against unemployment must be completely integrated with the fight against racism in hiring, promoting and laying-off. While it is not a simple question, we have to probe for a correct attitude toward seniority, when seniority lists are used to promote racism. We must fight to revise them. I think we have to get behind the idea of "reverse seniority," where older workers have first choice of voluntarily taking lay-offs when they occur. The reaction of many has been very favorable to this proposal.

In the fight for jobs, the demand for preferential hiring of Black and other minority workers who have been victimized by discrimination must be vigorously fought for.

POVERTY AND WELFARE

The fight around unemployment is not a single-sided question. It is certainly related to, and inseparable from, the whole question of poverty, of people on Welfare.

Of course, poverty is also related to the high cost of living, to high taxes and low wages, but the rise in the number of people on Welfare is directly related to the rise in unemployment. Welfare roles have shot up from 7½ million in 1965 to over 13 million right now, and the numbers are increasing rapidly from day-to-day. The Reverend Abernathy was right when he stated at the Manhattan Center Mass Meeting to Free Comrade Angela Davis that 40 million Americans now live in poverty.

President Nixon's proposal for \$1,600 a year for a family of four on Welfare is nothing less than criminal, when even the Government admits that the poverty level is over \$4,000, and anything below that means starvation. Sixty-nine per cent of all Welfare recipients are mothers with small children. While Nixon kills the children of Southeast Asia with napalm, he would subject the children of the poor in this country to early graves, due to starvation and malnutrition. Is that his idea of "population control?"

The fight around unemployment must be closely related to the fight to humanize Welfare. We have to demand that funds go to people on Welfare for food and clothing--and other necessities--not huge chunks of it to greedy landlords, hotel operators and doctors. Minimum wages must be raised so that a worker makes at least a living wage. What is it now? Well over \$7,000 for a family of four. In too many cases, Welfare is used to subsidize scab outfits that pay wages too low for their workers to even exist on. Companies that say they cannot pay a living wage must be shut down.

Comrades, the whole question of Unemployment Compensation reform is a natural avenue around which to organize committees of the unemployed. Local meetings of even small groups who agree to get together on one or another aspect--maybe the delay in getting checks or long waits standing in line--whatever the unemployed, themselves, consider a grievance about which something should be done.

Immediate pressure can be put on the State Capitols to extend the eligibility period, raise payments, widen coverage, etc.

DEVELOP ORGANIZATION FOR NEEDS OF UNEMPLOYED

Organization of movements around such local issues can stimulate support for the Washington Hearing organized by the national Rank-and-File movement that is demanding a whole new approach to Unemployment Compensation. The Act they are promoting makes five basic proposals, which I am sure Comrade James West will further develop:

1. Unemployment Compensation for all.
2. Payments for the entire duration of unemployment.
3. National uniform Compensation payments large enough to guarantee a moderate standard of living.
4. Strikers eligible for Unemployment Compensation.
5. Funded solely by Federal taxes on corporate profits.

By the way, you will find the question of funding also fits into the fight on a State level. Over the years, the corporations have been weaseling-out of their obligations. For instance, in Ohio, the tax on corporations started out as 2.7 per cent of their payroll, and they have whittled it down until it is now only half of one per cent.

Also, there are growing numbers of intense poverty areas. This offers the opportunity to put special demands on Congressmen in such hard-hit Districts.

The fight to expand Unemployment Compensation is one side of the fight. But we have to organize the fight for jobs. We must re-establish the fundamental principle that, when private industry cannot provide work, then it is the duty and responsibility of the Federal Government to do so--and at decent pay.

While a focal point of this Conference is the organization of the unemployed into movement around issues in which they can fight on their own behalf, any program around the question of unemployment has a number of sides. We want to develop a rounded program of a united-front nature around which the organizations of the Black people, the Peace Movement and, most certainly, the trade unions, can be mobilized.

UNITY OF WORKING CLASS DECISIVE

But before getting into other suggestions on program, I would like to raise one further ideological question that is being skirted-around in the petty-bourgeois Left which I think our Party must scotch right off the bat. There are some in such circles who see unemployment and poverty as a "community problem." They talk about "basic contradictions between the employed and the unemployed." Such thinking paves the road to disaster. It plays directly into the hands of the ultra-Right, who want to pit employed and unemployed against each other, heightening racism among white workers in the process. Just because the trade unions are not playing their proper role does not change things. The problem of unemployment is a problem of the working class. It is our job to unite the whole class in this struggle. To move organized labor, particularly its basic proletarian core, the workers in steel, auto, electric, to build rank-and-file support for the unemployed and poverty-stricken, to unite the employed and the unemployed around such mutually beneficial demands as the shorter work week with no reduction in pay, then the fight around unemployment must become very much a part of our policy of industrial concentration.

END OF WAR NEEDED FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

The fight on unemployment and poverty is directly related to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and, first of all, the end of the war in Southeast Asia. Grass-roots peace organizations can be built around the demand for a change in priorities. The Peace Movement should be exposing the economic effects of the war. A drastic reduction in military spending, with the funds to be used for the needs of the people. Let us stop killing people abroad and clean up this country of ours. Adequate housing is a crying need of the working class in all parts of the country. A Federally-financed program of 2.5 million low- and middle-income homes per year for the next ten years is needed to even begin to meet the needs, and put several million construction workers on the job. Let us stop sub-

sidizing apartments for the upper middle class. Let us stop underwriting the cost of big office buildings. Let us stop paying three, four, five hundred dollars a month to grasping landlords for rat-ridden slum dwellings for people on Welfare. A Federally-financed program of low- and middle- income homes is what is needed. That will put every unemployed construction worker back on the job, with a lot more needed. Here is the perfect place to begin preferential hiring in relation to Black and other minority workers.

Mayor Lindsay is talking about getting automobiles off the streets of New York City to help relieve congestion and pollution. That is Lindsay for you, as usual--putting the cart before the horse. As New York City's Mayor, he should be doing something concrete for adequate public transportation, first of all by exposing the role of the Port Authority and Governor Rockefeller in siphoning off the gravy for the benefit of the bondholders. Adequate, low-cost public transportation is a crying need in just about every single metropolitan area. Then people will not be forced to use their cars, paying ungodly fees to the politicians that own the parking lots.

While we are talking about transportation, let us take a look at the railroads. Literally billions in Federal funds are poured into this industry. What was the latest? Two hundred million dollars into a bankrupt Penn-Central. While the owners are lining their pockets, all the people get are broken-down equipment, less and less service, higher fares and fewer jobs for railroad workers. A democratically-controlled plan of nationalization would mean a big expansion of the railroad system and services, with an accompanying increase of jobs. Here, again, preferential hiring in relation to Blacks and other minorities is very much in order to overcome the virtually lily-white situation in railroad jobs.

The fight for tax reform is closely related to the fight for jobs and against poverty. The long-range program of monopoly to shift the tax burden to the backs of the poor has had some success. This process must be reversed. Our Party must again raise the slogan, "Tax the Rich."

And then there is New York's pet peeve--the telephone system. Again, a source of enormous profits. Telephone service in the country is a scandal. This monopoly will spend hundreds of millions to automate and lay-off workers, but refuses to put enough workers on the job to properly take care of even minor services and repairs. Now they have the gall to ask for a 29½ per cent rate increase in the New York area!!

PROGRAM NEEDED FOR JOINT STRUGGLES OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED

There are certain aspects of a program which lend themselves most readily to joint struggles of the employed and the unemployed. The increase in the minimum wage has already been mentioned. Also, the fight for the shorter work week. Here is an issue that is again very much on the order of the day. Rank-and-file pressure has to elevate it to a high place on labor's economic and political programs. The Steel Union is making it a top demand, at least in its propaganda. Sections of the rubber workers, garment, printing, construction, mining and others have already made some limited gains toward a shorter work week. But the corporations and faint-hearted union officials are already trying to maneuver around this issue. How United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock can see "exciting possibilities" in a four-day week of ten-hour days is beyond me. In addition to militant rank-and-file actions for "30 hours work and 40 hours pay," an end must be put to compulsory overtime, and overtime forbidden altogether when workers in a given plant or industry are laid-off.

