

PARTY AFFAIRS

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Parley sees conditions ripe to build Party in industry

The moment is favorable for the building of the Communist Party in the shops and Communist workers in the factories are beginning to move to take advantage of this favorable situation. That is what the Communist workers in the shops reported at a conference of the Concentration Task Force in Chicago Sept. 19-20.

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

| | |
|---|---------|
| How to Win Friends and Influence Masses | Page 7 |
| We Can Recruit—NOW! | Page 12 |
| Notes on Recruitment Activity | Page 14 |
| Outline for Discussion on Rank and File Upsurge | Page 15 |
| Free Angela Davis! | Page 17 |
| Notes on Political Affairs | Page 19 |
| Feelings of Some Youth on Party Clubs | Page 20 |
| New and Timely Literature | Page 24 |

A major point stressed by all the participants in the meeting was the necessity for every member of the Party to work with the Communists in the shops to achieve the building of the Party in the factories that present objective conditions make possible.

The conference was called to examine the work of Communists in a number of factories and industries and its relation to the central task of the Party today, the building of its organization in industry. The meeting was opened by Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Party, who declared:

"As a Communist Party, as a revolutionary party, all of us, whether we work in the mills or full time in the Party, face a most important moment in history, a situation in which the working class is in motion. The rank-and-file movement is a clear indication of this.

A key problem, Hall stressed, is the need for the Party to establish its legality in industry and the unions. This is most important, the General Secretary of the Party declared, as the Party is built in industry and in the unions.

SOURCE OF WEAKNESSES

Hall then turned to what he considered the most important question the conference should discuss. He declared:

"We have the following situation that is too universal to ignore. We have all too many shops in which we have only one or two members of the Party. This situation has existed in some places for as long as thirty years, with no fundamental change having taken place even in this last period.

"We want to probe this situation now. What are the problems that keep us from growing under the present favorable conditions? What are the ideological questions that enter? Is it that the workers feel there is no need for a revolutionary party? Is there a feeling that the Communist Party is not that kind of a party?"

HALL RAISES QUESTIONS FACING CP

Pointing to the growth of revolutionary caucuses in the factories and unions, particularly the Black revolutionary caucuses, Hall then asked: "Why is it that among such workers, who accept the idea of 'revolution' by joining such a caucus, there are not people ready to join the Communist Party?"

"Is there something," Hall continued, "in the concept, usually distorted, that workers are only interested in economic questions? Does this lead to the feeling that there is no need for the Communist Party in the economic struggles, that the trade union movement suffices, that you don't need a more militant, political organization? -Or, on socialism, is there something in the experience of American workers in these last years that would indicate that there is no interest? Or that there isn't a growing conviction that there has to be a more fundamental solution than the grievance apparatus--that there has to be a more fundamental solution in the sense of socialism?"

Hall urged the comrades at the conference to probe the area of the Party itself. "How do the workers know what the Party stands for? What its policies are? What the Party's concept of the economic struggle is? What its concept of socialism is?"

He asked the comrades to discuss the question of fear among the workers to join the Party and how to solve this question. He raised the question of the possible need of an intermediate organization that would lead to recruitment into the Party.

It was these questions that were the core of the discussion by the comrades from the shops and industries present at the conference.

COMPOSITION OF WORKERS CHANGING

3

One comrade from a big Midwest transport equipment plant reported:

"There are 10,000 workers in my plant. In a big section of the plant, 50 per cent are black workers. I've been there around 30 years. In 1942, there were 25 Communists and we were in the leadership of the local. As the result of red-baiting, stoolpigeonry and the leaving of the old timers, I am the only Communist left, along with a few ex-Party members, some of whom are now becoming more active.

"The composition of the workers in the plants has changed, with the old timers leaving and the influx of Black, Chicano and young workers.

"I'm known as a Communist; I do not deny it, but rather discuss it. I distribute the Daily World at union meetings. I've been active in the fight for upgrading black workers. I've circulated open letters in the shop on peace, the General Electric strike, the Black Panthers, in my own name.

"I sold 35 copies of Claude Lightfoot's book. We have 10 subs to the Daily World. Seven hundred copies of the Daily World were distributed at the last union meeting. I sold 30 copies of Gus Hall's pamphlet on the Hard Hats, and 300 more were distributed at union meetings.

"We are ripe to build the Party. We had a recruiting meeting with five workers and I've asked individual workers to join. But there is a fear about taking the final step.

"There is a definite growing interest among the workers in socialism.

"The workers are not ready yet to come to an open Party meeting. If we have a social gathering and Claude Lightfoot or Gus Hall would be there it would help."

A West Coast Longshore unionist reported:

"I take 15 copies of the People's World into the place where I work. Of these, seven are paid subs and the rest I sell. Of the seven paid subs, two go to black workers, three to Chicano workers and two to white workers. I get contributions for the People's World.

RECRUITED COUPLE OF WORKERS

"If anybody asks me the \$64 question, I answer that I am a Communist Party member. I recruited a couple of guys from among the younger workers. They are hard to hold. They don't come to meetings regularly. We need intermediate forms.

