

PARTY AFFAIRS

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PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION (3)

CALL TO THE 20TH CONVENTION, CPUSA

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Dear Comrades:

The National Committee at its meeting November 12-14 set the date for the Convention to be

February 18, 19, 20 and 21
in New York City

commencing at 10:00 A.M. Registration of delegates will be on Thursday, February 17, from 10:00 A.M. to 8 P.M., or on February 18 from 9 A.M.

The 20th Convention takes place in the midst of growing crisis affecting practically every aspect of life in our country. It comes at a crucial time in the development of decisive struggles for our country, the working class and our Party. There is a new rising tide of mass sentiment, demanding complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia--this despite various maneuvers of President Nixon. It is a time when U.S. imperialist policies still block the path to peace in the Middle East by its support of Israeli aggression and threaten further intervention in many areas of the world, such as Chile, while still refusing to take serious steps toward disarmament.

The continued fight for the freedom of Angela Davis, with all that means in the struggle against racism and repression, is a priority activity during our convention preparations. Bail Now! must be a universal demand. It must be won to guarantee her ability to properly prepare her defense; and for her health. This is part of the many-sided struggle against racism and for democratic rights now in progress in our country.

Our convention is called as we continue our struggle to prevent the Nixon Administration from carrying out its solution to the economic crisis of U.S. imperialism--to drive down the living standards of the working people, Black and White, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian.

The 20th Convention will set forth the Party's policy, determine its ideological role, organization and leadership for the period ahead. It will act on the Draft Theses for 20th National Convention, on resolutions submitted on specific aspects of our policies and activities, on amendments to the Constitution and will elect a National Committee.

Our participation in the 1972 Presidential campaign with Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner as our standard bearers will be a central point for discussion at the 20th Convention.

Information concerning the basis for delegate representation has previously been indicated. As your Convention Assessment and membership registration is received by the National Organization Department, you will be informed as to delegate representation from your District or State.

All resolutions and amendments to the Draft Theses should be sent immediately after your District or State Conventions, which are to be concluded by the last week-end of January. These resolutions and amendments should reach our National Committee office no later than February 10th.

The present National Committee has called for an intense and deep-going discussion during the pre-convention period. The national Committee has urged increased public activity by our Party on the key issues of struggle: immediate freedom for Angela Davis, economic struggles, democratic rights, the fight against racism and repression, and above all, ending the war in Indochina and removing our troops from all other parts of the world where U.S. imperialism seeks to exploit resources and peoples. Increasing the readership of our press and building our party during this period are key to the success of our Convention.

Forward in a successful pre-convention discussion!

Forward to building the 20th Convention, CPUSA, as a firm foundation for our work in the coming period!

With comradely greetings,
Daniel Rubin
National Organization Secretary, CPUSA

NOTE: RESOLUTION PREPARED BY THE CHICANO LIBERATION COMMISSION

TOWARDS CHICANO LIBERATION

SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN THIS ISSUE OF PARTY AFFAIRS WILL BE SENT TO THE CLUBS SHORTLY IN SPECIAL FORM AS A SEPARATE DOCUMENT FOR PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION--Editors

RESOLUTION ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

For Southern California District and National Conventions

By N.C., Los Angeles

WHEREAS:

1. At least ten million people in the USA take part in some activity to preserve our national environment--some two million in organizations--THIS IS A MASS MOVEMENT.
2. The environmentalists are struggling against the pollution caused by the same big auto, oil and chemical monopolies (including drugs and pesticides) which directly exploit all working people.
 - a. So the movement to protect the environment is a natural ally for a labor-Black-Brown-led coalition to curb the power of the monopolies.
 - b. The environmentalists are already actively involved in political life through legislative work.
3. The environmentalists are proceeding on a philosophy which they share with Marxism-Leninism that all things are interconnected--dependent on each other--particularly all living plants and creatures, including man.
 - a. The environmentalists proceed on the understanding and belief that what is true--scientifically sound--even though weak will grow stronger and finally overcome entrenched anti-social institutions.
 - b. They take a broadly social view of environmental problems and their solution.
 - 1) While generally, as yet, not recognizing the need for socialism as a base for completely solving these problems.
4. We Marxists participate in reform movements, such as environmental protection for two reasons as Lenin pointed out.
 - a. To help wring some improvement in the people's conditions of life now.

- b. To help the people learn how to organize their efforts and increase their understanding so that they will want socialism and be able to achieve it.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the Program of the CPUSA for 1972 recognize the struggle of the environmentalists as one of the important people's movements of our time and country directed against the monopolies.
 - a. And that lines 18 and 19 on page 21 be changed to read..."the intellectual, professional and environmental groups--all these acting together..."
 - b. That on page 48 immediately following the "youth movement" there be a section on Environmental Protection including the main points in this Resolution, with examples.
 - c. That in the Table of Contents "ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION" stand after "THE YOUTH MOVEMENT" and before "BUILDING THE PEOPLE'S COALITION AGAINST MONOPOLY."
2. That all Marxists undertake to become informed on and to support some phase of the struggle to protect and improve our environment--be it air, water, abatement of noise, adulteration of food, more natural parks for recreation in the near cities, as well as the preservation of wilderness areas and wild life.
 - a. That to this end the PW and DW carry interviews and information on the struggles in which workers can participate.
(This was done for a short time something over a year ago.)
 - b. And that a series of short pamphlets suggesting how trade unionists can participate in environmental struggles be written and circulated.
3. In supporting different campaigns to protect our environment--primarily for the benefit of all working people--Marxists should seek to show how the enemies of the environment are also the enemies of labor and all movements of the people--and hence the need to build alliances and coalitions to increase the power of these parallel struggles through some type of united action.
 - a. Such as the identity of interest of the environmentalists and the peace forces in seeking to prevent the atomic blast on Amchitka Island.
 - b. Cooperation between environmentalists and Black and Brown groups in saving parks (such as Hazard and Elysian Parks in L.A.) and creating more parks within reach of working people where they can escape from ghettos, smog and the din of the city.
 - c. The way in which Pete Seeger linked up the ending of the war in Vietnam with the cleaning up of the Hudson River in his singing tour of the river port towns on his sloop, the "Clearwater."

