

VOL. XIV, NO. 1

Party Organizer

1981

Party Building AND MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

THEME:

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

TO BE A BETTER FIGHTER
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR:

•PEOPLE BEFORE PROFITS!

•PEACE—NOT WAR!

•EQUALITY—NOT RACISM!

•JOBS—NOT UNEMPLOYMENT!

IN THIS ISSUE

Henry Winston: THE ESSENTIALS OF PARTY BUILDING	2
Plan of Work: PARTY BUILDING & MEMBERSHIP DRIVE	11
Daniel Rubin & James Steele: FOR A TURN IN PARTY WORK WITH RESPECT TO THE YOUTH	15
Betty Smith: THE USE OF TAPES; TAPES AVAILABLE	25
Howard: TO BUILD OUR PRESS!	28
Wisconsin District: A HOW-TO ON PEACE	31
A Letter From George & Roscoe: A TOOL FOR BASIC CHANGES!	32

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" THE BASIC ISSUES THAT OUR CLASS AND OUR PEOPLE CONFRONT
REQUIRE AND DEMAND A MORE RAPID GROWTH IN THE PARTY. "

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Henry Winston

The Essentials of Party Building

Based on a Recent Report to the Political Bureau

The leading idea that I wish to pose is the necessity of a radical change in the style of work by the Party on every level in order to unfold the fight to narrow the gap between the growing influence of our Party on most of the important issues of the day and the organizational lag in growth of the Party. This contradiction is one which we are capable of eliminating and which must be eliminated. The basic issues that our class and our people confront require and demand a more rapid growth in this Party.

Why is this so? Because our Party alone is guided by a Marxist-Leninist science which provides the needed answers to our class and people who — as the 1980 election campaign showed — are searching for a way out of the crisis imposed upon them by state monopoly capitalism.

What are the issues that concern the masses in this country? First of all it is the question of peace, to

prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war which concerns every man, woman and child in this country. Anyone who is concerned with economic questions, with social questions, must see the connection between these concerns and the overriding concern for peace in the world.

Well comrades, my text, as the preacher would say, is Gus Hall's report to the last meeting of our Central Committee. This report is the ideological, political, and organizational basis for anything and everything that we will discuss.

" . . . B U I L D I N G T H E P A R T Y M E A N S
F I R S T O F A L L T H A T T H I S P A R T Y
I S A N C H O R E D I N D E V E L O P I N G
S T R U G G L E S . "

Everything depends upon our approach to building the Party, and building the Party means, first of all, that this Party is anchored in developing struggles. If the comrades note, I said "the Party". I did not say, a handful of activists; I said, the Party. Need I argue that much is to be desired on this front? It cannot be said that the entire Party is mobilized, as it should be mobilized around a single issue, a mass struggle. You can find this group here, that group there, this issue here, this issue there, but that's not what we're talking about.

In practice we can say that this arises out of failure to appreciate the significance of what's involved. But to be honest, I don't think this is all. It is also due to a lack of appreciating what the Party as an organization can and must do. Our practice tells us that there is an underestimation of the Party itself. But still more, this situation can exist only if there is an underestimation of the role which the working class can and must play in the struggle. Are we sure that in our practice we are not influenced by concepts which tend to write off the working class in the U.S.?

I simply want to make this point strongly: that to talk "Party-building" in any sense other than struggle, initiating and developing struggle, is NOT to talk Party building. It is phrase-mongering, empty rhetoric. Party building is based first of all on an issue of struggle. To participate in struggle, to give leadership to struggle means in terms of Party building three things.

First, to concern oneself with the active comrades in the club, with the political understanding of these comrades. This means that the comrades in the club must be aware of the issues before the people in the area where the club works. These comrades must have — and strive to extend — connections with people other than club members in the area in which the club operates. The individual comrades who regularly attend club meetings must be able to, or be helped to understand how to formulate demands for action, how to discuss the issues intelligently with other people in the area, how to learn from them in the process of giving them leadership. It means helping the comrades

organize distributions of the Daily World to their contacts. It means to teach know-how, including how to write a leaflet; to speak simply to people. It also means emphasis on the necessity of regular club educationals, adapted to the particular needs of that club and its mass tasks. The club by itself cannot fulfill all of these responsibilities nor should we expect it. But our leadership from top to bottom must be constructed so that it can help the clubs.

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SO THAT IT CAN HELP THE CLUBS. "

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Second, Party building also means attention to those comrades who, for one reason or another, do not regularly attend Club meetings. Maybe the club meetings are boring, uninspiring. Maybe they do not get from the club any kind of spiritual food, spiritual uplift. Maybe they do not learn how they can improve their community by helping to improve the conditions of others. Maybe non-attendance is a form of protest. Maybe some are shy and quiet, but people who are nonetheless talented and who can be won if attention is given to them within the framework of the solution of the overall problems of the club. But we have examples of the old, false bourgeois concept that members who do not come, are after all over 21 and what they do is their business. In other words, forget them. Club leadership must be helped to fully develop a Communist attitude toward people. We are fighting for social change, for changing the ideas and habits of people and in the first place those who have come to us and remained friends, even if inactive part of the time. The struggle is to cut down fluctuation, not to forget these people but to fight to involve them. Holding and developing them must be seen as being related to struggle, to club education and practical training in mass work.

Party building also means recruiting new members into the Party. Recruiting can never be a consistent effort if the club is not anchored in a shop, in a working class community or some community, campus or whatever. There cannot be consistency in a club whose members are scattered in 3 or 4 different areas of a city. It is difficult to concentrate, to develop common struggle, common leadership in struggle in this kind of situation.

I think that talk of "Party building" which does not take into account these three concerns is not serious. I must say that at the present moment the main emphasis is upon the most active members and not a sufficient, consistent struggle for the whole membership. I repeat, that to be successful in a Party building campaign requires reliance upon the total membership, based upon a conscious ideological fight to raise the sense of pride in the Party. And pride in the Party is in itself based upon accomplishment, and accomplishments are based upon fighting for our class in struggle.

Therefore, it seems to me that if the Central Committee meeting had meaning, and if one wants to draw the main conclusions from that Central Committee meeting to implement demands without delay, that we shift everything to the fight to involve the whole Party which in essence means beginning with the clubs.

Now, I have met with most of the district leadership in our Seminars with the exception of California, Illinois and New York. I was concerned in the seminar with the answer to the question — how does it come about that there has never been a meeting of the Central Committee, National Council, State

Board — where the question of concentration was not raised, including industrial concentration? Why so little headway relatively, in this connection? Well, the comrades suggested that my approach should be to ask: "What are the plans in your district for industrial concentration?" I couldn't accept that. If the question is put this way we will get plans from every single district, but plans which do not tell us why we lag in Party building. I don't think it is possible to build plans except on the basis of one's understanding of concepts — what do we mean by industrial concentration?

We were asking the leadership of most districts, and while everyone had a general idea of what we were after, no single comrade was able to pinpoint exactly the essence of the problem of industrial concentration. Now, in totality, if we put together everything everybody said, we've got the answer. But that's precisely the problem. The main essence of industrial concentration was not understood. If that's so, how can we plan successfully?

" . . . WHEN WE ARE TALKING ABOUT INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION WE ARE TALKING ABOUT ONE THING PRIMARILY--BUILDING THE PARTY AMONG BASIC WORKERS. WE DON'T MEAN ANYTHING ELSE."

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Let's demystify industrial concentration. What are we talking about? We are saying in essence a truth — that the working class in the basic industries of our country are the main movers of history, present and future. To win them is to win the main base of changing things in the working class movement as a whole, including light industry. But more than that, it is to move the allies of the working class, moving them in struggle against monopoly. And when we're talking about industrial concentration we're talking about one thing primarily — building the Party among basic workers. We don't mean anything else.

Why do we want to build the Party among this strata? Because otherwise it is impossible to build up movements in the shops, in the working class communities. It is a recognition of the Leninist truth that class consciousness, Party consciousness, Marxist-Leninist consciousness, has to come from without to the economic struggles. It is a battle for activating the rank and file workers to fight class-collaborationism, Trotskyism, Maoism — it is the fight for the class.

We have examples of comrades who are in a shop for decades, who become leaders, so to speak, in the union but not a single recruit into the Party. Why not? We must insist that the answer is not a simplistic one; we must in each case examine the relationship of a particular comrade to the organized workers in that plant. The speeches that are made at Party State Committee meetings must be matched in deeds by the comrades in a particular plant. Otherwise we are settling for phrasemongering. And the task of comrades in a shop is not just to record events or what's happening among the workers, but to undertake and give leadership for change, for class struggle.

