

PARTY AFFAIRS

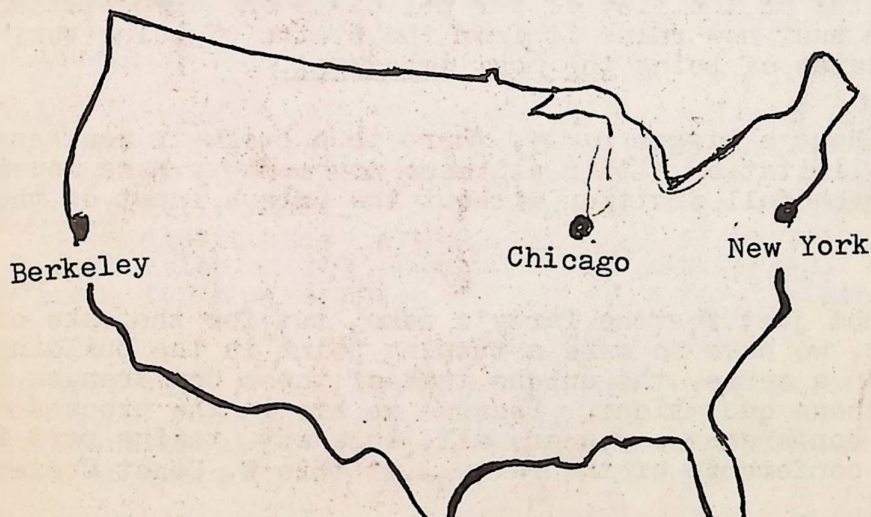
A PUBLICATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
23 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

VOL. 10 No. 1



FEBRUARY 1976

SPECIAL ISSUE — THE REGIONAL PARTY AND PRESS BUILDING CONFERENCES!



**“It Is Difficult To Describe
The Enthusiasm And
Determination Of These Conferences”**

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**A QUALITATIVE TURN NOW
WILL BUILD OUR PARTY
AND PRESS!**

- GUS HALL, GENERAL SECY.

I just want to quote to you a few paragraphs from the main report adopted at our 21st Convention:

"We have to organize the work of the Party in terms of a qualitative turning point."

"It is an absolute necessity that we now give Party building a new status on the list of our political and organizational priorities. We must now raise it from the status of being very important to the status of being the most important."

"Without a bigger party, there is a built-in weakness, a built-in limitation within all mass movements...Mass movements cannot reach full fruition without the unique input of the Communist Party."

So not just for the Party's sake, but for the sake of the mass movements, we have to make a turning point in the building of the Party. In a sense, the unique task of these Conferences is to fulfill those quotations. Because we are in the process of three regional conferences, you are all, in a way, taking part in a national conference of the Party...at this W. Coast Conference.

It is difficult to describe the enthusiasm and determination that were demonstrated at the East Coast and the Midwest conferences. They were positive, but also self-critical. There is really no contradiction between being positive, but also self-critical. Because the 21st Convention was some six months ago, we cannot view this period as one in which we should be just beginning to carry out decisions of the 21st Convention. That's a luxury we don't have because we should have been working for six months to fulfill the Convention mandate.

Therefore, in the spirit of Communist self-criticism, we must ask ourselves some questions:

- 1) Six months after our Convention, have we placed the press and Party building at the top of our priorities?
- 2) Has press and Party building become the most important task, not just an important task?
- 3) Has there been a qualitative turning point in our work?

In a self-critical, Communist sense we must respond to such questions. We must do so as individuals and as a collective.

Speaking for the national leadership of our Party, I must say that we are not satisfied with our work. We are not satisfied that we have come to a qualitative turning point. Needless to say, much good work has been done, but that in itself does not make a qualitative turning point. We have routinely improved the work of the Party and our own work, but not qualitatively.

If that has been the case generally, we must ask in the spirit of Communist self-criticism, "Why is it that we have not qualitatively changed the level of our work?" We cannot afford the luxury of not asking that question. And you know, self-criticism always has an element of embarrassment in it.

Why did we enthusiastically pass a resolution to make a qualitative change, but carry it out routinely? That is not a Communist style of work, and I imagine we will find some comrades who have not carried it out at all. Therefore, we should collectively try to find an answer to this collective weakness.

It was correct for the comrades in the national office to designate these conferences as Party and Press Building conferences because they are different sides of one question. They can both be carried out simultaneously; one cannot be done without doing the other. It is also correct because the lack of Party or Press building is a reflection of the same political weaknesses. Therefore we have to probe for one weakness and not look for two kinds of weakness.

I'm sure that in the discussion, comrades will tell us about some good work. Examples of good work are also a part of self-criticism, and should be part of the discussion because they will give ideas to comrades who haven't done as well.

Let's take briefly a hypothetical situation. If we are convinced that workers and people generally are angry and frustrated, that they feel militant about problems in the shops and communities, and if we are convinced that they are willing to read and listen to more basic explanations and solutions, that they're tired of fakery and demagogy, and if we are convinced that our press presents a viewpoint that is correct and convincing - is it not a fact that we would find ways of distributing our press in much larger quantities?

IF THAT IS THE CASE -- that's why I said it was hypothetical.

Therefore, is it not reasonable to assume that somewhere along the line we are NOT so convinced, and that this begins to go to the root of the basic weakness?

Are we convinced that Marxism-Leninism has the explanations and answers the workers and people are looking for?

There is plenty of evidence that the analysis at the Convention was correct about the objective situation. I am not going to give

a rounded-out political report, but I do want to give some examples that our assessment of this moment is correct, and upon which we must reflect.

I am sure many of you follow the opinion polls. We have to follow them very carefully because many of the questions are loaded in a certain direction and don't fully measure the thinking of the people. I thought the NBC-TV Poll which was conducted at the end of the year was more interesting and extensive than is usual. And there are some results that are tremendously important. For instance, 51% said "NO" to military intervention under any circumstance except in case of military aggression against the U.S. itself. To the question, "Should the U.S. military intervene if Mexico were attacked?" - only 20-30% agreed with U.S. military action. On whether to act if England or Israel were attacked, only 14% said "YES" and 86% said "NO, under no circumstances." 51% were against military help even to Canada. In other words, the majority will not support an imperialist adventure. That's the essence of that poll.

Further, 60% had no confidence in government on any level, and 42% were convinced that the government serves big business only. I think these are important evidence of new patterns of thought. Now what sustains the concept of the majority of our people against settling any problem by military means? What sustains it is a growing sense of anti-imperialism. These are people who want to deal with foreign policy questions on a new level.

And we have to ask: where will they find this level, except in our press? Where will the 60% who do not trust any level of government find explanations of state problems on their new level? Where else will the 42% who are convinced that government serves big business find the solution, except in our press? This is a growing anti-monopoly concept. It is distrust of state monopoly capitalism. Where can they read about politics and economics on that level? There is only one answer - in our press and literature. I emphasize this because what we have to see is the new scope of the political and ideological marketplace for our press, and we have to change our own attitudes about where and how we can sell our press and literature.

In the struggle against racism, there are developments in two directions, not just in one. There is a sharpening of the attack, as in Boston, but there is also proof there is a continuing breaking down of racist attitudes in the U.S., and every once in a while that comes through in specific struggles. Where will this question be discussed and explained, including on this new level, if workers don't get our press and literature? Or, on the question of seniority and racism in the shops - this is a very difficult question, but it opens up possibilities to explain the meaning of racism to workers, and again, who else is going to use this moment to explain to white workers if not our press?

We must work to convince workers why they should read our papers. We have to argue this point in special leaflets and pamphlets.

Without question, the policy of class collaboration is on the defensive now. Meany's remarks at the San Francisco convention indicates this defensiveness. Meany talked about the economic situation, and he said, "Does it have to be this way?" And then he added a question we should never let him or anyone else forget, "Are the Communists right?"

And we should tell him, "Yes, George, the Communists are and have been right!" There is no question but that the policy of class struggle trade unionism is a rising current in the ranks of workers. But again, where will workers read this analysis, where will they follow the rise of class struggle and the decline of class collaboration, except in our press? We are just cutting off these workers by not getting our press to them!

I don't have the exact quote with me, but Lenin spoke about the process of radicalization of workers, and he said that the process of radicalization among workers takes place so quietly and is so unseen, that very often professionals and intellectuals therefore conclude that the process wasn't taking place at all.

But the process of radicalization isn't automatic. Who will keep it going? Who will help workers avoid the pitfalls of social democracy, Trotskyism, Maoism or even the ultra-right? Radicalization isn't an automatically "leftward" process - it can be misled. What force will keep it moving in the right direction, if not our Party and its press?

If we were convinced that we could eliminate class collaboration as a main trend, would we not do more to build our press and Party?

If we were convinced that we can be a decisive factor in building political independence, would we not do more?

If we were convinced we can now successfully expose anti-Communism and anti-socialism, would we not do more?

If we were convinced that we can now convince workers about socialism, if we were convinced that we can change the political scene in the U.S., would we not do more with our press?

Are we really convinced that we can change patterns of thought? Actually change mass patterns of thought, not in general, but in the U.S., in a specific place and city and shop or neighborhood? All too often, comrades think in terms of "That is a good idea generally, but not in MY shop or community."

If we were convinced we could be a decisive factor in burning out racism, we would do more with the circulation of the DAILY WORLD and the PEOPLES WORLD. We have to ask ourselves if we are really convinced, or do we still have a different estimate of workers?

Conviction leads to action. Lack of conviction leads to inaction. Halfway conviction to routinism.

Where are we on these convictions? Part-way, or not at all?

How do we see our role as a Communist Party and as Communists? Who in the U.S. will present and argue consistently for a working class viewpoint? Frankly, it is only our Party.

A qualitative shift is more than to do better, or to improve. It is a totally new degree. It means a new political life-style, which was not fully understood at our Convention. And new-style priorities and values must start with leading comrades.

What is the attitude of leadership to our press circulation? The responsibility for the press is "farmed out" - that's the general attitude of leadership! One or two comrades get the press assignment, and the rest of the Party does little or nothing about the press.

Who are considered the "good comrades" in press circulation? Those who do not bother the leadership, that's who. They are busy, you know, doing the "important" things, while the press is farmed out. And it IS farmed out, on every level; by the Political Bureau, farmed out by the district leadership, and also farmed out in the clubs. Therefore, the whole responsibility is farmed out.

The necessary qualitative shift means that the Party leadership works on a continuing basis with the press circulation.

How would you describe a Party club that works in a shop or community that does not even have a list of subs to our press in that shop or community? Or where workers or neighbors have shown interest enough to get a trial sub, and it expires, and no one visits them. Is the paper to sell itself? No paper does, entirely. Look at the amount of bourgeois advertising to get readers for their papers.

We need a larger circulation staff for our press. In many places, volunteer retired workers could organize this, around a meeting hall or center, with a place for coffee and refreshments, to compare notes, talk, and, for recognition of the important work they are doing. But it has to be organized, and leadership must help with it.

There will be a special report on it, but I can't help mentioning that we are finally going to have a Spanish edition; it will most likely start as 4 pages, which can circulate on its own, or as a 2nd insert into the DW and PW, or even as the wrap-around.

Comrades, 1976 is a special year. It is a presidential election year when masses are politically alert and receptive; it is the Bicentennial year, and no matter how the ruling class tries, they cannot hide the main essence of two hundred years of our history - the class struggle, the struggle against racism, and the struggle against imperialism. That's what will emerge! It is another reason for rapidly building the circulation of our press.

We must see these Conferences as the beginning of a permanent new political life-style for our Party! That is the meaning of a "qualitative turn."

KEYNOTE: East Coast Conference -



*Build The Daily World and
The Peoples World, Indispensable
Organs To Build The Party and
The Mass Anti-Monopoly
Movement!*

- HENRY WINSTON
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

The thousands of men and women who constitute our Party fight day-in, day-out for Marxism-Leninism, the scientific basis of our Party. I therefore wish in the name of the Political Bureau of our Party, since this is the first time we've met together this year, to express our warmest revolutionary greetings. This is a bicentennial year--200 years since the founding of our nation. Lenin said, and correctly so, that the American Revolution was one of the great really liberating developments in history in that the people of the U.S. were the first to throw off the yoke of colonialism and create new conditions for the further struggle for democracy, against race and national oppression, against exploitation itself. This was a step forward not only for our people but for the peoples of the entire world.

Today however, this is not the infancy of capitalism. This is not the period in which mercantile capitalism moved and developed to the stage of industrial capitalism--imperialism. This is the stage in which capitalism has reached its highest development, has long since outlived its usefulness, and is in a period of decay. There's nothing, absolutely nothing that can prevent the demise of this system of exploitation, national oppression and racial oppression and the bringing into being in our country, as throughout the world, Socialism. It is precisely this that brings us together today to discuss the very essence of our Party; that is, building the Daily World as the indispensable organ to help shape events, and shape the thinking and action of the masses in a way which will develop a growing anti-monopoly consciousness in the struggle for democracy, the building of the rank and file movement among the basic strata of our class to guarantee further independent development of the working class. Only on this basis can the fight for socialism be developed and enhanced within our country.

The Daily World is the very embodiment of the Marxist idea that the task before us is not only to describe the world, not only to record events, but to change things within our country. We have to conclude that we're working in a period of swiftly changing events, in which events which yesterday took months or years, can now happen in a week, to be sure, even overnight. The Daily World

and the People's World alone among organs within this country can help masses to understand wherein lie the interests of the class, the people and the true national interests of the country. These organs bring light into the tunnel, do not wait to reach the tunnel's end. They prepare masses, organizing them in struggle to achieve aims which our mothers and fathers and before them, their mothers and fathers, dreamed about. It is for this reason that the Politburo of our Party has declared that the building of the party press is not just one more task nor it is something which in any sense can be regarded as separate and apart from the building of the Party itself. The building of the press creates a force which at one and the same time helps build the mass movement, but in the first place, the rank and file movements, and by that same process helps to build the organizational strength of the Party itself. All this in turn spreads the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to wider and wider masses. The Daily World must become that organ which leads toward and will help to bring about that greater class independence which will actively challenge the bankruptcy of the twin parties of capitalism.

Comrade Gus Hall is not personally with us today, but he helped prepare this conference on the basis of the established positions of our 21st National Convention. At that time he said in his Report:

"Without a bigger Party there is a built-in weakness, a built-in limitation within all mass movements. It is a hard fact of political reality--the potential of any mass movement cannot reach full fruition without the unique input of the Communist Party. Without this input, movements will flounder in the fog of reformist illusions, they will flay away, without aim or targets...."

"During this last year we have greatly increased the circulation of the Daily World and People's World. But they are not yet instruments of mass education, agitation and propaganda. To fill the vacuum, their circulation should reach into the hundreds of thousands. That is a new concept, in keeping with the mass upsurge in the thinking of millions...."

Comrades, Comrade Hall correctly understands the role of our press, as organs of mass education and mass propaganda. He understands fully that this is an historic period in which millions are in motion; that never before in our country have we seen a majority, an overwhelming majority, of our people questioning anything that is connected with the executive branch, the legislative branch, the judicial branch of government, and any and all agencies controlled by the bourgeoisie but charged with the responsibility of acting for the masses. This is something new in our land.

