

# PARTY AFFAIRS

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## OCTOBER 13, NATIONAL MORATORIUM DAY

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OCTOBER 13, OCTOBER 13, OCTOBER 13!  
MORATORIUM, MORATORIUM, MORATORIUM!

Don't forget it. Talk it up. Begin to help plan for it. Begin to help organize it NOW. Make it a day to remember!

Both national peace coalitions (the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice and the National Peace Action Coalition) have decided on October 13 as a national moratorium day.

October 13 is to be a Stop Business As Usual Day, a Stop the War Day, A Tell It To Them Day, A We've Had Enough Day, A Free Angela and Political Prisoners Day, A Day Against Racism and Poverty, A Day for Jobs and New Priorities. Call it what you will, it will be a day upon which millions and millions of Americans will be asked to stop and demonstrate in such a way as to make clear to Washington that the date for total withdrawal must be set for '71 and that the money for war and militarism go to meeting peoples' needs.

October 13 will have broad national sponsorship. The Party will only be one of the organizations supporting it. But because we are Communists and understand the decisive importance of ending the war this year and of pushing forward the struggles of the people for peace, jobs, adequate income and equality, we have a special responsibility in throwing our

full strength behind the preparations for this day.

### WORK CAN START NOW

Here are some things that we can begin doing without waiting for national initiatives from the national moratorium committee or from the peace center.

1. Immediately begin to let people know about October 13. Get together with other local anti-war and movement people to think through how the day is to be organized locally.

2. Even before national posters and materials arrive, local committees could begin to put out their own local posters and buttons. The first of these need to popularize the 13th as a day of moratorium so that the people immediately begin to see visual signs that something unusual will take place on that day.

3. Local peace and movement activists should begin to reach key people in all organized sectors of the movement, whether labor unions, welfare organizations, peace organizations, religious groups, Black Puerto Rican, Chicano, Indian and Asian groups, tenants organizations, and so forth. The aim of such discussions should be to see how October 13th can be made into a one for all, all for one day, a day of SOLIDARITY of all those who want an end to the war and turning the country around to meeting peoples' needs. When agreement of key people is gotten, then movement conferences can be called where the various sectors of the movement are joined together into a common effort to make October 13 a day such as that city has never before seen.

Not all organized sectors may be ready to do the same thing, but the objective should be to close down all colleges and high schools, to close down all neighborhood stores, to get people to refuse to buy anything for the day, and where possible to get unions to organize some form of work actions and work stoppages. A few unions have already agreed to the latter.

4. While our stress should be on activities that reach the people directly, no opportunity should be lost in getting the endorsement of prominent individuals and of official government bodies such as mayors and city councils. Where such agencies of government want to stress the theme of "Take the City out of the War and Turn War Money into Peoples' Money," that should become a major slogan. Already a number of city councils and both Brooklyn and Bronx county governments have put forth such slogans.

5. A city should also be broken down into its component neighborhoods. Each should have its own committee and its own special approach. In turn, the city coordinating committee can decide on whether some central unified action should occur on that day in the late afternoon or evening.

6. The whole Party and not just its peace activists should be mobilized to help make October 13 the day it must be. This requires

plans for all sections and clubs (city or state). Party activist or membership meetings to rally the Party should also be considered.

### **PARTY SETS AN EXAMPLE**

While many organizations will be involved in the October 13 effort, the Party should aim to be an example of how a vanguard organization throws its full weight behind a great peoples effort. And in all our work we must aim to reach the working class first of all. This does not mean neglecting the student youth, particularly the high school youth in working class and ghetto communities.

Let's start at once. OCTOBER 13, OCTOBER 13, OCTOBER 13!

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## **YOUR ROLE TOWARD ANGELA'S BAIL**

By National Defense Commission

The political significance of the fight to free Angela was the thread that ran through the entire National Party Conference (July 9-11) and the suggestions from the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners were considered very timely. The Defense Commission of the Party sees the necessity of pinpointing Communist responsibility to concretize plans of work for each district, club and individual comrade in the Party in this struggle.

A quota for filled bail petitions should be set by each district reflecting particular commitments from each club and each comrade. There should be weekly check up on how many signatures have been collected; what are the plans for completing the goal. This check up should range from the individual comrade up to and including the district leadership.

Each district should assign comrades who will have the exact responsibility for proposing and following through in the Party organization ways of reaching mass organizations, leaders in the peoples movements, in trade unions, in churches, in political organizations. No organization should be left out in our appeal to reach the maximum number of people on the mass issue of bail for Angela.

Resolutions, statements, ads, etc. can be forthcoming. Our Party organizations must pinpoint responsibility for achieving same.

In order to guarantee that this campaign is high on the order of business, the Defense Commission expects in writing from each district what their plans are, how they hope to achieve the plans and the number of signatures they intend to have and how many signatures al-



ready gathered by August 1st. The Commission further expects reports every week from each district after August 1st.

The fight to free our Comrade Angela Davis on bail is completely realizable but only if we renew Communist initiative and leadership.

#### **BROADEST ASPECT OF CAMPAIGN**

The National United Committee in issuing its latest notice (July 7, 1971) to committees throughout the country on the fight for bail said:

"The fight for bail, at this point, is the broadest aspect of our campaign to Free Angela Davis...Since Superior Court Judge Richard Arnason refused to grant Angela Davis bail at the June 15 hearing in the Marin County courthouse, the National Staff of the National United Committee, through long discussions, have arrived at the following perspective:

The fight to save Angela Davis from legal lynching by the State of California has entered a new stage. Anyone who thinks that we can obtain her freedom by merely addressing ourselves to the courts and hoping for a fair trial is sadly mistaken.

We must never reject the participation and involvement of those whose activities are restricted to a fair trial or bail pending trial. Moreover, we must continue to utilize the courtroom as a forum of struggle with the prime ingredient a powerful legal defense.

But we must go beyond the court to receive justice. Activity 'in the street' must be our new battle cry. The people must show their outrage and reverse this unconstitutional denial of bail.

Our every activity must be geared to turning resolutions from trade unions and Black Caucuses into committed, organized actions. Sentiment must be turned into work-stoppages. Letters to the editor must be transformed into sore, marching feet.

Reagan, Hoover and Nixon must understand that the people - the people in mass - organized and determined in a thousand different ways will not stand immobile while they try to murder Angela Davis. It is clear: we must rely on every method of struggle proven successful by the Black Liberation and working class movements to Free Angela Davis--that includes the courtroom, street demonstrations, sit-ins, walkouts and work-stoppages."

#### **BAIL PAMPHLET PREPARED**

The National United Committee has prepared a "bail pamphlet" entitled, "Bail for Angela: Right Without Remedy." They propose:

"The pamphlet will be sent to all major organizations in the coun-

try: Labor unions, the Urban League, SCLC, SCEF, YWLL, NAACP, peace organizations, Black Panther Party, churches, Black legislators, liberal White politicians, etc.

We will be asking them to reprint important sections in their newsletters or other publications.