Is it not time for militant actions against arbitrary plant shutdowns and lay-offs? We have some good experiences in our own history and, just recently, I read that when certain mines were to be shut down in France, the Miners Union called a General Strike and occupied mining company offices. It is going to take a militant rank-and-file to initiate such actions here in the U.S.

Let us take these companies that are shutting down plants and running off to such low-paying areas as Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea. What is the union leadership doing, in the main? Calling for boycotts on anonymous "foreign imports." Some are raising the dangerous slogan of "Buy American." If a militant rank-and-file movement had taken up the struggle when, say, Zenith shut down its Chicago plant or, as the workers at International Harvester began to do before the U.A.W. leadership turned them off, this struggle would be on a much higher level today.

We have to help initiate rank-and-file actions, designed to challenge autocratic decisions of the corporations that add to the growing army of the unemployed.

Unemployment has hit some areas much harder than others. Perhaps the Comrades from such areas can help us. Perhaps the Los Angeles experiences can help show us how to begin a struggle in hard-hit communities for a moratorium on debts, no foreclosures on homes and postponement of pay-

ments on furniture, cars and other such items.

SPECIAL APPROACH TO YOUNG WORKERS

We need a special approach to unemployment as far as young workers are concerned. Many have never had a job and, therefore, are not covered by Unemployment Compensation. One demand must be the payment of Compensation to young job seekers as soon as they are eligible to seek work. Any idea of less pay for younger workers has to be fought and exposed. Discrimination in hiring because of draft status must be put to an end.

The fight for a Summer Jobs Program just cannot wait for the May Conference or anything else. The millions of young workers already jobless will soon be joined by several hundred thousand more who graduate from school. Many working-class college students will be looking for Summer jobs, in order to make enough money to get back to school. What is going to happen to these millions of kids this Summer? New victims for National Guard and Army attacks? Let us begin the fight for a Federal Summer Jobs Program right from this Conference.

Also, let us not forget that over one million G.I.'s are coming out of military service this year to look for jobs in the face of rising unemployment. In the face of this situation, Senator Barry Goldwater is talking about a "well-paid, contented, professional army." If such funds can be used to hire young men to kill in the service of imperialism, surely it is a proper demand that there be money provided for a decent income for unemployed veterans and youth, especially first-time job seekers.

BUILD LOCAL ORGANIZATION AS PRE-CONDITION TO NATIONAL MOVEMENT

We have our work cut out for us. First of all, to build local bases to guarantee the success of the National Rank-and-File Hearing, scheduled for Washington on May 22nd and 23rd. There must be a special committee in each District to guarantee carrying it out.

Support for the National Rank-and-File Action must be raised in every possible trade union body, and the trade union movement aroused on the whole question of unemployment. Some top-level actions by the AFL-CIO leaders in a number of localities, along with Alliance for Labor Action leaders in New York, for instance, are already in motion. But, we know from sad experience that very little real action will come out of such meetings, except through the movements of an aroused rank-and-file.

We have to join the organizations of the Black community already engaged in struggles on Welfare and other problems of the poor and develop other forms of united-front struggle, as well.

Passing out leaflets and sending out letters is all well and good. But, our experiences up to now show that that is not enough. It is not enough to talk to people. We have to talk with them, to get in there and mix in. That is the only way to gain their confidence. That is true of building a union or any other organization, and it is true of building an unemployed movement. We have to let people see us, know us, if we are to win their trust. That is the only way that they will ever accept our leadership on unemployment or any other struggle. Anything which smacks of a social-worker approach will be disastrous. Workers today are looking for militant leadership. We should not shy away from giving it.

We must develop a class-struggle approach in this fight on unemployment. We want to attract these young Black and white workers, young militants, especially. These are the kinds of workers we have to reach to organize. It is from such radicalized militants, both among the employed and the unemployed, that we are going to build our Party.

* * *

2 NEW PAMPHLETS DEALING WITH THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

RACISM: THE NATION'S MOST DANGEROUS POLLUTANT, by Gus Hall. A call to white workers, the Left and radical movements and the Communist Party for a renewed and intensified struggle against the influences of racism and white chauvinism. Report given to the National Committee, March 14, 1971. Includes an introduction co-authored by Henry Winston, William L. Patterson, Claude Lightfoot and Charlene Mitchell. 40 pages, 50 cents.

A COMPANION PAMPHLET by Henry Winston, also dealing with the struggle against white chauvinism, to be published in matching format. Title and price not yet determined, but advance orders should be sent in now. Publication expected early May.

PLANS SHOULD BE MADE FOR USE AND PROMOTION OF THE ABOVE TWO PAMPHLETS TOGETHER.

OTHER NEW PAMPHLETS:

NEW PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. SECOND PRINTING
The first printing of the Party's Program sold out--10,000 copies.
The second printing is now ready. 50 cents.

(to order, see page 9)

THE WASHINGTON HEARING FOR JOBS & AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

By James West

The stated objectives of the Washington Hearing initiated by the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy are:

1. To consider and act on new approaches to the fight for jobs and full employment, against unemployment, in terms of both legislative proposals and mass action and organization.
2. To help launch a new national organization of unemployed which will work closely with NCCTUAD, Welfare Rights Organization, SCLC, and the various poor peoples movements among Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and white peoples.
3. To act on ways and means for winning the labor movement to an effective fight for jobs for all, for more adequate provision for the unemployed, on all fronts; to stimulate the formation of committees and other forms on unemployment in the labor movement.

The Conference initiators hope for upwards of five hundred representatives of unions, union committees, rank-and-file committees, and of unemployed organizations and other groups concerned with the problems of unemployment and employment.

It has proposed minimum targets for the size of delegations from the various states, urging that some 60 per cent of all delegations be representative labor delegates, and the rest coming from unemployed organizations and committees, welfare rights groups and other poor peoples organizations.

It has strongly urged all state and area rank-and-file coordinating committees to take up the fight on the urgent issues of the unemployed--from fighting for the needs of a family in dire distress to fighting for amending and strengthening the state unemployment compensation laws; and on this basis, establishing committees of organizations of the unemployed which will elect delegates to the Washington Hearing. It has set an objective of at least 15 such organizations to be established in as many cities across the country as a minimum base for launching a new national organization of the jobless at the Washington Hearing.

WHERE DO WE START?

Experience has already shown that the form of organization will vary from city to city.

In Milwaukee, the Rank-and-File Committee got a fantastic response to handbills and petitions based on TUAD's Unemployment Act of 1971 proposal with which it covered two of the three Unemployment Compensation offices. They were warmly received at the long lines of unemployed, whose militancy and fighting mood is high. The Milwaukee Rank-and-File Committee received over 40 letters from these jobless workers, thanking it for its efforts and asking for information on what to do. It also put out material telling the jobless what their rights were and where they could go to get help in relation to different kinds of problems.

They called meetings of those who wrote letters, with 20 to 25 responding. They established what they call the Unemployed Section of the Milwaukee Rank-and-File Committee. An interesting development came when some of the members of the Unemployed Section were called back to work. They retained their relationship with the Rank-and-File Committee, which they valued highly, and undertook to build rank-and-file committees in their plants. The Milwaukee Committee also established a good working relationship with Welfare Rights Organization, and is helping Madison develop a similar program.

In Seattle, the Rank-and-File Committee was the first in the country to react to the rapid growth of unemployment there as a result of the massive lay-offs in the aircraft industry. They promoted a petition for a special session of the State Legislature, advanced a Bill of Rights of the Unemployed, succeeded in getting some important labor support and won some concessions. They are in a good position to follow-through with organization of the unemployed.