What else is new is the tremendous movement among the working class as expressed in the overthrow of the Abel machine in District 31, a machine which existed for more than a quarter of a century with its corruption, gangsterism, stoolpigeonery, and anti-working class policies against more than 100,000 workers. A similar development is taking place in District 38 and local after

local. There is seething discontent with the class collaborationist policies of Abel and company. Or if we take the miners, from the simple issue of black lung, a mass movement developed which became all-pervasive and led to victory in the leadership of the UMW. The Daily World and the People's World can be proud of their historic record in helping to found CIO uniting the left with the center to maintain a class struggle policy. And in the pursuance of the class struggle when McCarthyism was being unleashed upon the land by state-monopoly-capitalism our press persistently fought with clarity and courage so that today we are living in a situation where the opportunities for new advances are growing daily. And so today, when the election campaign of the two parties of capitalism show such bankruptcy and their policies are based upon the degeneracy of a dying system, when there is an urgent need for something new that will show the way out to the millions...will the New York Times play that role, will the New York Post play that role? What bourgeois paper will? It is the Daily World, the People's World which have been assigned by history to perform this great task. And that is why we as Communists are here together--that is why Carl Winter, editor of the Daily World is here with us. Mike Zagarell is not here because he is with Gus Hall at a similar conference in Illinois. The following week there will be another conference, dealing with the People's World. Together we have the task of building our press into an instrument which can help the working class become an organized mass power forging the fight for an anti-monopoly movement and an anti-monopoly government.

The Communist Party too will field a presidential and vice-presidential candidate. The Communist Party will fight and undoubtedly will succeed in getting on the ballot against all odds in 34 states. The Communist Party will also reach millions, talk to millions getting their signatures to guarantee that our Party is on the ballot. It is possible to bring to the millions the fact that our paper exists, that this is the paper that they have been searching for which will help them to find answers to their most pressing problems. The election campaign this year will be the basis for discussing all of the problems of the people, and our candidates, together with every single activist of the Party, will help to explain and clarify those issues. Therefore the Politburo is saying that the building of the Daily World is not just a task, but is the task before the Party. Everything depends upon building the Daily World. Building the Daily World is key to every mass undertaking, to recruiting into the Party itself. That is why the Party projects a 4-year plan taking 1976 as a point of departure, for 2,000 new recruits into the Party, for \$225,000 Daily World fund drive, for the building of 76 shop clubs and shop papers, for the mass expansion of community organization, of the campus and professions. Above all, all-out support to build the independent organization among the youth, the YWLL into a powerful mass organization to rally the youth to the anti-monopoly struggle, to the struggle for socialism.

What then are we saying? We're saying that every single member of the Central Committee must be, by example, not only a recruiter but a fighter for subscriptions to the Daily World, an example in regard to the fund drive, must set an example within the club, to help build that club, etc. These are the

projections which are put before you because they are a reflection of the possibilities before us at the present time.

What we now are witnessing is the unprecedented merger by imperialism of a campaign of anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, of racism. This is expressed in the lie about troops from the Soviet Union being landed in Africa. It is expressed in the support given to Vorster, to Smith, apartheid fascists, forces whose design is to maintain colonialism.

In respect to Angola, the Daily World has done a magnificent job, outstanding in every way, in terms of analysis of the events in Southern Africa, in general, and Angola, in particular.

But the news from Angola is good news, showing a forward advance of the revolutionary forces within the country in defending the national independence won through blood in that country and led by MPLA.

What is it that Moynihan, Kissinger and Ford are so worried about? In the New York Times, quite unlike the Daily World and the People's World, buried away inside was an item which indicated that the Soviet Union was giving billions, building some 40 industrial plants in Vietnam in the fight for reconstruction of that country. The Soviet Union has always, and always will, give full support to all movements fighting for national independence, fighting imperialism. The Soviet Union will under all circumstances, give the fullest support to the liberation, as is expressed in MPLA.

Therefore, Comrades we have a special responsibility within this country in relation to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Daily World and People's World are fulfilling this task very well. It must be broadened, it must be intensified.

We have a six point program in which South Africa should be isolated from the civilized nations of the world by application of sanctions.

One: No economic, political or military relations whatsoever with the Vorster regime in the Republic of South Africa.

Two: Congress shall tax and the Treasury shall collect taxes on all profits made in South Africa at maximum rates without deductions for local taxes paid.

Three: The Overseas Private Investment Corporation shall refuse to insure any new investments in South Africa and cancel all outstanding insurance on investments in the Republic of South Africa.

Four: The President shall instruct the Export-Import Bank and all other U.S. credit agencies to refuse all credits for business with the Republic of South Africa and instruct U.S. representatives of International lending agencies to oppose all credits to the Republic of South Africa or companies operating therein.

Five: The State Department should denounce all existing investment, trade

and commercial treaties with the Republic of South Africa and the President shall remove most favored nation treatment from South African goods.

Sixth: The immediate withdrawal of the sugar quota from the Republic of South Africa.

As you can see--to quarantine the regime of Vorster is possible only on this basis.

This is a mass event and the defense of the legally established government in Angola should become the duty of everyone. It should become the basis of actions of our entire Party to bring the clarity to millions which is being expressed in our papers, the Daily World and the People's World.

Comrades, some six million workers are covered by contracts which will come up for negotiations in 1976. This includes some of the biggest industries within the country and when we talk about six million workers we're talking about 25 million folks directly. This is a mighty force. Our Party is on the eve of very sharp class struggles at a time when the top circles of state monopoly capital are talking about labor compromise, austerity, that we're going through "hard times" and how it is impossible to carry on at one and the same time a military budget and wage increases.

We have to provide answers to the questions now agitating the working class. That means that the Daily World must get into the shops, must be at the shopgates, must be in working-class communities, that the Daily World must reach workers who will be found at 11 o'clock services on Sunday morning, who will be found in civic and fraternal organizations, whose children will be in high school and on the campuses.

The president of General Motors recently spoke to the Economic Club in New York City. He argued for intensifying the speedup of the working class in the name of increased productivity. He argued that "fringe benefits" is a misnomer because fringe benefits cover such things as life insurance, paid vacations, holidays, unemployment compensation, pensions and that these fringe benefits come to 50% of the wages of the workers. He said that the working class will be demanding more pay and the shorter workday. And he appealed to the top sector of monopoly to beware of labor's demands during these negotiations. He took GM as a point of departure. And he cried that last year they made only one billion dollars in profit. He boasted that the auto workers have the highest pay in the country and concluded that for the rest of the work force to equal them would require a wage increase of something like \$7,000 a year. What an admission! He is in effect exposing monopoly as the exploiter, as the oppressor of Black and other minorities within the country. This is imperialism in decay. Contrast this with the great Soviet Union--free education, free medical care, child care, special concern for workers doing hard work, for women, the all-round improvement of the life of the people and a constant increase in real wages. The new 5 Year Plan will bring about leaps in Communist construction within the Soviet Union. What a contrast! This is what is meant by the
(concluded on p. 16) -

The Fight To Unite Politics And Organization, For A Communist Style Of Press And Party Building!

REPORT TO EAST COAST AND MIDWEST CONFERENCES

ARNOLD BECCHETTI, NAT'L ORGANIZATION SECRETARY
BETTY SMITH, NAT'L ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

The work of these Conferences and the fight to fulfill the decisions from them is at the center of the struggle for the practical implementation of the line of the 21st Convention and our Four Year Plan of Work. It is part and parcel of the struggle to more fully unite politics and organization, to develop a Communist style of mass work.

The center of focus is the working class, especially basic workers--steel, auto, coal, electrical and longshore. They are the focus of the proposed increases in Press bundles for plant gates. They must also be the core of the fight for an 85% renewal rate, and of the drive for 3,000 new subs to the Daily World, and similar goals for the People's World. When we speak of community press routes, we mean first of all basic working class communities. With this approach, we can speak of the emphasis on recruiting shop workers. Based on this work, we can project building shop clubs and shop papers in 1976 and during the Plan. Our goal is 76 shop clubs and shop papers this year.

What we are projecting here is not only a sharper focus on the working class, but a drive to reshape our style of work by placing at its heart the building of our press. That is basic to bringing the unity of Party work and mass work to a higher level.

It is up to leadership at all levels, Central Committee, National Council, districts and clubs, to give the lead in this struggle. That means not only speaking for and explaining the drive for building the press and the Party, it means practical work to do so--i.e., it means leadership by example. Just as we asked every Central Committee member to give practical leadership in the distribution of the Report to the 21st Convention by pledging to personally circulate 50 copies, which we will check on soon, so leading comrades will be asked to lead in this drive by giving their attention and time to realizing the goals before us.

It is impossible to do Communist mass work, to fight for the implementation of the 21st Convention decisions and the plan of work, without instruments. First and foremost among these is our press.

We must re-establish in practice the basic Marxist-Leninist concept, reflected in our Party's Constitution, that every Communist has a duty to circulate the press, that this is fundamental to fighting for the policies of our Party. Our press is the daily mass instrument for influencing and winning masses.

Building the Party is influencing and winning masses to the understanding of the Party and its line. Recruiting to the Party is seriously crippled without building the circulation of our Press. It is like trying to win a foot race with both feet tied in a sack! Building the press, now, is the measure of our seriousness about fighting for the line of our Party.



If we do not convince the basic workers, the youth, the nationally oppressed to read our press, to discuss it and use it, how will we convince them to join our Party? And can we convince others to read and use our press, if we don't do so adequately ourselves? Many members of our Party do not yet regularly read and use our press, or write to it about their struggles and concerns. Our press is a foremost campaigner on the mass issues, for our Marxist-Leninist outlook, and we must establish a style of work in which every Communist feels the need to use our press in all activities.

The fight for the circulation of the press by the whole Party, by each collective and each individual comrade, is the fight against a stubborn remaining tendency to accommodate to pressures and problems, to liquidate the role of the Party among masses.

The press circulation and fund drives must be seen as a whole, but also must be broken down for each Party unit and the relationship of each comrade to the overall work. This requires leadership by example at every level in our Party. It also requires an apparatus at every level, assignments at every level, plans at every level, checkup and control at every level.

Checkup is an active process. It is not just registering, or tallying what we have done or not done. Checkup is a lever for Communist work. One of the active elements in checkup is time--to know what is happening in time to be able to respond adequately to problems and obstacles, and to the new possibilities our experiences reveal. Timely checkup and active follow-through must become part of the fight for a Communist style of work, part of the fight to fulfill the press-building drive.

The regular communication between each level which flows from active, timely checkup will also help us work more consistently, to sustain enthusiasm.

We are out to build the kind of distribution, sales and renewal apparatus for our press that also becomes a major apparatus of the Party for mobilizing a mass response to critical issues and high points of struggle. Building broader forms of Party and non-Party committees--readers' clubs, press forums and "Friends of the Daily World" everywhere we can (but guaranteeing some forms in every district), will also develop new cadre, new people to pitch into the fight to build our press.

The fight for 85% renewals is a fight for stable circulation. Our low rate at this time, about 50% or less, reflects the fact we rely on spontaneity for renewals. And relying on spontaneity is one of the habits we've got to kick. Every reader of our press who renews for a 6-month or longer sub is a potential recruit for our Party. Visiting a new reader helps us to learn what that reader likes about our press, what questions and problems are on the reader's mind. But if we do not visit new readers in time, we miss out. After the sub has lapsed, if the reader has had no involvement in activities or not even a visit from a press activist, it is often too late to get the renewal. And especially these days, that \$4 or \$8 or \$20 was spent elsewhere. It is clear we can't make a serious effort to build press circulation unless we make an organized, determined effort to keep the present readers.

Every club, if it is to raise the level of its work, should get a paid bundle for use in the work of the club. Some Party clubs already get bundles. All too often, that has been the end of it, but comrades, that is just the beginning. Those bundles can become neighborhood routes, can go to a union hall in the club's neighborhood; can be taken by members to their own union meetings, rank-and-file groups, mass organization; can be sold on the local shopping corner; specific issues can be mailed to activists involved with community issues, defense cases, asking for a sub. They can be used at classes and forums, or for a breakthrough at a local newsstand or bookstore. But they must be used in an organized way, with collective responsibility for the results.

We want to recruit the best and most active people from the mass movements to our Party, but can we do so without our press and our literature? Not really. We cannot hope to build the Party and its influence in the most effective way without using our paper in our mass work. Every Communist must strive to win one, two, three or more of the best and most effective people in the mass organizations in which they work--in the shops and trade unions, the fight against unemployment and inflation, in housing struggles, etc. To recruit requires not only personal relationship and discussion, but also instruments. The struggle for such people requires that they regularly read the Daily World. That struggle is a fight both to build the Party, to recruit, and to increase the influence of the Party in the mass movements; to build a Party able to lead masses in creating the anti-monopoly coalition, thus opening the road to Socialism. That is why we cannot separate Party building from press building or press building from mass work.

Last year we had the most successful Daily World fund drive in several years, and for most districts, the shortest. Even more emphasis is placed this year on finishing the fund drive by May 15th, and then raising an extra 10% after that to help pay for the shogate bundles. As Comrade Hall says in this week's "Basics," our press "Get's under the boss' skin." However, we know that it doesn't get into the boss' wallet or bank account, and therefore the readers of our press, and comrades in the first place, must organize to guarantee the fund drive goals. There are no sugar daddies for our press. They don't want the truth to get out, and so they won't pay for our papers. We must go to the readers, to the workers, and explain the need for funds and get contributions. We must organize all sorts of activities to involve new readers and potential readers in fund raising. Of course, we will succeed only on the basis of convincing people of their need for our press, on the basis of waging a political and ideological struggle for our press, and our Party's policies.

One other aspect of funds has a bearing also on the fight for circulation. Lenin made the point that the number of workers who contributed to Iskra was very important, not just the total funds raised per week or month. He asked how many workers gave a kopek every payday? How many contributed in all? We are not yet at the level of keeping an overall count, even for one district, but it might be a helpful project if some clubs, or a group of clubs in an area or section made some effort to determine the number of contributions, and to measure the growing numbers during this drive and in succeeding months. A greater consciousness of the number of contributions helps us to develop activities that reach out and keep reaching out beyond our usual circles.

The Daily World circulation goals seem very large--five times more subs than we achieved last year, plus the new efforts to use regular bundles and fight for renewals. But we are a Party that has sold or distributed directly through our district organizations, 56,000 copies of the 21st Convention report The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back, by Gus Hall. If we can get out 56,000 books in about 3-1/2 months, something new is happening! Surely we can find 3,000 new regular Daily World subscribers in 1976, and commensurate increases in bundles. But it will take an effort similar in spirit and style to that around the book--we need a DRIVE atmosphere! Right now, during the fund drive, is a sub drive period also. Another peak level is possible in many states during the election campaign petition drive when we are talking to tens of thousands of people. And a third intensive period is the four to six weeks just before the November election. That is, a drive should not be a permanent, year-round activity. But the proper drive spirit at key intervals can bring about permanent changes in our level of work.

Our shop gate distributions have often floundered after a few months because the distributors did not feel they were getting a response, particularly if there were no personal contacts within the shop. This will still be a problem, but the level of rank and file militancy and ferment is up considerably. Also, we must find better ways to reach workers through leaflets distributed with our press which develop into shop papers, special material on that shop or industry, such

as the special steel issue, coal issue, etc. We must also explore and work for every possible avenue of follow-up to develop closer relations. We must be alert to contacts with basic workers on neighborhood routes, and in mass struggles for jobs, against the high cost of living, against racism, and so on. We must use every opportunity to show workers that the Daily World is the only daily paper in the country written from their point of view, fighting for their interests, both in immediate struggles and for the long haul.

The second largest language group in the U.S. is that of the Spanish-speaking peoples, over 15 million in our country, overwhelmingly workers. The coming Spanish edition, to begin with a four-page paper that will also be part of our weekly press editions but can be used separately as well, is enthusiastically welcome and is long overdue. We need to make concrete preparations for its circulation. There should be special public activities to welcome this addition to our press, special mobilizations and planning for its introduction to Chicano, Puerto Rican and other Latino working class neighborhoods, and to build readers' clubs around it.

The proposals before you for the Daily World Drive have been worked out jointly by the Party leadership and the Daily World. Your discussion should include any amendments to these proposals, as we will vote on them before the Conference adjourns. (See page 66 for the proposals adopted.)