"The Party does not have a face. Yes, we have a district public spokesman and we have some leaflets issued in the name of the district without any person signing them; but this is really no public face.

"Workers are looking for an alternative, but the majority are skeptical of all isms. If we approach workers through the economic point of view we do better. Speedup, layoffs, etc., make it easier to bring up points about socialism and get workers to agree.

"We need to bring out the historical background, the role of the Communists in building the trade union movement.

"It might be better to recruit the younger workers into the Young Workers Liberation League first in order to hold them. Holding classes on Marxism-Leninism is good. Some workers are interested."

BLACK AND WHITE CAUCUS

A Midwest farm equipment worker reported:

"There are two of us at our plant, which is scheduled for closing. We are both stewards and are in the leadership of the big caucus, which was once only black but which is now black and white. Black workers in our plant are kept out of the skilled trades.

"All kinds of ultra-leftist groups have sent people into the plant--SDS, PL, etc.

"We're fighting to save the plant or at least get a better deal for the workers and make sure they get jobs elsewhere.

"The caucus has a core of 30 members. We're fighting the attempts of the company to keep the militant workers from being placed in other plants.

"Many in the caucus know I am a Communist. There are five young workers I am especially working to bring around."

Among those participating in the discussion were national leaders of the Party. Claude Lightfoot, co-Chairman of the Party's Black Liberation Commission, declared:

"To what extent have we created the conditions to show that our Party is relevant. We need to overcome a heritage of hiding. Workers need to know what a Communist is.

"What intermediate forms specifically do we need? The rank-and-file movement is not enough. We need books and literature on the conditions facing the American working

class today. Can the trade union movement as now structured and led do the job? Or, if not, then what is required? We need a popular booklet of 100 pages dealing with these subjects and why there is a need for a Left in the trade union movement and the role of the Communist Party."

PROBLEM FOR ENTIRE PARTY

George Meyers, Chairman of the Party's Trade Union Commission, said:

"The problem of building the Party in the shops is a problem for the whole Party. We have to spell out what we expect the Party leadership to do. The shop comrades can help the leadership by telling us where we can assist. There is a need to see the face of the Party more. There is a militant mood among the workers. They have little confidence in the trade union leadership. Many are ready for more advanced forms of struggle and for the Party.

"We have to pay more attention to helping the clubs we now have. Cadre is a big thing. We have to train cadre. With the Party leadership moving around the country, we have to figure out how to work more closely with the Young Workers Liberation League in the areas. In some places the League is doing a very good job."

Roscoe Proctor, Secretary of the Party's Trade Union Commission, declared:

"We had the experience last week with Henry Winston of bringing together 65 to 75 black youth, mainly intellectuals, from the Midwest and Pennsylvania. They gave Winnie quite a workout with their questions, but it went very well. All of them joined the Young Workers Liberation League, and ten joined the Party.

"We can build the Party if we have boldness and visibility. We can't have a pennyante approach to building. The Black Panthers are bold in putting out socialism as they understand it. We need to do this. We have to have a spirit, a new standard of membership participation.

"There are many people out there who want to bring the capitalist system down, but they do not know what is to replace it.

"We have the problem of integrating into the Party those who have joined. We need education to help on this. We also need mass educational approaches, education geared to concrete shop situations.

"There is a dead end in the black movement. I don't think we have spelled the way out. We're not getting to the class aspect enough--the role of the black workers. Black

workers are the most ready for a class outlook and socialism. We need to concentrate on young workers and within this on black workers. We need materials for this."

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FAVORABLE

Daniel Rubin, the Party's National Organizational Secretary, commenting on the discussion at the conference, said:

"I think it is clear to everyone that objective conditions in the labor movement have been moving in such a way that it becomes more and more favorable for the Party to become a real force in the solution of the problems of the workers and to determining the direction of the rank-and-file movement.

"I also think that our Party itself is ripe for a qualitative change among the industrial workers--that we are ready for a real drive to recruit from the working class into our Party. One gets the feeling that a number of comrades are edging up to this prime task, are now seriously exploring the ways and means, and have much of the preliminary work essential before recruiting really starts."

But, Rubin stressed, if the Party is to take advantage of the situation, a change has to take place in the thinking of the leaders and members of the Party concerning recruitment of industrial workers.

DEFENSE COMMISSION OUTLINES IMMEDIATE TASKS

The Defense Commission of the C.P.U.S.A. (under the chairmanship of James J. Tormey) has set forth the following guidelines for the establishment of a new organization in the struggle for democracy:

- a. It should be composed of both Communists and non-Communists who subscribe to the concepts here outlined with identifiable leaders of our Party occupying leading posts.
- b. It should have a comprehensive program to meet the constitutional crisis; it should wrest the national banner, the American flag, from the bloodstained hands of the ruling class who have defiled it; from the ultra-Right who have pre-empted it; it must be made for the first time in American history the banner of all the people.

cont'd on p. 16

HOW TO WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE MASSES

by Ken Newcomb

Achieving nearly 7,000 new readers in seven months marks an historic and dramatic turning point in the history of our Party and our press. These new readers are 70% to 80% workers, mainly industrial workers--at least 50% Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano, mainly younger with a significant number of the so-called "missing generation." This drive, then, is rich with experiences in building circulation. We would like to share some of them in preparation for the new circulation drive for 5,700 net new readers from November 15, 1970 to July 4, 1971.