In South Bend, an Unemployed Workers and Youth Alliance was established which succeeded in getting some 1,500 signatures within a few days on a petition calling for amendments to the State Unemployment Compensation Laws.

In Los Angeles, there is a Los Angeles County Unemployed Association which, after a shaky start, has launched out in a broad way, beginning to get a good response to such demands as full coverage for the entire duration of unemployment and for a moratorium on debts for the unemployed.

In Ohio, the Rank-and-File Committee has issued a call for a state conference on unemployment in March. One steel worker, on getting a copy of the Unemployment Act of 1971 proposals, issued by the Ohio Committee, made a motion that his local union demand payment of unemployment compensation from last pay check to first paycheck. It passed unanimously.

In Illinois, the Rank-and-File Coordinating Committee has issued an Open Letter to State Legislators, calling for a number of measures aimed at vastly improving the State Compensation Laws. They have also announced plans for holding Open Hearings in two Congressional Districts.

In Pittsburgh, the proposed Unemployment Act of 1971 was unanimously endorsed by a Carpenters Local.

HEARINGS TO BE HELD BY SENATE GROUP

A Senate Sub-Committee, under the Chairmanship of Senator Jennings Randolph (D., W. Va.), is preparing to hold hearings on the problem of unemployment and jobs in various parts of the country. An inquiry to him or your own Senator can establish when the Sub-Committee will be in your area. Local Rank-and-File Committees can be encouraged to take the initiative in rallying labor and community organizations to attend the hearing and use it as a rallying point for local action, organization and mobilization of Delegates to Washington, May 22nd and 23rd.

It has also been suggested that, wherever possible, open hearings be held in Congressional districts as rallying, focal points in building local movement on urgent needs, as well as for mobilizing for Washington. Many Congressmen will agree to be at such a hearing in their District, if it is organized by the Rank-and-File Committee and other community forces, such as Welfare Rights (which has 700 chapters across the country). If a Congressman gets another Congressman from the other major party to sit in on such a hearing with him, then the hearing becomes an official one, having the power to make official recommendations for legislation, etc.

It has been announced that the Call for the Washington Hearing will be out about mid-March. Plans should be made to go into action with it as soon as it arrives--both in mailings to local unions, Rank-and-File Committees and organizations of the poor, as well as using it in a mass way at Compensation Offices in areas of high unemployment. Lo-

cal areas should be prepared to reproduce the Call in massive quantities, if they feel they have not received enough of them.

Experience has shown that there is a terrific response to petitions which put forward a few urgent demands which the unemployed recognize as vitally necessary. When you get unemployed taking the time to sit down and write letters, as they did in Milwaukee, New York and elsewhere, then you know that they are not only saying, "Thank God, somebody cares!"--they are also saying they are ready for action and organization. It is, therefore, essential to guarantee that no time be lost in responding to such letters with visits and invitations to come to organizing and action meetings.

It is especially important that, when such meetings take place, the unemployed be encouraged and helped to take over leadership of their own organization--for it is from their ranks that leadership, on a national and state scale, must come for the new organization of unemployed. At the same time, organized, systematic and planned attention should be given to the work of our people in the great mass organization of the Welfare Rights movement, in order to help strengthen and make that important movement even more effective.

ORGANIZATIONS WILL VARY IN FORM

In establishing new organizations of the unemployed, the conditions of their birth will leave a lasting impression on their character and direction. From the very beginning, they should be action-oriented. If, for example, they get out a petition, it should also be a mobilizer and organizer for a specific, concrete action on a specific date and place--such as a demonstration at the Compensation Office, a march to the State Capitol or State Office Building, or whatever else is decided upon, in support of the petition demands, in which the signers are asked to come out and back up what they signed. It may be no more than a fight for a warm place to sit while waiting for the Compensation check--whatever the issue, it can quickly give rise to action and organization, provided leadership is there to give it.

The tasks before us call on us to rebuild our Party as a Party of struggle. In this sense, the mobilization for Washington is a kind of test for our Party.

From the agreement arrived at in this Conference, we must insure the necessary follow-through by:

1. Organizing discussions throughout the whole Party.
2. Formulation of concrete plans of work in each District, including concrete approach to where the Delegates are to

come from, how it shall be done, who will do it, how to insure the necessary composition that is called for, how to assist the Delegates in raising the funds to go, etc. The plans must include concrete measures for establishing organizations of the unemployed, for circulating and building our press, etc.

3. The setting-up of a Committee, with a Comrade in charge, on unemployment in every larger District; and at least one Comrade in charge in every District.

4. Provision must be made for weekly check-up and control on the fulfillment of the decisions.

5. Copies of the District plans of work should be sent to the National Office as soon as they are drawn up and approved.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION AT UNEMPLOYMENT PARLEY

By Gus Hall

I have a kind of unique opportunity, as I told the National Committee here today. I did not make the Report and I am not going to make the Summary. As you know, a Report and a Summary have to be balanced. But I am not reporting and, therefore, I am going to be one-sided.

My assignment is to speak about the weaknesses. I think it is necessary for us to do that. I am not critical about the fact that what we have heard so far is the very best that we have. The best experiences that we have had have come forward so far and that is perfectly all right. But if we take that as the rule, we would be making a mistake. Therefore, I am going to balance it off by being negative.

I think, in a general sense, that we have not followed up the National Committee decisions. We have not fulfilled those decisions. One of the things that we decided was that we were going to put an end to talk about unemployment, and we were going to move into the area of action. With some very fine exceptions, we have not moved from talk to action. The exceptions have appeared here. I was especially impressed by Wisconsin, and some things about Southern California. These contributions to the discussion will appear in the next issue of Party Affairs.

INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES, NOT THOSE OF PARTY

If you listened carefully, you would have noted that they were individual experiences, not yet Party experiences. I say, great praise to these individuals--but the problem is bigger than that. I will say that the exceptions in this case that have come forward only prove the correctness of the policy.

I think that it is very clear, right from the beginning, that the decisions of the November Meeting of the National Committee were absolutely correct and necessary. But, as I said, in a general sense, we must be very dissatisfied. We must be dissatisfied with the level of the work and what we have not done. In a fundamental sense, we have not broken with the past lack of activity in this field. That task still remains before us. Because if you start adding up, you must ask: What organizational forms have taken place? What specific actions have taken place since the National Committee Meeting? What initiatives has the Party used since the National Committee Meeting? And the total does not add up to the seriousness of the problem. I think that is just a fact of life.

Work among the unemployed is a feature of our class concentration policy and we should see it as such. It is not separate from the working-class concentration policy, but a part of it and a very important feature of this policy. I was even thinking that we should have called a different kind of a meeting than this one--at least in name. I do not think we should have called a meeting and called it a "Conference on Unemployment." I think we should have called a workshop on activities, organization and Communist leadership and initiatives in this field. I think that should have been the nature of the Conference and we should have planned it accordingly. I am self-critical on this for not having thought of it earlier, but I think that is what is needed.

REALITIES OF SITUATION TODAY

Another general thought: I think that the experiences--and here again, Wisconsin is very interesting--show that the forms and issues and methods will not repeat the 1930 experience. I think that it is obvious from the realities, from what the unemployed face--some on unemployment insurance, some on public welfare, and so on. I think in scope, it is a broader issue and what we will most likely have

is a movement of the unemployed that will have different divisions in it. Therefore, I think it is obvious already that the situation is different and the experiences already show it. That is why I am so impressed with Wisconsin. Everything that they said was what went into building a kind of movement in many areas and working with other organizations. I think it is the direction that we have to go in.

We know that economic developments move in cycles. Those of you who have been in Party Schools studying political economy know that. In a sense, we of the Party move in cycles, also. On this matter, I think, we are in the wrong cycle--or a wrong part of the cycle--or we are late in the cycle. We are moving now on the unemployment problem when employment is on the upturn. I think we have to recognize this.