SOME FALLACIES IN POPULAR PRO-WAGE FREEZE ARGUMENTS

Prepared by National Economics Commission

I. Wages should be tied to productivity to avoid inflation.

A huge propaganda campaign, beginning with the President, and including the press, TV, and almost all other organs of public influence, has been mounted to promote the thesis that inflation is tied to wage increases. This thesis has a number of variants, among which the most popular are: the "wage push" inflation theory, the "wage price spiral" theory. In their most extreme form, these theories assert that wage increases deteriorate the standard of living of wage earners by causing more than compensatory price increase. Most top labor leaders and some liberal circles hold to the theory of the "non-inflationary wage increase," i.e. that wage increases less than or equal to the increase in labor productivity are non-inflationary.

A distinction must be made between this propaganda campaign, intended for mass consumption, and sober bourgeois economic analysis. Thus, the First National City Bank, in its November 1970 Monthly Economic Letter, said, "But, popular sentiment notwithstanding, there is no reason for rising labor costs in selected industries, however important, to lead inexorably to a rise in the general price level... when prices are increased in union-organized industries as a result of wage contracts, there will be an increase in the relative prices of some goods rather than an increase in prices generally Before a general rise in the price level can result from such wage increases, they must be validated by a monetary policy that fosters a general expansion in demand If rising wages push up costs more rapidly than prices can be raised, profits will be squeezed."

The essence of the "wage-price theory" of inflation is that rising wages push up labor costs to industry, and thereby force industry to raise prices. According to this theory, one would expect that a rise in the price level should be preceded not only by a rise in wages, but also by a rise in unit labor costs. First labor costs should rise, accompanied by a drop in profits; then prices should rise, followed by a rise in profits. Consumer prices have risen almost without interruption since WW II. However, there have been three distinct periods in which the rate of inflation has advanced sharply. The first was the Korean War period, 1950-'53; the second the '55-'58 boom; and the third the Vietnam war period, '65 - present. Each of these periods was preceded by a period of declining labor costs. Prior to the '65 increase in inflation, unit labor costs had actually declined for four consecutive years, while prices maintained a relatively slow but steady rate of increase. The actual sequence of events was: first an increase in profits, then an advance in the rate of inflation, and finally in unit labor costs as workers scrambled to catch up with the cost of living. Thus, it can be seen that holding

down labor costs does not halt inflation, and rising labor costs have not been the cause of inflation. The actual causes of inflation have been (1) the financing of military expenditures, and (2) the monopolistic structure of industry.

II. Wages should be tied to productivity to achieve an equitable distribution of the benefits of technology between labor and capital.

For the labor movement, the productivity formula, whereby wage increases are not allowed to exceed some productivity figure is not an equitable, but an extremely expensive policy. Through trade union struggles, workers have won increases in gross wages during the whole post war period. From 1947 to 1960 gross wages increases from \$49.17/week to \$89.72/week. During this same period the official index of productivity increased by only 45.8%. If wages had risen only at this rate, they would have been \$71.68, a loss of \$7.07/week. If the same formula had been continued to 1970, wages would have reached only \$96.96. This would be \$47.79/week less than the actual gross weekly wage of \$133.73.

The government productivity figure is rigged to systematically understate the actual increase in labor productivity. It does this by including in "labor costs" the costs of non-production workers, who are a constantly expanding portion of the labor force. The Bureau of Labor Statistics itself, in its technical notes, admits that these figures "do not reflect the specific contributions of labor, capital, or any other factors of production, Rather, they measure the combined effect of a number of interrelated influences, such as skills of workers, managerial skills, change in technology, capital investment per worker, utilization of capital, layout and flow of materials, and labor management relation."

A more accurate index of productivity can be gotten by comparing man-hours of manufacturing workers to the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production, e.g., from 1960 to 1969, the index of production rose from 109 to 173, or 58%, while man hours of production workers in manufacturing industry rose from 24,174 million to 28,581 million, or 18%. This gives an annual compound rate of growth of 3.3%, compared to the official figure of 2.9%.

III. Wages should be tied to the Consumer Price Index.

When wages increase only at the same rate as prices, the entire benefit from increasing labor productivity goes to capital. The consequence of this is that the share which labor receives of what it produces declines. The 5.5% wage guideline is supposed to have been derived by adding the official figure for current growth in productivity (actually understated, as shown above,) to the rate of inflation which the Administration hopes to achieve. By adding a production figure to hope, a completely meaningless figure was arrived at --except that this is the lowest figure which the Administration calculates the labor leadership will string along with. In order for the workers to even continue to receive the same share of out-put as before, they would have to achieve wage increases equal to the actual increase in productivity, plus the actual increase in the cost of living. Of course, there is no reason why the share of the worker

should not rise. From 1947 to 1969, it has declined from 40% to 30%. In order just to raise that ratio to what it was in 1947 would require an across the board wage increase for all workers, organized and unorganized of 31% (an average of more than \$1.00 per hour).