Party building must mean, first of all, to bring about a fundamental and radical change in recruitment of workers from the shops into the Party, building shop clubs and industrial clubs. We've got to make a basic change in this regard. As is known and as the whole international experience has proven, the composition of the Party plays a role as it relates to one's consciousness and one's understanding.

So this is the main thing. But I ask — is it possible to make this kind of change when the majority of our clubs are in non-working class neighborhoods? Does this mean that we dismantle clubs in communities other than working class communities? No! But we need a planned approach to the areas where the steel workers live, auto workers live, electrical workers live, etc., and a program to reach them based upon class issues and class struggle.

So Party building in 1981 must take into account the following; vigilance against anarchy and spontaneity. I underscore that; vigilance against a helter-skelter approach to the proper organization of the Party.

Instead we must have a sure, measured organized effort to shift some Party clubs to working class communities for special concentration and special effort. I will repeat what we've said before: that in these communities workers from the shops live. Their churches are there, the PTA's are there, the Elks, their social life, their card parties, the school gymnasiums. This is where their recreation takes place, etc.

In this connection we reached nearly a half million people petitioning during the election campaign. These names were collected on selected streets, at markets, busy intersections. These lists have to be organized and grouped according to neighborhoods, from which we can better determine areas of concentration. This is a sign of serious work. These are people who have expressed their support to us, people who are open to a different type of program from that of the Democratic and Republican Parties, people who want to hear from us again.

" WHAT DO WE MEAN BY 'VISIBILITY' -- TO WHOM, AND FOR WHAT? "

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Then, comrades, I ask still another question. There is in the Party a great deal of discussion about visibility. What do we mean by visibility? This is a very, very important question because comrades correctly say that to the extent the Party is seen by the masses, to that extent will the Party grow. But this is only partly true. A growth in influence doesn't necessarily mean a growth in Party members. And yet, visibility is a most important element in Party-building. But the wrong way of interpreting visibility is the very essence of left sectarianism and prevents successful building of the Party.

What do we mean by "visibility" — to whom and for what? We certainly do not mean being visible to the foreman or so the goons and stoolpigeons can pick out shop comrades. We are, however, talking about being seen and understood as fighters and leaders for the interests of the workers. It is an old American axiom that, "my politics is my business". That is why workers of different persuasions in a plant, stewards or grievors or trade union officials do not necessarily announce whether they are Democrats, Republicans, Independents or Socialists.

Our concern is not with labels, but on the issues so that workers can see who's who in the fight, how one fights against the boss, how one fights to advance the interests of the workers, winning their respect in this process. This, and this alone, becomes the main aspect of visibility. In the course of successful struggles a comrade can reach the point of being able to say, "I am able to do this or that

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because of my training, because of my political outlook, etc.- why don't you, you can also. " But this is part of being known more concretely by a group of workers and depending upon the degree of democracy, a wider and still wider section of workers. As long as there exists company domination and U.S. monopoly capitalism in particular, we, to be true to our class and our Party, have to establish guarantees which will enable us under any and all circumstances to help lead and guide that fight against monopoly.

Some time ago, I remember, on the eve of the McCarthy period, Hubert Humphrey developed the concept of being opposed to communism and fascism, which we predicted at that time as meaning simply an anti-Communist dance. Later, Humphrey dropped fascism and became a Communist-hunter, and he developed the concept, "stand up and be counted," etc. Well, what "stand up and be counted" meant was to assist the boss in isolating Communists from the workers in the plant. That was a reactionary call, and leftism plays into the hand of that reactionariness and should be fought under any and all circumstances.

Now, I think that history should teach us a few things. There were some in our Party before and after the period of revisionism who underestimated the degree of the democratic fight and assumed, because workers had elected them to posts, that they need no longer be vigilant. There were members of the executive boards, shop stewards, trade union officials, leading thousands of workers. Because of leftist errors, every single Communist who fell in practice for "stand up and be counted," was wiped out from the mass leadership of workers. Let me share with you the experience of a comrade from that period.

"In the fall of 1948 I was being pressured by a leading comrade to o.k. the public announcement of Party membership in the union. There was also a comrade who was a steward and board member of a large local.

"Because of my objections, a meeting was set up in my home. Present were a number of comrades. My objections were briefly: 1) The adoption of the CIO resolution to 'Resent and Reject,' i.e., Communism. This undermined a principled defense of the C.P. members. 2) At the time, red-baiting was the main activity of Carey, Reuther, Murray, Sen. P. Douglas and Sen. H.H. Humphrey, the Association of Catholic Trade Unions, the companies and HUAC. The target was the 'crypto-reds.' 3) Voluntary surfacing would mean exposure without mass support, thus isolating them, other Party members and militants.

"Little effort was made to convince me of the wisdom of their position. The purpose was my consent. The matter was resolved 'democratically.' A vote was taken. Mine was the sole dissenting vote.

"In February or March 1949, when large lay-offs during the first post-war recession

were hitting the workers in the plant, a comrade wound up a report to the stewards council on a picnic permit she obtained, by announcing, 'incidentally I'm a member of the C.P.'

A few days later she was fired as a security risk. A leading comrade insisted that I meet with the president of the company and demand her reinstatement. The meeting was held to no avail. The company then demanded that every worker in the plant sign an affidavit that they were not then nor had been in the previous five years members of the C.P. nor a member of other alleged subversive organizations. Because of the widespread fear of lay-offs, the workers were signing the affidavits. I learned later that a responsible comrade advised that all should sign except the officers and stewards. Such was their discipline, loyalty and faith; they agreed. Their isolation was now complete. On April 1, 1949 the company fired 250 officers and stewards. The NLRB and the courts ruled that if the company had a reasonable doubt regarding the security of its employees, no law was violated. The discharges were upheld. The discharged workers were blacklisted and hounded, most of whom left the city to seek employment elsewhere. The impact on the Party, the union, and the progressive working class movement of the area was devastating. The same procedure was followed by other companies. As a result, the total number of shop stewards and local officers fired came to 500.

This action stripped these progressive unions of their strongest cadres and left them weakened in the face of a massive raid instigated by right-wing trade union leaders, the companies, reactionary elements in the Catholic church and the government."

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History also has its examples of situations in which we were very strong, on top, so to speak, with influential individuals, but the class enemy was active at the bottom and we lost our leading role. We have to learn this lesson. The time is long past when we can use hangovers of McCarthyism, etc., as an excuse.

We should not underestimate the intelligence of the working class who even unconsciously take a class position— some more consciously than others— "don't let the man know." During the attempts to organize the basic industries it was illegal even to wear a trade union button, illegal to be known as a union man. And the workers quickly understood that to build their unions, vigilance was required. Why, then, is it not possible for the highest organization of the class, the Communist Party, to understand that visibility is determined primarily on the basis of the degree of democracy existing generally and in a particular place?

Now, back to what practice means in terms of concentration, what is in reality concentration. It means three things: (1) The distribution of the Daily World at plant gates. This helps to get acquainted with workers, for workers to get acquainted with us so that they will take the paper with them into the shop or to read it at home after work. But this is not the beginning and end of concentration. Practice should convince us of that. Subscriptions to our press will be slow. Recruiting to the Party will be slow, and in addition, concrete leadership in regard to issues either in the plant or neighborhood will be slow. Distributions are a very, very important element, an achievement of the Party and we encourage

more and more of our comrades to concretely plan the distribution of our press at shop gates. This is our voice which works when we are not there. But it is only one element in trying to effect a concentration policy and must be united with points two and three.

(2) In-plant work on the part of Communists and progressive trade unionists in developing struggles inside the shop. This is being undertaken in a number of places throughout the country. It is quite an achievement and we have many comrades now in the plants who are grievors, elected by the workers and they take up a thousand grievances of workers who express themselves in many, many different forms. But what to do after the grievances are processed remains a very big question for many of our comrades in the shop.

What does "Left-Center" mean concretely for our comrades in the shop? Not as a phrase but to understand it as the sum total of workers who get together on a united front basis in any form, on any issue? From the standpoint of the shop how can Left-Center unity be developed to influence developments within the whole union to enlarge membership attendance, to prevent a situation where it is taken over by machine men, class-collaborationists--all of these kinds of questions.

If we are serious about in-plant concentration, we will think in terms of shop papers, practically. Without a concentrated kind of approach, we have not seen the need, the basis for shop papers. Shop papers also help give the Party visibility without identifying the comrades involved.