In other words, today we are where we should have been eight or nine months ago. We should have had this Conference then, and not today. Or, at least, I would say last October. I think the Rank-and-File Conference, the action in Washington should have been today, if not yesterday.

POLITICAL "LEAD-TIME" FAR TOO SLOW

Our political lead-time is out of step with the times. "Lead-time" in industry is used as the time between the blueprint and the product. Our political lead-time is altogether too long. It does not measure up with the speed of events in today's world. We proposed concrete measures even before the National Committee Meeting, but especially at the National Committee Meeting. Look at this lead-time, Comrades! The idea of our promoting the Rank-and-File meeting to call that Washington Conference was taken then, and even before--and it is going to be next May! It will be a lead-time of almost a year. It just does not measure up. In other words, I think we took up the issue almost on time--not quite. We were late even taking it up. What happened in between is something we will have to deal with as a Party if we are going to measure up to the speed of events.

You know, space science talks about building a space platform to orbit the Earth. I think some of us have beat them to the punch. I think we tend to float on a political platform in space, making speeches and having discussions about problems as they appear from that lofty platform. I would say that we look like well-dressed Martians coming to speak about the problems of the unemployed down on Earth.

A CRITICAL SITUATION FOR LONG PERIOD

Now I want to go briefly into some experiences. Again, let me say that I think we have missed the top of the wave on this particular question. That does not, therefore, mean that the problem is not urgent or that it is not going to remain with us. Nothing of the kind. I think we have reached a point in the economic crisis, in the deterioration of economic problems and developments in the country where unemployment is going to stay with us as an important problem for a long period of time. It is critical in many areas and it is going to stay that way. We know the areas: Black Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, youth, women--and even, as a new feature, among professional, technical and scientific workers. The fact that we have missed the top of the wave does not, in any sense, cut down the importance of this activity. However, I think we will do better if we assess it realistically and not kind of put it aside or sweep it under the rug and not look at it point-blank. For instance, the fact that this Hearing will be held only means that we must put greater emphasis on the local developments now that we would have if we had to mobilize for it immediately.

Why is this lag in lead-time an important question? That bothers me more than anything else about our Party's work. Why this lag? And, frankly, I do not have an answer to it. It seems to me that part of the time of this Conference should be to investigate it and to assess it honestly and frankly. What is the hang-up? By deduction, you must reach certain conclusions. For instance, I think you can leave out the question of whether we know how to organize things. I do not think that is the answer. We have tremendous experience and we have shown we can organize. I do not think that is the problem. It must be some place else. I think part of it may go into the assessment of the nature of the problem of unemployment, the depth of it and how long it is going to be with us. I think that is a problem in some places--but I think it goes further than that.

EXAMINATION OF WORK IN DISTRICTS

I think it goes into the area of how we see ourselves as a Party. It goes into the area of how we see ourselves as a Party of action. Action is concrete. I think it will go into that kind of an area and, therefore, I would be especially interested what Comrades from the Districts have to report on concrete actions--especially Comrades who are

responsible for political initiatives in Districts. The hang-ups are not only in Districts--nationally we have the same problems. You know we talked about this question of Why. We discussed not only Why, but exactly What we did between the National Committee Meeting and now. What was the nature of our discussion in the State Committees, in the State Boards, in the Staffs? What was the nature of those discussions? Did they get with it on specific questions or were they general in nature? What was the hang-up? And with that--what did we try to do?

Efforts that fail are as important as efforts that succeed. Therefore, to discuss here efforts that we failed in is just as important, because we must draw lessons from them. There are a number of efforts that have totally failed and some of them have been mentioned--even Wisconsin said that one effort was "disastrous" (I think that was the phrase). But we should examine it. Why? That type of a workshop approach, I think, is necessary. What was the nature of our decisions on this question? Before the National Committee Meeting and after the National Committee Meeting? Take the State of Washington, where we have had nearly three years of depression. I was involved in two or three discussions in Washington. I liked what was said--it was very important--but I do not think there was an approach to answering this question as a Party. As a Party, have our initiatives, our efforts matched three years of depression--and I mean deep depression? I do not think so. I think we ought to examine it. Why not? You have to be on the West Coast, and especially in Seattle, to see the nature of that depression and some of the concrete results affecting lives by the tens of thousands. Therefore, I think there has to be a concrete study. A crisis of that nature is a crisis for the Party--if the Party does not react to it, it is an even bigger crisis. And I would say again, let us talk about what the priorities of the Government are--and more about changes of our priorities, as a Party. I think that is a necessary thing.

VARIED CATEGORIES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

For instance, it is interesting that there are different categories of the unemployed--those on Unemployment Insurance, those on the Welfare rolls. But who are the starving unemployed? Where are they? I know some of them are on the Welfare rolls, but besides that? What is with them? Are we so far out on that space platform that it does not even come into consideration--that we do not even approach it? And there are such pockets. I just saw some studies in New York City, where there are pockets, not just families of people whose kids are dying of starvation, and who have

no outlook to change that. But where are in in matters of that nature? As a Party of the poor, should we not--when we get down from that platform--examine such questions? And not only examine them, but take concrete steps to do something about it? Is that not also one of the bases for work among the unemployed? I think so. But it does not come into our considerations or our discussions.

Concrete approaches: for instance, that South Bend demonstration. I think we should have examined it. It was supposed to be a regional demonstration. It would be interesting to know what was the reason for us to think that Chicago workers would go to South Bend to demonstrate. What was the reasoning behind that thought? Did we think that the unemployed of Chicago would go to South Bend, Indiana to demonstrate about their problems? South Bend is not their State Government, is not their City Government. It is not their Congressional District. Then why would they go to South Bend? On a lark? To support the unemployed of South Bend? I mean--how did we try to mobilize for it? What did we tell the unemployed of Chicago they were going to do? Whom were they going to impress about the problem in South Bend? Not the Governor. Because Ogilvie is not there. Not Daley, because he is not there. Nixon certainly is not--nor is Congress. Instead of that, why not initiative to demonstrate in Illinois? In Springfield or in Chicago? Then you think of a logical argument for the unemployed--or why they should move. But for the life of me, I could not think of how you could convince unemployed workers in Chicago--and I said so in Chicago before the demonstration, so it is not a new thing--to go to South Bend. Is that not an example of thinking on that space platform? Is that not a space platform approach to concrete problems that people face? I think so.

As a young man visiting Moscow years ago, I have always remembered this incident. The American Party Leadership Delegation gave a lengthy report on its program, which had been worked out at the beginning of the struggles of the 1930's. The South Bend demonstration reminds me of the remark of a Communist International leader in his discussion of the American Party's program: "Comrades, you can't lead chickens across the road with that kind of a program!" I think he was right.

It is in the same vein that you have to ask--I have looked over some of the leaflets and some of the other material directed toward unemployed workers: What is the reasoning behind thinking that the unemployed will respond to a call to come and discuss the problem of unemployment? If we look at why the Wisconsin meeting was a disaster, you will find the answer in this area. What is the reasoning behind thinking that people will come, when you invite

them to a small inner meeting--to protest the problems of unemployment? Do you think that workers feel that they are protesting when they come to a little meeting in some hall, or that they will respond to that kind of a call? Or what makes us think that they will respond to a leaflet that said--"Come and discuss what to do about unemployment"--without a program or anything of the kind?

These experiences are what we should have discussed, because we have many of them. They did not respond and we should examine why. What is the nature of the problem? What is the level of the readiness of workers to act? They are not going to respond to such generalities, in my opinion, and we should understand it. They will respond to realistic actions on understandable issues. That is the key to the approach on how we are going to help develop a movement.

I think it is necessary to ask at this time why the Rank-and-File Movement moves so slowly on this issue? We have to be honest in saying that it was not the non-Communists in the Rank-and-File Movement who failed to move. It was us. We hesitated. We resisted. We should examine that. It is not a crime, but we should examine it. Why the resistance, why the slowness, why the dragging of the feet? Was it because of some different concept of what the Rank-and-File Movement is? Or what?