The Consumer Price Index understates the actual increase in the cost of living. This was noted by J. Roger Wallace, economist of the New York Journal of Commerce, "If some sort of controls is imposed and is continued through 1972, no one ever will know the extent of the true rise in the 1972 cost of living.

"To be sure, the Consumer Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1972 may show an increase of 3 per cent or even less over that for 1971.

"Meanwhile, however, the true rise in the cost of living might be considerably larger than the rise in the Consumer Price Index, possibly twice as large or even more.

"It is axiomatic that, the longer any attempts are made to control prices, the less and less reliable will the Consumer Price Index become as a measure of the true rise in the cost of living."

Here are some examples of price increases which even today are not fully recorded or are not registered at all by the CPI:

- 1) Increases in income tax and personal property tax are not counted.
- 2) Higher prices charged in ghetto stores, and higher prices and costs due to discrimination against Black and Spanish persons are not recorded.
- 3) The Smith family moved into an apartment in 1950 at \$100 a month. They move to a new suburb and must now pay \$200 a month. The old apartment, now in near slum condition, is rented to two families for \$75 a month apiece. BLS says "the difference in rent level between new units and existing units is not reflected as rent change for the index."
- 4) At least 20% of the average budget is non-commodity items. BLS notes, "There are many service reporters, however, such as doctors, hospitals, repairmen, contractors, lawyers, and funeral directors for whom prices...depend upon the nature of a particular job. In such cases the agent requests the typical or most common rate for a specified service." Those who have ever asked a TV repairman for an estimate can judge the accuracy of this method themselves.
- 5) No objective method exists for pricing transactions between private individuals, e.g. used car sales.

IV. Wages should be held down to make American products more competitive abroad.

A comparison of trends of real wages of American workers with those of other capitalist countries shows that American wages have

become more competitive, i.e., there has been a tendency toward an equalization of wages. Since 1955, wages have risen 71% in the US, 92.5% in Canada, 206% in France, 197% in West Germany, 164% in Italy, and 311% in Japan. In real terms ('57-'59 equals 100) wage increases have been: US 18%, Canada 28.5%, France 44.6%, W. Germany 78.7%, Italy 57.9%, Japan 102%, United Kingdom 38.1%.

V. Wages should be held down because low profits are causing recession and unemployment.

It's true that unemployment is at the highest level in a decade.

	<u># Unemployed</u>	<u>% Unemployed</u>
69	2,832,000	3.5
70	4,089,000	4.9
January-August 71	5,125,000	6.0

Since Nixon took office more than 2,000,000 additional persons have been thrown out of work. However, this cannot be attributed to low profits. It is one of the unique features of this recession that profits have continued to rise steadily throughout. Here are the figures on profits:

	<u>Profits (in billion \$)</u>
60	51.6
65	82.9
66	89.4
67	89.6
68	94.6
69	95.8
70	97.4
71	107 (first and second quarters)

We are using the "cash flow" measure of profits, which is the sum of profits after taxes and capital consumption allowances. This figure gives a better indication of the real trend of profits than the after tax profit figures alone because an increasing portion of profits are being hidden in capital consumption allowances.

* * *

A CORRECTION

In the Draft Resolution on Cultural Work in the November (No. 7) issue of Party Affairs (p. 38), the outline section "Intensify the Ideological Work of the Party" (3,d.) that part of the following section which is underlined was omitted:

(d) launch new struggles against anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, emphasizing that socialism is the only hope for finally freeing culture from the oppression of the rich and for permitting artists to create freely for the masses.

DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR THE DRAFT THESES FOR THE 20TH CONVENTION

(LAST IN A SERIES OF THREE)

Prepared by National Education Department

YOUTH

1. What are the main issues that have caused the mass radicalization of American youth? What are the dominant trends of this movement? Is it a temporary phenomenon?
2. In what ways is the radicalization taking place among working class youth? Are all sections of youth becoming radicalized at the same pace? If not, why?
3. Why does the present period demand a more tightly defined Marxist-Leninist youth organization? What are the pitfalls that must be avoided in this approach?

PEOPLE'S COALITION AGAINST MONOPOLY

1. Is it true that there is a growing trend towards coalition and united front activity? What factors have helped to produce this new political climate? How strong do the obstacles to united action remain?
2. Why are the broadest links of common interest to be found in the anti-monopoly struggle and not just in any reform struggle? In what specific ways does the struggle against the growth of state-monopoly-capitalist measures require new approaches and new alliances on the part of the working class? How should this influence our industrial work?
3. What does it mean to say that state-monopoly-capitalism "politicizes" the economic struggles? How is that demonstrated by the wage-"price" freeze? How is this related to the over-all anti-democratic thrust of monopoly? How should this influence our approach to electoral activity?

1972 ELECTIONS

1. Can spokesmen for the more liberal sections of monopoly offer a real alternative to Nixon's policies? If not, why not? Can Nixon's program, namely monopoly's drive to the right, be defeated by the electoral defeat of Nixon?

2. Is there such a thing as independence inside of the two-party system? If so, what are its forms and development? What are the pressures on groups such as the congressional Black Caucus towards independence? Away from it? What would be required to strengthen the independent character of these movements?