You see, when you talk inside concentration in a plant you've got to take into account the stratification that exists among workers — the skilled, the Departments, the great mass on the assembly line; the composition. — national, racial, by age and sex. You know Lenin more often than not would emphasize that what is obsolete for us is not obsolete for the masses; what is obsolete for us is not obsolete for those new generations which are coming. Old truths have to be emphasized and re-emphasized, and this is the essence of a Marxist-Leninist education relating to basic principles. It was these principles that made it possible to build big Parties in other countries, but it was the forsaking of these principles — treating them as cliches — which produced all kinds of ideological and political problems.

No, we cannot too often repeat this basic Marxist-Leninist truth of winning the working class, of leadership of the working class, of building the Party in the ranks of the working class on a class struggle basis. Therefore in-plant must be united with shop-gate. But if we saw only these two aspects

" THEREFORE IN-PLANT MUST BE UNITED WITH SHOPGATE. BUT IF WE SAW ONLY THESE TWO ASPECTS WE WOULD STILL BE REMISS. THERE IS A NEED FOR POINT THREE, WHICH CONSISTS OF ANCHORING THE ENTIRE STRUGGLE WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. THE ABSENCE OF ANY ONE OF THESE APPROACHES IN SHOP CONCENTRATION WEAKENS THE UNFOLDING OF OUR INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION POLICY. "

we would still be remiss. There is a need for point three, which consists of anchoring the entire struggle within the community. The absence of any one of these approaches in shop concentration weakens the unfolding of our industrial concentration policy.

Therefore, Party building means a correct understanding of building the clubs, of the concept "visibility." It means a correct understanding of the three elements which must become the basis for a concentration policy of the Party in given shops and industries.

Well, comrades, it is necessary and it is possible to organize a Party building drive for the whole of 1981, including normal day-to-day recruiting into the Party. At a given point we propose a special recruiting drive, a 3-months recruiting drive to be initiated by Comrades Gus Hall and Angela Davis. After the 3-month special recruiting drive, again normalcy, a normal recruiting throughout the Party for the entire year for which we will have special objectives. The person we propose to head up this drive is Comrade Sid Taylor who is immersed already with every facet of the plans for the drive and has that willingness and verve to undertake this assignment. But overall, the political responsibility for it rests with the Political Bureau, the Organizing Bureau, the Central Committee and National Council; and the district leaderships. There must be a monthly political checkup on the progress of Party building. The only thing required for success is our willingness to do it and to fight for this drive. And I say comrades, to be honest, we can overfulfill our objectives.

" LET'S DEMYSTIFY INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION. WHAT ARE WE TALKING ABOUT? WE ARE SAYING IN ESSENCE A TRUTH--THAT THE WORKING CLASS IN THE BASIC INDUSTRIES OF OUR COUNTRY ARE THE MAIN MOVERS OF HISTORY, PRESENT AND FUTURE. TO WIN THEM IS TO WIN THE MAIN BASE OF CHANGING THINGS IN THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE, INCLUDING LIGHT INDUSTRY. BUT MORE THAN THAT, IT IS TO MOVE THE ALLIES OF THE WORKING CLASS, MOVING THEM IN STRUGGLE AGAINST MONOPOLY. "

--- SEE PAGE 5.

Party Building AND MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

Outline

PLAN OF WORK

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES AND AIMS:

1. Improve the political work and level of involvement of all Party clubs in grass roots struggles on the immediate issues in their own neighborhood, shop, electoral district, and/or designated Party concentration areas and/or industries.

In all work and struggles, link the everyday problems such as housing, utilities, child care, shop problems, etc. with the overall fight for detente and SALTII, for affirmative action and against racism, for jobs, and to strengthen or develop independent political forms. In all struggles, work for greater unity of the working class and to bring forward the leading role of our class within the developing fight-back against the monopolies.

2. Fulfill the *Daily World* and *Voz* fund and circulation goals, as an indispensable part of the fight to build our Party and the working class movement.
3. Nationally to gain 1,000 new members during April, May and June, and to insure steady attention to winning new members as a part of our ongoing style of work for 1981 and beyond.
4. At the same time, win those members who are at present minimally active to a fuller role in their club's work, and improve the overall work of the club leaders and active members so as to be able to hold and develop the new members and expand the clubs's role.
5. The number one priority is the recruitment of shop workers in the concentration industries, with a fight to build shop clubs which reflect the composition of the shop and the industry, giving special attention in this effort to a style of work which combines plant-gate distributions of our press, developing shop papers and leaflets, and expanding our community activity in working class neighborhoods.
6. All community clubs to take necessary measures to develop concentration in a neighbor-

hood, with special attention to developing clubs in selected working class areas as part of industrial concentration.

7. In both shop and community clubs, special attention is needed to bring Black people into the Party. It is also important to make special efforts to recruit Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian-Pacific, Native American Indian and other racially and nationally oppressed peoples.
8. All clubs to raise the level of their attention to the concerns and needs of youth, assisting the YWLL to reach its membership objectives. A specific approach to youth will be forthcoming.

IDEOLOGICAL PREPARATION AND MATERIALS

1. In each club—study, discussion and application of:
 - a. Comrade Hall's report to the December '80 Central Committee meeting, *1981—Mandate for Fightback*. (Now available.)
 - b. Comrade Winston's report: "*The Essentials of Party Building*." (In *Party Organizer*—Now available.)
2. Letter from Gus Hall: "*A Special Message To You From Gus Hall*." (Now available.)
3. Regular additional material, ideas, articles to assist comrades to reach the goals of the Party-building and membership drive.
 - a. Beginning in March, articles in *World Magazine* on why comrades have joined our Party and what membership in the Party means to them, how it has contributed to their life, etc.
 - b. *Party Organizer* will be featuring Party-building in all its aspects: ★Winning new members. ★How to improve club life. ★Reactivating former or inactive members. ★The role of the club in grass roots struggles—and so on.

Special Attention will be given to answering the questions often put by potential new members, such as: ★Dealing with aspects of security. ★How much is expected of new members. ★How to manage one's time for a political commitment with family obligations, with social life, etc. ★The Party in the fight against racism. ★How to step up the recruitment of Black people. ★The need for the Party as a special organization of the working class.

c. The wide participation of the membership in providing materials for study and discussion will help assure its success:

Please don't wait. Send in your experiences, your ideas. Send us your questions.

Formal articles are welcome. Equally welcome is a letter, a memo, a note and the questions you have—or those that are raised with you.

4. Guidelines for recruiting: *Who To Ask?*

Someone who is concerned, active—or wants to be active—on issues and in mass struggles is a possible recruit.

Our general experience has been that we wait too long to decide whether a person is ready to join. We tend to expect too much in terms of their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and their experience in struggle. People can learn more and develop faster within the Party.

OUTLINE OF ORGANIZATIONAL PLAN

1. District leadership meetings—in February—to discuss the politics and the “how-to” of the over-all plan and its application. Concentration districts will have national Party representatives participating in their meetings.

These plans should include:

- a. The selection of the main local and state issues and campaigns (including electoral plans if there is an important election in the district.)
 - b. Plan for maximum district committee help to the clubs, especially the concentration neighborhood and shop/industry areas.
 - c. Guarantee fulfillment of *Daily World* and *Voz* goals.
 - d. Set goals for district recruiting and suggested club goals.
2. Guidelines for club discussion during March, based on district plan:
 - a. What main issue or issues the club will work on.
 - b. Drawing up list of contacts for club's own work—and also any suggestions of other contacts which the district can help with.
 - c. Canvass readers of the *Daily World* and other left-progressive press in the club's area—working for new subs, expanding routes, etc.
 - d. Can the club improve its visibility as a club in the neighborhood or shop? Does it have a name and a P.O. Box (or another address such as a book shop or a center?) Is there—or can there be—a club member on neighborhood committees and ad hoc groups? How can the club develop and improve its relationship with other organizations and movements in the area? What social or educational events can the club host where *Daily World* readers and other contacts can get acquainted? How does the club relate to forums and similar events outside of its immediate area but within a reasonable distance?
 - e. How can the club best be involved in educational political events organized by the section or the district?
 - f. How best to utilize the 100th anniversary of William Z. Foster's birth?
 - g. Work with the district on providing classes for new members, as well as club educationals to raise the ideological and political level of the entire club. Organize to guarantee the fullest utilization of the forthcoming workers' schools.
 - h. Consult with the district to set realistic recruiting goals for the club, for a plan to re-activate present and/or former members, and for a plan to bring the club's composition more in line with that of its neighborhood, and in conformity with the district's over all priorities.
 - i. All of the above to be guided by the “Political Objectives and Aims” of this Outline Plan (See first page).
 3. Assignments and check-up:
 - a. All national departments to have their plans of work on the membership drive ready by mid-February.
 - b. Assignments of Political Bureau and other national comrades will be made to work with

concentration and other districts.

c. The membership drive will be the responsibility of the executive committee of the Organization-Education Department, with Sid Taylor heading up the drive.

d. *May 15 Check-up*: To be made by the National Party leadership with the districts on the results that have been achieved at the mid-point of the 3-month drive; and on how to solve the problems that stand in the way of the maximum success of the drive.