1. We will ask for the public use of their names in the bail fight.
2. We will ask them to circulate and reprint the new Bail Petition.
3. We will ask for donations to carry on an educational campaign around the bail issue.
4. We will ask for suggestions about new people we need to reach in the bail fight."

The National United Committee closes its letter to the committees with:

"It should be noted that the old petition drive gave us evidence of the extremely broad nature of support for Angela's release on bail. It is obvious that the number of signatures actually gotten (and all of them have not been returned to the National Office) did not reflect the potential number of supporters.

"We are launching this campaign with more of a perspective than the first. We are launching it with the addition of educational materials. Consultation with each committee around the country should--if we want to Free Angela--bring forth a national commitment of one million signatures in the country."

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW VOTE

By Arnold Johnson  
From the Panel Report on Political Action  
National Committee Conference, July 9-11, 1971

One of the major areas for developing independence is to be found in the new votes which includes those who have become 21 years of age since the last Presidential election plus those persons who are 18 to 20 years of age and who have now been given the right to vote in all elections by the 26th Constitutional Amendment. The figure of the 18 to 20 age voters is 11,159,000; the figure for those who have become 21 years of age since 1968 is 13,966,000--and, therefore, the total of new voters in 1972 is 25,125,000 out of a total voting potential of 139,563,000.

The new voters come closer to home when we look at specific states. Thus -

-California has 1,169,000 voters of 18 to 20 years of age; but the total of new voters who have to be registered is 2,580,000 including those who have become 21 years of age since 1968.

- Illinois has 605,000 of 18 to 20 years of age in a total of 1,321,000 new voters.
- Massachusetts has 330,000 of 18 to 20 years in a total of 725,000 new voters.
- Michigan has 520,000 of 18 to 20 years in a total of 1,127,000 new voters.
- New Jersey has 350,000 of 18 to 20 years in a total of 769,000 new voters.
- New York has 954,000 of 18 to 20 years in a total of 2,101,000 new voters.
- Ohio has 600,000 of 18 to 20 years in a total of 1,313,000 new voters.
- Pennsylvania has 606,000 of 18 to 20 years in a total of 1,371,000 new voters.
- Texas has 678,000 of 18 to 20 years in a total of 1,490,000 new voters.

As soon as such figures are presented, it becomes clear that these new voters, a majority of whom are working class, as well as Blacks, Chicano and Puerto Rican, then it is evident that this is a major force which can determine the outcome of the next election. Of the 25,125,000 total new voters, some 7,500,000 including a large number of working class youth are in colleges or universities.

The total of potential new voters is a challenge to us and to all independent forces to participate in the registration campaign--to win them as independent voters. This is an elementary first step in the struggle by our Party candidates and independent forces to speak for and win the support of the new voter.

At the present time, the Young Democrats, COPE, the Young Republicans--and various groupings among them are in the registration campaign. We must tackle the job and bring the registration process and apparatus into shops and union halls, into high schools and college campuses, into the places of work and to the unemployed, into sports and recreation areas, and into neighborhoods and places where the youth can be registered. Some of this is being done in California and some variations in other states. The election boards, city councils and legislatures must be called on to make it possible to register the new voter. This is part of the struggle against the two-party machine politician.

This is a project to win the youth from the entrapment of the two party apparatus. This is a task--not only for our youth--but for our entire Party. This is a step to establish "new voter" clubs or forums of an independent character. The "new voter" can influence the whole election campaign and bring the key issues into the campaign.

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SOME OF THE BEST COMMUNISTS HAVE YET TO BE RECRUITED

# GROWING PAINS: PLACING RECRUITS IN A SUITABLE CLUB

By Sonia Caikin on behalf of  
the National Organization Bureau

Most of the recruits in the period preceding the recruiting campaign were the result of their working side by side with Party members. Upon recruitment, they naturally entered the club of the person who recruited them, in most cases.

But today the recruiting program has created some problems. These are welcome problems, problems of growth and development.

An increasing number of comrades are being recruited through group meetings, city-wide educational forms and other district and national initiatives. They do not necessarily have any strong personal ties with comrades in a particular club which can help weather them through the sometimes baffling first few months in the Party.

So the question of what club to place the comrade in comes up. This is not always an easy decision. A new recruit gets his or her first impression of Party life in the first Party club. In a recruit's first club, he or she learns the ropes of Party organization and ways of working, learns about the Party's strengths in greater depth, and also gets an idea of what is needed to make the Party even more the kind of an organization that is needed today. Here also, the recruit should be getting some formal education in Marxist-Leninist theory. The first club, therefore, is important and does deserve some attention.

First, let us remember that there is no perfect Club in the Communist Party, and that to demand one for new recruits means that we will not recruit. Do not underestimate the ability of new members to understand weaknesses and to have a positive, militant, searching attitude toward playing a rôle in building, defending and improving the work of the Party.

But we needn't deny problems. There are some super-security-conscious clubs. There are some clubs where ruling class white chauvinism has seeped in to a serious extent. There are some problems of age differences, etc.

You may find a club here and there that has become non-political and disengaged from struggle. Another may have neglected a rich ideological life, so vital to consolidating new people into the Party. The need to recruit, and the possibility to recruit brings all these kinds of problems into sharp focus. But they must be tackled, for they lead to two equally bad results:

1. Drifting away of new members through incorrect or insufficient attention to their development.

2. Playing down recruitment for fear that if contacts are recruited, they will be "turned off" by the Party.

(Of course, one of the things that will go a long way toward improving all the clubs is to recruit and build a far larger and stronger Party.)

#### TO OPEN UP ROADBLOCKS

Certain temporary approaches can help open up roadblocks where the problems seem large enough to jeopardize a recruit's continuing membership in the Party.

1. If there is a club that is just awful, has no educational life, does no political work, is very small, ingrown, meets irregularly and is torn with dissension, don't put anyone in it, clearly.

That bad a club is quite rare.

2. However, we have some clubs which are so-so, have some weaknesses, or are incompatible with the new recruits for some other reason. Placement of several new recruits at the same time in such a club can be desirable. The need to educate the new recruits, the freshness and new mass experiences that they bring to the club, often stimulates the club to a new level of activity. The district should make an effort to help the club develop a program for the new recruits, for building the club and recruiting more. Perhaps the district should assign an especially capable comrade to meet with the club for a while. Education should become a major function of club meetings wherever new recruits are assigned.

3. A recruit can be placed by the district in a nearby club which is better than the one right in the recruit's area.

4. In a district where the clubs or even members are miles apart, an outstanding Party member could be assigned to meet periodically with the recruit's club at least part of the time. (We definitely need more thinking from the districts on cases like this.)

5. Forming a special club for new members is a risky business, but may be necessary where for some reason the other proposals are inadequate. The club would be a way-station, a place where new members would come for a certain period, receive an educational program and orientation toward the Party, an understanding of its problems, etc., and be strengthened in ideology. (Within a period of time the new member would enter a regular Party club.) Therefore, the membership of a new member's club would turn over rapidly. Some kind of a nucleus of experienced cadre would have to be assigned to it.