It is obvious that the decision to work with the Rank-and-File Movements was correct, because the only responses that we have--the only progress that we have made--is exactly when the Rank-and-File Movement became involved. Like Wisconsin. That is the key. Its correctness is proven by what has happened to the Rank-and-File Movement. It is that militant level that is necessary. And it can move the rest of the trade union movement while it takes independent forms of action. I think that is very obvious from the experiences.

KIND OF PROGRAM THAT IS NEEDED

Where to start--where to begin the movement? Should you begin on a national scale, on a local scale, on a regional scale--in South Bend, instead of Chicago? Well, my personal reaction to it is that that is the platform debate. I do not think it is a real issue. You start where it is possible. What is wrong with starting it on many levels? Simultaneously, if necessary. The fact is that, on an issue like this, you cannot build an unemployment movement without simultaneously beginning to have some national approach to the question. The Welfare Rights move-

ment had to move in that direction. That is a very important experience.

If we look at history, the Rank-and-File Movement in mass production industries went so far and no further as did local organizations, until some national forms--the organizing committees appeared--including the Committee for Industrial Organization and the industrial committees, Steelworkers Organizing Committee, Auto Workers Organizing Committee, etc. Therefore, I do not think there is any contradiction. I think the debate takes place only because we are on that platform and not where the issue is.

What is needed now is organization. The fact is that generalities, general talk never creates an organization. The only thing that creates an organization is attention to the nitty-gritty problems. That is what creates organization--nothing else. You can talk from now until doomsday, but if we are not going to sit down on a local level, a District level, a national level and concretely discuss exactly what we are going to do and how we are going to do it, who is going to do it, when we are going to do it--and check-up on that--there will be no further movement. Otherwise, it is spontaneity.

I would say that we have to make another decision. Let us put a ban on any other discussion about the unemployed question. Facts, figures--who needs proof now that there is a problem? A ban on everything else but the nitty-gritty of moving an organized unemployed.

One other interesting thing about Wisconsin. I have one of their pieces of literature. It is interesting because it gives instruction and information about what workers can do. It is put in poetry form. But it goes into information.

As part of our efforts at building an unemployed movement, we must do two other things. We must develop experts. If you look at that Wisconsin piece, somebody who is an expert had to know some of these things. Experts on the question of rights of unemployed, and so on. I think they are absolutely essential in this period to build an unemployed movement. The possibility that union halls can become that and that they are staffed. As I said, I was assigned to speak about the weaknesses. You have heard and you will hear some more positive developments in specific areas. Take my remarks just to balance-off the picture, and I think we will get the total view in that way.

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE 1930'S

By Carl Winter

The issue of unemployment affects millions of people in the United States. It affects sections of the working class who have acquired a new quality of militancy, who have reached a new level of challenging the existing state of affairs in the country politically, who need our leadership and influence in order to take up effective struggle. This leadership is needed, not simply to resolve some legislative issue of the moment, not simply to throw the weight of these forces on the side of some temporary reform, but to help these sections of the working class to become a vital force in the growing confluence of progressive democratic struggles that our Party has been working for to give shape and effectiveness to the anti-monopoly coalition that will take on the character of a powerful mass people's political force.

If we review the history of the recent period, we will see the growing confluence of the struggles for Black Liberation, for peace, against repression, for the rights of organized labor, of youth militancy. The addition of the struggle of the unemployed will give further vitality to this growing political people's force that it is our strategic aim to create.

I would like to say a few words about an approach to work among the unemployed. I think certainly that, at no time in history, is it possible to repeat the past. But, also, our Movement is based upon learning from the past. We do not want to repeat the past, but that does not only mean that we do not think we should repeat the good things. It means also that we need our Party to help the working class avoid making the mistakes of the past. Somebody may want to avoid doing what we did in the past, thinking that those things were good for then, something else will be good for now. That may well be true, but that does not save us from doing the wrong things that we did in the past--unless our Party, as the conscious vanguard force in the working class, points out some of the lessons that were learned in the past.

TENDENCIES TO FIGHT AGAINST

So, Comrades, I would like to call attention to one, at least, of the important lessons that we learned from the struggles of the unemployed in the past. I would like to remind the Comrades that the tendency, very naturally, which we are experiencing today in the efforts of Comrades to work among the unemployed is a tendency that we fought against in the '30's and which we overcame successfully and which was the basis of the achievements which our Party was able to contribute toward in the '30's among the unemployed--and that was avoidance of the natural inclination to do social work among the unemployed. By that, I mean that there is a natural tendency to issue leaflets, as was pointed out here: to call a meeting on general grievances--nobody likes to be out of a job--and to assume that we will simply give people our wisdom about what the law says you can do, about where the agencies are to take your problem to, and so on. Well, the very first thing that we learned in the organization of the unemployed in the '30's was that our job is to help the unemployed organize themselves--and not to be missionaries--not to be social workers, not to assume or lead them to believe that we can solve their problems for them.

After all, Comrades, we are now meeting in preparation for a broader Conference that will be taking place under broader auspices in Washington in May. We are not the same as that Conference. We are part of the vanguard Party. Our conception of the role of that Conference and our conception of the significance of the struggle against unemployment is related to the basic question of fighting against this socio-economic system that is responsible for unemployment, war and all other evils. This gives meaning to our Party and to our Party's full Program. Therefore, our prime concern, while always seeking to alleviate the immediate burdens upon the mass of the working people, is to use their natural desire to save themselves from the immediate oppressive effects of this system--to show them its inter-connection with all other problems that weigh upon the people.

WAR QUESTION CANNOT BE DIVORCED

That is why, for example, the war question cannot be divorced from the fight against unemployment. Never was the relation of the prosecution of imperialist war so intimately and publicly bound up with the struggle against unemployment as it is today. Everybody sees it in the meaning of the budget, in the denial of the needs of cities for the

purposes of prosecuting this imperialist war.

Everybody knows that the minute you raise demands for fulfilling the needs of the unemployed, you come into collision with the misuse of all the funds for war purposes. But our Party has to show the connection. Our Party has to mobilize people to fight on these issues in an inter-connected way. Let me call your attention to how we overlook obvious things. Nobody mentioned that, in Comrade Meyers' Report, a point was made of the fact that Senator Barry Goldwater called for Congress to appropriate funds to give attractive salaries to a professional army as the way to avoid the Draft--to overcome the Draft. And Comrade Meyers, in his Report, very correctly said that every young person who is worried about the Draft and who is being now told that the solution will be a professional army can be shown that, if there are these necessary huge sums of money going to be made available by Congress to pay attractive salaries to professional soldiers, then it would be better to use that money to pay for young people to stay in school, to learn a trade, to get a proper education, to be prepared for a job even, if necessary, to be subsidized by some kind of Federal assistance up until they can get a job when they get out of school. This is how we, as Communists, inter-link the question of the struggle against war and the struggle against unemployment. It gives meaning to our efforts.

It also makes it possible to organize those who are the victims of the situation to do the work. We always talk about lack of cadre. We always talk about too many tasks. And nobody can deny that those are problems of our organization. But in the struggle against unemployment, we have ready-made cadre, if we go to it.

HOW CADRE DEVELOPED FROM JOBLESS STRUGGLES

If the Comrades want to know something about the experiences of the '30's, let them look around in the leading cadre of the Party today. Let them look around the roster of the leading cadre which organized the CIO in the late '30's--and where did they come from? They were trained under the leadership of our Party in the day-to-day struggles of the unemployed of the early '30's--that is where these organizers came from. A whole generation of young people was trained under our Party's leadership to learn how to organize in the early '30's in the struggle against unemployment. People are there who want to move, who want to do something. If we give them political direction and assistance and the benefit of our past experience, then we have cadre available, more cadre available in the struggle against unemployment than anywhere else. These are people who have time--unfortunately, they have time. We can put that time to good use.