A community club of eight members in discussing a state board report on the then upcoming circulation drive for the Daily World finally became motivated to make an attempt at a real breakthrough in circulating the paper. Their first step was to convince one of their members to be the club press director (they had never had one before). They began the development of a club plan of work by discussing how the paper could help them in their various mass work activities. A list of contacts was compiled by going around the room and asking each comrade to submit names of potential subscribers from among their co-workers and co-activists, either on the job or in the community. The club then went over each of the 45 names and made assignments as to who was going to approach whom. The press director recorded the list and the assignments. At each successive club meeting there was a checkup on assignments. In six weeks 17 subscriptions were sold.

The methods used in selling the subscriptions were relatively simple. The prospective subscribers were given a few sample copies as a way of introduction to the paper, and then they were asked to subscribe. The club members were surprised to see that just on the basis of their recommendation most people agreed to get subscriptions.

WHAT HAPPENED IN MINNESOTA

The best experience in using introductory subs was in Minnesota. A list of potential subscribers was drawn up. They were asked if they would be willing to get a one month free subscription. After they had been receiving the paper for about two weeks they would be called or visited and asked their opinion of the paper. Did they notice such and such an article? Did you agree or disagree with a certain editorial? This helped to insure that they were reading the paper. After the one month was up the person was again called upon and asked to subscribe. 70% of those called on agreed to do so.

Minnesota and several other districts printed or mimeographed inserts for the paper for use when selling or distributing the paper. Some of these were also used in mailings to prospective subscribers.

Another method used in getting introductory subscriptions was to mail sample copies to the subjects of news stories and offer a free trial sub. A high percentage would agree to take the paper. In cases where there was personal follow-up from 50% to 70% would be converted to regular subscribers.

Introductory subs proved to be a very useful tool in getting new, regular readers. As Lauren Lockshin from Cleveland replied to a very friendly GM striker when he asked why we were giving away free subs, "We think you'll get hooked."

HOW NEW ROUTES WERE STARTED

New community routes were initiated in several districts. In Philadelphia a low income housing project was selected for a new project. It was organized ahead of time to guarantee that it could be continued - not just a one or two week project. The housing project was for low income families and was mainly Black and Puerto Rican. The route was initiated by distributing free copies to every apartment for two weeks. A leaflet was included that explained that it was a sample copy and that salesmen would be calling in the near future. The leaflet also included a sub blank. The first week of sales resulted in more than 30 copies sold out of about 80 people that were home. (Experience has it that Sunday sales are best between 11:00 and 1:00 o'clock) Rotating teams now go back every week. A list of the readers is kept. Occasionally articles that appear in the paper, but not in the edition that is sold are reprinted with a sub blank and included in the paper. These leaflets are also distributed to the rest of the apartments. The route has now been built to over 40 readers.

Attempts were made to convert these regular weekly sales into subscriptions by signing people up for one month subscriptions for \$1 or for free. With personal visitation about 50% did. One of the problems in getting subscriptions in low income housing projects and in poor communities generally is the cost of \$15. This has been dealt with in several ways. One is to sell the weekend edition as a start. Another is to establish a fund so that a new subscriber can pay weekly or monthly. "Paying out" has the organizational advantage of maintaining contact with the new reader.

USED TO ESTABLISH NEW CONTRACTS

As was mentioned, nearly 80% of the new readers are workers and most of them industrial workers. This was accomplished by some very dramatic and exciting breakthroughs in plant gate sales.

Camden, New Jersey is a good example. Between the local Party club and the YWLL chapter a regular weekly team was organized. An article about some of the conditions and struggles in the plant was written in conjunction with some contacts from inside the plant. Arrangements were made to have the story appear in the weekend edition of the paper and 1,500 copies were ordered for a free distribution to two shifts of workers. A leaflet was inserted explaining that this was a sample copy and that they could buy the paper daily at a local store. The leaflet also indicated that the paper would be for sale in front of the plant the following week and every week thereafter. The leaflet also included a coupon for a one month free sub. The response to the free distribution was tremendous. The story was posted on the bulletin board, workers asked for extra copies, and some even helped hand out the paper. The following week 50 copies were ordered to sell. That proved to be far too few. The 50 were sold the first hour. The following week 125 copies were sold. Two workers were signed up for the free one month sub.

An all Black, all student YWLL chapter in Ohio used the paper to establish contacts among workers in the two largest plants in their town. The chapter was organized into teams of four persons who would work together on particular gates at particular plants (or, in one case at a shopping center). They began by taking 2,000 copies a week. Initially they distributed the paper free, including a leaflet offering an introductory subscription. The free distributions were followed up with sales. In a six week period of time they had reached a point where they were selling between 300 and 400 copies a week.