Some of the dangers of this kind of set-up should be noted:

1. A group of recruits could be placed in a "new members' club" only for the purpose of protecting the security of an absolutely suitable club in the same area or industry. The recruits get the idea they are second-class citizens, unacceptable to the comrades.
2. If a club like this is set up on a city-wide or larger basis and draws diverse recruits, it will be hard to have any kind of common basis for mass struggle. Also, it will be complicated to get the club program to coordinate and not compete with the activity of the other Party clubs and city-wide bodies.
3. A club like this could be viewed by some as a pet "alternate form" to the regular ranks of the Party. Often this reflects an underestimation of the Party as it is, especially a rejection of older working class comrades, and an abandoning of trying to build the whole Party and improve all the clubs.

#### NEED CONFIDENCE IN PARTY STRENGTH

Negative estimates of what would happen if a recruit were brought into a club are often overly pessimistic and reflect a general lack of confidence in the strengths of the Party, and in the revolutionary potential of the workers and oppressed national groups in the United States.

The fact is that living conditions are becoming so intolerable, imperialism and all its ideological trappings are becoming so exposed in this country, that increasing numbers of people are seeing the need to make these bold moves in their thinking and actions as the only alternative to capitulating to the vicious policies of the ruling class.

Do not underestimate the power of the Party ideology to win people solidly to its ranks. Certainly, many of us who have joined over the last few years see much that remains to be improved, and of course shall be improved, and yet the basic correctness, courage and steadfastness of the Party's policy and action have welded us more and more to it.

There is a suitable club in our Party for every person who is recruited. Some are more ideal than others, but an adequate situation at least can always be found. To insist that there is no solution is to say in other words, "Yes, we can fight for building the Party, but not this Party in this area at this time." Of course, if we are to build the Party, we must build this Party, in the very area where we work, and NOW!

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# EXPERIENCES IN RECRUITING

By L. B., New York

Building the Party is an every day task and one of the most important ones in our movement. In all struggles in which we are involved, be they strike activities, work among the unemployed, our work with the rank-and-file in the various unions, peace work, etc. or other activities of a mass nature, the building of the Party must be a number one task and must not be lost sight of for a moment.

What I am saying is nothing new. Page after page has been written to emphasize it, resolutions passed, but apparently not much has been done, and that explains the fact that our Party has not grown as projected at our last Convention and some of the consequent N.C. meetings and why it has never become a day to day activity on a state or club scale.

Many important events are taking place in the labor movement - strike struggles, labor stoppages over the heads of union leadership, peace marches and unemployment actions - requiring real leadership and guidance which our Party can provide, guidance that will insure the greatest and best results for the working class. But can we provide this leadership when our forces are small and are not represented in the leadership of these basic struggles?

## CHANGES IN METHODS NEEDED

It is not my intention to use this space for theorizing or lengthy discourses on why the present lack of recruiting or why a good many of our plans and decisions remain on the bookshelf. I simply want to bring to the attention of the Party a few matters which I think and hope will help to change the situation. I want to show a few examples that will illustrate some of the points mentioned above.

We in the Painters Union likewise for many years suffered from this inertia. We also, to a great extent, thought the doors to recruiting were closed to us, and although we have spoken about it on many occasions, nothing concretely was done until recently. When we finally got out of the cocoon and decided to do something about it, the results were better than we had expected. We recruited new ones, and we brought some of the old ones back into the fold. As a result, we will stop theorizing about building the Party but go out and do it. We are confident that we will succeed.

I am not trying to set a blueprint and imply that similar situations exist in other industries or unions and what happened among the painters can be duplicated in other areas, but certain basic truths exist. There are workers that can and should be recruited, and this must therefore become a must task. When we do this and not relegate it to better times, we will find that our work will not be in vain.

## OTHER SOURCES FOR RECRUITING

While the main emphasis must be centered on industrial concentration, there are nevertheless other sources from which the Party can get recruits if properly utilized, and this is mainly what I want to speak about.

Each month the National Office of the Party receives many letters from all parts of the country. These letters are of a two-fold nature. Some ask for information about our movement and request literature; others ask to join the Party. Every one of these letters is read, carefully examined and promptly answered. I might add that the nature of the letters received since the early part of the year has changed to some degree. Whereas in the past the bulk of the letters requested information and literature and very, very few asking to join, the picture has changed somewhat. More and more are asking to join. Hence, if properly used, we may be able to establish organizations where none exists at present.

Those who ask to join the Party are sent application cards and a form letter which explains very plainly the meaning of membership in the Party. The Party Program is also sent. The applicant is informed that someone in the area will contact him or her in due time to establish relations. If the letter received is interesting, it is Xeroxed and a copy is sent to the Party office in the area, so that if and when the applicant makes contact, the district will have a fair idea as to who he or she is. In any case, the state organization is duly informed about all contacts received at the National Office, be they applicants or those who ask for literature or other information about the Party.

## REPORTS NEEDED BY NATIONAL OFFICE

In doing this, it is hoped that the state organizations wherever possible will contact these people and send reports as requested by the national office as to the results. Unfortunately, only Baltimore and Minnesota have responded. If other state organizations have done anything, the National Office knows nothing about it.

As a matter of record, we have some letters from applicants who waited a month or so to be contacted and reported that they never were. While I don't consider this the main source for building the Party, no contact should be allowed to go by the wayside, forgotten because of our negligence.

I firmly believe that, unless proven otherwise, most of these contacts have value. Those considered unacceptable at first sight do not have to be answered. Therefore we ask you comrades in all seriousness not to overlook these referrals. We know what forces exist among these contacts. We cannot afford to speculate and relegate this to some date when we "have more time."

Finally, comrades, we again wish to remind you that building the Party is the number one task at all times, and not one contact should be ignored. Within the next few weeks a list will be compiled of contacts from every state and given to you. We hope we can count on you to give a report on your findings by that time.

## WHY NOT 10,000 STEEL READERS?

By Ken Newcomb

What difference would it make if 10,000 basic steel workers were regular readers of the DAILY WORLD or PEOPLES WORLD? The answer is that there would be greater militancy, a better chance for a decent settlement and a better chance of defeating Nixon's anti-labor program. There would be a qualitatively greater possibility of moving steel workers into the October 13th peace actions, into the fight to free Angela Davis, of building more shop clubs in steel.

Is it possible to get 10,000 steel workers to read the DAILY WORLD? Sure. In Pittsburgh they have found that a minimum of 10% of the workers on a given shift will buy the paper regularly. There are 365,000 workers in basic steel. It is immediately possible to have 36,500 of them read our press (probably more because of the heightened consciousness in this period). The biggest question is whether we can mobilize our Party to go out and reach these workers.

Our community clubs can play a decisive role in this. Community clubs that have members that go to work at 9:00 a.m., that have students, that have unemployed, that have housewives can participate in industrial concentration in such a way that can turn the steel situation around!

10,000 steel readers means 2,500 in circulation. That might be 25 new plant sales of 100 each. There certainly are 25 clubs in areas where there are steel plants that could do that. The big question is the political mobilization of the Party to carry out such a task.