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS AND AIDS FOR 1981

1. Gus Hall Angela Davis: "*JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY!*"—A popular pamphlet to be ready in early March.
2. National and some district news conferences to put forward the Party's positions on the issues, stress role of the Party, appeal for new members, etc.

Gus Hall, Angela Davis and other leading comrades to participate.
3. Also ready by March 1st:
 - a. Membership Application with 1981 Theme
 - b. Enrollment certificate for new members during 1981
4. Other materials will be forthcoming; such as posters, brochures addressed to specific groups of workers, to Afro-American people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, etc.
5. Ads on the issues and the reasons to join the Communist Party in selected neighborhood papers, the Black press, etc.—to be worked out with districts for concentration areas.
6. Greater use of radio and television to place the Party and its positions before the people, following up on the momentum from the 1980 campaign. Maximum fight by clubs and districts, as well as nationally, for free time: editorial replies, talk shows, interviews, news conferences. Give special attention to the 1981 election campaigns, where relatively more free time is available and paid time is available at a lower rate.

Paid radio spots: to be worked out with the concentration areas.

7. Special financial efforts in June—to win new contributors, and more sustaining contributors so as to help defray some of the costs of materials and media for the Drive.

Please let the Membership Drive Committee know what aids and materials you think would be most helpful.

WRITE TO SID TAYLOR:

- ★YOUR COMMENTS ON ANY ASPECT OF THE DRIVE.
- ★YOUR SUGGESTIONS ON WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE.
- ★YOUR PROPOSALS ON HOW TO IMPROVE THE DRIVE.

"NO SMALL PARTY WILL BE PLAYED IN THIS SOCIAL CONFRONTATION BY THE YOUTH. WHAT THE RULING CLASS HAS IN STORE FOR THE YOUTH IS NEW SHARP CUTS IN SPENDING FOR EDUCATION AND ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY PUBLIC EDUCATION, AN END TO ALL PUBLICLY FINANCED JOBS PROGRAMS, IMPOSITION OF A SUBMINIMUM WAGE, AN END TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND ALL AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS."

FOR A TURN IN PARTY WORK WITH RESPECT TO THE YOUTH

By Daniel Rubin & James Steele

All signs indicate the period ahead will be one of unprecedented mass, class and social struggle. The ruling class has moved further to the Right in foreign and domestic policy while the most reactionary and racist elements have been emboldened in course of the election campaign and as a result of the Reagan victory. They are acting on their false interpretation of the election results. But the facts show that Reagan did not receive a mandate for his policies from the electorate. The people did not vote Carter out of office because they wanted an even further Right program. They voted against Carter in the first place, because of massive joblessness and run-away inflation. Given the two-party trap, for those voting, the only way to express their dissatisfaction was to pull the lever for Reagan. Nevertheless, 75 percent of the voting age population refused to vote for Reagan and eighty percent refused to vote for Carter.

A new sharpening of the monopoly attack on the needs of our multi-national

working class, on Black and specially oppressed peoples as a whole and all working people is in process on every front. But the major democratic forces--the labor movement, the Black community, the women's movement, seniors, major religious forces and the youth movement--have not been defeated, destroyed or torn asunder.

They emerged from the elections intact and are busy preparing all kinds of actions, including a number of major national demonstrations to preserve their hard fought gains and prepare the ground for new advances. The mass base of these great social forces, their middle level leadership as well as many top leaders are in no mood to take the attack lying down just because the media says Reagan has a mandate.

No small part will be played in this great social confrontation by the youth. What the ruling class has in store for the youth is new sharp cuts in spending for education and attempts to destroy public education, an end to all publicly financed job programs, imposition of a subminimum wage, an end to school desegregation and all affirmative action programs. Reagan's call for a policy of confrontation and military build-up will increase pressures for the draft and the further militarization of the youth.

To prevent mass resistance by the youth, monopoly capital actively seeks to ensnare a section of white youth in KKK-Nazi racist anti-people terroristic activities. Police brutality against youth generally but especially against Black and other specially oppressed youth as well as judicial and penal repression are also being stepped up. Registration and the draft and professionalization of the military are additional forms of containing youth's democratic struggle and seeking to mislead youth to become tools of monopoly designs at home and abroad.

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"ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF THE SUBMINIMUM WAGE IS TO PIT YOUTH AGAINST THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND PROMOTE ANTI-LABOR SENTIMENT AMONG YOUTH."

* * *

We can expect further openly anti-labor attacks. One of the purposes of the subminimum wage is to pit youth against the labor movement and promote anti-labor sentiment among youth. A further aim of this reactionary monopoly program for youth is control through demoralization which would be the result of the second class citizenship of a sub-minimum wage.

It is clear from this brief assessment: the stake for the working class, all democratic forces--and not least the Communists--in the defeat of this reactionary monopoly program for

"THE STAKE FOR THE WORKING CLASS, ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES--AND NOT LEAST THE COMMUNISTS--IN THE DEFEAT OF THIS REACTIONARY MONOPOLY PROGRAM FOR YOUTH IS IMMENSE."

youth, is immense. It is a question of whether the effort to win a significant section of youth as a monopoly battering ram against democratic forces here and around the world will be successful; or whether youth as a whole will be a militant, energetic, creative ally of the working class and other anti-monopoly strata in resisting the assault. It is a matter of whether wide strata of the youth who are the children of working people will bear an especially sharp burden of the attack that will close them out of ever getting a job and a decent start in life; or whether a program for jobs, job training and education with affirmative action and against militarization and repression will be won. It is a matter of whether an ever-growing number of youth will move leftward, become militant fighters against monopoly and many become adherents of socialism and of our Party.

The Communist Party, USA from its founding has demonstrated that it is truly the Party of the youth as well as the Party of the working class. It has consistently advocated and fought for the fundamental interests of the youth and helped the advanced youth organizations grow and develop, beginning with the Young Workers League in the 1920's. In the late 1930's it helped the Young Communist League and others in building a mass youth front—the American Youth Congress—against fascism and for the basic needs of youth. Its consistent role in the fight for peace during the Cold War, the Vietnam war and since, against school and other forms of segregation and racism and for affirmative action, for academic freedom and against McCarthyism and McCarranism and for full employment at union wages is well known. The Party's many-sided support of Marxist-oriented youth organizations such as the YCL, the Labor Youth League and now the Young Workers Liberation League is also well known.

"NEW CHALLENGES TO THE INTERESTS OF OUR CLASS AND TO
THE YOUNG GENERATION . . . "

But Communists never rest on their laurels. New challenges to the interests of our class and to the young generation require raising the Party's assistance to building the YWLL and the youth movement to new levels. The new situation described earlier requires that the Party rapidly improve its contribution on the youth question.

There are two main aspects of this. First is the effort by the Party among the adult population, the working class and specially oppressed in the first place, to support the just and special demands of youth for jobs at union wages and conditions, drastically improved job training free quality integrated education through college, all on the basis of specific affirmative action goals, as well as an end to registration and all forms of militarization and repression of the youth. It means building opposition among basic sections of adults to reaction's anti-youth program and support for approaches that see the youth as natural allies in the struggle against the monopolies for social progress.

The second aspect is to strengthen the Party's many-sided assistance to the YWLL as the main and most decisive way to reach youth and build youth unity against the reactionary attack, in alliance with labor and all democratic forces fighting monopoly. Such aid to the YWLL will also result in many more adherents of Marxism-Leninism among the youth. Strengthening this help is most timely now not only because of the heightened attacks and fightback but also because this is the period of preparation for the League's 5th Convention to be held June 27-30 in New York City.

" ... THE LEAGUE HAS MADE GREAT STRIDES IN DEVELOPING MASS TIES WITH BOTH NATIONAL AND HUNDREDS OF LOCAL YOUTH AND YOUTH SERVING ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FIGHT FOR JOBS AND A DECENT EDUCATION WITH AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; IN WORK AROUND THE DRAFT, THE YOUTH FESTIVAL AND THE OLYMPICS, ON VOTER REGISTRATION AND THE ELECTIONS, ON POLICE BRUTALITY, ETC. "

Since its last Convention, the League has made great strides in developing mass ties with both national and hundreds of local youth and youth serving organizations in the fight for jobs and a decent education with affirmative action, in work around the draft, Youth Festival and Olympics, voter registration and elections, police brutality, etc. Its ties among young workers, in high schools and on campuses have been much improved. The YWLL is also paying much greater attention to developing social and cultural activities.