The regular sale at these plants has resulted in making contact with about 30 workers, Black and white, who are now discussing the organizing of a rank and file committee. There have been a number of discussions with readers about joining the YWLL.

At Tarrytown, N.Y. the YWLL along with the Party have been making regular weekly distributions of the paper at the huge GM plant. Many of the workers as they get their paper and drive on raise a clenched fist or call "Right on brother!". That weekly persistence is now paying off. They just signed up over 60 strikers to get subs for the duration of the strike. That's a breakthrough.

One of the main problems at plant gate sales is the conversion to subscription. The free introductory subscription is a good tool in fighting this problem. The best way to use it is to have a separate leaflet stapled to the front of the paper or inserted. You can get many more if you ask them to sign up right there.

There are two approaches to streetcorner, plant gate, or demonstration sales. The first, and probably most successful is the "personal" approach. This is approaching an individual or small group directly and asking them to buy the paper. The pitch is on one or another particular article. The pitch on a certain article seems to be more successful than a general pitch such as "the only daily Marxist newspaper," etc. For example, a club in Brooklyn wrote a story about a tenants' strike where they lived. At a picket line they approached their neighbors with, "Would you like to read a paper with our side of the story for a change? There's a very good article about our strike." Forty-five copies were sold in this manner to a picket line of about 50 people.

At plants or other places where people are moving by you pretty rapidly a quick, loud pitch is successful. In Harlem recently 35 copies were sold in 45 minutes on a busy corner by using the pitch, "Read Angela Davis' side of the story - ten cents." 70 copies were sold at a subway entrance with the call, "Read the Daily World, the workers' daily."

ORGANIZE "DAILY WORLD" BRIGADE

Eighty-two readers joined the DAILY WORLD BRIGADE using 675 copies a week. The idea behind the "Brigade" was to make it inexpensive for readers to get bundles of papers for use in their day-to-day activities. One reader started a small route with his bundle of 10 copies. He became so enthusiastic from the success that he started taking the paper with him to meetings and demonstrations. Shop workers in several areas signed up for bundles to use in their plants. One steelworker in New Jersey takes 5 copies a week into his shop. Three copies are left in the three bathrooms and the other 2 copies are given or sold to two co-workers who are active with him in rank and file work. Occasionally he will cut out an article and put it on the bulletin board. Another reader uses her bundle on the bus riding to work. For three weeks she gave her bus driver a free copy and then sold him a weekend subscription. She is now working on a few fellow passengers about subscriptions. The experience of the Brigade is that if you have papers coming to your house regularly it serves as a stimulus for building circulation. Many readers have written in that just by having a few copies with them all the time they have found numerous occasions to introduce people to the paper.

PROBLEMS WITH NEWSSTANDS

Newsstand sales are becoming a more and more important part of our circulation. Included in the term "newsstand" are bookstores, movement centers, and coin operated news boxes. The reason we lump them together is that similar methods are used to build circulation at these spots.

Newsstands, stores, etc. will carry the Daily World if they can make money. A few might refuse for political reasons, but a bigger obstacle is display room. Many areas found that they could get someone to carry the paper by going in and asking for it a few times. After that, the proprietor would agree to carry the paper--especially if he was assured that efforts were going to be made to increase the sales. Another method for getting stores to carry the paper is to offer them the paper for one week free of charge and then make sure that people go in to buy it.

Newsstands, stores, etc. only pay for what they sell. For situations outside of New York City that means that someone has to pick up returns from the local dealer and collect the money. Most places resist corresponding with New York on the money end of it.

Building the sales on a newsstand, store or newsbox has a couple of aspects. Most of the experience is that we have to stop by and make sure the paper is well displayed.

A reader in Manhattan makes sure the paper is properly displayed each morning at the candy store where she buys it. She often has to uncover it, etc. Her work has resulted in sales climbing from 2 to 7.

Once the paper is on the stand and well displayed the hard work begins. In Baltimore they do free distributions in the community around the store carrying the paper with a leaflet that indicates where the paper is sold. Another method is to sell the paper on the street and at the point of sale, tell the people that they can buy it at such and such a place. Posters also help. In Philadelphia they have put out 5 newsboxes which they service daily. They have been averaging from between 10 and 12 copies a day. The only promotion they have done at this writing is to notify readers and contacts that the papers are available.

The experience of this campaign proves that the circulation of the Daily World can greatly increase. It can be sold to millions of people. The obstacle is getting our Party members and readers to use the paper in their day-to-day struggles, to get out at plant gates and in the community.

WE CAN RECRUIT--N O W !

The signs begin to appear in New York

Fran Bordos, New York State
Organizational Secretary

Our political land lay fallow for many years - we needed more hands to till the soil, to irrigate and fertilize, to nurture the young plants and to harvest the crop. We just didn't think our tools were adequate, nor that the Marxist seed wouldn't be rejected. We'd become oh, so accommodated to our little domain where we knew every little stone, and every withering vine that would somehow suffice until a new and younger and more energetic generation would come along and take over for us.