### ANYTHING THAT WORKS

Once we have achieved the regular sale, we must find the ways to turn these regular readers into subscribers - 25¢ for one month, one month free, anything that works, anything that gets the name and address of that new contact. Special sub blanks can be attached to the front of the papers sold.

The best success is when the workers are asked right then and there to sign up for a subscription. When we get these names, the comrades in that shop must be informed, or, if there is no one in that shop, then whoever is in charge of that industry must be informed. A group of readers can be invited to a discussion of the upcoming (or strike if it is in progress) strike with a local DAILY WORLD or PEOPLES WORLD representative. Other steel workers from other plants could be present. Leaflets announcing such could be in the papers sold to those that don't yet have subscriptions. The workers that respond to such a meeting can be the basis of a discussion group that is Marxist-Daily World in nature and that could be an organizing

committee for a rank and file organization. It is the beginning of a shop club in that plant.

Workers who become regular readers of our press often have the consciousness that they are now "Communists." We should not underestimate what is possible in this regard.

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WHAT'S BLACK AND WHITE AND READ ALL OVER? (The D.W. and P.W.)

START A ROUTE THIS WEEK!

## BRIDGING THE GAP

By Bravey, New York

An article which appeared in the last issue of Party Affairs dealing with senior Party comrades and signed by Dinnerstein influenced me to write a few words to add something to what Comrade Dinnerstein said.

Leadership and participation in the activities of the Party and its mass work is based on many things: knowledge, experience and, last but not least, loyalty to the Party and the working class. These prerequisites, I was taught in my youth, were the most important.

I bring these thoughts out because of the existing attitude which has been developing with some speed and for some time in the Party which relegates the older members of the Party generally and retirees in particular to political oblivion. This attitude applies to comrades who are politically able to have the experience to be involved in some activities where experience and ability are required.

I am not in any sense begging or pleading for tolerance towards these older comrades. I am demanding our right to be included if we have the ability and experience to serve the working class and the Party.

It has become a policy and a pattern among some of the leading young comrades who hold positions of importance to ignore the older comrades and eliminate them from any leadership, replacing them with younger comrades regardless of experience and ability to lead and organize. I have seen this happen on a number of occasions.

### NEED CONSCIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH

I do not want to create the impression that I am opposed to a policy of conscious and well organized programs to guide and develop our young comrades into leadership. The development of younger comrades and the advancement of those qualified for leadership is and



must be a conscious and well organized policy and must task in all of our mass activities. No one who has the interests of the Party and the working class in mind can dispute this policy, and we older comrades must cooperate and help along these lines.

But concentrating on the development and advancement of these younger comrades into leadership does not, in my opinion, allow us to ignore the older comrades who have experience, ability and loyalty to the Party. They should not be sent out to pasture to graze. I am speaking as one who has been in the Party for 51 years and for many members of the Party who feel the same way as I do.

Let it not be forgotten for a moment that among us we have a world of experience, politically and organizationally, and that our experiences take in many phases of the class struggle which cannot and should not be ignored. I do not believe that there is such an abundance of forces and leadership that our Party can ignore the contributions that we can still make.

I am also aware of the fact that there are some comrades in the top leadership of the Party who likewise fall into the category of older comrades. But these comrades are of unusual ability and leadership and have earned the right to lead the Party regardless of age. The comrades I am referring to are the sergeants and first class privates who have done the work of the Party and remained loyal to it despite terror and personal persecution.

These older comrades have a wealth of knowledge and experience that can and should be used. They helped to organize the C.I.O. They participated in the organization of the unemployed and were the ones who started the campaign for unemployment insurance and social security. They are still here and are willing and anxious to assume responsibilities. To push them aside and imply that they have served their time is wrong and should be corrected.

#### STEPS TOWARD SOLUTION

I sincerely believe that the problem of rejecting older comrades should be corrected and steps must and should be taken to involve these comrades who are physically able and who are in a position to make valuable contributions to the movement. I might add that the New York Painters Club which is made up of older comrades, a good number of whom are no longer in the industry, has done a good job in recruiting and will continue doing this because it sees the possibilities for building the Party in the industry.

I suggest that an attempt be made to call these older comrades together. Let us sit down with them and teach them and learn from them. I am sure that such a program, if properly and genuinely organized (not just a formality to please the senior comrades) will bring some benefits to the party and its mass work.

Even though I am a retiree, I am still active to a degree and would be glad to work with the older comrades if and when steps are taken by the Party in this direction.

# ILLINOIS DISTRICT ACTS ON RACISM AND WHITE CHAUVINISM

MOTIONS ADOPTED AT THE ILLINOIS CONFERENCE  
AGAINST RACISM AND WHITE CHAUVINISM  
APRIL 18, 1971

On April 18, the Illinois District held a special conference on "Racism and White Chauvinism" attended by about 100 people. Herewith are the motions adopted by that conference to be implemented and discussed by every club.

(1) We consider that with this meeting we are opening up the discussion throughout our Party on the struggle against racism and white chauvinism. This discussion shall be on-going and continuous with concrete and specific tasks worked out at all levels of Party organization, with periodic check-up on control tasks.

(2) We propose that this discussion be opened immediately in all clubs, sections, and commissions. We are to use as the basis for this discussion Gus Hall's report and the remarks of other leading comrades at the National Committee meeting, especially those of Comrades Lightfoot and Winston. These shall be published and made available to all clubs and commissions. We are also to plan at all levels for wider use of the special issue of P.A. devoted to this matter.

(3) We propose that all clubs, sections, and commissions implement and concretize the general discussion for its own community and mass work, with specific objectives and a plan of work in this field of activity. The discussion should help guide our comrades working in various mass organizations, movements, and in the first place in the shops and trade unions in stimulating the mass struggle against racism and all expressions of white chauvinism.

(4) We should give special attention and EMPHASIS in such discussion and examination in the working out of concrete plans and tasks in the Labor Commission, Peace Commission and in the Nationality Group field, especially with our Lithuanian, Jewish and Russian groups. We shall also take steps to reconstitute our Black Liberation Commission. We shall request that the State Committee and the Party Org. Department review the status of this work and progress made in at least these groups, no later than three months.

(5) In a mass sense, one of the key questions we face is the broadening out and extension of the campaign for the freedom of Angela Davis. This has to become a central task for all Party clubs, commissions and groups. In addition to striving to build local Free Angela Davis committees, we must help bring into being a Labor Committee and a Professional Committee for the freedom of Angela Davis.

(6) We urge all Party clubs to give serious consideration and make plans for use in a mass sense, in thousands of copies, including mailings to friends, contacts and people in mass movements and organizations, especially; a) Gus Hall's report, "Racism, the Nation's Most Dangerous Pollutant;" b) The writings of such leading comrades as Winston, Lightfoot and Patterson; c) We should revive the usage on a much broader scale of Claude's book, "Black America and World Revolution;" d) An additional piece should be written on

the danger of facism linked to the struggle against racism; 3) We urge all Party clubs to give emphasis in the sale of Comrade Patterson's books, "We Charge Genocide" and "The Man Who Cried Genocide." We urge the Educational and Literature Commission to develop a plan on this matter with goals and check-up and control dates.