In addition, much headway has been made in overcoming sectarian tendencies of mechanically applying the style and methods of the Communist Party or those of youth organizations operating in other national environs. Presently the YWLL's inner educational work is improving as is its specific approaches to the different sections of youth-high school students, young workers and college students.

There is, however, a considerable gap between its mass influence and its organizational status. This gap is even more acute than a similar gap the Party is experiencing.

In order to make a turn in Party help, especially in overcoming this gap, we need to examine the problems in our work.

The vast majority of our leading comrades and members would like nothing better than the rapid growth of the League, its organizational strengthening and development. For most, the central question is to learn better *exactly how to help* the League. There are some, however, who are influenced by some wrong ideas and practices that prevent them from helping.

W_R_O_N_G A_P_P_R_O_A_C_H_E_S I_O T_H_E L_E_A_G_U_E

We will deal with several of these wrong approaches that have some influence in the Party. The first is the idea that struggles or tasks can be listed in order of importance in a straight line sequence or pecking order in which youth winds up in about 5th or 6th place. Seldom is a district strong enough to do anything significant beyond the first three. Those who approach things so undialectically and mechanically make somewhat different lists of priorities. The fact is the youth question is intertwined with all other struggles. Unity of the working class requires not only rejection of racism and male supremacy; it requires unity of younger and older workers. If reaction succeeds in winning young workers and other youth against the labor movement, an awful price will be paid by both.

Which way the youth are moved has a great bearing on the future development of all the major democratic forces since the youth are the future base and leadership of these movements. The young generation's potential as a powerful progressive force was evi-

denced by its mass resistance to the war of aggression against Vietnam. The Party's own ability to grow steadily is in large measure dependent not only on the drawing of the youth into the class struggle but also on whether an ever-increasing number of these youth are being developed in the spirit of scientific socialism. In discussing the laws of transition from capitalism to socialism, the 12 ruling Parties in 1957 listed as one of the indispensable conditions, the winning of the young generation as a whole to the side of the working class.

A pecking order mechanical approach to the importance of youth is bound to lead to a lack of attention to the League in practice. In so doing, it significantly weakens and endangers all other struggles.

Another wrong approach is the denial of the youth question as a special question. This means some comrades consider that the general demands in the interests of the working class and other anti-monopoly strata are enough to also meet the needs of youth, and therefore are enough to attract the youth to progressive struggle. According to this view, youth do not need their own distinct forms of organization and struggle because their problems are the same, the demands to meet them are the same and they can learn how to fight for progress just as well in general organizations. But this not only flies in the face of today's realities but rejects Lenin's view on the youth question and the accumulated experience of our Party and the world movement, as well.

"IN ITS PRESENT STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS, U. S.
STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM MAKES THE PROBLEM OF TRANSITION
FOR YOUTH TO ADULTHOOD EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND PAINFUL,
MORE SO NOW PERHAPS THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS PERIOD IN HISTORY."

In its present stage of the general crisis, U.S. state monopoly capitalism makes the problem of transition for youth to adulthood extremely difficult and painful, more so now perhaps than in any previous period in US history. While the obstacles it creates to youth obtaining a secure future are less separate and more intertwined with the social problems created for the older generations, especially the working class, they are no less special. In fact, they are even sharper. They cut more widely across class lines among the youth than among the adult population.

Consider an entire generation faced with the prospect of being locked out of productive life. The job demands for older workers who have worked many years are not enough for a generation that has never had stable jobs. To meet its need for economic security requires massive job creation programs, combined with job training and education on a scale that is based on its special conditions and problems. So it is on all other major social issues. There are special problems, special aspects of general problems and the need for special programmatic demands. While young workers and especially racially and nationally oppressed youth are the first victims of these problems, the writing off of the young generation by state monopoly capitalism cuts more widely and deeply across the class lines among youth.

"THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE YOUTH GENERATED BY THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, THOUGH NOW MORE CLOSELY MESHED WITH THOSE OF THE WORKING CLASS, GIVES RISE TO SPECIAL DEMANDS. THE STRUGGLE OF THE YOUTH FOR ITS DEMANDS GIVES RISE TO SPECIAL YOUTH FORMS OF STRUGGLE. THE STRUGGLE OF THE YOUTH FOR ITS SPECIAL DEMANDS IN ITS OWN SPECIAL 'YOUTH' WAY GIVES RISE TO THE NEED FOR SPECIAL 'YOUTH' ORGANIZATIONS."

The special problems of the youth generated by the capitalist system, though now more closely meshed with those of the working class, gives rise to special demands. The struggle of the youth for its demands gives rise to special youth forms of struggle. The struggle of the youth for its special demands in its own special "youth" way gives rise to the need for special "youth" organizations.

Lenin made the now famous point about how youth come to socialism. "Frequently, the middle-aged and the aged *do not know how* to approach the youth in the proper way, for, necessarily, the youth must come to socialism *in a different way*, by other paths, *in other forms, under other* circumstances than their fathers. Incidentally, this is why we must be decidedly in favor of the *organizational independence* of the Youth League, *not only* because the opportunists fear this independence, but because of the very nature of the case; for unless they have complete independence the youth *will be unable* either to train good Socialists from their midst, or to prepare themselves to lead socialism *forward*." (*THE YOUTH INTERNATIONAL* 1916, Lenin's emphasis.)

But this also has validity for organizations that are democratic and anti-monopoly and not yet socialist in character as to how youth learn where their real interests lie and how to fight for them. The relative absence of national independent democratic youth organizations in the last years shows signs of beginning to change. Their absence has clearly hindered the ability of youth to fight for their real interests and to ally firmly with labor and other anti-monopoly forces. Local groups are not enough. Nor is it sufficient for there to be adult organizations servicing large numbers of youth or even a youth division of a general organization, if the youth lack independent organizational structures through which they can express themselves.

There are still some comrades who feel that all that is needed is Party work among the youth. Some feel a youth league is not needed. Others view it as useful like any other progressive organization if it is present but consider it far from indispensable. This is a variation of the previous position discussed—rejecting the youth question as a special question

If state monopoly capitalism causes special social problems for the young generation that require special demands, then that is a major circumstance giving rise to youth organization fighting for those needs. Lenin made the point that each generation's development is shaped differently, by new events, especially as to style. Therefore, he concluded youth needed to learn from the experience of running their own organizations. As a result of this there is a continual tendency toward specific youth organizations.

The ruling class tries to transform a struggle against monopoly by each of the generations into a battle between the generations. For the Party to try and influence the youth and their

youth organizations primarily directly and by itself is bound to have very limited possibilities. Over the long run experience shows that the consequences are quite negative, leading to the very opposite of what was intended, with the Party not significantly influencing youth but other tendencies moving in to fill the vacuum. However, an organization which is itself a youth organization and is shaped by the same factors shaping the rest of the generation, yet is based on a Marxist-Leninist working class world outlook as applied to the conditions facing youth, can be much more successful.

Life shows that such a youth organization—the YWLL—gives the Party, the working class and other anti-monopoly movements unique leverage in influencing and moving the young generation.

"WHILE INDIVIDUAL YOUNG PEOPLE DO COME TO SOCIALISM AND TO THE PARTY OTHER THAN THROUGH THE LEAGUE, EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT THE GREAT BULK OF THE LEAGUE'S MEMBERS COME TO SOCIALISM AND MANY INTO THE PARTY. ...THEY TEND TO BE FIRMER IN THEIR COMMITMENT TO OUR CLASS AND PARTY AS WELL AS MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ON MANY PRACTICAL AND BASIC THEORETICAL QUESTIONS."

Lenin's point that youth necessarily come to SOCIALISM in their own way and, therefore, require a youth organization which is organizationally independent in order to do so, remains valid. While individual young people do come to socialism and to the Party other than through the League, experience shows that the great bulk of the League's members come to socialism and many into the Party. Our experience also shows those entering from the YWLL generally are much more rounded and experienced cadre as a result. They tend to be firmer in their commitment to our class and Party as well as more knowledgeable on many practical and basic theoretical questions.