3. In view of the sterility of two-party politics why is it so difficult to form a third party? For creating independent politics what is the relative importance of work within the two-party system and outside of it? What should be the relationship of the two?

4. What role can the Party candidacies have in helping to create a viable alternative? Give examples in your area. Who is the electoral campaign aimed toward? (The Left, masses of people.) Can you reach both? What ways do you think it is possible to reach masses of people in this campaign?

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

1. Why is it with the growing strength of the world revolutionary forces the ideological struggle has assumed new importance? What are the new features in imperialism's ideological attack? What is the place of anti-Sovietism in this? How do you estimate the role of Maoism in this struggle?

2. How does the intensification of racist ideology correspond with monopoly's present political and economic strategy? What is the role of nationalism in this situation? What is the relative importance and correct relationship between the ideological struggle for Black-white unity and the attempt to link Black and white masses on the basis of common self-interest.

3. Around what approaches and issues has imperialism been most successful in disorienting the newly radicalized sectors in the U.S.? Why was imperialism able to have such success in influencing these forces? Is our ideological influence in the left greater or less than three years ago? Why or why not?

THE PARTY

1. What have been the main obstacles to fully implementing the Party's industrial concentration policy? (This should be discussed concretely from the experiences of your own club, district, etc.)

2. Why has the Party been slow in taking the initiative on neighborhood problems -- housing, health, welfare, education, transit,

taxes, etc. Is there a conflict between work at the point of production and work on community issues? What is the role of a community club in the industrial concentration?

3. What is an intermediate form? Can there be different kinds of intermediate forms with different degrees of closeness to the Party? Are intermediate forms "our" organizations or are they united fronts? What is the basis of unity between ourselves and others in such organizations? What are the areas of struggle in which intermediate forms are most needed today?

4. What is right opportunism? How is it concretely expressed in the Party? Why does it present such a special danger at the present moment?

5. Is there a contradiction between expanding the open role of the Party while at the same time trying to get deeper roots into the masses? What should the main role of the Party presidential ticket be?

6. What are the main sources of organizational looseness in the Party? How is this problem related to the problem of bureaucracy? What is the relationship between the fight for greater unity and discipline to the fight for greater participation and democracy?

* * *

"BUILD THE DAILY WORLD

-- IF NOT US, WHO?"

Prepared by Wisconsin Daily World Press Committee

Since the founding of the Daily World in July, 1968, we've gone through three successful fund drives, and several not-so-successful circulation drives. This is not to say that quotas have not been met, (on the whole, they have) and we don't deny the fact that some outstanding work has been done in press-building by certain individual comrades. Certainly the raising of several thousand dollars and the tripling of the readership of the Marxist press in Wisconsin is no small achievement. But what concerns the Press Committee today are two weaknesses which are holding back our work in this crucial area.

One is the lack of consistency and planning in carrying out the struggle for the press in our daily, mass work, and the other is the tendency to see the fight for the paper as the responsibility of a few comrades, and not the duty of every Communist. With this in mind, this memo will deal with the question of "security" and the press, and is intended to spur a discussion in all the clubs on our

individual and collective responsibilities in building the circulation of the Daily World.

Time and space don't permit us to go into a detailed argument about the need for a mass, Marxist daily in this country and in Wisconsin, and the key role it can play in clarifying mass experiences and mobilizing the people for struggle. Indeed, after three years of publication, none of us should have any doubts on this score. We are entering a period of the sharpest class struggle since the thirties. Every stratum of the population is in struggle against monopoly on some front, and increasingly the unity and might of the working class is making itself felt. Now, more than ever before, it's imperative that the DW become a truly mass paper. Our experiences right here in Milwaukee bear this out time and again. It's obvious that the Party and the movement in general in this city would be greatly strengthened and more united if 10,000, or even 1,000, people were regular readers of our press. And we ask the question, who is going to build our paper, if not us? What's holding us back?

Based on an objective assessment of the state of the Party, the mass movements, and the relation of forces in the battle against capitalism today, we in the Press committee are of the opinion that no comrade has a "security" problem so serious that she or he cannot build the circulation of the Daily World in a collective, mass way. For years now, security has been a convenient excuse for some comrades to walk away from their press-building responsibilities. No one can deny the fact that certain comrades of necessity must limit activities which would obviously identify them as Communists. Needless to say the specifics surrounding such a situation should be discussed and acted on by that individual's club.

One of the most frequently used rationales for not building the press in a public way (i.e., selling at a plant, on a neighborhood route, etc., as opposed to selling subs to close, individual friends and contacts) is that people will immediately identify the seller as a Communist. (God forbid!) This is not the case. First of all, we have witnessed an increasing number of non-Communists who not only read and respect the paper as a source of valuable and accurate information, but are building the paper without any reservations about red-baiting.

A recent example was the October 13 Moratorium in Milwaukee, where six YWLL members sold 60 papers to about 1/4 of the people at the demonstration. (A good argument for selling, rather than giving, but that's another question.) The dedication, enthusiasm and solid political arguments in support of the paper advanced by the four non-Party sellers was something to behold. When we say we have a paper geared to the masses, it's not just rhetoric. Sometimes it seems as if non-Communists understand better than we do that the Daily World is a real people's paper, and not an internal information bulletin. While many people know it expresses the viewpoint of the Communist Party, they also see it as a solid left paper that speaks to the needs of the people. For those that don't yet see the positive role of the DW, it's up to us to fight for the legitimacy of the Communist viewpoint. Furthermore, by succumbing to our fears of red-baiting we underestimate the ability of the masses of people to reject anti-com-

munism. We are no longer in the 1950's. More often (at least at one Milwaukee plant) the length of a seller's hair has been of more concern to workers than whether or not he's a Party member.