(7) We want to focus special attention on some matters relating to Party clubs, structure and education. a) We must greatly improve the process begun to strengthen all commissions by adding more Black comrades, especially young and women comrades. b) We must strive to broaden out the number of Black comrades planning to attend various Party classes and schools, including and especially the full-time schools. This is vitally important, also from the point of view of drawing in more Black comrades into all sectors of Party leadership, including full-time leadership. c) We are to examine more fully many of our clubs, from the point of view of strengthening the Black and white unity character of our clubs. The Org. and Educational Departments shall assume responsibility to plan, check-up and control the above. By no later than July 15, the Board and State Committee shall have a progress report on the above.

(8) We are in the midst of a recruiting drive. All clubs and commissions must give serious thought to strengthening our Party especially among Black workers, young and women workers. Recruiting objectives and plans for their fulfillment should be worked out.

With respect to Proposals 1, 2 and 3, the next State Committee will assume responsibility for check-up...

Taken from The Red Letter, Monthly Communist Party Bulletin, Chicago, Ill., May 1971.

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## NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COUNTERS WHITE CHAUVINISM

On April 10th meeting of the District Committee of Northern California, charges of overt chauvinism were brought against a member of this district by a Black woman Party member. A trial committee was selected by the District Committee. At the next meeting of the District Committee held on May 8th, the following report of the trial committee was unanimously adopted by the District Committee after a discussion. It was further decided that the statement of the trial committee was to be made available to all members in Northern California; that the District Chairman and one member of the trial committee was to meet with the expelled former member to discuss the decision and to outline procedure of his readmission should he desire to rejoin the Party after the one-year expulsion. The Party club of the expelled member had assigned one of its members to participate in the hearing and discussions. He agreed fully with the decision and was to report back to the club.

**REPORT OF THE TRIAL COMMITTEE**

Two political questions were involved in this trial:

1. The question of standards of membership. Specifically, don't we have to require of our white members a higher level of understanding of white chauvinism than was true 25 years ago? The Committee feels that we do. The urgent task of today is to build a truly united Black-white Party, in which we quickly develop new Black leadership that will be accepted and welcomed by our white members.

The young Black people coming around the Communist Party are militant and vocal and will challenge every instance of white chauvinism which arises. Our white comrades must be up to that challenge and ready to change through the use of the Marxist-Leninist tools of criticism.

The national liberation and freedom movements of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Indian people has reached a qualitatively higher level of struggle and development. Their movements are part of powerful international liberation movements which are inflicting powerful blows against world imperialism, of which the United States is the main force. Our Black comrades are part of that movement. They view every statement and action in the Party with the special sensitivity which flows from their participation as Communists in the Black liberation movement. They expect white Communists to also set qualitatively higher standards in the struggle against racism in keeping with the rising tempo of the liberation movement. Our white members also must develop a higher special sensitivity and a political understanding of the tasks which flow from that.

2. The other political question involved in this hearing is an understanding that the fight against racism is an integral vital part of the class struggle and the fight for socialism:

The incident was simply that a white male trade union comrade who has been in the Party for 25 years made a series of insulting remarks to a young Black woman Party leader.

The specifics of these remarks were as follows:

The accused congratulated her on a speech she had made at a public meeting shortly before and said: "That was the best speech I have heard a Black woman make in a long time." She challenged this patronizing remark in view of the important talks being given by numerous Black women in the freedom struggle. He referred to her as a "Negro" and when she asked him to use the word "Black," he said: "You're not Black, you're brown." He also called her "gal," and ended by declaring, "I can call you anything I want."

She brought charges against him and urged that he be expelled from the Party.

The trial committee engaged the accused in close to eight hours of intensive discussion. The discussion covered this incident, his role in his union and at his place of work, and his level of understanding of racism, self-criticism, and the history of his work life and Party life.

The accused freely admitted to the charges brought but said he didn't mean to be insulting. He said he was speaking from exasperation. Members of the committee urged him to dig a little deeper and to be self-critical. He seemed unable to do so. A second meeting of the committee was set, to which the accused agreed to bring a written statement of self-criticism, and in the intervening eight days to read, study and think.

When the second meeting took place, he had done none of these things. He had not even read Gus Hall's pamphlet on Racism. In fact, he compounded his complete inability to grapple with the question of racism by:

1. Refusing to work on the Trade Union Committee for Angela Davis and implying that Angela's case is a Black people's problem.

2. Stating that he can't do anything in his union on the question of racism. He developed his own theory of how and when to fight racism as dependent on these criteria:

1. Only when he can see that something will be gained by it.
2. Only when he won't set himself up to be baited.
3. Volunteering an example of how he challenged a racist remark by a fellow worker, he cited a very weak challenge based on a sort of psychological examination of the worker to the effect that he was trying to make himself look better by putting others down.
4. In a discussion of the terrible racism of his union leadership, he indicated that he was convinced that Black members could successfully come into the local only through the apprenticeship route, namely, the route that would least disturb or upset the old white workers.

All of these points were discussed by the committee at great length and with great patience.

The committee became convinced that their collective and individual efforts to get this comrade to engage in self-criticism had failed. They also became convinced that this comrade does not come up to today's standards of understanding and willingness to fight on the question of white chauvinism. Therefore, the committee recommends that he be expelled from the Party. If this comrade wants to be in the Party, and he says that he does, he should have the right to re-apply at the end of a year, at which time the District White Chauvinism Committee should meet with him to see if the necessary political growth has taken place.

Submitted by H.L., Acting Chairman  
of the Trial Committee

Adopted by unanimous vote of the District Committee May 8, 1971



## DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR "RACISM, THE NATION'S MOST DANGEROUS POLLUTANT", BY GUS HALL

1. Why is it that, under capitalism, bourgeois ideology and racism grow spontaneously, while working class ideology develops only through constant effort and struggle?
2. Throughout American history, racism has been the Achilles heel or weak spot in every democratic and class struggle. In what ways is racism being used today by the ultra-right to disorient white masses? How has it become a factor in the peace movement; the movement against repression; the new labor upsurge?
3. On page 11, Gus Hall says, "The struggle for higher standards in the Party is, in turn, related to the new levels of struggle against racism in general. The problems in the Party are related to the new levels attained by the Black Liberation Movement."

How does this new level - which reflects mass experiences over the past 20 years in this country on top of the new role of colored peoples in the world at large - express itself in the consciousness of Black people today? What new requirements do Black people demand of those with whom they unite? What meaning does this have for Black-white relations inside the Party?

4. What mistakes did we make in the way in which we changed our policy on self-determination? How did this make us susceptible to gaining illusions during the period of the mass civil rights movement in the early 1960's?
5. Communists believe that racial oppression cannot be correctly understood nor fought when it is approached simply as a class question, requiring a special approach. How is it, then, that we maintain that racism cannot be successfully fought unless it is seen in relationship to exploitation, that is, in relation to the class question? What is this relationship, and why is it so crucial to recognize it? What is the special role Black workers play in this?
6. As Communists, we believe that people can be won to a struggle only on the basis of their self-interest. Many white workers believe it is in their own self-interest to discriminate against Black and other minority workers - to limit their membership in the unions, to exclude them from the highest paying categories, etc., all of which, they believe, will safeguard their own jobs and opportunities. Is it possible to win such workers to a struggle against racism (in and outside of their own union) in their own self-interest? On what basis? Can you cite any examples of this?
7. Can a worker be class conscious and racist at the same time? Can the working class in the United States make a socialist revolution while still dominated by racist ideology? What is

meant by the centrality of the struggle against racism?