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HENRY WINSTON - Cont'd from page 11 -

balance of forces. There is no paper other than the Daily World and the People's World which will explain these facts to the masses, who must understand socialism, who must understand developments in socialist countries in general and the Soviet Union in particular. But they also must understand the class betrayal of socialism by the Maoists, by Right-wing Social Democracy, as a condition for the development of the anti-monopoly movement within the country.

Therefore, comrades, we are calling upon the entire Party, every club--the basic organ of our Party--every individual in our clubs, every sympathizer of the Party, friends of the Party, to help fulfill and over-fulfill the goal for the drives. If we fight for this, we will be surprised at the receptivity and the response of the masses. If we succeed we will be on the road to becoming a mass party, a mass power!

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*Doubling the Circulation
of the Peoples World
and Building Our Party
Are Inseparable Tasks!*

By Kendra Alexander
Org. Sec'y of Northern California

Comrades, I would like to once again welcome everyone to Northern California and add my voice to wishing all of us great success in our deliberations this weekend. Let me say here that one of the really remarkable things about our Party is the fact that we know that the line and policy that we speak of everyday here in California is being talked about in New York, in Chicago and so forth. We have a common line, a common ideology, so therefore we know that what we say as Communists is said by other Communists all over the country.

I do want to mention one area of coverage which I think is illustrative of the unity between our press and the growth of the influence of our Party. The coverage of the Angolan people's struggle against neo-colonial and imperialist domination has been outstanding in the People's World. It was our press -- the PW -- weeks ago, which exposed the support from China, South Africa and the U.S. for the anti-democratic FNLA and UNITA forces. It was our press which exposed the lies that the struggle in Angola was a civil war between warring factions. It was and is our press' policy to warn of the danger of another Vietnam in Africa. We can be proud of our coverage of these events. Two of the West Coast districts took advantage of this excellent coverage and organized open Communist Party forums on the struggle in Portugal and Angola. Consequently the Party is able today to give real leadership to the growing movement against any further financial or military aid to the anti-democratic forces presently operating in Angola.

The theme of my report is really the inseparability of doubling the circulation of the People's World and building the Communist Party. With that in mind, let me say why I think this conference is necessary. Most of you here have been involved over

the years in discussions about the PW fund and circulation drive. The fund drive especially has become like second nature to almost all of us. Beginning in January we start to plan for the many breakfasts, brunches and dinners which will characterize the fund drive for several months. And our comrades do a tremendous job! The West Coast districts raise over \$150,000 every year. Part of the problem however, has been that our approach to raising money and building the circulation has become routine and is in fact, narrow. This conference must place squarely before our membership concrete plans for action and implementation which will guarantee in one year's time twice as many readers as we have today. The very fact of organizing the conference has forced us to give concrete thought to how we are realistically going to get thousands of new readers to subscribe to our press. In preparation for this conference, clubs have had to discuss what their delegates are going to say and bring here this weekend. Counties and district leaderships have had to give serious thought to the organizational and political bodies of our Party which are responsible for this year's fund and circulation drive. Therefore the National proposal of three regional conferences on press and Party building has already generated a great deal of enthusiasm and a lot of advance thinking and planning.

This conference expresses one of the most important elements of our Party, the unity between the leadership and the membership. We deliberate today in unity in order to assure the implementation of the historic decisions of our 21st Convention. We come to this conference knowing our line and policies are correct, and determined to make those policies come to life through a concrete plan of work for doubling the circulation of the PW. At this conference we share our experiences in press and Party building with other districts and learn new ideas and tactics. It gives us a sense of greater strength to know that there are comrades throughout the West and Southwest who are working and building the PW. And finally, this conference will develop concrete plans, quotas and goals, so that in three months time we can review our work and know where we are weak and correct the weaknesses, and know where we are strong and build on the strengths. By the end of this conference we should know where we're going and how we're going to get there. This conference is representative of a new style of work in our Party, which places at the forefront the unity between theory and practice, between policy and program, strategy and tactics, and politics and organization. Can anyone deny that if the circulation of our press reached 10,000 this year that the base for recruitment into the Party would be incredibly increased? The relationship between press and Party growth is as simple as that.

The PW represents our Party's thinking on the important issues of the day. The paper combines good reporting with Communist commentaries, such as "Basics" by Comrade Gus Hall. The paper expresses our world outlook and our solutions to the crises facing working people in this country. The paper is the vehicle which brings the news of the struggles of steel and copper workers in New Mexico and Arizona to a steelworker in Pittsburg, California. It is

a paper which a longshoreman on the San Francisco docks can read and get a clearer picture of the effects of automation on his industry. The PW is a partisan workingclass newspaper. It is the voice of the responsible left and it is a necessary weapon in the workingclass struggle against capitalism. The Party has correctly placed industrial concentration at the heart of our work. Think about the difference a regular sales or distribution of the PW at a workplace can make! It gives the comrades in the shop the chance to talk about articles in the paper. It gives the workers a chance to talk to the distributors of the press, and it gives the paper feedback on what's important to workers in that industry. And most important, it expands our contact with workers in basic industry, and it involves the rest of our Party in industrial concentration.

Or let us take the fightback movement against inflation and unemployment. It was over 14 months ago that our Party correctly projected the need to build a broad people's movement against the economic crisis, and it was our paper which championed this cause long before most liberal politicians and trade unions took up the cry. Imagine a steel worker in Fontana who has received the paper on a regular basis for 14 or 15 months; what must be the effect of reading in our press the predictions of increased inflation and layoffs and then actually seeing it happen in real life when he or she goes to buy a loaf of bread, or receives a layoff notice from the plant. That worker is going to be interested in our point of view, in talking to us about our solutions to the crisis.

We must develop newer and bolder approaches to the sales and distribution of our press. And comrades, we must change some old attitudes about our press. There are many comrades who are more than willing to work on a fundraising dinner, but are unwilling to take the paper into their area of mass work. The excuses range from "If I identify publicly with the paper it will isolate me." "The PW is much too advanced politically for the people I work with." Both responses are a different side of the same coin. Essentially what is being said is the paper will not be accepted or believed by the average worker or activist. But what is today common knowledge, was said yesterday only by a few. The role of the FBI and the CIA as provocateurs and murderers is accepted today by millions of people. Our press has been exposing the destructive, murderous role of these government agencies for years. It is an underestimation of the level of consciousness of working people to assume that they won't accept the People's World. In fact, what we're doing is isolating and redbaiting ourselves. And most important, that attitude leaves these workers to be influenced by social democratic and ultra-left forces. We must put all hesitation behind us. We must know that reading the PW will in fact benefit the worker by giving greater insight into the workings of the capitalist system. The press is an important instrument for mobilizing people into action. It is an important building of demonstrations. But all of this depends on each individual Communist's willingness to reach out to those we work with, and on the Party organization's ability to concretely and realistically plan the

work for raising the money and doubling the circulation.

I want to spend a few moments on the organizational relationship between press and Party building. I think the political relationship is clear. The first step to bringing someone into our Party would naturally be their reading of our press and consequently coming closer to our political thinking. But how in the world do we accomplish all these tasks which are before us? We have proposed quotas for Party building, proposed quotas for doubling circulation, proposed quotas for distribution at industrial concentration sites. How do we do all of this at the same time? We've all heard many times that all of these questions are interrelated.

New readers must be brought rapidly closer to the Party. They can, together with Party people, be the base for forming readers clubs or brigades. Also it works both ways. A new comrade is often more enthusiastic about our press than many of us who've been in the Party for some time, and get subscriptions from many friends and co-workers. I believe that at least ten people -- and this is a small estimate -- should read our press for every Communist and that this goal should be the responsibility of every Communist.

If we view press and Party building as inseparably linked, then we understand that our responsibility is to reach tens of thousands with our press. As the readership grows, so does the financial base of our paper.

I would like now to read to you the proposals* which are being presented to this conference by the West Coast Press Commission in consultation with the national leadership of the Party. But just a word on the renewal rate. And we have some shocking figures, comrades. In Northern California we launched a fairly successful subscription drive about three years ago where we got about 400 new regular subs for the paper. Due to a lack of renewals, we actually lost readers so that there was no net increase in subscriptions even though we got 400 new subs. Now that's a very serious question and we're proposing to develop the apparatus to change this by visiting every reader for renewal so that new subscriptions have an actual meaning of more people reading our press.

On point 11, Mickie Lima is now going to the Pittsburg (Calif.) steel mill every month to pass out the DW, and in San Francisco I am going to be participating twice a month in distribution to warehouses. So the leadership is concretely related to the work of distributing the paper.

On 14, that each club elect a press director as a member of the club executive, this is one of the proposals from the national office, but they didn't say that the press director should be a member of the club executive. We changed it because if we're going to make a qualitative shift in the circulation of our press, it means that every single club must have the PW on its agenda at every meeting, and somebody's got to be responsible to guarantee that that takes place, and pay attention to the content of that discussion. *see page 67 for full list of proposals* (Cont'd, p. 40)

What The Daily World Will Do To Build The 1976 Drive!



CARL WINTER, N.Y. Conference

This Conference reflects the confidence of our Party in the rising tide of struggle of the working class and its allies against the old order in the world and in our country.

Your complimentary reports here about the DAILY WORLD seem to leave me - on behalf of our staff - to talk only about its inadequacies. But improvements must be made, not on the basis of bourgeois standards of journalism, but in the light of the special role of our unique daily paper.

We must improve along the guideline set by Marx - not simply to describe the world, but to change it!



MIKE ZAGARELL, Chicago Conf.

I want to report to you for the paper's editorial board on what we are going to do to build this drive. Like the Party and the districts, we also are a Communist Party collective and we have a responsibility like every such collective. Our responsibility is to put out this paper, and we are responsible for what it looks like every day.

I welcome, as everyone else has, Gus Hall's remarks. The ideological questions he raised are very important for the press and its content. He placed before us the centrality of the ideological struggle to build this Party, and to increase the conscious element within the class struggle. There cannot be an advance for the class struggle

New York Conference:

CARL WINTER - Cont'd

Our responsibility is the greater in that we are operating in the heartland of world imperialism as the sole national daily newspaper fighting for social change toward socialism, and surrounded by the billionaire media defending exploitation and promoting reaction.

We can fulfill our task only to the extent we bring political consciousness to the working class and mobilize it for struggle for its needs and for social change.

Our paper must be more than a news recorder. It is a political clarifier, mobilizer, organizer - it is an instrument of our Party. It is an aid to the YWLL and to the people's movement. It is in the light of this unique role that we must discuss improving the Party's mass media, its press, and not by bourgeois standards.

We must make the content and style of writing in our paper more combative and polemical. We also need to use more photos of mass struggles. In order to more fully reflect the positions of the Communist Party, more Party leaders should write analytical and polemical articles. We hope to develop an expanded re-write staff so as to make greater use of the raw facts from the scene of local actions. We can do more to improve the handling of our letters from readers pages, to move further in the direction of the "State of the Union" letters feature.

We are also considering a question-and-answer page each week. Readers would be invited

Chicago Conference:

MIKE ZAGARELL - Cont'd

without the growth of the Party, and its conscious ideological reflection in our paper.

Failure to build the paper commensurate with the growth of the Party reflects this ideological weakness. And the solution for the paper's circulation growth is the solution for Party-building as a whole.

This is linked to the struggle to improve the content of the paper, which I will discuss. But I think the contributions here - from distributors of the paper, from shop workers and their experiences, are very helpful to myself and to the whole staff. The bundles, and increasing their use, is very important. We also need more discussion about bringing the paper into the mass work of comrades. I think there is often a tendency to push that aside because it is a very difficult question and there is a tendency to separate our mass work from the struggle for our Party's ideology. We have some comrades who distribute the paper at one place and do their mass work at another. This is also related to doing mass work but not recruiting, and why is there not more struggle for subs to our paper in the course of mass work.

We of the editorial board see three central tasks for us in this drive:

- 1) To raise the importance of the class conscious element to a new level within the Party, we have to fight for that in the Party's press. We can and we should step up the fight to put the views of the Communist Party more forthrightly in our paper.

Winter -

to send in their questions, and the paper would ask people expert in the field covered by the question to reply.

(Note: Editor Winter also discussed the improvements outlined by Mike Zagarell in the adjoining columns, which we will not repeat here.)

The 1976 petition signature drive and election campaign of the Communist Party is news of special importance to the working class and to our readers, and we plan to treat it as special, significant news. Our election reports and analysis are also an important source for new readers and supporters of our press.

I visited West Germany recently, and West Berlin. The Party there had to put up a prolonged, persistent fight to win the right for their newspaper to be delivered by the W. German mails. However, in West Berlin the paper has twelve distribution points, at which 10,000 copies of the day's issue are dropped off at 5 a.m. C.P. members pick them up, and deliver them to worker's homes before they leave for work. I asked them why, after winning the right to use the mails, they have taken on this tremendous task of home delivery. They said, "But we want the workers to have our paper and our viewpoint with them in their shops. If the paper were mailed, it would not arrive in time."

Such an example can raise the appreciation of all of us on the importance of reaching the work-

Zagarell -

This is very important in order to build the Party. When the C.P. makes a statement, it is important news for our class, because our class won't make advances until a larger section understands the significance of the Party.

2) We must struggle FOR our paper within the pages of the paper. When there is a D.W.Forum, that's news for our readers. A Bazaar, that's news! Organizing a fund drive for the paper - we should treat it as news, political news. The fund drive is a political campaign for the relation of the Party to our press and to strengthen ties to the working class. We are therefore aiming to place this fund drive in a different way.

3) We have to improve content; to make it as easy as possible to get 85% renewals and new subs. We cannot get greater circulation by competing with the bourgeois press. We are not as big, don't have the ads, features, etc., nor can we compete in minute-by-minute news or the "inside dope" from government sources. But where we CAN compare and compete and defeat the bourgeois press is in the feeling that our paper is a class weapon. To the degree that it is an effective class weapon, the worker will go out of his way to get our paper. We are a working class paper now, but the content can be improved in a number of areas.

a) In coverage of working class struggles: we have more than any other paper, but it's not adequate on key shops, trends among the rank-and-file, etc.

We are the leader among papers in the struggle against racism, but there is not enough coverage of trends in the Black communities or

Winter -

ing class regularly with the Party's views and guidance.

I am very happy to share with you the news that we will soon launch a Spanish-language, four-page paper, which can be used with the regular paper, but will also be an edition by itself. It will not be limited to the news of the Puerto Rican and Chicano communities, but will discuss the meaning of national and world news, and at times include translations of regular D.W. editorials or other features.

We intend to prepare special promotional material that will convince future readers to become subscribers, and to be press builders themselves. We also plan to produce special aids for our volunteer writers, and for the various Friends of the D.W. committees.

We know that we can count on you here at this Conference, and in the districts to get fully behind this 1976 Fund and Circulation Drive. If the Fund goals are met on time, your D.W. staff will have the necessary tools to meet the political and ideological challenges of our times. The key for all of us is involvement; by the paper in the struggles of the people and the working class, and in addition to that, by the readers with our paper.

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Zagarell -

on ideological questions as they appear in the struggle.

b) The paper must campaign and crusade more. A worker must be able to pick up our paper and to know which is the key question of that moment, and what is a

working class position on it.

c) Our paper enjoys growing respect for its exposes - of NCLC, the Zionists, etc. More and more of even bourgeois papers and magazines phone the D.W. in response to these. We need to do more of this, in a planned way.

d) The paper needs human interest stories - what the statistics mean in human terms. The average worker will not read a paper which is all politics in the abstract.

e) We need more ideological articles, which explain the class struggle as it unfolds.