There's another issue here. What's the relationship between the amount of time we spend concealing our politics from the masses to the amount of time we spend organizing and recruiting? Is it more than coincidence that those of us that have found it impossible to sell DW subs have likewise found it impossible to recruit for the Party? Despite the increasing acceptance of the paper as a legitimate left voice, not the property of Communists alone, what do we say if someone on the street does accuse us of being Communists while selling the paper? Or, more to the point, what do we say if we run into an acquaintance from our shop, school or neighborhood who "never expected to see us selling a Communist newspaper"? Should our response be to refuse to answer the charges? To hide or retreat? To engage in doubletalk or apologies?

We feel that there is no situation, including so-called security problems in which a comrade could not deal with such a charge in a responsible, political manner. While being sensitive and tactful in specifics, we should also be bold and forthright in our defense of the content of the paper and our reasons for selling and supporting it. This should apply to all, regardless of the degree to which the comrade is known as a Communist.

It is true that there are many levels on which the paper can and must be built, differing in terms of an individual's assignment, location and style of work. Without question, getting subs from friends and contacts is the most elementary, every day task for all of us. But in addition, we see no circumstance in which a comrade could be excused from mass press-building activities of some kind. Obviously, we would not expect a comrade who is working in a factory to immediately begin taking a bundle of papers to his shop gate every morning (although this method has produced amazing results in other parts of the country). Such a comrade has a legitimate security problem which should be discussed by his club. But what is to prevent that comrade from helping to build a neighborhood route in a housing project on the other side of town? Security in no way limits such activity.

Again, we may ask comrades who find it impossible to use the Daily World for "security" reasons, just how they intend to build and recruit for the Party. Reaching the masses with our press, and converting bundle sales into subs is the first of many steps to Party membership. If we can't take that first step in introducing our viewpoint to people, then how do we convince them of it's basic accuracy?

Finally, there's the question of duty. As Communists, we voluntarily submit to a discipline which guarantees the maximum effectiveness of our collective efforts. Part of that discipline involves paying dues. Likewise, we are expected to attend club meetings regularly. But, maybe to refresh our memories, we need to get our copies of the Party Constitution out, and re-read the part about press-building

responsibilities. Article VII, Section 2 states: "All members shall circulate the press, and make work with the press central to their mass activity". Clearly, press-building is not just another "area of work" that we can conveniently delegate to a sub-committee; just as we accept the responsibility of attending meetings and paying dues, so should we accept the responsibility for building the Communist press.

Our fund-raising quota for 1972 is \$3,000, and our circulation goal is about 200 new readers in Wisconsin, a modest figure. To attain and exceed this goal through maximum participation of the membership, we ask every club to immediately open a discussion on this question, and to set a club goal, assign individual quotas and use some sort of check-up system for follow through.

We must now drop the question of "whether" to use the Daily World, and get about the business of discussing "how", "when" and "what effect are we having."

(The above was prepared for discussion by all Party members and clubs in Wisconsin.)

* * *

(The Thesis on Indian Liberation is forthcoming. The following two articles are part of the pre-Convention discussion--Editor)

NATIVE AMERICAN LIBERATION

By Paul Levi, Arizona

The struggle of Native Americans can only be clearly understood by a thorough analysis of their conditions as a number of oppressed national minorities.

The 1970 census figures are only incompletely in, and from what little we have, we find that Native Americans number more than 729,470; (the figures for Pennsylvania, Texas, New York and Illinois are not yet available), 306,116 in urban areas and 423,354 on or near reservations. The states with the greatest number of Native Americans are: Oklahoma 98,468, Arizona 95,812, California 91,018, and New Mexico 72,788. (These figures do not include the Native Peoples of Alaska.)

As of 1960-61 there were 200 reservations in 25 states with either tribal land or land under government trust totalling 52,-398,565 acres (plus an additional 96,788 acres in Alaska). The states with the largest reservations are: Arizona 21,491,414; New Mexico 6,464,857; Montana 5,278,779; and South Dakota 4,-878,073, (all figures 1960-61). All reservations have been shrinking steadily since then with one or two exceptions, in spite of Native Americans' struggles.

This robbery was given legal impetus in 1877 under the Davis Act which by 1933 had "sold" 9.1 million acres of Native American land to non-Indians. In spite of the Act's repeal in 1934, the thefts have continued unabated.

RESERVATION CONDITIONS

Economic Factors

In 1964, 74% of reservation families earned less than \$3,000 annually. The yearly income for adult males that year showed a median of less than \$1,800 in comparison to \$6,283 for the population as a whole.

Family incomes on selected reservations in 1964 were as low as \$900 on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota and on the Choctaw in Mississippi. Many Choctaws live as sharecroppers, making as little as \$300 a year.

Unemployment has always been at a high level among Native Americans. In 1967, on the reservations, the national level for adult males was 37.3% but on many reservations such as San Carlos in Arizona it was 74% (1966) and at Fort Berthold in North Dakota it was 79%. The present economic crisis has only aggravated the problem.

Table 1.
Labor Force Participation Rates 1960

<u>Age groups</u>	<u>Native Americans</u>	<u>All Males</u>
14-24	40.9	57.1
25-44	78.0	95.2
45-	57.9	72.0
total	59.5	77.4

As Table 1 shows Native American participation at all levels of the labor force is well below the general population. This is due to the high unemployment level, racism, general discouragement with the job situation, and poor health.