I would say, Comrades, that what we need to do is to address ourselves not to what looks to us like some burdensome tasks set by the National leadership, but to concrete questions. How are we going to call a national meeting? How are we going to have a national demonstration? It becomes a burden because we start at the top. We must recognize that, in given communities, in given areas, a particular unemployment bureau where unemployment checks are handed out--not in general, but at a particular bureau, the one where one of our Comrades has to report every week, that one, not some other general bureau, that Comrade, with whatever his Club, his Section, his District can give him, talks to those people with whom his unemployed condition brings him in contact and gets them to form a committee--not in general--like changing the law about unemployment.

That is all very good in the long run. But to change the fact that you have to stand out in zero weather for hours to wait for your check. You start with the people's gripes. You do not start with our ultimate political program. And if a half-dozen people who are sore about standing out in the cold waiting for the compensation check form a committee and force their way to the head of the line, not in their own behalf, but in behalf of the whole line--you would be surprised at how many people you would find ready to organize. Those are committeemen. Those are organizers. Those are cadre.

WHAT HAS TO BE DONE ON LOCAL LEVEL

We have to find out: When does the City Council Finance Committee meet? Then get a half-dozen people who are out of work to go to that meeting. Sometimes, those meetings even take place at night, when people who are employed can support unemployed spokesmen by being present. Start out with a simple question: "What are you appropriating money for in this City Council Finance Committee? We can think of something more important, namely, all these families that need immediate care."

I am reminded, Comrades, that we went to Washington in the Unemployed Hunger March with the slogan, "Fifty Dollars Winter Relief" for each unemployed family. Can you imagine! Just contrast that with what the situation is today. The reason we were able to get 3,000 people to go to Washington on that minimum demand was because unemployment insurance did not exist. The demand was for unemployment insurance, but every car, every truck carried a placard: FIFTY DOLLARS WINTER RELIEF. For the whole season, Fifty Dollars meant that much to people.

The point is, that before you got those 3,000 people to represent the unemployed on a trek to Washington, they went through the mill of going to their City Councils. They

went to local charities--there were no public welfare agencies then. They went to the Catholic Service Agency, they went to the Jewish Social Service Agency, they went to all the existing charities and they said: "What are you collecting money for? Every year you hold a financial drive and you raise so many hundreds of thousands or a million dollars. We want some of it right now." Not in general for the unemployed, but for Mrs. Jones with five children whose heat has been shut off, for Mr. Smith who is a widower but has to take care of two children, and so on. We made a list in every case and we fought for living human beings. The result was those people became committeemen; those people became organizers. Those people told their neighbors that this is the way to do things. And an organization developed. Out of those organizations, delegates were sent to Washington. That is how you mushroom things.

We have to be aware of this experience of our Party. You start at the bottom. You do not start at the top. You start with concrete conditions of living human beings, and not with general slogans or programs, however good they are. That gives you the guarantee that you can get to Washington with solid support. Otherwise, you can go to Washington by forced draft. We are pretty good at doing that, too, sometimes, when the situation requires. But it does not always guarantee that you are left with much after the thing is over. Our job is not only to alleviate the condition of the unemployed, but also is to organize, to educate them and to fuse their struggle with the growing anti-capitalist struggle--the anti-monopoly struggle. That is what our Party is in business for, and we have to see the inter-connection. We have to have more confidence that we can do this job from the grassroots.

Letter to Party Affairs

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could be made up by financial contributions by those who can afford it and the participating Clubs.

The subject requires more study and discussion, but it could be useful to our building of the Party in all areas.

Fraternally submitted,

Louis DINNERSTEIN,
Brooklyn, NEW YORK

APPALACHIA AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By Harry Shaw

I was asked to speak about problems of unemployment in West Virginia and Appalachia. There were a lot of rumors around that there was unemployment down there. So I am here to confirm all of those rumors. As you probably know, through the history of most of this century there have been overwhelming problems of unemployment throughout the coal industry and throughout the Appalachian Region. And I have heard stories from some of the Comrades who worked in unemployment struggles in the '30's and found some of the work that they did to be valuable. Our efforts now are to try and re-initiate work with the unemployed in that area. The percentage of unemployed in areas of West Virginia and Kentucky and other parts of Appalachia was as high as 90 per cent of the work force, at times. That has been going down in the past ten years. It has been going down by migration, not by new jobs coming in. West Virginia is the only State in the country in the last census that, actually lost population. And that is from people moving out of the State. Youth move out immediately after high school, because there are no jobs available, at all, for them.

EXPANSION IN MINING--BUT NO JOBS

Mining has expanded tremendously in the past few years, but the new coal mine operations are not providing new jobs. There are three main reasons for that. One is the continued mechanization of mining, which eliminates jobs. Another is strip mining, which makes it possible for a team of three men to mine the coal, which ordinarily would take 30 or 40 men to mine, even with highly-mechanized equipment in deep mines. So jobs are lost there. And then, another problem is the hiring practices of the coal industry. The older miners are unemployed, thousands of them all over the area, but coal companies will not hire them now. Their main reasons for that are the miners' past history of union activity, and they are generally sick, because of having worked in the mines before. That means that the companies have to pay a lot more. They are not there very long. It takes just a few years before black lung becomes so bad that they have to leave the mines, and then the company has to pay them more. There is a problem now that some of them are beginning to claim compensation. So the coal companies are refusing to hire them, and they hire only young men coming out of high school.

WELFARE--MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME

Another problem that exists in the region with rural

poverty is that the land is not good at all for any kind of farming and, therefore, the people are unable to have even subsistence farms. There are no factories and there are no jobs in any area at all for them, so another group of many thousands of people just barely exist on welfare. Some are going into the third generation on welfare, living in small under-subsistence farms throughout the Appalachian Region. This problem is multiplied many times among the Black people in the Appalachian Region, because they have all of the problems which exist in the Region, plus the problem of racism which exists in the country. There are many towns now, whole towns of several thousands of people, where there is no employment at all. The entire community lives on welfare. The welfare system, too, is in a great deal of difficulty, mainly because of the money that is being spent in the medical program, due to the increased medical costs. A few months ago in West Virginia, people were getting welfare of about 40 per cent of the minimum subsistence level. Then there was a cut-back, because the medical section was getting so expensive, which shows the need for some complete re-working of health insurance and health programs in the country.

WEAKNESSES OF ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM

Appalachia was the center for the Anti-Poverty Program. When it began, one of its main aims was to eliminate poverty in this especially depressed Region. That whole Program has fallen apart, and there are no jobs that have been created from it. The only concrete result that I know of is a mocassin factory where 20 former coal miners work, and that factory is visited periodically by members of the Kennedy Family to show their continuing concern for the people of Appalachia. I honestly do not believe there is another example of people having gotten jobs from the Poverty Program or from any of the special Appalachian programs.

DEMANDS ON STATE LEGISLATURE

There is a movement by welfare rights organizations to the State Legislature, now in Session, to completely re-write welfare laws in West Virginia and to guarantee that benefits cannot be cut. This is the main theme of the legislation proposed by Welfare Rights and another group of rank-and-file workers. A bill to revamp unemployment compensation in West Virginia has been introduced by mostly white workers, most of them in the building trades. Their demands are for unemployment compensation from last paycheck to first paycheck; also a demand which is very important for West Virginia, because of the health and safety problems around coal mining, is for widows and children to receive the full benefits of their man in the family if he dies. Under the present system, if a coal miner is on un-

employment compensation and dies before he gets a new job, the benefits for his wife and children are cut.