8. If racism is narrowly defined as open hostility or contempt for Blacks, then we could not say that racism is a factor in our Party. However, if racism is seen as something broader in scope (chauvinism), as the failure to understand and appreciate the contributions and role of Black people in the American nation, the inability to see Black people through their own eyes rather than in terms of stereotypes, then the racism of our culture can be seen as a definite factor in our Party. Do you agree that ignorance and insensitivity represent racism? How should a club deal with such problems? What are the responsibilities of white comrades in this regard? What is paternalism? How does it differ from sensitivity?
9. What weaknesses in the Party on the question of chauvinism has the Angela Davis defense brought into the open? How has your club responded? Has it made special efforts to take the struggle to the white community?
10. We say that white Communists have a special responsibility to take the lead in the struggle against racism. Why should this be so? What does it mean to "take the lead"? Do we see this as simply a moral obligation?
11. Why is it important to distinguish between chauvinism and nationalism? What is the role of whites in the struggle against Black nationalism?

Submitted by Nat'l Education Dept.

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# DISCUSSION GUIDE TO "THE MEANING OF SAN RAPHAEL", BY HENRY WINSTON

21

Political Affairs, June 1971

(Will be in pamphlet form by July 31)

1. What does Angela Davis represent that poses such a threat to reaction?
2. How does Cleaver's view of the tactics for liberating political prisoners (all prisoners) dovetail with the attempts of the ruling class to discredit and destroy the Left?
3. Communists believe that many levels and many different forms of struggle are required by the revolutionary movement. How does our concept of tactical flexibility differ from the concept of "tactical diversity" that has been put forward by some on the Left?

How should you determine what tactics should be used in a given situation?

4. How should Communists assess Jonathan Jackson's action in San Rafael? Should we distinguish between the justness of his cause and the effectiveness of his tactics?

In dealing with this question, you should consider the following:

- a) Some argue that Jonathan Jackson's act was effective in the sense that it dramatized and publicized an issue that was not yet in the public's consciousness.
  - b) Others have argued that Jonathan almost did succeed - and that if he had gotten away, we would have to judge San Rafael as a success.
  - c) What will be required to reform the prison system, to end its most racist and inhuman practices and to free all political prisoners? How do we evaluate Jonathan Jackson's tactics in relationship to this struggle? Was it an example for this struggle?
5. Some have called San Rafael a "revolutionary act," even an "insurrection." How applicable are these terms? How do we determine if an action is "revolutionary" or not? Is any action inherently revolutionary by its very nature - or does it have to be judged in relation to a given concrete situation?
  6. What is the chauvinist essence of the position expressed by Tom Hayden? What are the special responsibilities of white radicals in relation to the issues that motivated Jonathan Jackson to

take such desperate measures? In relation to San Rafael itself? to Angela Davis?

7. Do individual acts of terror inspire the masses to action? Do they clarify issues and educate masses? How does the ruling class use acts of terror to further their own ends? What does inspire masses to greater activity?

Submitted by National Education Department

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NEW OUTLOOK PUBLISHERS, 32 Union Sq. East, Rm. 801, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

# WASHINGTON HEARING ON UNEMPLOYMENT

The Political Committee heard a report on the May 22-23, Washington, D.C. Hearing on Unemployment. Some general weaknesses were revealed regarding our participation in this vitally important area of work. In order to give the necessary boost to our involvement in the unemployment struggle, the Political Committee urged every district to support and carry out the following decisions of the Hearing:

1. The organization of local and regional conferences on unemployment to work out ways and means to take the campaign into unions, community organizations and assist in organizing the unemployed.
2. The establishment of a national coordinating committee consisting of the hearing sponsors and existing unemployed local organizations to carry out the decisions of the conference and call any further national conferences.
3. A campaign to get 5,000 local unions to support the legislative program approved by the Hearing.
4. A letter from the Hearing to trade unionists on the problem of unemployment and program to meet it.
5. A national action on unemployment to be decided on later.
6. Supporting all actions of the trade union movement and other organizations in the fight for jobs.

The documents from the Hearing on Unemployment of May 22-23, 1971, are reproduced here for your information:

Districts were sent copies of the draft documents which were adopted by the Washington Hearing on Unemployment. They contain useful information and programs for entering into this struggle. Extra copies are available upon request from the National Office.

\* \* \*

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## *Discussion at National Conference on Unemployment, February 1971*

By F.P., Southern California

We have had many difficulties in Southern California in the last couple of years, but we are picking up in relation to the movement in general and in the Party particularly. In relation to what we are doing on the theme of unemployment, we are going through the statistics as many comrades here have shown, and we have accepted the government estimate of 6.1% unemployed. This is not a reality. As you recall, we went through certain statistics given by the United States Department of Labor in Los Angeles, and the application of this to the poverty stricken areas in L.A., and what it shows, for example, in the Chicano community is 19.3% unemployment; the sections of Watts and South Central, up to 20.5% unemployed. And this was just a census made by some people in L.A. that were assigned to that department for that particular area.

But we disagree with the census because we're also going through a few of our sections in different organizations and find that the Government census does not include the young workers that are first-job-seekers. The increasing percentage among the youth in the Black and Chicano communities goes up to around 37%. If this is so, then you can begin to visualize what the conditions are in this community. In addition, those who are now working are getting below the minimum \$1.60 per hour as specified by law. So the take-home pay of many of those working is from \$49 to \$64 per week.

### **POLICE BRUTALITY IS INTENSIFIED**

In the Chicano areas, what you call the barrios, not only is this happening in relation to economic conditions, but they are also victims of police brutality. In the last year or so, this has been intensified. As you recall, the first demonstration led by the Chicano Moratorium on August 29, 1970, brought about by the conditions in the barrios, was a demonstration against repression and conditions of unemployment, a demonstration against the war in Vietnam and on the whole a demonstration of the people for betterment of the conditions in the barrios. The same thing can be applied in relation to the Black community in Watts and South Central areas.

While this is true of what is happening, we also find that within these communities there are many elements of reaction, and I am bringing this out for reasons that we have to be acquainted with and open our eyes to. We cannot overlook the penetration of the stoolies and the police department in order to provoke the things that you read about in the papers. The Chicano Moratorium was a peaceful demonstration provoked by the police, and only a

couple of weeks ago another demonstration was also provoked by the police and almost destroyed by the police department. These are the conditions we are facing because the establishment sees that the Chicanos in the barrios area are already on the upsurge for getting better conditions.