The metaphor is incomplete and not entirely accurate, for our whole Party has not had that attitude and a number of us have been searching and probing and trying to convince some of the custodians that this Party has meaning to a large number of people outside of ranks, that they want to join us, if we will only let them know that we are here and ask them in.

And so, while the process is a continuous one, somehow the more recent period and experience seems to have a beginning. That beginning is marked with three important decisions: to develop and build our working class party through the re-application of an industrial concentration policy, to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist youth organization, and to re-establish a daily Marxist paper. All of this, of course, being possible within the context of the new favorable objective situation - the struggle against war, against repression, against the constant attacks of monopoly on the people coupled with a rapid radicalization of tremendous numbers of students, youth, the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Indian peoples, and the new struggles in the ranks of the working class and organized labor movement.

And so, we begin to pay some attention to one of our important up-state industrial centers. There is a club there, but it can't seem to break out of its McCarthy era shell and rationalizes away all opportunities for bringing the Party to the people--the students are too radical and un-Marxist, the workers are too scared, we can't bring new members into our club (each member being critical of the other's shortcomings). Every district or area has this type of club, so that the description need not be further expanded. But this is an important industrial area and the district leadership just couldn't walk away from it until maybe we could send someone up there to do the necessary job.

So we began to send our leadership up there a little more frequently--our chairman, labor secretary, leaders of the youth organization. They visited the campuses and spoke to groups of

interested students and left them literature; they distributed the paper and other materials at plant gates. After the second, third, fourth visits, we finally made some solid contacts--students and shop workers, white and Black, who listened and discussed and wanted us to come back to tell them more. But the best responses came from the youth who are less inhibited by the experiences of the McCarthy era, nor as fearful of the loss of job. Not unimportant in this regard is their coming upon the Marxist-Leninist teachings in this new recent epoch so that it has fresh meaning in terms of current experiences.

At any rate, our younger comrades paved the way and made the breakthrough - they established a League branch in this industrial center and 25% of these joined the Party. A schedule of public lectures has been worked out, under the auspices of the League and the Party while at the same time two of the older comrades have been assigned to conducting a class and discussions on basic Marxist theory, as well as acquainting these new young people with the Party - its program, its role, and how it works organizationally. The perspective set is to double and triple the membership within the next few following months. Already, the Party has received more exposure within the last two months than in the past ten years. There were the speaking engagements on campus, TV and radio programs for our candidates. A regular bundle of papers is on hand together with a full stock of literature that is sold in a new bookshop.

But it is significant to note that even though we knew it could be done, we had to be prodded by the persistent request of one of the first contacts made, that he wanted to join the Party. Well, he has, and has encouraged the others to come in with him.

This has also had a salutary effect on the rest of the Party in that area because its isolation has been broken through in spots and this is reflected in a most important area - the beginnings of the building of a broader rank and file activity among some of the trade unionists.

This experience is only the beginning, but the fact that it has taken place in the most important and toughest area for us to crack must set the tone for the kind of approach we must now take to build the Party--industrial concentration, building the youth organization, laying the base with our press and literature.

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| NOTES ON RECRUITMENT ACTIVITY |
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- Northern California, Ohio, Illinois, Texas, New England have held district meetings on recruiting.
- Several districts, particularly smaller and medium sized ones, have expressed the feeling that "applicant" status is an unworkable method for recruitment. It has also been pointed out by a few people that the Constitution may require an amendment in order to have applicant status. Let us have your ideas on recruiting procedures.
- We need testimonial articles from comrades who have recently joined the Party. The articles should be two or three paragraphs long, describe who you are, how and why you joined. They would be printed in the Daily World and the People's World. Please send to the National Office along with a snapshot, if desired. Indicate whether you want your name, city or union affiliation withheld.
- Illinois district writes:

"The Illinois District met with Comrade Winston during his recent stay in Chicago and had a preliminary discussion on the national recruiting drive. At that time we set up a small committee to present a plan of work for the recruiting drive which has met twice and will have a final meeting to concretize a report to be given to the District Board.

"I will be submitting this report and discussion within a week or two at the most. . . ."
- New England has appointed a recruitment director who has visited from Club to Club to work out a plan for recruiting.
- Texas Executive Board accepted their quotas and also pledged that a certain number of recruits must be women.

We are introducing a new series in Party Affairs of Study Questions and discussion outlines which we expect will be useful for Club educational discussions. Please let us know what subjects you would like covered in this series, what your Club considers would be the most pertinent and useful material.

In addition our National Education Department has outlines for various types of schools. They can be supplied to you on request.