These are big tasks for us. For me not to deal with how to do them would be demagogic. We feel that these overall steps can lead to improvements:

First, greater planning. We want to try 2-week plans for ideological articles and exposes. This means that some comrades will be asked to do more of the daily work so that others can do the planned ones.

Education must become a key question within our staff. We have a new staff, a good staff, but there is a process of growth and renewal. You cannot get a seasoned writer any more than you can a seasoned d.o., but seasoning means stepping up ideological training and the technical training. On Feb. 19 we will start our first round of formal classes for the entire staff.

One of the proposals to be voted on here is especially important for the midwest. That is the setting up of D.W. Bureaus in each state which will be a collective of people who are

(Concluded, p.40)

The Peoples World And The 1976 Drive!

CARL BLOICE, Editor



Comrades, we of the People's World are really serious about this qualitative leap.

I'm sure you comrades are aware that we have our own little West Coast Watergate. I want to inform you that this business of the spy who broke into our office in 1968 and took our subscription list is going to get a lot bigger. The attack that's being made on the People's World, on the Farm Workers Union and on a number of people's organizations is going to shed a lot of light on what's been happening in California during the administration of Ronald Reagan.

We have engaged counsel. The man who broke into our office said that with him that night out on Clementina Street, was a representative of the San Francisco Police Department and a representative of Armed Forces Intelligence. The question of why he was there has already been answered. The question why the other two were there

has not been answered. That's one of the reasons we're going to go further into this matter.

Now, about the struggle against routinism. Gus Hall said that the struggle against routinism starts at the top--with the leadership. For us, the struggle against routinism on the People's World has to take place in the leadership of the paper and in the staff. I'm not going to pretend that we've made great headway, but we're beginning to deal with this question, in our own work. As Comrade Henry Winston said, it is when we are given a situation like this, preparations for a meeting like this, when we have to come up with a plan, that we begin to take a more serious look at ourselves. Routinism is a serious problem for us. I think people tend to think of routinism as not doing quite as much as it is possible to do. That's not all of what routinism is. Routinism is a negative force. Routinism is harmful to the efforts of the press and the Party, and every act that can be interpreted as routine, as matter

of fact, is harmful. It's very interesting how this struggle reveals itself. You'll notice that the People's World this week has a new masthead. We have T-shirts for sale in the back with the new masthead on them. We wanted to get those two projects completed for this meeting. And even here, to make some kind of symbolic gesture that's qualitatively different from the way we have done things for the last two or three decades, meets resistance. We have promised a brochure on People's World. Well d..m it all, we're going to have that brochure in the next couple of months, but that's not an excuse for not having had it two years ago.

In the economy of the capitalist world, this is the deepest and the longest crisis that has taken place since the 2nd World War. This crisis has occurred throughout the entire capitalist world, and that's new. Prior to this time crises appeared unevenly, and so one country that was going through a crisis could take advantage of the market of another one. The other thing new about this crisis is that it's very closely related to technological developments. In fact, the countries which are most technologically advanced are the hardest hit. Under conditions of monopoly capitalism, technology becomes a competitor to the worker and even in periods of stability or growth in an industry, technology replaces the workers where that is profitable, and layoffs increase in the industries that are enjoying high profits. In the developed capitalist countries today, there are 22 million unemployed.

And due to higher prices, to inflation, government financing has also

entered into the crisis. Huge state budget deficits are very common. The deficit for the federal budget in the U.S. in 1975 was \$45 billion. In 1974 it was only \$3-1/2 billion. That kind of budgetary crisis reflects itself in the crisis of New York. It has now hit us here in Oakland.

The economic crisis is closely tied to the political crisis in each capitalist country. We are entering a presidential election year and it is clear that we're in the midst of a political crisis. The fact that the Democratic Party has "seventeen thousand" candidates running for president is indicative of the political crisis, as is the fact that the Republican Party is split. And the reason is precisely what Gus Hall talked about; the process of radicalization, disorientation and disenchantment with this system. No bourgeois representatives have the confidence of the people. No bourgeois representatives have answers for the people, and the people are quite aware of this fact.

The facts and figures I've indicated are outlines of the crisis on one level, but we all know the effect of the crisis on another level. Each of us has personally experienced or observed the worsening of the crisis of everyday living, the desperation of those who've been out of work for extended periods, the desperation of those who are unable to balance their budgets. In the midst of all this, the capitalists, the bankers, the other fat cats are reaping record profits. Their ostentatiousness, their greed and the hollowness of their lives are becoming a bigger and bigger obscenity. It is befouling the atmosphere and our national culture. But the class struggle, like all struggles, has two sides. In 1974, 47 million people went on strike in the capitalist

world. That figure was surpassed in 1975. 1976 will be a year of sharpening class battles.

As Comrade Hall mentioned, there are six million workers in the U.S. who come up for contract renegotiations this year. Contract showdowns will take place in the next few months involving 65,000 workers in the garment industry, 500,000 workers in the auto industry, 70,000 workers in the rubber industry and many thousands in the food industry. Of special importance to us on the West Coast is the transport industry where 20,000 ILWU and Teamster Warehouse Workers will be involved in contract negotiations. The problems of technological change, budgetary deficits and racism inevitably bring to the fore problems of social democracy and class collaboration. This year the ILWU with 20,000 warehouse workers and 3,000 longshore workers is preparing for an historic convention which will see a change in the union's leadership.

The focal point of the People's World in the coming period is to be an instrument that is effective, indeed, indispensable to the masses involved in economic struggles in the shops, in the communities, and at the point of production. The Daily World and People's World are not yet instruments of mass education, agitation and propaganda. To fill the vacuum, their circulation should reach into hundreds of thousands. That is the new concept. It is in keeping with the thinking of millions, who want to know why millions of Italians in recent elections voted for the Communist Party. Keeping this concept in mind and appreciating the challenge this places before us, those of us involved in the

production of the People's World have begun to take a new look at where we are.

We're giving leadership to the economic struggles. We have some very important experience to build upon and we've had specific consultations with comrades, for instance, in the steel industry to take a look at what we have achieved in producing the special steel issues. We've had specific discussion with the comrades in the warehouse industry. And the same is true of the comrades in the public workers sector. We have to view these efforts not only as part of the struggle to build the press, but also part of the struggle to build shop clubs. And the People's World has a role in helping our Party meet the goals for the building of shop clubs.

We are taking the same approach to fund raising. We're having specific discussions with the comrades in each of the concentration industries about how we can build and use the 1976 People's World Banquet at which Ernest De Maio will be our featured speaker.

I have heard the results of some of these discussions. I'm sure that with the resolve these comrades show and the determination of those of us involved in the paper's production to meet our responsibilities and our tasks, that we shall meet all the goals this conference sets before the Party.

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Building The Press At The Shop Gate!

ABBIE, NEW YORK

The lower Hudson Valley section of the New York district takes responsibility for the weekly distribution of the Daily World at the Tarrytown plant. Until November 1974 when 1,200 workers, the entire night shift, were laid off and have not yet been rehired, we distributed about 1,500 papers. We now distribute about 500. The day shift is made up entirely of those workers who have seniority. Many of them are interested mostly in their retirement which comes up soon. They suffer tremendous speedup. The accident rate, the heart conditions have increased tremendously. There are 3 gates and we cover them all. The cars come zooming out of the parking lot, and if they stop, open the window and hold out their hand, we give them papers for as many people as are in the car. Sometimes they don't slow down but we try to give them the papers, and sometimes we just miss their outstretched hands. Some don't open their windows at all, but on the whole we feel that we have been fairly successful. And one of the most important things is consistency in distributing these papers.

N.E.COAST, AND GREAT LAKES AREA DISTRIBUTORS AT SHOP GATES ARE A SPECIAL LENINIST MOLD OF PRESS BUILDER - It gets so very cold early in the morning!

But, as one of them said, "MANY ARE CALLED BUT FEW ARE FROZEN!"

Another, of the "Icicles hanging from our noses" - soon melted by the warm reception from workers!

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We also have consistent workers who come every week. This is really very important as they become known to the workers. As I mentioned, we cover 3 gates and my responsibility is the plant at the back where it's easier, and one is not as likely to be run-over. I find that the workers are very responsive to a woman giving out the papers. At the beginning they seemed sort of surprised at an elderly woman standing in the cold giving it out, and I tell you, yesterday was the coldest day in years, but those workers still opened their windows and it was really very satisfying.

We did have some problems earlier with the NCLC, with some of the other ultra left groups. One of the union goons came up to me once, grabbed the papers out of my arms and threw them all over the place. He grabbed the papers from another distributor as well and threw them around. We took it to the police station, and the chief of police said to us, "We know you, and we have no objection to the Daily World being distributed because you've been here so long, but we don't like

those people from the NCLC who make trouble." So anyway the goon who had done all this dirty work got a severe talking to from the district attorney and from Bill Scott (auto worker comrade) and he no longer bothers us. In fact, once in a while he takes the paper himself.

Now, since I have to talk to you about finances, I want to tell you that New York district has set up a finance committee. We have made a lot of plans with some very original monthly activities. We are putting out a manual for the clubs which will include some of the material the Daily World has on fund raising. The clubs are sending in reports of their plans as well and there are some very original ideas. One of them was a children's party; another to have a meeting where we would sell new books and have the authors present to autograph them. Also to auction books written a long time ago and now out of print and scarce. Also testimonial dinners by clubs to honor press and Party builders. We're starting out early and with a lot of enthusiasm, and very good responses, as you can see from the amount of money that was turned in.

SANDY, EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

We have done a good bit in this past year to breakthrough in terms of shopgate distributions--mainly in the city of Philadelphia. We have now 600 papers a week going into auto, steel and electrical plants on a regular basis. The goal of increasing that is not going to be easy. But we are enthusiastically prepared to accept it as a challenge that we must

find a way to fulfill. Here retirees can play a special role. Many of our retirees of course have enormous experience in shopgate work, working inside and outside of plants and we need to utilize their abilities more. I urge however, good planning. One of our retiree comrades, one of our most active press directors had agreed to go up to Bethlehem Steel this week with a special large bundle of Daily Worlds. Unfortunately he went alone to pick up the papers at the bus depot and the result is that he has to go into the hospital next week for hernia surgery, so that we need to find whatever help older comrades need. This is part of involving the entire Party in this work.

BILL CRAWFORD, PHILADELPHIA

I'm the chairperson of the West Philadelphia Club and our main area of concentration is the GE plant. One of the most important things is consistency; in the last year we've only missed 3 weeks of distribution there, once when the paper didn't show up (and we should have substituted something else for that week). Another time it was the weather, and our car broke down. It's important that the workers see the same faces in the same spot and we've been able to do this at 2 gates. And when you go out there, not only is the weather cold, but that big gate of steel and concrete is cold! Then come the workers, and if you're consistent in doing this work, it begins to warm up. We get smiles, a lot of Merry Christmasses, etc. We've got workers who take the paper every week. Originally we were giving out approximately 200 papers. It's gone back to about 140 because of the

layoffs, but the number of papers given out is higher in relation to the number of workers in the plant now than it was before.

Jim Dolsen is one of the people who regularly goes to the plant. Jim was 90 on November 30, a Charter member of the Party. There is concern on the part of the workers for Jim, in the cold. As I said, the atmosphere between us and the workers is warm. When women comrades are on the line more women take the papers. When comrades from the shops are on the line there is a different rapport than there is with me even though I have good friends there. A man who takes the paper whom I have known a long time won't give me his home address. About ten days ago I approached him with a copy of Freedomways and I think it had a different kind of effect, he's a Black worker. And across the street from the plant there's a gas station. I buy gas there when we go out and the fellow takes the paper. He let me park the car once up in the station. He's an ex-worker in the plant who got hurt.

You have to smile. There are some anti-Communist remarks. One man used to make them in relation to sports and I gave him an article in the paper on sports, so he turned around to his buddies and said, "I'll be a so and so." And three of them took the paper. Now he hasn't taken the paper since, but his remarks are now limited to kidding me about the Phillies. But one of the other two men takes it.

But I think that the problem of consolidation and follow-up is where we're stuck. But our consistency

has paid off so far and it will pay off more if we'll keep swinging and keep plugging there. I think this is important.

FROM CHICAGO -

My club has had two neighborhood routes going over 15 years. But in '75 we began a "shop" route at a large auto plant. We've had problems with all types of ultra-lefts and ultra-rights distributing at the gate. The first few times out we were not able to distribute a single D.W. since these ultras had workers totally repelled toward anyone distributing, so we left the gate and went on in, on company property. Luckily it was mid-winter and still dark early in the a.m., so we distributed 2-300 a week several times before the company got organized to catch us and throw us out. By that time, we had enough contact with workers to have a steady readership, once they found out the D.W. was not like the others. Despite layoffs now, the number of papers we put out is about the same, so we're getting new readers all the time. Workers have tremendous respect for the D.W. They compare us to a faithful fountain. Now they take the D.W. and none of the other sects' papers. We have also distributed 30 copies of CRISIS OF U.S. CAPITALISM, and last spring 40 tickets to the Amphitheatre rally. We occasionally collect money from the workers, and now we are starting a new program offering a book each week at 50% discount. I have also talked with the auto club, and they will begin work to follow up inside the shop the contacts we are making.

* * *

Over 14 Months Regular Distribution At Kaiser Steel!

- CLARA LUTZ, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The District Board asked me to report on our experiences utilizing the special P.W. steel issue. The largest steel plant in California is Kaiser Steel, in Fontana, which is well over 100 miles from Los Angeles.

With the present layoffs, there are still about 6500 employed, working 3 shifts. Our P.W. steel brigade comes from 8 to 10 clubs and areas around Los Angeles. It is a constant problem to replenish forces and cars. We leave our homes at 11 a.m. and return at 7 p.m. We catch two shifts of workers, the morning going home and the 3 p.m. shift going in. We cover 7 gates and distribute about 1300 copies of the special monthly steel issue. The traffic at Kaiser is heavy going in and out and the cars often jam up bumper to bumper. Under these conditions, with horns tooting, the workers roll down their windows to get their P.W. copy. Just a very few might make a nasty remark, but the majority are receptive, and many thank us.

On several occasions, the private company guards and the county sheriffs ganged up against us to stop distribution on the pretext that we either infringe on private property or interfere with traffic. Once they threatened arrests. We did not retreat, but fought for our democratic rights to be there and stood our ground. When they left, we resumed our distribution. The intimidation failed not only because of our refusal to give in, but also because we fought back politically. We obtained the assistance of the Civil Liberties Union in exercising our democratic rights.

The steel brigade embraces 16 to 18 comrades including a few non-Party friends. Most of us are retirees who come from working class stock with many struggles behind us. This dedication is demonstrated by one comrade who is crippled with arthritis and poor vision, who still carries marks of stitches in her head received from goons in the 30's, but who makes it her business to go out to each and every steel distribution at Kaiser.

The District Committee considers our work of the highest political importance. We issue leaflets and enclose them in the P.W. explaining to the steel workers why they should subscribe. We have asked for the front page of the special steel issue to carry headlines on steel, as well as appeals to steel workers to subscribe. We believe that those comrades and friends who live closer to the Fontana plant could cover the neighborhoods where steel workers live to obtain subs.

The role of our press is well expressed in the article by Gus Hall, "The Papers that Get Under the Boss' Skin." We have two other steel plants employing 200 in each, and the comrades of two clubs handle the distribution of the P.W. to these.

Our orientation in the district is to build the readership of our press among basic workers - to entrench the P.W. among that section of industrial workers where monopoly capitalism reaps the greatest amount of profit.

FROM OHIO -

Workers at the shopgate have learned to recognize the DAILY WORLD and to differentiate it from NCLC material. One morning a worker refused the D.W. and his buddy said, "Take it, that's the good paper." The 'buddy' came back, took two papers, and said to us, "I'll give one to him."