STRUGGLE FOR DISABLED COAL MINERS

One important factor in unemployment in West Virginia-Appalachia, which is completely different from other areas, is the issue of disabled coal miners. As you may know, last summer this resulted in the closing down of all the coal mines in Southern West Virginia by groups of disabled and unemployed coal miners demanding benefits for black lung and benefits from the Welfare Retirement Fund. The issue here is that, to a great extent, the problem of disabled coal miners is actually a problem of unemployment, because these men are not disabled in the sense of no longer being able to work. They have lung diseases, making it impossible for them to work at coal faces. They are perfectly willing and eager to work at a lot of other jobs. But there are no jobs for them, so they remain among the unemployed in the Region and are categorized as disabled. When jobs do come up, they cannot get them, even though they are capable of doing a lot of work in industry.

STUDENT ACTIVITY

Another area in which we have been doing some work in and, I think, is very important, and has not been discussed a great deal, is work with unemployment among students, especially college students. A situation has developed all over the country in which there are no jobs for graduates. There are overwhelming needs for technicians, medical technicians, all kinds of teachers all over the country. There are also thousands of students graduating each year, with not only Bachelors' Degrees, but Masters' and Ph.D.'s, but there are no jobs for them. We are trying to organize the Student Government of West Virginia University to demand that graduates be provided jobs. They are here with skills and eager to try to solve some of the social problems in the country. They want to work to relieve the teacher shortage and all of the other problems that are talked about in our State. We are trying to open up a demand through the student organization for the Government to provide jobs in the area for which the students are trained, so they can use their talents and abilities that they have taken years to learn in solving some of the problems that exist today.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

AT UNEMPLOYMENT PARLEY

MAY 22-23, 1971 By Roscoe Proctor
(Secretary, National Labor Commission of Communist Party)

This Conference was called for the purpose of a check-up on the November National Committee decisions and to project concrete plans as to where we go from here. I think we have to agree with the estimate Comrade Gus Hall made yesterday: That, by and large, we have not really grabbed hold of this issue. There have been some good individual experiences, but the Party, as an organization, has not really swung into this task of organizing the unemployed. We cannot be satisfied with what has been done up to this point; moreover, there seemed to be a hesitancy of the Party to really grab hold of this question, even at this late date. Now, this does not, based on the reports, go for all of the Districts. There have been some very good actions since our National Committee meeting and in two Districts, even prior to the National Committee meeting, some actions had already begun on this question of unemployment.

When Gus was talking yesterday about the idea that the economic development moves in a cycle, he reminded me that I once heard a Comrade in my District make the same point in another fashion. He was talking about being on the surf at the ocean and the way waves go--by the time we get ready to dive in, we are really so slow about making up our minds about when to dive, that we just sort of jump into the sand. Well, I think it is a similar situation here.

WILL BE WITH US LONG TIME

It was stated and, I think, correctly, that high levels of unemployment will be with us for a long time--that we are now in a period of economic stagnation. So we have to continue--it is not so much a question of continuing, but a question of really beginning--to get on top of this question, because there are a lot of problems involved in having large sections of people unemployed. It has been shown that sections of the workers can be used against each other by the ruling class. I can point to some examples of where this has been the case.

Some people yesterday came in after Gus was through speaking. You know, he came down pretty hard. I think that a recognition of the reality of the situation is the starting point for changing that reality in a more positive

direction; and that is what we have to do here. I think that the Emergency Point about the situation in the struggle for peace made by Comrade Arnold Johnson yesterday that resulted in our adjourning early was an emergency situation, and that emergency action was called for. But it also appeared to me that there was a tendency to get away from the problem of dealing with organizing the unemployed with some degree of glee. I think this goes to the heart of the problem involved here: dealing with the class questions, the class problems, the real bedrock class problems that our Party must deal with. There seems to be a hesitation on the part of our Party to go directly to the unemployed, themselves. Is there a fear that, for some reason in our minds, we will not be accepted on the scene by the unemployed?

STILL UNCLARITY ON MOVEMENT'S BASE

I think there is still some unclarity on where and on whom this movement will be based. Now, regardless of how it is started or the work status of the people who might initiate the effort, in the final analysis, this movement has to be based upon the unemployed, themselves. This is what Comrade Carl Winter had in mind when he spoke yesterday about not having a social work approach--as far as trying to build this movement. As we have discussed it in the Industrial Concentration Task Force, we see the Rank-and-File Movement sort of setting into motion the idea and demand for this Hearing. We see local action prior to the Hearing in Washington as a most important part of our initiative and activity. We see this activity "spinning off" an independent organization of the unemployed, itself. This is one of the things that should come out of the actions and Hearings that take place in Washington on May 22nd and 23rd. This work should be seen as a key part of industrial concentration.

Now, on this question of relating the issues: First of all, I say that I agree with those who take the position that the contradictions within our society, the issues around which these contradictions manifest themselves, can be all interrelated and it can be shown to the people whom we work with that they are interrelated. But not in the abstract. We have to be very specific and very concrete when we start to try to tie these issues up. I agree that we are working in a different period than we worked in during the '30's, when we were building the unemployed movement and the CIO.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NOW AND 1930'S

There is something else that we should keep in mind: there is a lot of movement on the scene today that did not exist during the '30's. The higher level of consciousness,

the militancy of the Black and Brown, the Puerto Rican, Chicano, Indian Movements, the Women's Liberation Movement-- none of these movements existed in the '30's. Welfare Rights did not exist at the time, neither did the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. All of these movements and the Peace Movement, as well, come into being around specific issues, in a particular field of work.

When we start to deal with the basic contradictions-- and that is what we are dealing with when we start to deal with the hard problems between the working class and the capitalist class in this country, between social production and private appropriation--unemployment comes very close to the basic contradiction of the system and, from this, all other contradictions flow. It is left to us to find a way of linking these question so that it makes sense to the people we are working with. It can be done and we must do it.

In many cases, particularly with young people, especially when we are dealing with the Third World oppressed youth, it will be very easy to make the tie-up between unemployment and the struggle to free Sister Angela Davis.

* * *

Letter to All Members

Continued from page 48

In view of the great ideological struggles now raging in our country, in view of the necessity for young Americans to be equipped with an understanding of how to fight against a system that now many view as corrupt and incapable of being reformed, we present The Man Who Cried Genocide as a Communist contribution.

We urge all Party members to bring this book to the people as we have not done with other books in many years.

Comradely,

Henry Winston,
National Chairman

Gus Hall,
General Secretary

ACTIONS AND PROPOSALS

The National Conference on Unemployment held on February 20th and 21st in New York adopted the following actions and proposals:

1. Approved the Reports by Comrades Meyers and West.
2. Reports are to be made in each District, presented to the District Board and, wherever possible, to activist meetings.
3. Materials from the Conference are to be gotten out, starting with a Summary of the Conference and its decisions, but also to include the two Reports and the Summary, the remarks of Comrades Gus Hall and Carl Winter and excerpts from the rest of the discussion.
4. In each District, a Comrade and a collective body are to be given the responsibility for the unemployment work.
5. A plan of work on unemployment is to be acted on by a leading political body in each District, and it is to include how to mobilize the whole Party.
6. The Labor and Organization Departments are to check-up on progress in the Districts, including on the assignment of responsibility, the building of a local committee and the work for May 22nd and 23rd.
7. A Committee from the Party, and the Young Workers Liberation League is to meet to discuss their outlook on youth participation in the unemployed actions.
8. The Districts are to push for the widest distribution and use of the Daily World and the People's World of March 4th-6th, which will contain material on both unemployment and women.
9. A pamphlet is to be prepared presenting past experiences in unemployment work in a relevant way for today.

* * *

Additional materials, contributions in the discussion as well as articles submitted on unemployed struggles and related activities, will be published in the next issue of Party Affairs.

* * * *

Plans for Recruiting in Northern California

By Mary Whitehead

(Organizational Secretary, Northern California C. P.)

I should like to discuss a program for recruiting for the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League for the next 11 months.