The League is, therefore, much more than just a good thing if it happens to exist. *The YWLL is decisive and indispensable for influencing the whole young generation in a democratic anti-monopoly direction. The YWLL is decisive and indispensable for the extensive and continual growth of the Party itself.* While the League is a mass organization, it is one unlike all others. Marxism-Leninism is the dominant, guiding outlook in it and the League offers youth an opportunity to learn about socialism. It, therefore, is capable of and does play a leading role among youth as a whole. It maintains fraternal relations with the Party, and looks to it for mutual aid and general political guidance. Therefore, from the standpoint of the objective historical interests of the working class and the struggle for progress, next to the Party it is the most important organizational instrument for the struggle. To accept the non-existence of the League in a district is to accept doing nothing really significant and lasting among the youth, which in turn is to endanger the future of all the democratic movements. It is also to endanger the future of the Party and, therefore, is objectively liquidationist toward the Party itself.

"TO ACCEPT THE NON-EXISTENCE OF THE LEAGUE IN A DISTRICT IS TO ACCEPT DOING NOTHING REALLY SIGNIFICANT AND LASTING AMONG THE YOUTH, WHICH IN TURN IS TO ENDANGER THE FUTURE OF ALL THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS. IT IS ALSO TO ENDANGER THE FUTURE OF THE PARTY AND, THEREFORE, IS OBJECTIVELY LIQUIDATIONIST TOWARD THE PARTY ITSELF."

Among some, just or unjust criticism of the League's current activity and status leads to writing off the YWLL or to other harmful approaches. Often the criticism is unjust in which side-line critics who specialize in criticizing the League from a know-it-all, non-working class, elitist stance. These comrades focus only on the problems and weaknesses and generalize them into being the entire picture. Often these are older comrades reflecting the ruling class effort to influence adults against youth—"today's youth are backward and do not know anything. If they would only listen to what we experienced and theoretically developed adults tell them to do, everything would be fine." This proves Lenin's point that many older comrades do not know how to approach the youth. But even if every criticism were correct and every bit of advice as to what the League should do were correct, the conclusion in policy or in practice should not be to abandon the YWLL or in any way lessen support of it. A partisan class attitude is required, not a picking up of marbles and going elsewhere.

Just criticism of the Party for sectarianism or some other weakness, does not mean walking away from it if one understands the absolute historical necessity of the Party in the struggle for social progress and socialism. For Communists, weaknesses, including weaknesses in the YWLL, become challenges that have to be overcome by collective and united effort in order to speed up progress. There is no way forward except by overcoming weaknesses. They can not be jumped over in some manner. That must also be the attitude of all Communists toward weaknesses, problems and mistakes of the League. It must also be said that an *objective* evaluation of the League's work and development since its 4th Convention, is decidedly positive along the lines indicated earlier.

"FOR COMMUNISTS, WEAKNESSES--INCLUDING WEAKNESSES IN THE YWLL--BECOME CHALLENGES THAT HAVE TO BE OVERCOME BY COLLECTIVE AND UNITED EFFORT IN ORDER TO SPEED UP PROGRESS. THERE IS NO WAY FORWARD EXCEPT BY OVERCOMING WEAKNESSES. THEY CAN NOT BE JUMPED OVER IN SOME MANNER."

In some areas clubs are recruiting youth directly into the Party while there is no League and no effort to establish one. In fact one gets the impression that the comrades would oppose building a League there out of concern that the youth they are recruiting to the Party will be recruited into the League instead. In other words, the YWLL is seen competitively.

Several questions must be asked about this approach. First it is pragmatic and short-sighted, posing the immediate interests of the Party against its longer term interests. It may appear that substantial recruiting is taking place compared to the past and that may be true for now, but at the same time such approaches and attitudes also are slowing down future recruiting which would come in even larger numbers AND steadier if a couple of the youth recruited to the Party were then assigned to help build a local League. An active, dynamic, stable League will produce a larger, steadier stream.

Where the approach of direct recruiting to the Party has been used, it was not long before the recruiting dried up. All of the reasons for this are not entirely clear. However, one reason appears to be the tendency to produce a "youth" Party which also has a negative side. To move our class and people requires a balanced Party in terms of generations. A youth Party has great difficulty moving the older generations and it also lacks the necessary

experience, development and continuity to shoulder the full tasks of a Communist Party and, therefore, runs into trouble as to sustained sound policy and activity. It begins to lose its enthusiasm and confidence and dries up. This is intensified by insufficient development of many of the new Party members to meet the wide range of Party responsibilities due to lack of prior experience in the League.

Finally, there is the prob-
of the Party's own history of development. Many of those who would now be the district leadership were lost to the Party or never recruited during the period of McCarthyite repression. As a result the Party now has a severe cadre shortage at this level of the Party and has been compelled to draw on younger cadre. This has created an especially sharp problem for the League because many of these comrades or at least the ones they then draw into leading Party work, are the cadre the League is dependent on to lead its sections, etc. When the Party's district cadre needs are approached without a high level of con-

"WHEN THE PARTY'S DISTRICT CADRE NEEDS ARE APPROACHED WITHOUT A HIGH LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND SENSITIVITY WITH RESPECT TO THE LEAGUE AND WITHOUT SEEING THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT ON THE YWLL, THE LEAGUE IS WEAKENED, EVEN LIQUIDATED OR ALLOWED NOT TO EXIST OR BE BUILT FOR LACK OF ANYONE TO LEAD IT."

sciousness and sensitivity with respect to the League and without seeing the cumulative national effect on the YWLL, the League is weakened, even liquidated or allowed not to exist or be built for lack of anyone to lead it. This in spite of the fact that there are examples of a sizable number of youth saying they want to be League members but there is no local organization to participate in for lack of anyone to pull it together and lead it.

Sometimes comrades in smaller districts say they are not big enough to be able to help build the League and to assign several or even one Party comrade to work with non-Party youth in building the YWLL. These views are also short-sighted and also often reflect some of the views already discussed. Not to build the League is to make more difficult the process of the Party becoming bigger and developing enough cadre for Party leadership. The smaller the district, the more important is the building of the League, if the Party situation is to change.

Where there is a lapse in the League's existence and there is no one readily at hand to build it, the Party needs to examine its ranks—not excluding any one from the examination—for a few comrades who would best be able to help build the YWLL. Sometimes these will not be comrades whose actual life position is that of a youth. But this should not be viewed as a problem or obstacle. In our movement and among youth organizations generally at national and state levels are led by younger people who are no longer youth themselves. This is because with experience comes age. The point is that the Party in the first place must help guarantee an increasing level of experienced, capable, creative cadre in the League leadership. It will be able, committed younger people who understand, or can be convinced, that building the League is one of the most important tasks for the Party and that *they* are in the best position to help. They should have the ability to work with youth. For these Communists working in the YWLL it should not be a burden

but one of the most highly valued and appreciated assignments, one with tremendous self-fulfilling rewards borne from appreciating rapid positive development that is always evident among youth as a result of their and others' effort.

"IN THOSE PLACES WHERE YEAR AFTER YEAR THE PARTY DOES NOTHING TO BUILD THE LEAGUE AND NO LEAGUE EXISTS . . . IT HAS TO BE SAID THAT A SERIOUS POLITICAL MISTAKE IS BEING MADE AND NATIONAL PARTY POLICY VIOLATED."

In those places where year after year the Party does nothing to build the League and no League exists, regardless of the reasons verbalized—which are usually "lack of cadre" — it has to be said that a serious political mistake is being made and national Party policy violated. The Party and whole progressive movement will pay dearly for this in the future. The truth is that we are paying too high a price now in the present.

There are many possible forms of assistance and cooperation between the Party and the League that our accumulated experiences suggest—on club, section, district and national levels—but that is the subject for future articles. Beside ensuring a stable leadership core for the League section and branch organization, the most decisive thing to developing meaningful, correct forms of assistance is a regular systematic form of relationship at the district level. A leading Party member in League leadership on the District Committee or Board is useful but not in itself the answer. One or two district leaders meeting regularly—every 4 to 6 weeks—with a couple of League comrades for the purpose of discussing Party-League collaboration with the stress on how the Party can help the League is required. Then it is not a matter of what the Party wants to ask the League to help with or ad hoc meetings called to tackle a crisis problem; but it is a systematic approach to seeing what are the problems arising out of the League's own development, and therefore how to help. This will open up all other possibilities of help, including at the Party club-League branch level.