#### MUST OVERCOME ALL DIFFICULTIES

As in every movement we start, we find difficulties, but we have to do away with these types of difficulties. When I speak of difficulties it is because I am speaking here as a Communist. As you know, we Communists were the champions of the unemployed in the thirties. We found difficulties then, but we were able to overcome them and build the type of organization that brought about the Social Security Act, Unemployment Insurance and many other improvements. So we cannot forget that we were the champions of that movement. Today we face the same conditions but in a different historical period, and I am certain that we can lead the masses again.

Now let me tell you what is going on in relation to the rank-and-file movement that started in Chicago and what we did in our community. The rank-and-file movement (when I speak here about the rank-and-file movement, I am not talking about the present leadership of the trade unions because many of them are not connected with us) aspect I am discussing here is the participation of Party members. We are leading a genuine rank-and-file movement.

In relation to this, we have divided the area of L.A. into seven parts; namely, the Black communities; the Brown communities; the warehouse related to shipping and longshoremen; the Riverside area related to the G.E. plant, one of the biggest; the steel industry and auto. In the last couple of months Chrysler Auto, one of the biggest plants, fired more than 1,500 workers. Then there are the building and construction workers, among whom 50% are unemployed. Those in the building trades who are working are only working three or four days a week. In auto they have been laid off by the thousands. Two or three weeks ago - you probably read about it in the newspapers - the airplane industry was the first to lay off 5,600 workers because of what happened in Great Britain with their Rolls-Royce model. While they think this could be settled, the workers were still laid off, and they have not yet been recalled. What is the big rank-and-file movement doing in relation to the unemployed in unions? The rank-and-file of several unions called several meetings to discuss the problems of unemployment.

#### SEEK HEARING ON UNEMPLOYMENT

We also divided our area into Congressional Districts.. Some Congressmen are quite liberal and progressive, like Anderson, Dale, Brown, Hodgkins, Pierce and Roybal. Roybal is the only Chicano Congressman from California. We are calling on all these Congressmen to hold a hearing on unemployment for the purpose of introducing legislation in relation to the unemployed in question. Many of you have seen the leaflets that we put out in Southern California in relation to this.

At the end of 1970, a few comrades took the initiative and started a movement of unemployed. We came out with the questions of moratorium on debt, deportations of non-citizens, repossession of furniture, cars and homes. In other words, how are we going to organize the unemployed unless we give them a program that is acceptable, something that is needed, something that we can call to their attention to organize?

I tell you this for one reason: we have special conditions in L.A. that you probably don't have elsewhere. Many workers in L.A. own their own homes, making payments amounting to from \$20,000 to about \$30,000, and once you miss payment for three consecutive months, your home can be repossessed. The same thing applies to payments on cars, furniture, radios and televisions. In raising these problems, we distributed leaflets to workers going to the Unemployment Insurance (Human Resources Development). In the past two months we distributed about 5,000 leaflets.

### ORGANIZING JOBLESS IN HOLLYWOOD

A meeting was called in the Hollywood area and around 50 to 60 people participated. Out of that meeting a committee was elected to build this organization. In the Hollywood area, the composition of unemployed is mainly white collar and professional people. The studios are also reducing their staff by thousands.

However, the main concentration we are planning is not in this area. Our concentration plan now, together with the rank-and-file committee, is in the industrial areas and in the Chicano and Black communities. We know the statistics in these communities. We may or may not be successful, but I am not pessimistic. We have to understand that we must offer the unemployed a program where action is taken, and the only way they can see this type of action is by pressuring the Legislature. And this is our plan, to force the State Legislature to pass laws in relation to repossession and in relation to unemployment compensation.

Now, to give you an example of what has been done: A small committee was able to stop the eviction of a family with eight children whose unemployment insurance was exhausted and who were forced to go on county relief. This committee immediately took up the case and forced county relief to pay the family's rent and give them their check for food.

This is like the old times in the 30's. There were three cases, where, for example, a company had sold furniture equivalent to \$1,700 to a family and were trying to take the furniture away because the family was unable to continue the payments. We called upon the company, and it was forced to stop repossession of the furniture until the family could continue payments by returning to work. By means of legislation, we can prevent this type of thing from happening.

### HOW TO FORCE GOVERNMENT ACTION

Another point that I'd like to raise in relation to these things and not only to the question of legislation is how we can force the

government to create programs to remedy the unemployment situation. To give you an example of what happened here: A man was going to lose his house because he was faced with repossession. The Bank of America held his mortgage. We called the bank and told them to stop repossession because the man was going back to work on a job that Unemployment Insurance had offered him.

Another thing we must pay attention to is the fact that, although Unemployment Insurance is offering jobs occasionally, they do this on the basis of lower pay below union conditions. With the struggle for jobs, we will insist upon trade union pay. We also will insist upon full Unemployment Insurance for the entire time of unemployment, from last pay check to first pay check.

I want to finish, comrades, by stating that we in Southern California have problems, but I guarantee you that these problems will be taken care of and we will be able to march forward with you and all the others throughout the nation.

\* \* \*

## ORGANIZING UNEMPLOYED IN MILWAUKEE

By Tom and Jim, Wisconsin

We are going to cover the activities we've developed in Milwaukee and try to incorporate some of the questions that were raised in the reports. We began activity around the unemployed and the unemployment movement primarily because our rank and file activities up until that time, October, had deteriorated.

We had reached about 80 people at the time of the national rank and file conference, and Wisconsin as a whole had 55 delegates at the meeting. And yet, by September or October it had dwindled to about seven active people. In an attempt to pull ourselves out, we called a mass meeting at which we asked Abe Feinglass of the Fur Workers to speak on the questions of anti-labor legislation and unemployment. To help mobilize support and attendance at that meeting, we began recruiting at unemployment offices for the meeting.

At the same time, about five of us in the rank and file committee were laid off and began collecting unemployment compensation. In the course of leafleting for the meeting, we recognized that lines at the unemployment offices were not unusual. They continued all week like that, not just when one of us was getting a check. So the statistics became real in terms of actual bodies.

Following the meeting, which was not so large, we began to develop a program specifically around unemployment. Our petition was drawn up with specific demands: call for unemployment compensation for first-job-seekers, a moratorium on mortgage payments, extension of unemployment compensation, setting the level of unemployment compensation at equal to the moderate standard of living as set by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Labor Council setting up of unemployment counseling centers. We brought that petition with a number of leaflets and began leafleting two of the three unemployment offices with about four people.

We leafleted for about ten weeks just handing out the leaflets and asking for signatures on the petition, and we began talking to people at the offices because the lines are very long and they don't have a great deal to do during the day. Rapping this way, we picked up about three or four other people who were interested in helping us, actively interested in the rank and file group, under whose name all of this activity began.

#### RESPONSE FROM THE UNEMPLOYED

Following that, we called a meeting of the unemployed people, some of whom had written to our post office box. We had gotten about 40 letters, some requesting help, some offering encouragement for what we'd been doing, some raising specific problems and requesting that we deal with them.

We sent out a mailing to all those people plus all of the people who had been active in the rank and file previously. We set up a meeting at which we had about 25 people. With the exception of the five of us, the six of us who had been leafleting, they all came just as a result of the activity around the unemployment office.