In Northern California, there has been a great upsurge of activity among the Rank-and-File in the labor movement. Among these forces, there are many advanced workers who are seeking solutions to the problems of the working class. These can be a most fruitful source for recruiting by the Communist unionists involved in Rank-and-File activity.

The possibilities of recruiting young workers--women in one of our concentrations, Black and Brown from our other major concentration--seem to me to be really there. But not without some real organization. The issues of unemployment, the war, inflation, conditions in the shops are all possibilities to organize around.

The second major possibility of recruiting is through activity in the Defense Committees. Young Black and white people have been drawn to the various cases. Many are suspicious of the Party, or have lots of questions. Party members active in defense work should be responsible for figuring out the ways in which we may draw these young people closer to us--through classes, discussion groups and the kind of persistent cultivation done by Comrades Bob and Juan.

The third possibility for recruiting is classes. We are presently and happily being deluged with requests for classes by non-Party people. Just recently, we have had the following requests for classes: a group of 25 Black youth in San Francisco who work on the Defense Committees; a group of 20 or so in Alameda County, also from Defense Committees; a group of Chicanos and Latinos, including a member of the Young Lords; a group of 16, who signed-up in the book store; a small group of 12 in Marin County, organized by some hard-working Comrades there; we are planning a weekend school for possible recruits of 16 contacts in mid-March for young people in the Northern part of the State. We are training young Comrades to share in these teaching requests, and are planning a Teachers Seminar.

The fourth possibility for recruits is around the People's World. We are finally intending to get started a "Readers Brigade"--Party and non-Party people who will help to build the circulation of the People's World in as many imaginative ways as they can. Also, there may be prospects among People's World readers, and we have to think through how this source may be tapped. Presently, I am thinking of preparing a six-session class on Strategy and Tactics, in which the question of the anti-monopoly alliance, terrorism, etc. would be discussed in concrete, and perhaps advertising the class in the People's World and see what happens. An examination should be made of new readers obtained in the past six months.

The fifth possibility is student recruiting. Defense work may be key to getting something started in the student movement again. In the Bay Area, radical students are at a loss for organization. A recent Symposium on Political Prisoners, organized by our Comrades on the University of California campus, drew 500 people, and about 20 or so young non-Party people worked on it. They were impressed with our Comrades' work.

The sixth possibility is the Chicano and Latino communities. We have a new Club in one district with a couple of Spanish-speaking Comrades in it. The issues in this area are explosive. Our transport Comrades who live in the area have likewise made contacts in their industry. So, with some organization pulling it all together, getting a goal, there should be some possibilities there. Also, we have a new Club in another area with five Chicano recruits.

The seventh possibility is the Women's Liberation Movement. We have already recruited two people from this Movement, and it is felt more will follow.

Some major problems seen in achieving the above include the visibility of the Party. We must use as many old and new forms to make the fact known that there is a CPUSA: literature tables at the campuses, open Club meetings, forums, perhaps a Party bulletin, advertising Marxist classes, etc.

FUNCTIONING OF COMMUNITY CLUBS

Another problem I see is the way in which most community Clubs are now functioning. My main proposal for community Clubs is that they be organized so that we eliminate, as much as possible, the situation where a Club is composed of people active in different areas of work. At this time, I think this is a luxury we cannot afford. I propose that

there be one or two or, at the most, three interests in one Club, so as to strengthen the Comrades' work. This kind of organization would accomplish two major things I can think of: 1) strengthen the image of the Party in the mass movement, and 2) provide a collective method of work for our Comrades, so that Club life would take on a real meaning for them. With a collective working, the possibilities for People's World work, building Party Left forms, etc. are all greatly enhanced.

It is important to note that some of the recent initiatives by the Party in this District would not have been possible even a year ago--trade union work, the Defense activities, the campus Symposium, the recent San Jose recruiting, the large number of classes provided by the Party for members and non-members and some notable People's World fund-raising events, such as the outstanding Bazaar, held in December.

I recommended the acceptance of a quota of 100, with a review to follow in six months to see how we are doing. At the moment, I am not suggesting County and Club quotas but, rather, that our organizing efforts in the seven areas of work be viewed as a whole.

The District of California voted to accept the above report and the recommendations therein, and added:

That every Club should adopt a quota of a minimum of one recruit;

That student organizing be discussed by the Board to arrive at a specific approach to it;

That the Staff implement the "Readers Brigade" recommendation with specific assignments;

That the major counties, Santa Clara and San Francisco, consider using the Symposium on Political Prisoners put on at the University of California.

LETTER TO PARTY AFFAIRS

The retiree movement in the U.S. is ever-growing through union centers, Golden Age Centers, etc. We meet union members who never attended union meetings when they worked, but who have become very interested in retiree groups to avoid isolation and loneliness. In reality, they become MORE group conscious as they get older.

There are economic and political problems that face the aging, besides medical problems. Their income is drastically cut and they feel more acutely the problems of the poor. THEY BECOME MORE CLASS CONSCIOUS. Some, who are conservative, saved enough money to keep themselves comfortable in their retirement, but the majority feel the pinch of inadequate income.

The majority are registered voters to a greater extent than the general public, and constitute a great potential pressure and mass organization. Many are well experienced in organization and political work, and would welcome an opportunity to be useful. Most, of course, have physical disabilities which would prevent full involvement in actions and demonstrations.

I would suggest that, instead of writing-off older Comrades who have retired, it might be worthwhile to examine the possibilities of activizing them in their new field of living--adjusting their involvement to their tempo of life and new hours of availability, and lessened physical capability. I think that, with new horizons, there would be a great potential for various kinds of work in the new mass organizations of senior citizens that are involved in struggles for survival and better conditions.

I would, therefore, suggest the formation of new shop and community Party Clubs, based on union retiree organizations and community retiree groups. The vast senior citizenry of our country has more than a slight acquaintance with the struggles of the Thirties, and also a familiarity with the theory and struggle for Socialism. I think that some intermediate form of organization can be a stepping-stone for the return of old members and recruitment of never-had-beens. I would suggest afternoon forum lectures at the Center for Marxist Education for a very nominal fee, say, 35¢ or 50¢, to include coffee and cake. The deficit

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SPECIAL MESSAGE TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS

The Man Who Cried Genocide, by William L. Patterson
International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. So., N.Y.C.
Cloth \$6.95 Paper \$2.95

Dear Comrades:

We are happy to inform you that Comrade William L. Patterson's autobiography, The Man Who Cried Genocide, is off the press. The publication of this book is an historic moment for our Party. It is an outstanding tribute to Comrade Patterson and our Party.

Today the whole world applauds Angela Davis, an outstanding scholar and Communist, who as an individual was able to break down some racial barriers and achieve greatness as a person. However, Angela recognized that personal achievements did not, and would not, lead to Black liberation. She recognized that even though she had reached the highest pinnacles of success in her chosen profession, real success, personal and otherwise, is conditioned by the solution of problems of the poorest strata among her people, the working class.

We mention this, because this was Comrade Patterson's view for almost fifty years.

Comrade Patterson came to manhood in an era when the major preoccupation of Black professionals was how they could get ahead as individuals. Some honestly believed that personal success would erase racism. But Comrade Patterson understood, as did Eugene V. Debs, one of America's great white labor leaders, who once declared: "While there is a lower class, I am in it... While there is a soul in prison, I am not free in the struggle!"

It was in this context that Patterson, a Black revolutionary, entered the fight to free Sacco and Vanzetti from a monstrous frame-up. Impelled by this belief he led the fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys, Angelo Herndon, Willie McGee and was active in all the outstanding Civil Rights cases of the last half-century including that of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Our Party can be proud that it has as one of its outstanding leaders Comrade Patterson. He has been dignified by the Communist Party and he has dignified it!

Every chapter in his book reveals the pioneering role the Communist Party has played in outlining the path to Black liberation in the U.S. Its guide lines born out of experience, can and do illuminate what is required in the changing circumstances of our time.

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