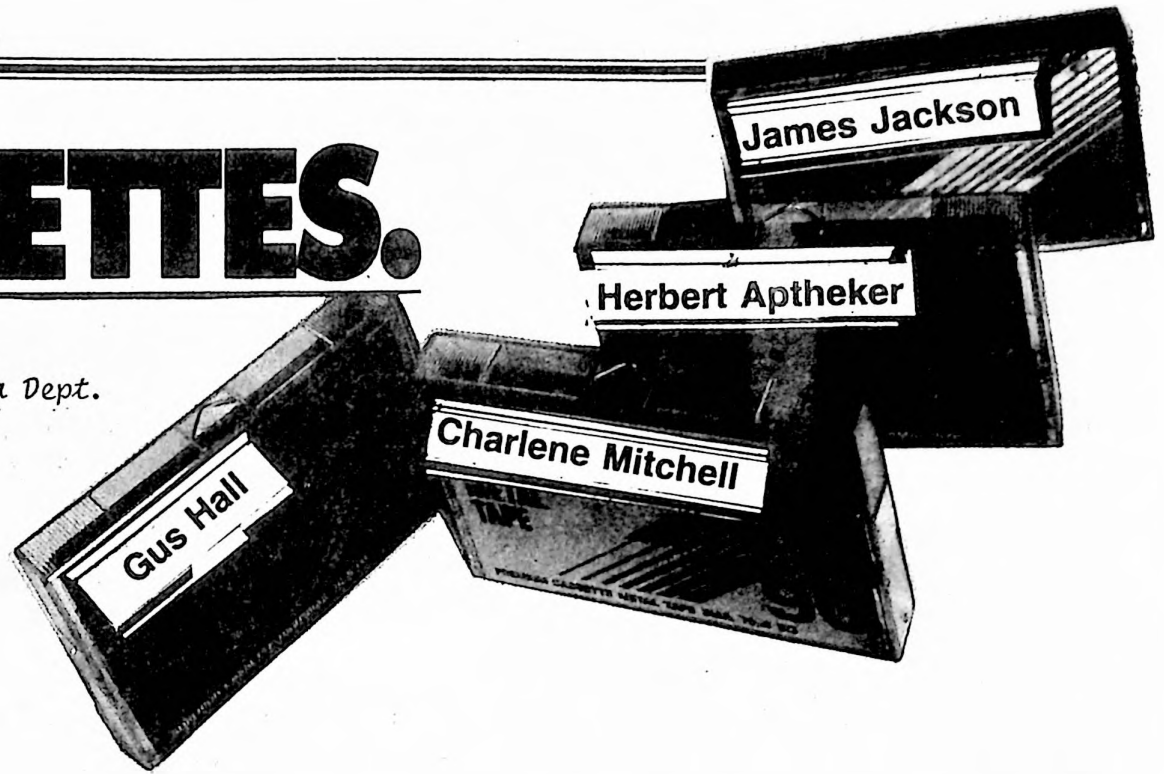
The preparations for the League's 5th Convention offer the Party the opportunity and challenge to look at these questions and make a new turn forward. That is why the Organizing Bureau in implementation of the 22nd Convention policies on this question is calling upon every Party committee, club and body, at the beginning of the new year, to discuss what it can do on the fight for youth's needs and to help the YWLL. They are asked to plan some activity in the next few months in honor of the League's 5th Convention. It may be political, educational, cultural, social, fund-raising; or it may be some combination of these.

We are confident that when the whole Party is approached on its work with respect to youth, it will respond enthusiastically and the process of making a new turn will have begun.

CASSETTES.

By BETTY SMITH

Communications & Media Dept.



From 1976 through 1980, most of our Party's Districts and many Party clubs have made some important gains in the use of audio tapes as an educational aid in the club, and for individual comrades as well as the friends and contacts of many club members.

Our national election campaigns have stimulated this process as the cassettes brought the voices of our candidates to each area, in addition to the printed leaflet or pamphlet.

We have learned from our experiences that short tapes - up to ten or fifteen minutes - can be put on radio programs. Very short taped material can be part of an editorial reply; somewhat longer ones can be placed on talk and public affairs programs, on some community public radio stations, on some college stations, etc.

In addition, many high school and college classes would select one or another of our tapes for regular class or elective use if they were made available locally. A short tape can also supplement a speaking engagement by a District comrade. We also need to place copies of our taped material on the main issues in many community and college libraries. This can best be done locally.

In fact, it is now time to say that every Party club must consider access to a cassette player/recorder as necessary to today's level of political work, to educational work and community outreach as has been access to a typewriter, mimeograph or other duplicator in the past.

And a modest but adequate cassette player is within the financial reach of nearly every club; certainly it is possible for each group of two to four clubs in an area.

Plans are underway to produce more tapes of about fifteen minutes for use at club meetings, as well as more regular material for radio in the one minute to ten minute time range.

Organizing the use of cassette tapes is a difficult challenge to those districts with the most clubs, as well as those with clubs scattered over a wide geographical area. But the solutions will be found as part of improving the overall ties of the District center with its sections and clubs.

Now, 1981 is the time to build on our positive experiences and expand our use of all forms of media. Audio tapes can play an expanded role in the local electoral campaigns of 1981, and it is not too early to give some thought to congressional and state politics in 1982. And audio can assist our Party-building work at all times, not just during election campaigns.

The following is a brief review of the audio tape projects carried out during the 1980 Hall-Davis campaign. Hopefully it will stimulate you to send us additional ideas, and to share additional experiences which we don't know about now.

Major speeches listed on the next page were sent to most Districts on cassettes. The nomination of our candidates (tape 3, side 2) was one tape which was not used to the extent it should have been to build enthusiasm, to involve others in the campaign, etc. The May Day speech (tape 5) was broadcast on community public radio and was very helpful in breaking through in a new state for the Hall-Davis ticket (Arkansas).

We sent cassette or reel tapes of from 60 seconds to 4 1/2 minutes to over 1200 radio stations. A half hour tape was made for a free radio program in Indiana and copies were offered other states where we were campaigning. Campaign activists in a number of states successfully placed the short tapes on their local radio stations in addition to the 1200 that were reached by the national campaign committee. Several cities used radio spots to build attendance at their campaign rallies. A few used a tape played through a loudspeaker on the street to publicize the campaign rallies. A few tapes were made available for street use to lend a popular campaign atmosphere to the petitioning (especially for areas which needed thousands of signatures), but this was a new project and was not widely taken advantage of.

Two of the campaign songs and excerpts from the CUNY Harlem rally speeches were broadcast on a national public radio program, "All Things Considered" (although the broadcast was mysteriously delayed until election day!) The campaign songs were placed on several other stations.

Tapes were also used before the two primary contests - in Vermont and California.

We have heard from a number of Party clubs which did use one or more of the tapes for some kind of a social/educational event to which non-Party activists and contacts were invited. These events can build an important base for fund-raising, and generate requests to hear the tape(s) from an even wider audience.

Here is a list of the cassette tapes available for your club's work at this time. A number of these tapes have been offered by New Outlook Distributors and/or "Political Affairs" to the general public at \$5.00 each postpaid. However, we will send whatever copies you order from this list to you at no charge, provided you order through your District office or organizer (so that the District center will know how many tapes are being ordered and for what areas and purposes). Districts may also add to the club orders - especially for use in classrooms, for libraries, etc., as well as to build a District library of cassette tapes.

For this special project please get all orders in to us by March 15th. Please order by the "Tape Number" in the left-hand column.

<u>Tape Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Speaker(s)</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Approximate Length</u>
1	3-30-79	Gus Hall	Maoism	1 hr. + 25 min. q. & a.
2	8-26-79	Gus Hall Angela Davis James Steele	COBO HALL RALLY	39 min. 22 min. 8 & 1/2 min.
3	11-18-79	Simon Gerson Nominating Speeches for Hall-Davis ticket) and Angela Davis' response)	1980 Electoral Plan	38 min. 32 min.
4	1-24-80	Gus Hall	Afghanistan	40 min. + q. & a.
5	5-3-80	Gus Hall	May Day speech	15 min.
6	1980	Songs tape - by YWLL "Voices" in NYC and the "People Before Profits" song from Calif.		25 min.
7	9-14-80	Gus Hall speech	D.W. picnic, N.Y. mainly on detente	30 min.
8	9-17-80	Gus Hall	On Polish crisis	40 min. + q. & a.
9	10-19-80	Gus Hall Angela Davis	at CUNY Rally in Harlem, NYC	38 min. 27 min.
10	Dec. 1980	Charlene Mitchell James Jackson	Wilmington 10 victory on Polish crisis	20 min. 30 min.
11	1980	Herbert Aptheker	Should Nazis and KKK Be Outlawed?	28 min.
12		Herbert Aptheker	Anti-Sovietism & the Nat'l. Interests of the U.S.	40 min.
13	Nov. 1980	James Jackson	India-USSR and Peace; and on Polish crisis	40 min. q. & a.