OUTLINE FOR DISCUSSION ON RANK-AND-FILE UPSURGE

- 1) What are the major factors giving rise to the present rank and file labor upsurge? Why is it that this effort to revitalize the trade unions should have come from the rank and file and not from the trade union leadership? What is meant by the "Class Partnership" policies of the main trade union leadership?
- 2) What are the major factors that distinguish the current rank and file upsurge from previous rank and file upheavals? What is the significance of these differences for our trade union policies, for the issues and programs we fight for?
- 3) How does the changing composition (by nationality, race, age and sex) of the industrial core of the working class influence the character of the present rank and file upsurge? What are some of the new issues this will push to the fore, both inside and outside of the shop?
- 4) Does the rank and file upsurge pose a danger of splitting and thus weakening the trade union movement? How is the struggle to democratize the trade unions related to the fight to strengthen the trade unions? What democratic changes in union structure and methods are needed?
- 5) How are the present problems facing the trade union movement related to the sharpening crisis of U.S. imperialism? Around what concrete issues and demands should the struggle against imperialism be raised in and by the rank and file movement? Why is the struggle against the Vietnam war central?
- 6) Why is the fight against racism a decisive struggle for the advance of the unions? How should this fight be carried on?
- 7) What is the political character of the present rank and file upsurge? What is the role of the left in building the rank and file movements? What special dangers must it seek to avoid? What is meant by "the center" in the trade union movement? How does a center-left coalition relate to the "right"?

8) What are right opportunist tendencies in the Party and left? What are leftist tendencies? (in each)

R E A D I N G S

1. The United States in Crisis - Main Political Resolution, 19th Convention of C.P.U.S.A., The Working Class, pp. 33-45.
2. Political Affairs, April 1970 - G. Meyers, W. Weinstone
3. Daily World, Thursday, September 24, 1970 - Article on U.E. Convention.
4. Labor Today - Special Issue on Rank and File Conference July-September issue.

Defense outlines (cont'd from p. 6)

- c. It should become an organization which understands that the fight against racism is absolutely central - as the main ingredient in the attempt to achieve a people's unity against repression and to initiate a program for achieving it.
- d. It must become a movement which seeks alliances with all the oppressed, exposing the common denominator which exists between them and exposing the oppressor.
- e. It must become a movement which precisely because it is on the side of the oppressed, will fight for the rights and the legality of the Communist Party. In fighting for this legality it will do so not alone from an abstract "rights" point of view, but because the Communist Party is among the oppressed as well as the defender and champion of all oppressed peoples.
- f. It must be a movement which will defend victims of repression both legally and through mass campaigns.
- g. It must help to organize medical services and first-aid to victims of police brutality at demonstrations, on picket lines, and will strive to service political prisoners and their families.
- h. It must have a young, vigorous and imaginative working class leadership of all races, with identifiable young leaders of the Communist Party sharing leadership with other radical and progressive forces.

FREE ANGELA DAVIS

ANGELA DAVIS is innocent.

ANGELA DAVIS is guilty of no crime save that she is a Black woman.

ANGELA DAVIS is guilty of no crime save that she is a Communist.

ANGELA DAVIS is guilty of no crime save that she is fighting for the liberation of all oppressed people.

Free ANGELA DAVIS!



The authorities in California have accused Angela Davis of "murder and kidnapping" in connection with the Marin County courthouse breakout. Angela Davis is innocent of these charges. Despite the campaign by the news media to convict her without a trial, there is no evidence whatsoever that she participated in the Marin incident. Angela Davis is being framed.

Angela Davis is being railroaded to the gas chamber by the government because:

- * As a Marxist educator she fought to bring the struggle against racism into the classroom.
- * As a leader in the defense of the Soledad Brothers, she helped expose the miserable, inhuman conditions of the racist prison system.
- * As a Black woman she dared to shatter the racist, anti-woman myths of inferiority and become a Professor of Philosophy at the University of California.

- * As such, she further dared to publicly challenge the present economic system of exploitation of people for profit, and dedicated her life to the struggle of the working class to build a new society based on human values.

The attack on Angela Davis is not an isolated incident. It follows on the heels of the nation-wide plot to murder and jail Black Panthers, the police murder of Chicano journalist, Reuben Salazar, the conspiracy trials of anti-war activists, and the murder of United Mine Workers Union militant, Joseph Yablonsky.

Angela's frameup is part of an organized conspiracy on the part of the Nixon administration, the FBI, the Justice Department, and the news media to strike down the leadership of the growing movements of Black people, Chicanos, students and militant workers. The purpose of this conspiracy is to isolate and destroy those groups struggling to turn this country from its present course of racist exploitation and war-for-profit.

Its method is repression. Repression against the widest range of groups, from the Puyallup Indians to the striking postal workers of New York.

Its method is division. Racism is used to divide white workers from black and brown workers. Anti-intellectualism is used to separate workers from students. Anti-communism is used to attack the Left and smear all groups. Male supremacy is used to attack womens' groups.

The laws are now being prepared to make possible arrest and imprisonment without trial ("preventative detention"). The "no knock" law is in effect in Washington, D.C.

In the face of this many-sided attack, the need is for the widest unity of people and groups in the struggle to end repression. Only by creating a greater unity than we have achieved in the past can we win.