The ages of those people was what is commonly called the "missing generation," 35 to 45 years old, Black white and Puerto Rican in composition. The meeting, while small, in the course of the discussion, became very enthusiastic about the potentials and possibilities and a campaign was launched.

The petitions were directed toward the Labor Council. We felt that organized labor should have a responsibility toward the issue of unemployment, because a lot of people laid-off are union members. In addition, non-union unemployed should begin to relate to organized labor and realize that labor in our state has been the significant factor which influences the elections through the Democrats and the liberal Democrats. We felt that they had a debt they could collect on and it could be the question of unemployment.

#### APPEAL TO LABOR COUNCIL

So we began overtures to members of the Labor Council on various levels, asking for support for our demands, with or with-



out using our organization directly. We have gotten minimal or no support from the Labor Council as an entire body. Some individual unions have responded. In the course of activities, one union offered help and will be opening some of its offices as counseling centers for unemployed people. They're requiring us to staff the offices, but they're providing the space and some of the money for publicity when the offices open.

With that, we began discussions with numbers of other peoples' organizations, NWRO, Operation Breadbasket, the Brown Berets, the Young Lords and Legal Services and have had positive responses from all of them. NWRO, Legal Services and the Young Lords are sponsoring the action in Washington in May. Operation Breadbasket, if Abernathy supports it, will probably support the action. We're confident that there will be no problem in that. They've been helpful in providing us with training. In an organization like NWRO, you have to deal with the problem of people running out of unemployment compensation. We've been working very closely in trying to reconcile the minor differences in our separate programs and trying to get support from them directly.

People also began contacting their State Assemblymen about the problems of unemployment and there were meetings about a month ago with local State Assemblymen. At a meeting with an Assemblyman from the South Side of the city, a heavily working class area, it took only 15 minutes for him to agree to hold local hearings in the State Capital under the auspices of the Social Services Committee of the State. He said that unemployment is clearly a problem and he had been getting letters from his constituents similar to the letters we'd been getting. We showed him the petitions signed by 3,500 people. He agreed to hold open hearings and one was held which our group attended.

#### LEGISLATIVE DEMANDS OF HEARING

In the course of this hearing, some legislation was proposed in the State Capital to abolish the waiting week for unemployment compensation in our State. The rank and file was there, along with a large number from organized labor. The U.E. was the only union to testify. The sense of the hearing and the subsequent ruling of the Labor Committee was to abolish the waiting week and the only hang-up now will be in the Financial Committee, comparable to the Ways and Means Committee. Even there, they anticipate that it will pass.

The tactic (and it seemed to us a valuable one for use in other areas of the country) that the State Assemblymen used to justify eliminating the waiting week and extending unemployment was that because these things are not done, welfare payments and numbers of county clients go sky high. In fact, it is better that the corporations bear the cost of increased unemployment compensation than the small property owners who bear it with welfare taxes. It's very impressive how they made that kind of distinction.

We have since begun converting our petition signatures into a mailing list. A newsletter is going out to people around the open hearings which will take place in Madison around the whole question of unemployment, most likely in March. They haven't given us a final date because the Labor Committee decided to co-sponsor the hearings with the Social Services Committee, and now they have more people than they can handle and need a larger room.

We've never seen such nervous representatives. They're clearly getting pressure from their constituents as well as the latent pressure they see from the unemployed and the rank and file. So we have a large meeting scheduled for the first week in March to plan bus mobilizations.

#### DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF UNIONS

Some of the other people in the rank and file who have since been called back to work have taken the issue into the unions. One has gotten a commitment from his local to provide buses for their unemployed members to go to Madison to raise the issue around these hearings and approaches are being made to other unions to attempt to do that. We're not certain how great the success will be. The approach we're using is that where a union is willing to provide finances for a bus, to ask them to provide half a bus more than their people need, so that other people who do not have the money can still go to testify.

Besides our petitions, we're developing a program with the State Health Department to send tuberculin testing vans and that kind of health movement in front of the unemployment offices. If that is not successful, we will ask a local Free Clinic (doctors who prescribe medicines at almost no cost) to co-sponsor this with the rank and file committee.

There have been weaknesses in our work. We built an unemployed section of the rank and file committee because we didn't know what else to do at that point. That way, when people eventually return to work they would relate to the unemployed section and become active in shop work.

Up to now, that has worked. But we haven't built what should be a large mass movement based on our organizing work, an unemployed section of the rank and file. It hasn't grown as it should. Also, most of our leaflets have been informational and not directly action-oriented. We have to make these kinds of changes. The actions around the hearings in Madison are helping to overcome that, but we need more local activity.

We haven't given any special youth character to the work that we've been doing on unemployment, except for the demand in the petition for unemployment compensation for first-job-seekers. We haven't called for reverse seniority or super-seniority in the cases of minority groups, and clearly have to cover that.

Responsibility in our district for unemployment work has fallen, primarily, to the labor club. It functions in that capacity although it was never officially delegated or elected to that responsibility. That's a part of a major discussion of our mass work.

\* \* \*

The above report was given at the National Conference on Unemployment, February, 1971. The following is a postscript to bring us up to date on unemployment activity in Milwaukee.

\* \* \*

The hearings on unemployment are going to take place a few days after this writing. As opposed to what was said in the original report, the South Side Assemblyman did give us a run-around. It took a meeting of about 15 very angry unemployed, union representatives and welfare mothers with the Assemblyman to force the hearing.

We think a mistake was made in not involving mass participation from the very beginning in pressuring the Assemblyman. If we had, the hearings would have been held a long time ago. One victory we did win was that the Milwaukee Labor Council did set up four counseling centers for the unemployed this spring. What this says is that our petition drive placed enough pressure to force the Labor Council to provide at least some services to the unemployed.

Along with the unemployed struggles and growing out of them, we had built two strong shop caucuses in concentration shops. They resulted in contacts developed on the unemployment lines this fall and going back to work in the winter and remaining active in the employed section of the rank and file committee. We think dividing the rank and file committee into two sections, employed and unemployed, was a positive move because it permits people to remain active whether working or not.

#### TO MOVE BEYOND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

Among the weaknesses we must address ourselves to this summer and fall is the still real lack of mass actions in our work. More local militant actions are needed such as unemployed rallies in parks, marches to city hall demanding jobs, demonstrations at stores that are pressuring unemployed people because of bills, demonstrations at landlords, etc. Another weakness the rank and file must address itself to is the need for a stronger struggle around fighting racism and supporting peace in Vietnam. We think we can relate the shop and unemployed struggles to Angela Davis. If we are more active on these two fronts, it would be a real inroad to the Black and Brown communities. It would also raise the consciousness of white workers within the rank and file group.



Up to this point we have only been struggling on economic questions. This must be broadened out if we are to build a Left in Milwaukee and along with that, the Party. There are elements within the rank and file and the local Party that only see the rank and file in a narrow sense. They are afraid to lose "respectable union contacts" if we struggle too militantly or take up any left questions. Hopefully, these problems will be resolved this summer and fall, and the rank and file will grow into a mass, militant and principled organization.

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