THIS PROUD STORY
OF HOWIE'S FIGHT TO
BUILD THE PRESS
IS DEDICATED TO

THE 1981 DAILY WORLD DRIVE

A VERY PRACTICAL DREAM TO BUILD OUR PRESS

By HOWARD
NEW YORK DISTRICT

I stand on the corner, the same corner, almost every day.

I distribute copies of THE DAILY WORLD, both current and back copies, to people who are passing by.

I attract their attention by proudly and clearly putting out one of the many good and attractive headlines in our paper.

I vary the use of a headline with the use of an important political slogan--for example: "STOP THE ARMS RACE! SAVE THE HUMAN RACE!"

Then I approach people with a smile and a "Good morning"--at the same time offering them the paper.

People respond very well. Many of them accept the paper eagerly and warmly. Proof of this is that I give out from 300 to 500 copies every day.

I do not make the price of the paper an issue. I want to emphasize that I give them the paper. In fact I give them two papers--the current issue plus a back issue.

I try to talk with them very briefly about some subject in which they show an interest. Then I say something like the following:

"Would you like to make a contribution? This is a worker's paper. We are not financed--except by people like you."

Some builders of the paper may be surprised to know that people give me

an average of \$20.00 a day on the basis of putting it to them in this simple and straightforward way.

Clearly these people are responding to the politics of the paper, and they are ready to help support it.

Builders and potential builders of the paper should know that doing this over a period of 3 years--4 to 5 hours a day--I have had very little flack, very little harassment. At the same time I have had very many positive experiences, very many expressions of appreciation for making the paper available, many thanks from people who became acquainted with our press because I have been on my corner daily and reaching out to them.

I was inspired by Lenin. He constantly emphasized that the only way we solve the problems of our movement is to go to the people.

When we take our paper to the people, we share with them the political problems of our time, and we involve them in helping to solve these problems.

The people want to be involved. They know they need to help.

They appreciate being asked to help, financially as well as otherwise. That is why they keep giving me their contributions, day in and day out.

I believe this is what Lenin meant when he said, "Get the kopecs from the people."

Every day, as I head for my corner with my papers, I have a repeated dream. In that dream I see a thousand people throughout the country having their corners for the distribution of our press, and for raising money from the voluntary contributions of the people to build that press so that it will reach many more millions.

I would like so much for this dream to come true. It is not a personally selfish dream. It is a dream about how to help the people with all the problems they face in this post-election period.

Actually, this dream of mine could begin to come true if a thousand people around the country went to their particular press corners, gave out their papers and collected contributions--not daily to begin with, but simply once a week.

Think about it. Isn't it really a very practical idea? I think so. I see no reason why others would not find the same friendly, warm response that I found. If so, then the thousand of us would all together raise a quarter of a million dollars for our press in the coming year. And those of us who would be ready to be a part of a special daily press building brigade would add still more to that press fund.

It would be a very important political contribution to our movement. It is very logical, very practical and clearly feasible. So why not do it?

■

political affairs

"Ideas, theories, programs . . ."

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

As the theoretical organ of the CPUSA, and its leading journal of Marxist thought and opinion, *Political Affairs* is *must* reading for anyone who wants to know what U.S. Communists *really* think—and not what somebody else *says* they think.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

235 West 23rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

Continued from page 31:

Discussion followed the reports.

Lunch ran late so we managed to squeeze in a report on Criminal Code Bill 5 1722. We felt that it was important that this be on our agenda, because while we are building a movement, the ruling class is putting its machinery into motion to repress us and the movement. This report was delivered by an outstanding peoples lawyer and a leader in the Milwaukee Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The afternoon session began with a report on the History of World Peace Council. It had been our hope to get someone active in the U.S. Peace Council to attend our conference and make the report. Fortunately for us we were successful. It was a beautiful report.

The rest of the afternoon was spent in a very productive discussion of the local movement: Probing the history and present potential of the already existing organizations; Evaluating our own past and present work on this front; Projecting what possible new and old forms would be most effective for the struggle ahead.

IF A LIST COULD SUMMARIZE THE KEY ELEMENTS GOING INTO "HOW WE DID IT", THAT LIST WOULD BE:

- * WE GAVE OURSELVES 2 MONTHS ADVANCE PREPARATION.
- * WE GAVE THE CLUBS PROPOSED AGENDAS, TO ALLOW PRIOR DISCUSSION.
- * WE TALKED THE CONFERENCE UP AT ALL SOCIAL GATHERINGS.
- * WE PREPARED STUDIOUSLY FOR OUR REPORTS.
- * WE DISCUSSED THE CONFERENCE AT ALL LEVELS OF ORGANIZATION. THE COMMISSION MET SEVERAL TIMES TO GO OVER THE REPORTS AND FINALIZE PLANS FOR THE CONFERENCE.
- * WE HAD FUN DOING IT!

A TREMENDOUS SUCCESS !!!

THE WISCONSIN DISTRICT

ORGANIZES A SPECIAL

PARTY CONFERENCE

ON THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

By THE PEACE COMMISSION
Wisconsin District

RECENTLY A CONFERENCE ON PEACE WAS ORGANIZED BY THE NEWLY FORMED PEACE COMMISSION OF THE WISCONSIN COMMUNIST PARTY.

AT ITS VERY FIRST MEETING COMMISSION MEMBERS FELT THAT THERE WERE A NUMBER OF BURNING ISSUES THAT OUR ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP HAD TO BE CLEAR ON. IT WAS DECIDED THAT WE WOULD HOLD A ONE DAY CONFERENCE, AND THAT WE WOULD TRY TO MAKE THE MOST PROGRESS POSSIBLE IN THAT DAY.

Registration began at 9:30 A.M.. Coffee and donuts were served during the registration. The conference began by declaring that our party is the party of peace and we have a tremendous legacy to carry forward.

The morning session included a main political report, to deal with issues internationally, nationally and locally. This report had the benefit of a tremendous amount of concrete work, particularly as it related to the Anti-Draft Movement. The founding conference of the U.S. Peace Council was also attended by the comrade giving the report.

We arranged to have a report on SALT II--its history, its meaning, and where it stands today. Gus Hall says that this is the number one task for our party. Our top Hall-Davis petitioner and Daily World subscription getter gave this report.

Finally for the morning session we wanted to have a report on Anti-Sovietism. Certainly if our comrades are to fight effectively for peace we have to understand Anti-Sovietism as an enemy ideology, and the biggest road block to world peace. This task was undertaken by a comrade from the "Peoples Progressive Party" days of the 40's, the Stockholm Peace Appeal of the 50's, and the anti-war and civil rights movement of the 60's to the present.

--- Continued on page 30.

A LETTER

NOVEMBER 17, 1980

TO : ALL SHOP AND INDUSTRIAL CLUBS
ALL INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION COMMUNITY CLUBS
FROM: THE NATIONAL LABOR AND FARM DEPARTMENT
RE : COMRADE GUS HALL'S NEW BOOK, "BASICS"

Dear Comrades,

This is not a review of Comrade Hall's important and exciting book. It is a suggestion on how every comrade and Club involved in Industrial concentration can help guarantee that it gets into the hands of rank and file workers and trade union officers.

Here is one concrete example we are sure you will find helpful. We would like to hear from you on other ideas and experiences.

The Executive of the New York District's Maritime Club met to discuss the agenda for the next Club meeting. How to get copies of Basics to as many working and retired seamen and other maritime workers was thoroughly discussed. By carefully going through the club membership comrade by comrade, the Executive estimated that 20 books was a feasible figure.

Club literature director Comrade Art Shields brought 20 copies of Basics to the next club meeting. After a discussion on the importance of the book to maritime concentration, all 20 books were distributed, with each comrade taking a minimum of two copies. It turned out that 20 copies were not enough. Also several club members were absent due to work schedules. So the final figure for this one Club will go well beyond the original goal of 20.

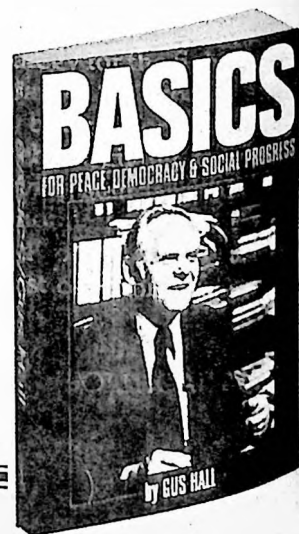
In conclusion we would like to close with this quote from the Bible:

"GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE!"

Comradely yours,

George Meyers and Roscoe Proctor, for

THE NATIONAL LABOR AND FARM DEPARTMENT, C.P.U.S.A.



A Tool for Basic Changes!