The struggle to free Angela Davis is imperative because, in their attack on her, the reactionaries are using all the techniques they have developed to split the people. Not to struggle to free Angela is to bow to the forces that want an America in which the voices for change have been silenced--a fascist America.

In attacking Angela, however, the reactionaries have misjudged. To many struggling and oppressed people Angela is a heroine and an example; a proud Black woman who is using all her powers for the liberation of all exploited people, black, brown and white.

Already, representatives of a wide range of groups have risen to Angela's support. We must build on and expand that support.

Free Angela Davis!
Join and build a Free Angela Davis Committee.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP FREE ANGELA:

1. Wire Governor Rockefeller of New York demanding he stop the extradition of Angela Davis to California.
2. Wire Governor Reagan of California demanding that all charges be dropped.
3. Call your Congressman, Senators, and State legislators in their offices. Demand that they speak out now to free Angela.
4. Help organize a Free Angela Davis Committee.



HYMAN LUMER, Editor

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Coming in Political Affairs:

The January issue will feature analysis of the 1970 elections by Gus Hall. Other articles include one prepared by James E. Jackson on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Frederick Engels and one by John Pittman on the Indochina war. Also, this issue--Volume 50, Number 1--marks the beginning of half a century of continuous publication of a Marxist-Leninist monthly magazine in the U.S. The occasion will be marked by an article dealing with the magazine's roots and early history.

The February issue will contain articles marking Black History Month - also the 90th anniversary of the birth of our former Party Chairman, William Z. Foster.

The March issue will be a special number devoted to the subject of women's liberation. Details will be announced later.

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THE FEELINGS OF SOME YOUTH ON THEIR PARTY CLUBS

by Donna Ristorucci

The purpose of this article is to express a widespread feeling among many youth in the Party about their Party clubs in the hope of provoking some real evaluation on the functioning of the clubs and some criticism and self-criticism, especially among the older comrades.

The Party is preparing to launch a recruitment drive. In my opinion the most important factor in our ability to recruit large numbers of people is making the clubs function like Communist Party clubs should function. The club is the level at which we come into contact with the most people, on a day-to-day basis, who are active in the movement or who are just beginning to move for change. The club is where most people see the Party in struggle. As important as political campaigns, literature, mass media coverage and other more "centralized" aspects of Party work are, these are not the decisive factors in recruitment at this stage of development of the Party or the movement; they are supplementary to the work of the clubs. Unless the clubs are visible, unless Communist Party members are visible among the people they work with, recruitment will be spontaneous and minimal. Historically, I think we would find that the Party recruited the largest number of people as a result of mass work on the local level. This is also something I've learned from work in the DuBois Clubs and the YWLL; the largest clubs, and those which contributed the most to the growth of the organization as a whole, have been those which are the most active and visible.

I say this to make it clear that without the club there can be no mass recruitment. At this time, it is clear that the Party clubs do not fulfill what is needed. This means that our greatest attention must be given to building the clubs.

As a leader in YWLL I have had the opportunity to speak to many youth about their work, their opinions, etc. With three exceptions (all from the same club) all the youth I talked to were deeply dissatisfied and very frustrated with their Party clubs, which they feel are irrelevant to their work, to their growth as Communists, and to the community or industry they work in. Some of them, including youth in leading positions, rarely attend club meetings anymore, and some young comrades said that there are times when they leave their club meetings in a really frustrated, depressed state. These are youth who are committed to building the Party and who fight to implement the Party's line--they are not fly-by-night kids who don't understand what a Communist Party is or who disagree with the Party's positions. It is important that the Party as a whole take note of these feelings, because they reflect some of the real problems of the clubs, and because the youth will play an important part in recruitment and building the Party.

These youth report that the majority of older comrades don't do anything and are just "out of it." They don't even know the assignments of some of the comrades. Most of those older comrades who are active are not really active or known as Communists. Comrades in a particular mass political organization are good workers for this organization, and the same for older peace activists and activists in other areas. They do not work as Communists in these movements. This is reflected in the fact that the older comrades in these clubs have hardly recruited anyone from their work, and certainly no people their own age. This is true of my own club in the Lower East Side. Of course there are exceptions, but generally this has been the case. Many youth in the Party cannot understand these methods of work of many of our older comrades. (Some older comrades can't understand it either. There are a few youth with similar problems, but I think we can all agree that the problem is much more common among older comrades.) The reasons usually given by these comrades for their methods of work are their experiences during McCarthyism, that they don't want to alienate the people they work with, that older people are set in their ways and won't change their ideas, and others. These excuses are hard to accept.

If we accepted them it would mean giving into the notion that it's not possible to recruit older people to the Party. This question of recruitment among older people is very important and must be treated with far greater seriousness than in the past. Most older comrades feel that the overwhelming bulk of recruitment must be by and among the youth. My feeling is that we could recruit lots of youth to the Party in the next period, but I don't think this would benefit the Party or the YWLL in the long range. We discussed many times and agreed that building YWLL is critical to building the Party. If we keep recruiting all the youth from YWLL immediately into the Party, it would hurt the growth of the League, and thus of the Party.