MIKE BAYER - INDIANA

There are some very real problems in distribution that we have experienced in terms of industrial security. We don't want to be standing back and not doing our job but if we're working inside a mill it is also difficult to stand outside another mill and pass out the papers. Because of the concentrated nature of the industry in this area simply moving from the plant where you work to another one is not necessarily security. We're going to need some outside help from people in the area, especially when it is absolutely necessary to get the material in the paper to the people inside those mills. I think the coverage lately on the coke oven developments in Washington is an example of what must be gotten to the workers inside the mills. Sometimes there are just logistical problems. Because the concentration of our work is to recruit the people who are inside the mills, we need distributors here from outside the immediate shops. I think we may have to start working out some kind of reciprocal relationship with nearby

comrades. That's a very accepted thing in parts of Chicago.

One thing we have found out mobilizing for the Convention is that the comrades in the industrial areas were able to stick up posters and do very well at it. They stuck them up so much they could not even get them all down. If we could get some posters on the Daily World and posters in general--putting our our program for jobs, etc. and then saying "Read the Daily World," "Read a daily Marxist newspaper," that would help. It would help create the idea we're not just a newspaper, we're boosters, we're rousers--that kind of thing.

BETTY - COLORADO

In Denver we often feel that we're isolated and insulated. This conference is an inspiration for us to take a new approach. There is a lot of work to do in Colorado, and we can do it.

Of our two clubs in Denver, one handles the DAILY WORLD and the other the PEOPLE'S WORLD.

On Monday, three comrades are taking the Steel issue to Pueblo, a two-hour drive. Friends of the press there graciously accommodate us overnight. We will set our alarm clocks and make all the shifts at the steel plant.

We are becoming acquainted with where the steelworkers live and the places they frequent, so that we can begin to get to know them. We'll start to work on building a club in the industry, along with our trips distributing the Steel issues.

FROM MICHIGAN -

Our concentration of course, is auto, and we now distribute 200 a week at a Ford plant, and soon we will be at Dodge with 500 papers twice a month.

The reason these plant gate distributions are successful is that we distribute at 5:30 a.m. and no comrade is busy at that time; consequently, no one has any excuse, and enough people are available to go out. Each club goes once a month, and now that we have found out it isn't so hard to get up early, and that we have enough people, we'll continue to extend our work.

Our bookstore gets 10 copies a day, and with our new location our store runs out of papers, as more people now come in off the street and are eager for the D.W.

JILL FURILLO - BROOKLYN

We have had consistent distribution of the DW at the Brooklyn docks for a year, after a lapse of 25 years with no open press activity. The union hall is there, too, and any distributions are banned inside. But it gets pretty cold, and the workers let us into the hall to get warm. Then they say, "Well they're in here now, so let them pass it out." We have a better and better relationship to these workers.

We need an interview once a month with a dock worker, and we need a monthly leaflet in Italian. We will distribute 200 copies of CRISIS OF U.S. CAPITALISM soon. We organized a meeting in the area with Gil Green speaking on Portugal, and got two recruits from it.

CHARLES HUNTER, ILLINOIS PRESS DIR.

We now get 3600 papers a week, of which about 1000 go to steel mills, and the rest to other plant gates, unemployment centers and community routes. We accept the national goals, and now have about 20 new subs toward our goal. We want to re-establish the Red Sundays, which we let decline in '75. On our best Red Sunday in 1974 we got 64 introductory subs in that one day, and over 500 for the year. However, our conversion rate on those 500 was only about 2%, in part because it is harder to get \$8 and \$20 than \$2, and we have to figure out how to do it more effectively. We are developing our own file of renewals so we can be a couple of months ahead on them. We will also add 4 more shops.

SCOTT DOUGLAS - TENNESSEE

What kind of a Communist is it who is against detente? Who is FOR unemployment and racism? That's the kind of Communist who doesn't build the Party press! The Communist who doesn't use our press regularly is the kind who is ideologically footloose, and mass work fancy-free. In Tennessee, we call that behavior Communist "vagabondism"

SANDRA JONES - WISCONSIN

How many potential Communists out there are we denying the right to join our organization, by the way we do not follow up on renewals of subs? If we don't visit readers, don't talk with them, they won't think we are serious, and they won't seek to join with us.

The way to develop communication is to begin it.

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Building Our Press Circulation Among the Youth Helps Build The YWLL. In Turn, League Members Become Press Builders, And Both Developments Build The Party!



By JAMES STEELE,
CHAIRMAN, YWLL

Comrades, on behalf of the entire membership of the Young Workers Liberation League I would like to extend our best wishes for a Very Happy New Year, one of fresh victories for the working class and people of this country and for the world revolutionary movement.

Comrade Winston put before us the building of the Daily World as a historic task before the Party during this period, enabling it, in the words of Comrade Gus Hall, to reach into the hundreds of thousands in keeping with the mass upsurge in thinking of millions who want to know why. This is a tough challenge to the Party, but it is as realizable as it is necessary. Moreover it is a concrete extension of the 21st Convention of our Party which put before the people anti-monopoly tasks based upon the Party's profound Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the new stage of the general crisis, coupled with the qualitative shift in the world relation of forces is creating conditions in which U.S. imperialism can be defeated.

For the young generation, which

has been condemned by the crisis of U.S. capitalism to be the jobless generation, this conclusion is an exhilarating breath of life. It is the only way in which the youth of this land can be assured of a life with a creative purpose. The path charted by the 21st Convention of the Party is the only way youth can be guaranteed jobs, education, housing, sports, recreation and cultural facilities. For this reason, the YWLL accepted the work of the convention as an enrichment of our own youth rights campaign, as an appeal to all youth to join with us for the fulfillment of the great aims of the 21st Convention of the Communist Party.

The crisis has led to a mass radicalization among the youth, and I think all comrades are aware of this. This radicalization, however, has some unique features. One: It occurs, as Comrade Winston put it in his speech to our recruitment committee, among a young generation born after 1945 on whom the world revolutionary process, the role of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in particular, is having a profound and fundamental impact. Two: The radicalization is leading to the mass development of

anti-monopoly consciousness among wide sectors of young people, already won to anti-imperialist positions as a result of solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the Cuban Revolution, and the national liberation movement in Africa. Thus it should not be surprising that interest in socialism is becoming a mass question among the youth.

Where will youth find the answers? In the Daily World they will find daily answers to these questions. Won't the pages of the Daily World be one of the most consistent ways of showing the youth that Marxism-Leninism is a liberating theory which guides a liberating practice? Through the Daily World young voters can be mobilized around the Party's election campaign and around the main issues before the people in this Bicentennial Year. However, a Party and press building conference should also consider one of the other unique ways of building the Party. Comrade Hall pointed out in the Main Report to the 21st Convention that "in the context of filling vacuums the Party must see the indispensable role of the Young Workers Liberation League." He said, "the prospect of a jobless generation and the accompanying accelerating development of mass radicalization of the youth make both necessary and possible the rapid growth of a mass YWLL. Such a development of the YWLL meets the needs of the youth, of the working class, of the Party." Comrade Hall thus called upon the entire Party to step up our efforts to assist the League to realize its potential. This means helping to move the labor movement and all of the people's forces to support the special demands of youth. This it seems to me is precisely Comrade Winston's point when

he called upon the Party to help build the YWLL into a massive youth organization.

Comrades, the Bicentennial program projected by the Young Workers Liberation League, including the goal of recruiting 1976 new members by the end of this year, aims precisely at building a mass anti-monopoly youth fight-back and transforming the League into a mass youth league of mass youth action.

I want to commend the Daily World for its handling of the Youth Bicentennial Festival. Articles have appeared twice a week and it's helped to build enthusiasm for this event within the League and within the youth movement. It's shown by quite a tremendous number of sponsors for these events that have come in. In relation to this, Comrade Betty Smith has already given us one proposal for building the Daily World among among youth, beginning with these Festivals--a free introductory sub to the Daily World to each new subscriber to the Young Worker. I want to say that we fully accept the proposal. But not only that--for every new sub to the Daily World which goes to a youth we will extend an introductory sub to the Young Worker. In other words, we want to reciprocate. Secondly, the February issue of the Young Worker is devoted to the sixth anniversary of the League, but also has a number of articles addressed to young steelworkers. We want to propose that this issue of the Young Worker be distributed with the copies of the steel issue of the Daily World. A way of bringing the League and what we're about--our anniversary, and so forth--to young steel workers. A number of projects can

develop like that over the course of the year and especially in relation to the election campaign.

We feel that elements of youth committees for the Party's candidates, youth ballot-petition teams, Daily World and Young Worker distribution teams and several hundred new members from the YWLL, thousands of new contacts and potential readers of the Daily World can result from these Festivals. Comrades, building the YWLL and the circulation of the Young Worker is building the Party and the Daily World. It's an investment in the future and an investment in the mass growth of our Party among the young generation.

Finally, I want to briefly underline the importance of Comrade Winston's speech as a whole, but the formulations around the Bicentennial and the tasks of the Party were tremendous. I want to stress that we must fully enter into the battle of ideas around the Bicentennial. It's our belief in the Party and the League that we can't stand apart from this struggle. All the political and economic struggles in the country will be affected by the battle of ideas on the Bicentennial. Conclusions drawn from the two hundred year history of capitalism in this country will be a political, ideological and therefore a practical factor on all major questions affecting the people this year -- youth in particular. The Party and the YWLL have an enormous contribution to make in this regard. For instance, we must help white workers ask themselves the question, where has 200 years of racism gotten us? We have to ask the question, "How can there be a celebration of the 'Spirit of '76' and not at the same time massive and militant

solidarity of the people of the United States with the MPLA?" The MPLA has done no more than we did in 1776. Upon our Declaration of Independence we enlisted aid from other countries as an independent sovereign state. And we got it. The MPLA has done no more.

And it seems to me that the Bicentennial is an opportunity to draw fundamental conclusions on every aspect of policy for the people and for the youth. We feel that Youth Rights Bicentennial Festivals can be an enormous contribution in that regard. And that with the fullest support of the Party, the goal of building the League, of building the Party and the press can be achieved.

**GET INTO
THE SPIRIT**

OF **76**

**BUILDING
CAMPAIGN**

Building The Press

In Basic Neighborhoods!

BUDDY, SAN FRANCISCO
PRESS DIRECTOR

We are going to organize people from the community clubs themselves to work with comrades in the industrial clubs on the basis of the industrial concentrations, both in relation to the work place itself and to the communities where the workers and their families live.

Another idea we are just beginning to promote is that of a readers' brigade that would combine both Party and non-Party people--non-Party readers of the paper who may or may not be active in mass organizations as such but who see the need for the paper and who want to promote the paper in the city generally. We came up with the idea of starting an agitprop kind of brigade around the paper and to kick it off with something around Luis Corvalan, our imprisoned comrade in Chile, and to name our brigade Luis Corvalan Brigade, much as comrades in other countries did similar kinds of things around the struggle to free Angela Davis a few years ago.

In San Francisco about one-fourth

of the neighborhood grocery and liquor stores are owned by refugees from Zionist-occupied Palestine, and a number of them are former members of various Communist movements in the Middle East, active in support of the PLO. A number of the younger people have had very good experiences with the YWLL in different parts of the country. Through several of these people we established contact with a number of progressive store owners, and there are now five Arab-owned grocery stores, four of them in a Black community and one in a multi-racial working class area of the city, that handle the People's World every week. Most of them refuse to take any money for handling the paper and some of them will be making other contributions.

In December we began with a public meeting on Portugal and Angola and we will be having one on Cuba, one on the Middle East, etc. We hope new brigades will be doing most of the work around this since the other comrades are very much tied up with concentration and other mass tasks.

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GLORIA, HARTFORD, CONN.

First of all I'd like to say "Hello comrades." I'm a new member in the Party, so saying that feels good.

The Hartford area Daily World committee has been very busy. We now have four routes, we have a shopgate, we have three colleges. Altogether we distribute 200 papers a week in Hartford.

We have different functions for our readers. We have just started a new fund for subscribers who can't afford to pay for a sub. We take out the subs for them and they pay us in a weekly or monthly installment.

We are planning a subscribers party. We had lost touch with our subscribers and we felt that this would bring us closer to them so we could get to know them better and answer any questions they might have.

Through my Daily World route in a large Black housing project, I've become involved in a tenant association there. The people are very impressed with the paper, have a lot of questions, and we felt that if we knew the people's problems better they would relate to us and to the paper more. Therefore, my joining the tenant association was very good for me and very good for them also on the routes.

One night I was there when one of the tenants complained that there was no heat. So that night I was there from 6 P.M. until 1 o'clock in the morning just going around knocking on doors finding out who didn't have heat and who had heat. A thing like this draws them closer to us because they know that we are concerned about their welfare.

When Comrade Winston said that the paper was like an organ between the people and the Party, I thought about my heart. The heart in the body is the organ between life and death and once the heart stops there's nothing. So I would like to leave you with this reminder that once the paper stops there's no Party.

MIDWEST CONF.:

The first thing I want to talk about is the Daily World forums. Since I began working on the forums, I think that my understanding of their role has increased, of their necessity and importance. The forums that we have put forward under the auspices of the Daily World build the Daily World and its prestige. In our area the Daily World Forum is the only open face of the Marxist-Leninist movement we have. We can invite our leaders, our spokespeople to come and talk about the program of the Communist Party and this something very important. Where we don't have the forum in our district there really is no open face where people can come in contact with the program of the Communist Party, face to face. We have to see that the building of the Forum is the work of every single comrade, every single club and every single section in the area. Gus Hall was talking about delegated "farmed out" work. And our forum has become delegated work. And when that happens the importance of the Forum as a place to bring contacts, and recruit has been lost.

Just want to make a note of warm welcome to the Spanish paper. We have a community route of our club

which we've been going out in the last two months. And just two weeks ago there were two people whom I ran into who could speak some English and they were happy to see somebody coming around with the paper but they said, "I can't read English." And I think the quick appearance of the Spanish paper will solve this problem. Some consideration should be made to put the Spanish edition in the Thursday paper because this is the issue that we take out to the shops and communities.

Next, I want to talk about other delegated work--the building of the clubs. We really don't put enough focus on that. The clubs are the functioning unit of the Communist Party. If the clubs don't function, the Party is not functioning. And when we talk about building the 85% renewal rate for the paper and recruiting for the Party, if we're not focusing on the club as the organ for carrying out this task, then we're not really carrying out this task. For example, in the community routes, if you don't have the same people, or the same group who go out each week on the routes, which is the function of the clubs, which the clubs can carry out, then you're not able really to get those subs, because it's a new face, it's a different face. When you have the same person, or the same group of people there--then you lay the basis for recruitment, lay basis for gaining people's confidence. This is the sort of consistency that we need to develop.

HELEN W, VENICE, CALIF.

The People's World renders such services to embattled workers as mobilizer, educator, and guide in sup-

port of their U.F.W. union, on the picket line, community boycott of stores against scab products, financial aid and even food.

For a number of years Sol and I have been canvassing weekly in the community gaining subs by mail, home deliveries, renewals and financial contributions. This gave us the opportunity to develop friendly relations by answering questions readers may have. I decided in 1971 to approach some of them also for monthly Party sustainers. In three months in 1971 I netted 100% response and to date the total sum raised this way and turned in through my club is \$874.50.

We were also able to sell a number of books by leading comrades.

The money that comes in from the sale of People's Worlds in the community pays for the bundle, about \$20 a month.

Over the years Sol and I have been active in the Jewish progressive organizations and their moral and financial support also helps to fulfill the yearly People's World quota.

We believe that the People's World must be part of the struggle to defeat reaction all the way. To do this we must be an integral part of the mass movements, as they increase in scope and size.