Agriculture

Table 2.
Reservation Land Use 1968

<u>Land Use Class</u>	<u>Acres in use</u>		<u>Acres not in use</u>
	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Non-Indians</u>	
open grazing	27,809,358	5,530,941	644,986
dry farming	415,335	1,296,703	60,666
irrigated	139,887	232,917	113,936

In 1968, while Native Americans used 80% of their grazing land, they were using less than 25% of their dry farming land and less than 30% of their irrigated land.

This is only part of the story, however. In 1968, of the 28,500 reservation families engaged in agricultural enterprises only 5,080 (less than 20%) were large enough to be classed by the government as "full-time operating enterprises."

Table 3.

Number of Indian Families Engaged in Agriculture
by Profitability of Operation, 1965 & 1968

<u>Profitability</u>	<u>Number of families</u>		<u>% Change</u>
	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>	
Operational	9,253	5,080	-45
Part-time operational	12,641	12,843	+2
Non-operational	8,252	10,620	+29
Total	30,156	28,543	-5

Table 3, reflects faithfully the national trend toward the destruction of small farms to the benefit of agribusiness. The multiplied oppression of the Native American peoples has accelerated this process on the reservations. Our Party, as part of the anti-monopoly concept must always champion the rights of the small farmers against the monopoly onslaught.

Industry

In 1968, of the approximately 100 industrial plants located on reservations the average number of employees was 75, and only about 48% of these were Native Americans.

Monopoly capital has been exported to the reservations in search of cheap labor. Wages at reservation plants are \$1.60 or less an hour in states where similar plants off the reservation pay \$2.60. With few exceptions these plants offer unsafe working conditions, no medical benefits, and super-exploitation. Only a handful of the small plants are unionized.

Recent years have seen the further seizure of Native American land by oil (Alaska) and mining (Arizona) monopolies which have resulted in a rising resistance and a new level of anti-monopoly consciousness on the reservations.

(Continued)

RECRUITING SPECIAL

Material on Party history to help potential recruits take that step to join the Party:

COMMUNIST COUNCILMAN FROM HARLEM - DANGEROUS SCOT
OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE (Pictorial Highlights of
50 years, CPUSA, 1919-69)

Special Price - \$2.50

Payment with order to:
New Outlook Publishers
32 Union Square
New York, N. Y. 10010

Table 4
Reservation Roads 1967

<u>Reservation</u>	<u>Surrounding state</u>	<u>Miles of road per 1,000 square miles</u>	
		<u>Reservation</u>	<u>Surrounding State</u>
Navajo-Hopi	Arizona-New Mexico	37.3	152
Papago	Arizona	55.4	162
Crow	Montana	96.4	230
Wind River	Wyoming	91.1	143
San Carlos	Arizona	37.2	162

Reservation roads are a key factor in the ability of Native Americans to transport materials to and from their land as well as the ability to find work off the reservation. The figures in Table 4 can be compared to that of Africa and Latin America with 20 miles of roads per 1000 square miles.

In fact, in 1964, the Bureau of Indian Affairs spent \$206 per mile of reservation roads compared to \$415 per mile spent by all rural county road systems.

Education

Table 5
Years of School Completed, 1960

<u>Years of school completed</u>	<u>Native Americans</u>	<u>All Males</u>
0	9.6	2.4
1-4	12.6	7.0
5-8	37.8	32.4
9-11	22.8	18.7
12	11.6	21.2
13-15	4.0	8.6
16-	1.6	9.6
median	8.4 years	10.3 years

A recently released study by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, entitled "An Even Chance" states:

"By every standard Indians receive the worst education of any children in the country. They attend shabby overcrowded public schools which lack even the basic resources. Among the Indian population, fully two-thirds of the adults have not gone beyond elementary school and one-quarter of the Indian adults are functionally illiterate--they can't read signs or newspapers. The educational system has failed Indians."

The drop-out rate for Native Americans is 50%, double the national average, and the suicide rate among Native American teenagers is 100 times the white rate.

Ruling class pseudo-scientific racism has not passed the Indian by. A study released by the U.S. Government's Brookings Institute this year states,

"Income level proves to have a small positive effect on achievement...but a stronger effect this time negative, is Indian blood. These figures are somewhat discouraging for cultural or biological factors, such as the percentage of Indian blood, cannot be altered by any federal program."

Health

Native Americans have a life expectancy of 63.9 years compared with 70 years for the population as a whole. Infant mortality in 1967 was 30 per 1000 live births, compared to 22 for the population as a whole. This puts Native Americans 17 years behind the rest of the nation. The Native American death rate from tuberculosis is 16 per 100,000 population (for Alaska Natives it is 17) while for the whole population it is 3.5. In 1964, the death rate from gastritis and enteritis among Native Americans was 19 against 4.3 for the rest of the nation. This puts Indians at the level the whole population was at in 1931.

Table 6
Incidence Rates for Various Infectious Diseases
Reservation Native Americans 1965

<u>Disease</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>% change since 1952-54</u>	<u>Whole pop.</u>	<u>% change since 1952-4</u>
Tuberculosis	175.9	-72.7	25.3	-57.9
Dysentery	365.9	-57.3	5.7	-45.7
Strep Throat	2,189.1	n.a.	203.9	127.1
Measles	761.3	-9.6	135.1	-90.8
Chickenpox	553.7	122.6	127.6	-35.8
Mumps	291.6	36.7	108.7	-31.8
Hepatitis	139.1	10.8	17.5	-10.3
Trachoma	1,478.4	429.5	n.a.	n.a.
Pneumonia	4,023.1	207.9	n.a.	n.a.