I would propose that the age level on which we should place a new stress for recruitment in New York is from 35 to 50--the missing generation. It is important for us to remember that our Party is the vanguard of the whole working class, not just the youth and the older people who maintained their activity and commitment to the Party from the 20's, 30's and 40's. It's possible to recruit among this age group, especially among workers, and among Black and Puerto Rican people as a whole. They're affected by the Crisis of Capitalism too. What's needed to spark this recruitment is changes in the orientation and methods of work of our comrades, particularly our older comrades.

The youth I talked to also said that beyond occasional reports by individual comrades there is no collective discussion of mass work or of the specific community organizations, industry or shop they are in. They get the feeling that their clubs have no real mass ties, particularly among workers. Several young comrades

on the Upper West Side complain that they don't even know what the older comrades in mass political organizations are doing, and that older comrades from different clubs on the Upper West Side who work in the same peace organization have never, to their knowledge, gotten together to discuss it. If they have, the club never heard about it. In these clubs also they say it is next to impossible to get more than one or two older comrades to leaflet, even on an important and urgent issue. Another comrade told me that there has never been a discussion of her shop in her Party club. A young comrade I spoke to from Harlem feels that the older comrades in her club talk up a good line, but when it comes to implementing it they expect the youth to do it, because "youth are for the future." Similar remarks were made by a youth in a Brooklyn club. This comrade said that there are a couple of older comrades in the club who can run down the line, but when it comes to something like fighting for the Party's right to speak at a rally they remain silent.

The youth I have spoken to from clubs which are mostly white express the criticism that chauvinism among the older white comrades is blatant and widespread. (Not to say that there is no chauvinism among the youth in the Party--there is. But, somehow, perhaps because of our experience in the movement today, the youth seem to be more sensitive to chauvinism than many of the older comrades.)

It comes out most clearly in discussions around the Black Panther Party, Black caucuses, or nationalism generally among Blacks and Puerto Ricans. There seems to be a lack of sensitivity to

effects of racism and chauvinism on Black and Puerto Rican youth, and how to work with Blacks and Puerto Ricans. There is also a prevalent feeling that only our Black and Puerto Rican comrades can effectively work with and recruit other Black and Puerto Rican people.

As a result of this conservatism in many of the Party clubs, in addition to the chauvinism in some of the predominantly white clubs, these youth find it extremely difficult to relate to their Party clubs on any level, and are very hesitant to recruit anyone to the club--Black, Puerto Rican or white. I'm sure some of the older comrades feel the same hesitancy because of the club life, or lack of it.

The situation is such that the youth don't even feel comfortable in raising their questions and criticisms at their club meetings. Thus, they discuss it with each other, which doesn't really help the clubs. Youth don't want to give up on the older comrades, and we're searching for ways to make our clubs into real Party collectives. But it's the task of the whole Party.

What can we do about this situation? How can we change the Party clubs so that they are more relevant to our work, and so that we can recruit large numbers of people, Black, Puerto Rican and white, young and old, into the Party? Of course, it's a process--as we improve the clubs we will recruit more people, and as we recruit more people they will help to improve the clubs. But there must be something we can do now.

Some clubs have already begun to have complete evaluations of the work of the comrades and the club as a whole. This should be done in every club, with the help of the county or section leadership. Maybe a questionnaire should be written up for every club as a guide for discussion with such questions as: Does your club influence the direction of your shop or community? How can it better do this? or What are the best methods for recruiting? We have just initiated a similar questionnaire in the New York YWLL, which hopefully will produce discussion that will help the organization reach into the communities and shops, and grow. The club exec should discuss the work of each comrade critically, and make sure that each comrade evaluates their own work self-critically. Criticism of a comrade's work should be comradely and frank. Too often we are not frank for fear of hurting people's feelings, and as a result we start hassling over little things to avoid the real question. These discussions have to get at the root of the problems or they won't help the Party.

The club should be geared to those who are active; it should not permit those comrades who are not active to drag it down. Those who are not active (I do not mean those who are unable to be because of age or health) will be forced to become active--or at least will no longer be permitted to be a drag on the club.

Every club should develop a general line of work for every area of work and organization to which they have assigned comrades--housing, peace, a rank and file committee, etc. Mass work has to be discussed regularly in a collective way, to give guidance to the comrades in their work--not so the comrade involved can merely give an occasional report to the rest of the club. Mass work discussions should deal with how Communists can raise the level of struggle in their mass organizations, how to deal with questions asked by people they work with and in the mass movement as a whole.

Thus, of importance to building the clubs are: regular mass work discussion, and criticism and self-criticism. If this is done in every club, the work of the club should improve qualitatively.

In addition to these points, I think there must also be some organizational steps taken, including reorganization of some of the clubs, particularly in Manhattan and Brooklyn, and moving some comrades around. The idea of concentration clubs, which have been proposed for New York, should also be concretized and put into effect.

I hope this article provokes some discussion. Daniel Rubin's article in a recent issue of Party Affairs may well be a guide for discussions in our clubs.

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