In conclusion we wish to say that because not too many comrades are involved in this type of work, many great opportunities are being lost. Let's put our hearts and efforts together to build a stronger People's World in order to build people's unity.

LEN, CONNECTICUT

Comrades, in my city of a little over 100,000 there are presently two Daily World routes. One is a neighborhood route of 32 readers and one of 18 readers throughout the city. Sixteen trade unionists are among the readers. Three comrades have worked for two years to develop these routes.

Here are some observations from these readers: They speak favorably of the health and safety column, and this column definitely has their interest. They like the interviews with comments from people. For example, there was one in which small businessmen were interviewed in Harlem. There was an interview with the unemployed. The article in last Saturday's issue on unemployment offices did not have material in Spanish.

We have requests for much more on sports in the Saturday paper and to have this also in Spanish.

Comrades who service the routes request that the articles be written in a much more popular form. Comrade Hall's "Basics" column in the World Magazine is a good model. Short stories could be serialized in World Magazine. A dialogue could be initiated in Party Affairs for developing intermediate forms like Daily World readers clubs or a Daily World forum from the neighborhood routes. One conclusion from our experiences is that if you're striving to develop these forms from the neighborhood routes, you must struggle to hold the fund raisers and social events within those neighborhoods.

Mike Zagarell, cont'd from p.24

not full time, although they can work with a full-timer. They would meet once a week to discuss events in their area and what should be written about for the paper. Even a once-a-week article from each area would be a big improvement. Stories should be edited by a leading District person for overall political content and direction. News copy from these bureaus would also ease the pressure on the D.W. staff in N.Y. We would find it easier to plan regular analytical articles, exposés, etc.

We also have plans to meet as a staff with plant gate distributors to discuss the reactions of workers, the headlines and front page, and any other question that will help make the D.W. the best possible paper for workers in the shops.

Therefore, the struggle for content and for growth in circulation are intertwined, and the struggle must take place on both fronts.

Kendra Alexander, cont'd from p.20

Comrades, I would like to urge every delegate here to participate to the fullest -- to bring your ideas and suggestions forward so that they become the property of us all. For it is only through the collective effort of all of us, from Gus Hall and Henry Winston to the newest member of our Party that we will be able to fulfill the historic role of leading our class to socialism.

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Thoughts On The Spanish Edition

Juan Lopez, Northern California

Let me shake up your preconceived notions a little bit. What we are about to put out is not a Spanish supplement, a Spanish insert to the Daily World and People's World, as some of us may have been misled to believe. What we are going to put out is the Spanish edition. Fifteen million people of Latin-American origin is the reason, 12 million of whom are of Mexican origin, 1-1/2 million of Puerto Rican origin, and the rest originating from other Latin American countries.

There are more people of Latin American origin in this country than in more than 1/2 of the Latin American countries. They continue to suffer a special kind of super-oppression in racial, national and in more than 95% of the cases, class discrimination.

So why a Spanish edition? Can you imagine a group of workers rejecting our press when it is handed to them because they cannot read English. It happened a few days ago when our comrades tried to hand the paper to a group of Spanish-speaking steel workers outside a major steel plant. Most farm workers in this state cannot hope to read the People's World today because they cannot read English. And this takes place when our paper, without any doubt, has established itself as the single publication for the best coverage of the farm workers struggle.

The peoples of Latin American origin (and this is especially so as it relates to the Chicano people) are crucial to the development of the class struggle and anti-monopoly movements in this country.

The Spanish edition, as with the English edition, is going to be a working class publication. It will champion, foremost, the cause of the working class in this country and everywhere. We will fight for the cause of the working class and its principal allies, the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian, and Asian liberation movements. It will champion the cause of every other strata of the population moving against monopoly.

It is within this general framework that we must figure out how to specifically bring about a more solid, basic anti-monopoly understanding class consciousness, revolutionary and socialist consciousness. As with every other newspaper

or edition which aims specifically to a definite oppressed national minority or ethnic grouping, the Spanish edition must correspond to the concrete relations of the peoples in question to the productive process, to the class struggle, to the liberation movements, to the overall anti-monopoly movement. It must take into consideration the culture and psychological makeup of the peoples in question determined by their concrete development. And it is within this framework that we suggest a number of concentration areas as far as the southwest and west are concerned. But concentration does not at all mean that we neglect other areas.

With respect to industry we think we ought to concentrate on steel and agribusiness. Special attention should also be given to other industries where our Party nationally and its districts have concentration, such as in auto, longshore and warehouse, and electronic assembly. It is important to know in this respect that in practically all industries where our Party has a concentration Chicano workers are to be found in large numbers.

Here, in the southwest and west, real priority will be given to coverage of the Chicano liberation movement, placing special emphasis on economic questions as well as in the struggle against discrimination, making sure to single out the special forms of oppression suffered by Chicanos and Latinos, i.e., in language and immigration.

With respect to immigration there is a point around which there was some controversy in our ranks, when it emerged as an important question in the organization of farm workers. We want to make it absolutely clear our press and our Party consider immigrant workers, documented or not, as an integral part of the working class. We are committed to defeat the Rodino Bill, and to go beyond. We are fully committed to championing the struggle for the full democratic and trade union rights of these workers and for their right to join any organization they wish to, including the CPUSA.

On the international front, steps will be taken to maintain accurate and regular coverage on developments in Mexico, Puerto Rico and Latin America in general. Special attention will be given to the development of socialism in Cuba and the role Cuba is playing in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism in Latin America, and in other parts of Latin America, and in other parts of the world, such as on the African continent today.

While maintaining regular coverage of developments in Latin America, due to the special interest people of Latin American origin naturally have for that part of the world, and true to our internationalist outlook we ought to follow closely events in other parts of the world affecting world peace, the struggle against imperialism and for socialism. For the people of Latin American origin, just as any other peoples have a direct stake in the resolution of these questions.

In the present period, for instance, Angola and the Middle East would be given special attention, the struggle to make detente an irreversible process would be given continual attention and so would the key role of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp in all these struggles.

Our coverage of developments in Mexico, and Puerto Rico in particular can play an important role in helping to shape the anti-imperialist movements there since many of our more avid readers will very likely be among those who migrate periodically between the U.S. and their home countries.

I understand that in discussions held with our Party's leadership the idea was endorsed that the Spanish edition's coverage would be centered around the concerns and struggles of the Chicano, Mexicano and other Latino peoples in the Southwest and West, while at the same time giving major play to the Puerto Rican people's struggle in the East and in Puerto Rico. We agree that this ought to be the outlook.

The Puerto Rican people in the country constitute a nationally oppressed minority, being subjected to the worst kind of discrimination and as such their struggle is one and the same with that of the other oppressed national minorities.

Comrade Gus Hall, I think in a 1972 issue of Political Affairs, really hit the nail on the head when he said, "Puerto Rico is a colony of U.S. imperialism in a very special sense. The 2,800,000 people living in Puerto Rico and the 1,300,000 Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are victims of a special kind of imperialist operation. It is a colonialism that reaches across the Atlantic into the barrios, the urban and agricultural slums where Puerto Ricans are forced to live in the U.S."

As to the nature of the coverage relating to the Puerto Rican liberation movement, our comrades in the East are better equipped to make those decisions. However, we ought to follow closely developments within the growing Puerto Rican community in the West and Southwest.

We wish to propose a major affair in every town and community where it is possible to organize one--in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Jose, Tucson, San Antonio and especially in Southern California near the Mexican border.

Spanish-speaking comrades and leaders of the People's World and Spanish-speaking Party contacts, especially leading members of the Chicano and Latino communities, and their friends, ought to become the key people in the planning and program committees for this event. Invitations ought to be sent out and participation of the widest possible segment of the Chicano-Latino community worked for, including trade unionists, community and religious leaders and activists, and the Spanish media as well. The invitations could possibly include a list of prominent sponsors from these groups, but also from the Black liberation movement, the Asian and Native American Indian peoples movements. Preparations ought to be made for a bilingual program throughout.

These affairs could be the launching pad for establishing circulation committees everywhere we can, and as a means to organize a nucleus of volunteer writers who would write in whatever language they prefer, since we're going to have in the Spanish edition staff people who can handle both languages.

What the Press Means— From *Inside The Shop!*

FROM MICHIGAN: I would like to speak about my experiences with the D.W. These modern plants are often virtual fenced compounds. Some are very hard to do, and if you try to be outside the gate, you will be ejected. Comrades like me who work inside one of these plants, should not hesitate to take in extra copies of the D.W. and distribute them. The guards at the gate regard me as some sort of a maverick. I always carry a lot of papers in so they never stop me. You can very easily find ways to distribute inside the plant, and the reception you get is even better than at the gate.

JIM - ALABAMA: The steel plant where I work gets lots of literature - the KKK Organizer, The Worker, the rank-and-file newsletter, and the D.W. This month we will also begin a Communist Party shop paper. I felt that Gus Hall's BASICS, "The Paper that Gets Under the Boss' Skin" must have been written with my shop in mind. After one recent distribution, there was a copy of the D.W. lying around the shop. The foreman picked it up and threw it in the trash can. A worker came by, fished it out of the trash, and read it. The foreman again dropped it into the can. A second worker looked to see what it was, took it out, and read through it. For the 3rd time, the forman deposited this copy in the trash, but still another worker retrieved it. That's an indication of the interest there is in the D.W. in this basic shop!

BUDDY CLARK, SAN FRANCISCO: I'm a public worker at the largest hospital in the city, which crosses about three different union jurisdictions. The workforce is largely Black, Chicano and a number of Asians. I have been using the P.W. almost since I began working there, and a number of workers have subscribed. When we got word to wind up the petition drive to expel S.Africa from the U.N., I got 55 signatures on that petition within two days. Then when the P.W. ran the story about turning in the signatures at the U.N., everyone in my shop who signed, and a few more, got a copy of this as a leaflet. And those who wanted more information now get the P.W. regularly out of my bundle. This has already resulted in two full-paid subs, one 8-week sub, and two more are promised on Monday.

MIKE - PITTSBURG AREA (W.P.A.): The D.W. is now regularly distributed at my plant, and I just can't express how much I welcome this! It's just great to come to work and find our distributors out there. It is the one development that helps me to raise issues among workers in the shop. Now I can be part of discussions right there that help me to raise the class consciousness of my shopmates and advance building the rank and file movement in steel.

* * *

VICKIE - W. COAST: I'm really excited about this Conference. When I joined the Party 4 or 5 years ago, one thing that was unique to me was that the Communist Party was the only organization on the left that didn't push its paper! I think we are now about to rectify this grave error.

Let me tell you about my shop. I think that as our paper goes out more and more, the bosses will start to get really scared. In the warehouse where I work, some comrades came to sell the P.W. in front of the shop. The next thing we knew the bosses had called the police dept. on them. It was really funny, as everyone on the job was saying, "Why did you call the police?" The boss said, "There are people out there selling some kind of leftist material." That got the workers interested. They wanted to see the P.W. - what was so detrimental in the paper that the boss would call the police?

I think some comrades are still suffering some old McCarthyite attitudes on our press and literature. A lot of people take the paper, but they are afraid to distribute or sell it because they're afraid someone is going to yell at them. But as Gus pointed out, we have to take a bold approach, and realize how workers' patterns of thought have changed, how much more receptive they are.

FROM SOUTH CHICAGO: A good response from workers continues in my steel shop, because the D.W. is available regularly. Many discussions start up, and the presence of the D.W. adds to the militancy of workers.

FROM UPSTATE NEW YORK:
Vic - Schenectady: This is my first meeting like this. I stayed up all night to be sure to get here today. We are using 200 papers a week - 100 to into the plant, and about 40-50 to the community, which is mainly basic workers or unemployed workers. We leave some at groceries, gas stations, and at the laundromats. People are always in the laundromats, drying their clothes, with nothing to read, nothing to do.

Mike - Buffalo:

We are expanding our work with the press, but there is as yet no shop gate distribution at my shop. I need the D.W. in this shop to help me raise the understanding of the workers, to stimulate discussions.

TED - WISCONSIN AUTO WORKER:

It's such a pleasure for me to go to work and see the comrades out there with the D.W. I remember the old days when I didn't even dream of bringing a D.W. into my shop. It is really a marvellous thing! The distribution has been every week now for 6 months. As I go in, I pick up a copy, often several. And I get an even better feeling inside the shop - seeing workers sitting along the assembly line reading the D.W.; in the lunchroom reading the D.W. Comrade Winston came to Milwaukee and we put leaflets inside the papers. I began selling tickets in the shop and some workers bought them, but this also gave me another chance to talk with them about the paper and the Party. One worker said, "Look, there's lots of problems in this country, and no question about it, more and more people are turning to the Communists for answers."

Cont'd - - - -

TED - Cont'd

I didn't have to explain who Winston was, they knew because they read the paper. One guy I tried to sell a ticket to on the line said, "Oh yeah, I read about Henry Winston, and Gus Hall is appearing in Cleveland, isn't he?" Anyway, this is really wonderful, and we've come a long way. We've a long way to go, and it takes this meeting to get me doing it, but I'm going to get a pile of subs. I remember the times when comrades said they couldn't get up in the morning for "security reasons" or that they were just scared, but you don't hear that anymore. Now it's just that they're tired, and it's cold, but we've gotten over some of that which is very important. It is hard to express what having the D.W. inside the shop does for the whole atmosphere - I don't read my D.W. at home any more - I read it in the shop!

TOYA R. - W. COAST: I heard an example one day in the P.W. office. A member of AFSCME - (an officer of his Local is in the Party) - this member sent in the clipout from WORLD MAGAZINE asking for information about the Party and how to find it. I can understand questions of security on the job, and we have to do more to figure out the answers to this problem; because there is a ridiculous side to it in that this worker had to send the clipout all the way to N.Y., and have it come all the way back out here, just so we could tell our comrade to please talk with the guy at the next union meeting.

(End of this section)

IRV - CALIFORNIA:

I listened very carefully to Gus, and actually, he shook me up. Now I've been through press campaigns, I've led press campaigns, I've been to plant gates, all that. But when Gus was talking about "routinism" I said to myself, "Gus, you are singing my song."

I want to give an example of how routinism works. My club held a discussion of the press last week. They asked what sub quota I'd take, and I looked down, and said, "one" - why did I do that? Well, in the back of my mind there is someone I know who will take a sub, and pay me for it, and then I'll turn it in to my club routinely, and say I've filled my quota, even though I know I am a liar! Why? Because there is no effort, no imagination, no politics behind it, no action. Now why is that?

Well, Gus gave me the clue... The connection is inescapable! The paper has to reach the masses in far greater numbers if we are to build the Party. Between building the press and building the Party, the vanguard role, and the concentration policy, so we can change this country. We have to build the paper if we are to play the historic role we are bound to play and can play.

In fact, we have an 86-year old comrade who has gotten 8 subs. How does she do it? Very simple. She carries the paper around with her all the time, and she knocks on doors, in a working class area, and says, not "do you want to help retirees" or something, but "Are you interested in a working class newspaper?"

* * *

Join The Fight For A Better Press Apparatus!

ROBERT - INDIANA

Our recent statewide meeting set goals based on the Plan and last year's experience. Three quarters of our subs are in our concentration areas - steel, auto, electrical, coal. We are planning distribution at 3 steel mills and 5 auto plants. We project 200 special subs in auto; 200 in steel; 50 electrical and 5 coal. We want to establish another readers' club in Gary, and rebuild the one in So. Bend. We broke through there in '74 but did not follow up and now must rebuild. We have two recruits from readers' clubs. We accept the 85% renewal and the fund drive goal. We take all of this very seriously. We are about the business of building a Leninist Party, and it was very refreshing to find that word "Lenin" - we cannot talk about building our Party unless we concentrate on our press and literature - the theory and the practice. We are also sending out letters for Political Affairs subs - I was surprised that P.A. was not mentioned.