(figures annual rate per 100,000 pop.)

The reservation Native American is 7 times as likely to get tuberculosis, 64 times as likely to get dysentery, and 8 times as likely to get hepatitis as the non-reservation population. Further, as the table shows in regard to a number of diseases, the conditions are getting worse rather than better for Native Americans.

Conclusions

The above study is based on U.S. government figures and so is deficient on two counts. First, because the figures are not completely accurate, much is probably underestimated, and secondly, there are no thorough recent studies of non-reservation Native Americans.

Nonetheless a picture emerges of living conditions reflecting the legacy of genocide which has been the established policy of capitalism since its inception on this continent.

The Native Americans are separated by different territory, cultural and historical traditions. So they cannot be considered as a national minority but as a number of national minorities. The Party position must be seen in this light. The right of independent development of the different tribes up to and including self-determination must be fought for.

Our position must be two-fold. First we must stand for the right of voluntary assimilation, but at the same defend the Indian lands as viable centers. This includes the honoring of broken treaties, return of stolen lands and end to the break-up of reservations. These can become centers for the preservation and flowering of Native American culture. And always in the forefront is the struggle against racism and chauvinism and for the progressive traditions and languages of the Native peoples.

Our Party must champion the rights of the Native American farmer in the struggles against agribusiness and of the Native American worker for the unionization of reservation factories. With the entire Indian community we must demand an end to the collusion between the BIA and monopoly capital to exploit the Native American's lands at the expense of the peoples.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs must be turned over to the true representatives of the Native American community and its structure altered so that the individual tribes be in control of their schools, health facilities and land as well as all allocated funds.

Everywhere, in all possible ways, Communists must mobilize all progressive elements in defense of the rights and struggles of the Native American and work to throw the entire weight of the developing anti-monopoly coalition behind him. Under the banner of the Communist Party the Native American masses can be won to the anti-monopoly coalition and to socialism.

* * *

AMCHITKA MUST CHARGE GENOCIDE!

By Lonnie Healy, Secretary,
National Commission on
Indian Liberation

The FUNGUS of CANNIKIN grows within Amchitka Island representing the deadly, genocidal spores of United States imperialism. Racism and anti-Soviet-anti-Communism was behind the 5-megaton test. The administration had stated (Seattle Times, Oct. 1, 1971) the reasons for the blast included attempts to pressure the SALT talks.

Workers in many shops agreed there was nothing to be gained from the blast and that the Atomic Energy Commission should stop the test. These same workers may still argue the Vietnam war. In Anchorage, the Alaskan Mothers Campaign against Cannikin wired Nixon: "We would like a response to our petitions with 3,000 signatures against Cannikin. All the people of the world have the right to receive an explanation as to why you approved Cannikin."

At the United Nations, October 28, representatives from Canada, Peru and the UN Secretary General's office spoke against the blast. The Soviet Union's opposition was stated in a joint communication with Canada. Sweden also expressed official opposition.

We especially salute the Canadian and Japanese trade unions who held stop work actions. We honor the leadership of the Native Peoples of Alaska who organized mass opposition to the threat to their lives and the future of humanity. A number of U.S. trade unions, peace forces, 34 Congressmen, women and environmentalists opposed the test.

In Juneau, Alaska, 150 students from Juneau-Douglas High School held a march around Governor Egan's mansion to protest the blast. They took a recess period to chant "Stop the Bomb" and "Cannikin Kills" before returning to classes. (Tundra Times, Fairbanks, Alaska, Nov. 3, 1971)

Despite such world protest, why did Nixon violate this tremendous unity of the people's will? Today more is required to turn around the decadent and decaying capitalists in their rush towards disaster.

In May 1971 a young Alaskan Native warned of placing the main emphasis on earthquake danger, on the environmental threat of the blast. Alaskan Natives had found this insufficient to halt the previous tests. Amchitka had been the site of the 80,000 ton long-shot blast and the 1.3 megaton Milrow blast in October 1969. The young man said the weight of his people's opposition must be to the threat of radiation--radiation that is drawn toward the poles. The peoples of the Arctic have accumulated radiation since Hiroshima, each test adding to the amount in the tundra, to the wildlife on which the Arctic peoples subsist. There have been questions raised that three children of Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska, died of radiation poisoning from caribou marrow and that news of it was held back. There are reliable Alaskans who believe it happened. (Tundra Times, Nov. 3, 1971)

The full potential of mobilizing opposition to Amchitka was not brought to bear on the administration. The "CRY OF THE PEOPLE OF ADAK ISLAND" did not reach the United Nations. Why? Throughout the struggle in this country the threat against PEOPLE, against humanity was not sharp and clear, for all the possible effects of the blast struck at PEOPLE, first of all the Native Peoples of the Aleutians, of the Arctic in both Alaska and the Soviet Union and secondly the peoples of Canada and Japan. Finally, all of humanity is threatened

by Nixon and the industrial-militarists' moves towards atomic warfare. The struggle to stop Amchitka moved away from the "cold war" and war priorities which spent \$200 million for "Cannikin".