TOYA, WEST COAST

I haven't heard anything said yet about youth, and our role in building the press and Party. The youth are going to be in charge pretty soon and we are going to have to be prepared to accept a lot more responsibility. I'm going to talk a little about the League and what it is doing with the District in organizing around jobs, which is a question around which there is a lot of disillusionment. A lot of young people are walking around with absolutely no possibility of ever getting a job. A lot of young people have wanted to get out and sell the People's World - and many said, "No, the Young Worker is our paper." But we do have to be aware that the Young Worker, People's World, Daily World are all parts of the Party press.

I want to discuss some of the ideas we have for establishing a renewal apparatus. We found that in surveying records in the office that the critical time is the first two years of subscription, and most people fail to renew, within their first and second year. This means we have to make a special effort to get out to new subscribers. The proposals for readers' groups, Friends of the People's World, and discussion groups, are the best proposals here.

It is important that the readers be involved in activity, that they see more of the People's World than comes in the plain brown wrapper to their house every week. There are a lot of people that read the paper who may not be ready to join the Party, but they will come to a rummage sale, bake sale, a tea or breakfast, and they'll talk about the paper. We have to use the resources we have on our subscription list.

Toya Robinson - W.Coast - Cont'd

There was a successful drive in 1972-73, but the next year we were in the same place as before, because there was no organized renewal apparatus. But there is a reader in Palo Alto, Sara, and she won't let a sub die unless the person who is getting the sub has died. We think that is a good attitude to take. A lot of people will renew if you go by their house, but they may never get a check into the mailbox, or get around to coming down with the money.

We're going to start renewal billings. I'll write to the renewal person, or press director, who is up for renewal, where they live, and if possible who got the original sub. A follow-up letter within the next two weeks will inform them who hasn't renewed so they'll have a constant reminder. We're going to require the question on the back of every renewal slip, "why did this person not renew?" be sent back with answers.

The coming Spanish edition as one of the most promising things I've seen, that will immediately widen the base of our paper if we get it out to the communities. It was suggested to me by a man from Sacramento, Mike, that if possible we have cultural events in the introduction to our paper, that we should take advantage of the cultural aspects, things people like to do in promoting the paper. We can't expect people to come to us, we've got to go to them. There's a large base that we have already among UFW supporters who don't read English. With the Spanish edition that will bring us even closer because we are the only paper that is doing consistent coverage of the UFW struggle. The defense movement around the San Quentin Six is very important, we're the only

paper doing consistent reporting of the trial. You never see anything in the capitalist press about it. You see articles about Patty Hearst and Sarah Jane Moore, but you don't hear anything about the San Quentin Six. The People's World has been the champion of the San Quentin Six and I think people need to be aware of that in our mass work. We're doing work now which we're letting go to waste by not following up on it. We have to start doing precinct work in the areas where we know that our candidates, Mark Allen and Jack Kurzweil did well.

I'm going to bring this to a close with a little rap on the banquets coming up which are very important fund raising events for the People's World. I remember the first large Party event I went to was the Southern California People's World Banquet, where I heard Gus Hall speak for the first time. And that comes back to the role of youth. I was in the League, I was a student, I wasn't working and because of fund raising activities carried on by Party clubs, money was raised for people in the League to go. It was a direct result of that that I'm standing up here now.

We're trying our best in the Promotion Department to get our not only brochures, but leaflets on different subjects that can be used as handouts, a series of promotional materials. I get letters from people all over asking if we have anything else besides a subscription blank that we can give to people to introduce them to the paper.

Nobody subscribes on their own; the papers don't sell themselves. We have to get out and be willing to spend time talking to people, trying

to convince people of the need to subscribe to the paper. I remember when I was filling out my registration form for the Party a few months ago there was a question, "How many hours of press work a week do you do?" I know there are a lot of people in our organization who were really ashamed to give a true answer to that question. Nobody wants to put zero there, but for a lot of people I think the answer may very well be that. We definitely do have to guarantee a certain amount of press work be done by absolutely everyone in the Party.

JOELLE FISHMAN, CONNECTICUT

We have just concluded a series of club conferences for all the clubs in the district and in these we began to grapple with some key questions to make the breakthrough that we're speaking about.

The first is how can we integrate our work and our activities so that the Daily World-building and essential mass work and Party-building fit together. How does the club apply the concept of a concentration shop or a concentration neighborhood? What does that mean in terms of our work, in terms of our approach to the paper?

Secondly, what are the roadblocks to recruiting? What are concrete ways for every comrade to be able to participate in recruiting? For example, encouraging participation in parents' organizations, and so on, not

pulling people away from these organizations but encouraging and strengthening their participation and heightening the level and concreteness of the fight against racism. For example, the plan of work is key in the press and Party building. The clubs have been discussing the plan and are very enthusiastic and are looking forward to better use of the Daily World which will be the basis for breakthroughs and for new recruits.

Some of the roadblocks in the past are better understood. One was a past lack of organizational checkup, both at the district and the club level, stemming from a lack of a full understanding of the indispensability of the paper and the Party.

The second point is a lack of integration of our work and lack of a diversified program for use of the paper.

Third, overcoming hesitancy to be labeled Communist. That is, some people who are known only to a few as being in the Party did not see how they could use the paper, not realizing many non-Communists also build the Daily World.

Four, insufficient discussion in the club itself of the content of the paper which can sometimes lead to a hesitancy of the comrades to become engaged in conversation about the articles in the paper.

A few words on our plan for 1976: The key that we have set is involving those who are not in the Party--new people, in building the press as well as the Party. We project Daily World committees in each city to handle the fund drive, circulation, forums, parties, and so on, with every comrade

seeking to involve at least one non-Party person in the Daily World drive in 1976. Our main thrust is to increase the bundles to shops by 1,500 papers, to increase the number of shifts that are covered, to add five new shop distributions.

As an example of what the Daily World can accomplish--one industrial club that we have now will divide into two individual shop clubs. This is directly related to our press work. Also in this industrial club each comrade is taking three papers and is going to find a way to share these papers with shopmates inside, complementing the outside distribution. We're also increasing neighborhood routes. We're very anxious to discuss fully why, at other shops and neighborhoods where we've been present consistently with the Daily World, the sales and distributions do not turn into subscriptions. Partly it's a reliance on spontaneity and lack of organization, not having sub blanks with us at all times, not being concrete in the club plans as to who will see which person and when, with a complete checkup on a regular basis.

Other problems include lack of time at plant gates to speak to workers, especially if they go in by car. Even if they walk in, how do we get their addresses so we can follow through on home visits? How do we answer the questions that shopgate workers or someone on the route may pose? "Well, why should I get a subscription if I get the paper from you regularly?" We have to go into these things in the club.

A more serious question in relation to routes has also been raised. Distributors are afraid they'll lose

contact with some of their customers if they encourage them to get subs. This is an indication of a lack of an integrated approach to our work which we're starting to overcome. We're projecting neighborhood Daily World clubs or Friends of the Daily World which can relate to the citywide Friends of the Daily World that will be based on our routes and the plant concentrations that will develop in the next several years. In 1976 every reader and subscriber will be visited for renewals and for contributions and to seek to involve them in activity if they are not already involved.

On the monthly Red Sunday, we have two comrades from each city go to one city, and we concentrate our visiting of readers there. Each city in turn will have some outside help in this plan. We have a state apparatus of Daily World directors from each city and also a correspondence committee which is in the process of preparing news for the Daily World; they also want to help industrial workers to be able to write for the paper.

Along with fulfilling our sub quota for the Daily World we are also seeking to fulfill a goal for subscriptions to The Young Worker. We have brought in 15% of our fund drive money today.

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FROM MISSOURI:

This past year has been an exceptional year for press building in St. Louis. For the first time in many years a real feeling and approach is being developed in regard to our press. We have increased our bundle from 150 to 400 per week. These papers are being paid for and distributed at unemployment offices, plant gates and in the communities. No papers are being left-over in our book shop. This in itself is a tribute to our Party's new approach in St. Louis. The plan of work worked out by the district is an improvement over last year. We have shown increases in bundles; we have maintained about 75 subs, 2/3 of them in St. Louis. We have been getting many new subs, which is a tribute to the content of our paper, but we are failing in the matter of renewing all expirations. Unless someone renews on their own, there is hardly any follow-up. I am sure this is not a problem unique to St. Louis. We have to organize ourselves better so we can retain our subs. The potential outstate from St. Louis is unlimited as we have many friends there who are former readers who can be re-won. We should start a bundle of 10-15 in Kansas City, and increase it to 25 by the end of the year.

On funds, the \$800 we raised last year was the best in many years. This year we will make our goal of \$1000, plus 10% in the fall, no question about it.

In the past 15-20 years when we distributed the paper, many people would not take it or throw it away. Today this is not true. Everybody wants to read our paper! People are looking for answers, which presents us with great new opportunities to build our press.

Finally, our 4-year plan is to increase our bundles to 1250. This year, 400/week for the first six months, and to 525 by the end of the year. We have assigned each club a specific size of bundle, which they use in two ways: each club has a concentration plant assignment - 2 steel and 2 auto; each community club will also sell from their bundle in a specific neighborhood. We plan 50 gift subs to steel workers and Black liberation activists, with two D.W. fund raisers planned to pay for these subs. We will continue our D.W. Brigade which sells at mass events, on an experimental basis.

We will get 50 subs this year, 15 each from our industrial concentration, from mass organizations; 20 from our neighborhood work. Each member will get at least one renewal to maintain 85% renewals. We have club check-up on the press at each meeting, and want to fill the post of asst. press director. Our plan is worked out with a chart for each club. We will also get 3 newstands, libraries or news dealers to carry the D.W. The 2nd and 3rd years of the plan will continue along these lines.

ANNA - Day Club, S. Calif.

This is the most productive conference we have ever had for guidance to our day-to-day activities. I feel I have learned a great deal, and now I feel I owe a little more of my time as a retiree, so I pledge to go out much more to help complete what we have discussed.

ALEX - NEW JERSEY

Speaking for the district as a whole, I'd like to say that we accept the goals that have been proposed for new subs, renewals and for the Fund Drive. I'd like to announce that we are turning in in today \$1250. We're a little behind Florida, but we hope to catch up.

At present we have three shopgate distributions. One is an auto plant, one a copper shop which is a joint effort of several clubs, and we have one Campbell Soup plant in the southern end of the state. In addition to that about half of our clubs at present have neighborhood routes. One of the weaknesses is that whereas we have gotten steady route readers, we haven't succeeded enough in involving them in some of the activities which are going on in the areas.

As far as plans for the rest of the year, we worked out a number of specifics. We proposed that in February every club have a fund-raising affair of its own. On May 23rd we're having our annual dinner and we're going to be a week late in our goal for completion of the Fund Drive. But I think we may overfulfill before the date of our dinner.

We proposed that every club in the district have a Daily World director by April of this year. In some cases, in the smaller clubs it may be necessary to combine the post of press director with some other position. And also that we have a district press director by the time of our dinner and the district director together with the club directors will constitute a district press committee which will be functioning by this May. Each of the DW club directors is to maintain an up-to-date file of subscribers in their area, to be used in conjunc-

tion with all the ongoing activities. And we propose that the DW be on the agenda of every club at least once a month and that discussion include circulation and also editorial content. The content will deal with specific club contributions, with what stories can be sent into the DW about events in the club's area. We also propose that all subscribers be visited. We have a fairly high percentage of people who renew year after year and we've never even visited them and we don't know who they are. They may be workers in some of our concentration industries. So we are determined to visit everybody including these self-renewals.

We're proposing that every club have a shopgate distribution by April based on national concentration with steel getting first priority, auto second, etc. Our plan of work expects that each club build "Friends of the Daily World" organizations by the end of 1976. Right now we have them in four areas. The activities have been primarily lectures, but we plan to extend their activities to include fund raising parties for the DW and other activities which will help boost circulation.

We have plans for a statewide readers conference by December of this year which should become an annual event to discuss circulation, funds and editorial comment.

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Press Building Is Party Building!



KEN NEWCOMB - Org. Secy, N.Y.

In Chicago at the 21st Convention Comrade Henry Winston put the word out that the Main Report by Gus Hall was a monster, and I think we ought to put it back on Comrade Winston that his keynote today was a bit of a monster in itself. And it's a monster if we follow through on it to make the Communist Party even more of a "monster" than it is now.

I would say that for the New York District we want to accept enthusiastically the challenging goals that have been presented. But we want to accept the challenge of overfulfilling every aspect of it. We want to accept it in this manner because we agree with Comrade Winston's report that this task is essential in defeating monopoly and defeating monopoly's attacks on the working class and the people of New York. The chairman of Big Mac in New York City, who is part of the special task force leading the assaults against the working class, said that the pain is just starting for the working people of New York. He said it's just beginning to hurt. But we've got word for him that the opposite will take place

--we're going to put a pinch on monopoly and the hurt we're going to put on them is just the beginning--and this drive to build the Daily World is in the center of it.

We feel that we can achieve these goals by the mobilization of the full Party and we agree fully with the projections that Betty has presented, and with the whole concept of bringing the whole Party into this task. We believe that this campaign must begin with the building of the district press apparatus. We have now a functioning press committee, which is new for New York. We have for the first time a committee working on the finances and fund drive, and it's already given a new quality to the planning and effect of this work. We want to place heavy emphasis on the question of leadership by example--that the State Board, the State Committee, the club leaderships--give a lead to the fight for renewals, the fight for work at the shopgates. We also want to place very heavy emphasis on planning for the kind of breakthrough that this drive represents so that we move away from

Ken Newcomb - NY - Cont'd

any notions of spontaneously reaching these goals. I think that the central message from Comrade Winston's report is making the press the mass tool for the entire Party. It is mobilizing the Party for the concept of building the press along with and as part of building the mass movement. If we build the press as we build the movement in support of Angola, as we build the fight-back on the economic crisis, the breakthrough in our style of work will mean success for the drive and the breakthrough in building the Party as we build the press. I think that the mass use of the press means the mass use at shop gates, but it also means use of the paper with our mass contacts, with mass activists. It means, if we're serious, that we select and pinpoint the mass leaders, the co-workers in mass movements who are going to be new subscribers to the paper. That's what is so interesting about the figures around the Gus Hall book. Here we did use lists of mass figures we wanted to influence. The same approach to the press would make a qualitative breakthrough. Our plans in New York call not just for goals for each club, but we seek some 25 subscriptions from each group such as from rank-and-file steelworkers and leaders, from rank-and-file auto workers and leaders, from garment, from transit workers, from electrical, 15 subs from longshoremen, and 50 from other trade union activists. In the same way we seek 50 subs from activists and leaders in the fight against the economic crisis, 50 from activists and leaders in the Black liberation movement, 50 from activists and leaders in the Puerto Rican community, 50 from activists in the peace and anti-imperialist movements but directly focusing on this fight around Angola. We seek 50 subs from leaders in the fight against re-

pression, and so on. We want to project that kind of plan so that the building of the press circulation is done hand-in-hand with our mass tasks. On the question of shopgates, our figures at least double the goal projected by the Daily World. We see 500 new in steel, 250 new in transit, 250 new in electrical, 250 new in garment, 250 new in longshore and 250 new in auto. In addition, we project 22 new routes and the building of local Friends of the Daily World groups on those routes.

Just briefly on the Fund Drive. New York is making an unprecedented fight for funds this year, and I would like to turn in as a beginning a total of \$3800 on the '76 Fund Drive.

FRED LOWE

People's World Press Director
Santa Clara County, N. Calif.

The comrades in Santa Clara County are proud of the work that's been done on press building. The enthusiasm reflects itself in the healthy county press committee which meets once a month, with all clubs represented, and with more than one comrade from half the clubs.