Did we link tightly enough the tie of stopping Amchitka and stopping the war in Vietnam? They are inseparably a part of the genocidal policies of the industrial-militarists represented by President Nixon. The Stop the War ads for November 6th in the Seattle papers neglected Amchitka.

What means should have linked the Free Angela struggle with Amchitka?

Did we reach the nerve gas opposition and mobilize these forces?

Did we place sufficient emphasis on the threat to people?

Photos in our press showed, in the main, the facilities the A.E.C. had constructed to create this deadly fungus. The myth of barren land with no people, to speak of, was circulated by the A.E.C. Our press showed almost no photos of the Alaskan Native faces, including children, who organized against the blast. These would have expressed our partisanship and assisted in the overall job needed. In Washington, D.C. the Aleuts presented the charges of their democratic rights being violated. Reportage nationally did not place sufficient emphasis on the demands and fears of the people of the Aleutians who live with the fungus spores of genocide, of "Cannikin".

The fight against "Cannikin" strengthened the Native Peoples' confidence in winning allies to their just struggle. The potential organized around this issue assists the fight for peace and democratic rights.

The fight against "Cannikin" is not over. The Atomic Energy Commission representatives are moving off Amchitka but the Aleuts will live their lives on the land where their people have a history of thousands of years. They will live in jeopardy as they hunt and fish for subsistence.

When the real human history of the Aleutians is written only then will the effects of radiation be completely known. That human history will detail the deliberate commitment of genocide by the U.S. government and the fight against that genocide.

These charges must be brought before the world now!

Nixon must stand accused of this crime against future generations!

* * *

NOTE ON PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

All pre-Convention articles or resolutions submitted to Party Affairs need a signature or initials with a club or district identification--Editor.

PLAN FOR PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION, MICHIGAN DISTRICT

Period of discussion: October 1, 1971 through January 31, 1972

Main Reading Material for All Pre-Convention Discussion

1. Out of Indo-China. Freedom for Angela Davis! by Gus Hall
Report to July, 1971 National Committee meeting.
2. Draft Main Political Resolution (to be available in November)
3. Party Affairs
4. Materials on proposed plan of work for C.P. of Michigan
5. Basic reference work for all discussion --THE NEW PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

I. THE STATE COMMITTEE - to meet twice a month during the discussion period to:

- a. Review the work of the District - leadership, organization
- b. Prepare resolutions to the conventions
- c. Prepare Michigan District program and plan of work for District Convention
- d. Study and make proposals for renewal of leadership to State Convention

II. CLUBS - to meet at least every two weeks

- a. Review work of the club, organization
- b. Conduct educational discussions around pre-convention resolution
- c. Prepare resolutions for conventions
- d. Discuss District and club leadership and prepare proposals for renewal of leadership on both levels
- e. Prepare and adopt a club program of work and industrial concentration
- f. Elect delegates to district convention

The educational director from each club will be responsible for organizing pre-convention discussion in club (the ed. director does not necessarily have to prepare and lead every discussion but see that the discussions take place) distribute literature and other pre-convention materials.

Convention of Michigan District of Communist Party to be held January 15-16, 1972

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The CPUSA needs a symbol. This comes up every time we run candidates for political office. And it struck me anew when I saw the "recruiting" ad in last Thursday's paper: "Want to do more against racism; for peace and socialism? Join the Communist Party." This very fine ad was somewhat marred by a completely meaningless abstract globe attached to it, for lack of anything better, I suppose. It is time we had something better.

Some people favor the historically meaningful hammer-and-sickle. Others want something more specifically North American. (Why a SICKLE in the industrial USA?)

I believe our symbol should represent both the glorious international movement to which we belong, and also our unique national heritage. Above all, the symbol of the CPUSA should be instantly, unmistakably recognizable.

How about a contest for the designing of such a symbol?

Janet Hastings, New York

THE HOUSE OF IMPERIALISM IS CRUMBLING

By Gus Hall

Report to meeting of National Committee, Nov. 12, 1971. Discusses the new stage of continuous capitalist crisis, basic instability, increasing defeats, the Nixon program of trying to solve the crisis at the expense of the working class; the new strength and influence of the socialist countries and other anti-imperialist forces; the rising level of struggle in the U.S., the danger of fascism and the need for new initiatives, the possibility of significant new victories based on the new conditions. (40-page pamphlet.)

To be distributed to all Party members through clubs as part of pre-Convention discussion literature.

Also available for public sale through bookstores and other outlets at 50¢ per copy (at trade discount).

Order from:

New Outlook Publishers
32 Union Square East, Room 801
New York, N. Y. 10003

POSTER AND EMBLEM CONTEST

The Cultural Commission and the National Organizational Department of the Communist Party, USA, invites all members and friends to submit designs for:

1. A HALL-TYNER ELECTION POSTER
2. A RECRUITMENT POSTER FOR THE CPUSA
3. AN EMBLEM FOR THE CPUSA, (for use on ballots, banners, etc.)

Entries will be exhibited at the 20th Convention, CPUSA, weekend Feb. 18-22, 1971.

First Prize in each category:

45 VOLUME SET OF THE COLLECTED WORKS OF LENIN

Other prizes to be announced.

Entries will be judged on attractiveness, effectiveness, political content and impact. Posters may be any size, black and white or colors.

District and club leaders are urged to encourage all talented artists and amateurs to submit designs as part of their assignment in supporting the Party election campaign and Party building.

Entries can be brought to the Convention by delegates or mailed to:

Poster Committee, CPUSA
23 W. 26 Street
New York, N. Y. 10010