Last year we collected \$3300 with a goal of \$3200. This year our goal is \$3600. Regarding subscriptions, this year we are raising the slogan, "76 in '76."

Our press committee also boasts of having someone now in charge of renewals, a major problem in the past.

I would like to relate some of the positive experiences that took place regarding press building in 1975.

Fred Lowe - Cont'd

Over 5000 Santa Clara County workers were on strike last year, and, while the ruling class press attacked the workers and distorted the strikers' goals, the People's World was on the workers' side covering the strike and present on the picket line. Comrades, let me tell you what an experience it is to walk into a union's strike headquarters and see dozens of PW's scattered all over.

After the strike we made a list of progressive-minded county workers and sent them a very creative sub plea, with a collage of the PW strike articles on the back of the letter.

At our Party's last Marxist study series, we decided to put PW's on all the chairs, with a letter explaining why they should read the PW.

We gave the paper out free throughout the series, and when it ended, we phoned all the people who attended, asking them to subscribe. We got ten new subs.

Our Party also held an open meeting in San Jose, where we distributed free copies and we got a couple more subs from this event.

Now I'd like to speak about upcoming plans for the PW.

The main concentrations in our County are electronics and auto. Although we still have no plan of work for auto, our electronics club will take 200 papers every month, to be distributed in electronics assembly plants.

Chicano, Latino and Puerto Rican people make up almost one fourth of the population of our county and we eagerly await the

Spanish section in March.

Although major breakthroughs still await us in this area, some minor successes can be noted. Last year we had an article in the PW on Mexican Independence Day which is celebrated by thousands in San Jose every year and we sold 50 copies at the march and rally.

Based on the recent successes with sample PW's this next month we will try giving out 75 free papers a week with explanatory letters and sub blanks enclosed at a bookstore.

All comrades are being asked to scout out their local neighborhoods for markets, bookstores, restaurants, etc. where we can leave a few copies, along with a collection box. All libraries in the county are being contacted for subs, and the electronics club members will be going into the precincts where Jack Kurzweil ran the best in his campaign for Assessor.

The first five or ten minutes of each club meeting are for report-backs of experiences of comrades in building the PW during the two preceding weeks. The success of some comrade will generate enthusiasm among the rest.

MIKE WELCH - ALABAMA

First, I wish to express appreciation for Comrade Winston's remarks at the beginning of this conference. I think that his characterization of the DW as an indispensable organ to shape events, when taken in the fullest sense, and applied, will go a long way to make 1976 a great year for the Party. I also

Mike Welch - Ala. - Cont'd

think that as we begin to put our work on a more organized and scientific basis all the time that we can say that an indispensable indicator for judging the degree to which we have an effective Communist mass policy and style of work, will be the degree to which we're getting out with the paper. In my experience, comrades who are not getting out with the paper where they work and where they live, where they organize, are not recruiting and they're not building mass movements that will last. They don't have a style of work that puts them in the midst of the working class and its problems and its struggle. As we fight for implementation, we should check the DW results about March 1st and see how we're doing. We'll know what our problems are and what we have to struggle for in terms of completing our entire plan by December.

We feel that the DW is key to the whole plan of work in Alabama for 1976, but especially in two areas of work that were presented to us as challenges by the national center. One is that we've accepted the goal of putting CP candidates on the ballot in 1976 in the state of Alabama. Secondly, we've accepted the challenge of building a Communist Party club in the U.S. Steel works at Fairfield, Alabama. The U.S. Steel works in Fairfield employs about 12,000 people when it's going full blast. We also plan to build a Party club in the surrounding community of Fairfield, Alabama, which is a company town to such a degree that when you drive into it (you drive out of Birmingham and you're immediately into Fairfield) there's a large sign on the street and it says "Welcome to Fairfield," The symbol on the sign is the U.S.

Steel symbol. It says U.S. Steel and has their emblem. While the police jurisdiction of Fairfield covers the area around the steel works, the steel works has never been included in the city, so it pays no taxes on the land or the property. So that's the kind of area it is.

In the last year we made some important beginnings on work with the press in the district. We began some months ago shop distributions of the steel issue of the DW and one other weekend issue a month at one of the steel plants in the city.

We began neighborhood work in a Black and white community where we have comrades involved in a grass roots community organization and we have a club in that neighborhood. We started by asking that Comrade Lydia Hopkins, who writes for the DW in the South, come to Birmingham and do an article about the struggles in that community. An article appeared in the World Magazine several months ago and was distributed en masse in the neighborhood with a small notice that we would begin sales in the neighborhood. Since then three readers formed a team to go out in the neighborhood and the reaction has been very good. They have been knocking on doors and 90 percent of the people they talked to either bought the paper or took a free sample. The first Sunday out they sold 20 papers in a small concentrated area. There's a large housing project and a lot of single family dwellings in the area. They have gone out again to follow up on these contacts. This club has made plans to continue on the route, but also each month during the Fund Drive to have some activity to build this

effort. In February they will participate in the citywide DW Forum. In March the plan is for a yard sale to raise funds and in April to try and invite people who've been taking the paper in this period to come to one of the comrade's homes to meet somebody from the DW and drink coffee and talk about the paper and how we can use it.

Our 1976 plan calls for a similar route in the Fairfield community and also to begin with this first steel issue this year to distribute 500 papers twice a month at the Fairfield Steel Works. We're confident in this year of Bicentennial celebration about 20 years after Alabama working people shook the whole country with the Montgomery bus boycott, that we will be able to show that Alabama is not Wallace country, but in fact it is in the forefront of united Black and white working class struggle for peace, against racism, for jobs and for socialism in our lifetime in the United States.

BILL CRAWFORD, Phila, Pa.

The club life is part of Party building. In a sense, as club chairman, I was kind of a "trolley car" on the way to the meeting. Comrades in leadership of the clubs have to take a lot more time in preparing agendas. I have taken Danny Rubin's pamphlet on How the Party Club Functions apart paragraph by paragraph in the last couple of weeks, trying to apply it to the club. As a result of this, we reviewed all the comrades in the club as to where they work and who their contacts are. And now we're starting on the contacts, who are these contacts, what do

they do, where do they work and how many of these contacts know these comrades as members of the Party--that kind of approach. Can we get \$1 a month sustainer, and this kind of thing, taking time focusing on people, because these are our troops, this is the force with which we march and also, get to know comrades better. We have a woman comrade on the club executive, a worker. Now I didn't envision this woman as club leadership, but Elsie, the district leader, pointed out to me that I didn't know enough about this comrade and I think we have to know the comrades and what they can do.

In Philadelphia we put out a Party program of 25,000 copies. Some of the comrades have seen it. I mailed it to all of the bookstores throughout the country. We gave it out in downtown Philadelphia. A lot of it went to shops, but not enough. But we gave it out downtown and got a tremendous response. This was a program that was worked out collectively, that Comrade Sandy wrote. People respond to it; they're looking for it.

Also, one of the proposals of the club will be the reading of Lenin on Iskra at the club--we'll take a half hour out and read it.

Philadelphia is the Bicentennial city. It is referred to as Rizzo country. But that isn't true. It is the country of Tom Paine, Ben Franklin, Benjamin Rush, revolutionary pamphleteers and their continuers, Comrades Henry Winston and Gus Hall.

NATE SHARPE, Illinois

I think we received here in this conference a number of tremendous reports.

(Cont'd - -)

Nate Sharpe - Ill. - Cont'd

Regarding what was said before about not having application blanks for joining the Communist Party, nor for subscribing to the Daily World, about 90 percent of our comrades, when they go out talking to people about the Daily World, don't have a subscription blank with them, they don't have an application for the Communist Party. I think one of the problems which we're faced with is to convince our membership that it is essential for us to have these at all times. By doing this, since November, we've been able to get a few subscriptions for the Daily World as well as some new members to the Communist Party.

Another thing is essential. In dealing with people about joining the Party, when it's a family, it is better to discuss the question of joining the Party with both members of the family. In that way you're able to keep unity within the family. I discussed this with one couple for 45 minutes and, at the end, the husband a steelworker, asked the wife, "What do you think?" She said, "I'm ready to join the Communist Party." And he, too, said he was ready. I gave them applications. Right then and there they were able to fill them out and they both became members of the Party, as well as subscribers to the Daily World.

This past week, I visited another family and talked with them both. The husband joined the Party and the wife asked me to come back next week to discuss further the question of the Communist Party. There are a few more questions she wants answered and it is our responsibility to answer the questions that people ask. The husband also took a \$20 subscription for the Daily World.

We have to convince the entire membership that it's essential to have the materials with you and available.

We in steel--we have a shop club in Chicago. We are determined within the next three months to establish a second shop club and maybe by the middle of the year to establish a third in steel! We believe that it can be done and we're going to do everything possible to reach this goal, and also to broaden the circulation of the Daily World. We're already making a distribution of three steel shops.

Tomorrow at one o'clock I have an engagement with another steel worker in another shop who is running for local president and he wants me to talk with him about how to run in an election and to win. He was in a shop with me at one time and he knows that I never lost an election that I ran for within the trade union movement.

SANDY, New England

Comrades, I'd like to address myself to some overall views of press work in the New England district.

As I was coming here today, I took a copy of our Constitution and I found some very sharp clear words in it about responsibilities for the press and its role in building the Party. I thought I'd preface my remarks with that quotation. I find I don't have to. It has already been said here very well and clearly--the central role of using the press in building our Party. I haven't yet had a chance to get some con-

crete information as to what percentage of our New England membership is involved with the press, but I do have a feeling that we don't have 100% readership among our membership. If we're going to have a unified party working together in struggle, we have to read our press. If we want a united class, that class has to be approached with the ideas, the ideology, the experiences we all share together through the DW.

We should pay special attention to the role of clubs in developing plans of work in which all of the membership can be involved in a variety of ways. Our clubs, through consistent and thorough discussions can, for instance, assign a couple of comrades to a regular shopgate, some to a regular weekly community route, and a couple of comrades to be a team who will visit all subscribers in their area of responsibility. We must meet everyone in our area who reads the DW, get to know them and involve them. They are potential recruits.

We found that clubs which work consciously, collectively and consistently get things done. They grow, reach out, recruit, have effect. In other words when there is a plan of work each member can make a contribution. When we work consistently we don't flit about from one thing to another, one neighborhood to another, one shopgate to another, but we work with criticism and self-criticism; we discuss, we improve our style of work and we don't jump around, don't give up so easily. And over the long run the goals of the plan are accomplished.

There is a GE plant in Lynn, Massachusetts where comrades have been working for almost three years. There are several smaller

electrical shops in the area and other shops in the district and we even have one in South Boston which has been approached consistently. At that plant, as you may know, Black students and Black workers have been assaulted frequently for the last couple of years.

Our district committee unanimously accepts the press and Party building goals. We feel that some of them are a little conservative in some areas. But we accept that as a challenge to overfulfill our goals in 1976 and in the period up to 1979.

The district does not at this point have a press director. We do have a press committee in the Greater Boston section and most clubs have a press apparatus.

We have several fund-raising events planned and I'm bringing in today \$385 from our New England District. This is just the beginning. We've got a long way to go.

I want to urge you all to dress warmly, equip yourselves with a bundle of the best newspaper off the press and get out there to your shopgate, to that neighborhood route, to that street corner--wherever we can reach out and build.

ARNOLD LOCKSHIN - S. Calif.

The decision of the last Central Committee meeting of our Party, to develop a four-year plan of work and to make the qualitative change in our work that Comrade Hall spoke about today, has

stimulated a higher level of discussion in our district.

In our district discussions we have focused in on the tie-in between Party leadership in building mass struggles and building our press and Party.

When Comrade Henry Winston was in Los Angeles on October 19, the major problem for our district to solve was set forth: how to close the gap between the tremendous objective possibilities that exist today in building mass struggles, the Peoples World and our Party, and actually in life realizing this potential.

The solution of this foremost problem brings into play the question that Comrade Hall raised in his report to the October CC meeting: the subjective factor of the revolutionary process, i.e., organization, consciousness, cadre, planning, recruiting, etc.--the real human factor.

At our last district committee meeting, we identified what we believe is the key element--the main link in the chain--in closing this gap for our district. THE MOST DECISIVE ELEMENT IN ACHIEVING OUR DISTRICT GOALS OF BUILDING OUR PARTY'S INFLUENCE AND SIZE AND GREATLY EXPANDING OUR PRESS IS TO BUILD THE GENUINE, LASTING, GRASS-ROOTS BASED, LABOR-LED PEOPLES UNITED STRUGGLES AGAINST MONOPOLY. That is, to build the united front struggle against monopoly based on firm Marxist-Leninist principles and implemented according to the concrete realities of today.

Probing further, we established that the main danger in our district is one of sectarianism, manifested especially in the inability of most Party clubs to give leadership in building the

united front from below--from the grass-roots--among the people with whom our comrades work and live. This sectarianism results in the unnecessary isolation of our comrades from masses in struggle or who are prepared to struggle.

This sectarian shell must be discarded, must be thrown away for good, for us to make the break with routinism, to break out in making our press a mass instrument and our Party much, much larger.

We believe that the Party's independent policies must come through, and our voice should be loud and clear. This stresses the importance of the People's World, as well as our literature, our Marxist institutes and the Party's recruiting drive.

We view the struggle against racism as a central question in unifying the working class and people against monopoly. Anti-racist propaganda and ideological work are important and, to have mass impact, must be intertwined with the organization of masses in struggle. The struggle against racism will be an integral part of the economic fight-back, the campaign in the steel union, and in our other mass activities.

We plan to expand and deepen our educational work, including furthering the work of the national Instituto Del Pueblo and the Los Angeles Institute of Marxist Studies.

We plan to circulate 5000 copies of Comrade Hall's report to the 21st National Convention by early 1976, and to distribute 7500 copies by the time of the 22nd Convention. We also plan to fulfill our earlier goals to

distribute widely Comrade Winston's book Strategy for a Black Agenda. And we also plan to distribute Comrade Vic Perlo's book on the economics of racism.

Our district committee approved plans to obtain 800 new subscriptions in southern California in 1976. This will be a monumental task. However, because of improvements in our district's work, we are in a better position to help guarantee that decisions become reality. The People's World is an indispensable instrument in fully developing Communist mass work.

Of course, the job of getting 800 subs is not a task for just a small group of comrades. It requires the simultaneous effort of greatly expanding the level of Party initiative and consistency in building mass struggles and in making a determined, consistent effort by each and every Communist to obtain new readers for the paper.

It is felt by the district board that conferences specifically on the content of the PW should be held in the districts in early 1976, as an integral part of helping to guarantee the circulation objectives. We have taken steps in our district to attempt to improve the content of the articles on steel coming from our district.

On Party building, we have set a goal of recruiting 100 new members in 1976, which would be three times more than we recruited in 1975. We agree with national projections to triple the size of the district by 1979.

We want to focus our recruiting now on people who come to the Party primarily through involvement with us in united front struggles.

That is, through mass struggles. Likewise, we look forward to training and especially promoting cadre who, as Dimitrov states, are: "connected with the masses, enjoying the confidence of the masses...cadres capable of combining the practical experience of mass work with a Bolshevik's staunchness of principle."

We believe that the policies developed by our Party at its 21st National Convention are correct and meet the needs of the day. Our job, as Comrade Hall said then, is to "translate the decisions of the 21st Convention into reality." We want to be able to report not only plans, but the real, concrete experiences flowing from those plans.

We are confident that a Leninist approach to actually carrying out the Party's decisions cannot help but ensure that our plans will in fact become living reality. The time is over-ripe for a much larger Communist Party, not only in Southern California, but throughout our country.

SANDY PATRINOS, E. Pa.

The reports and contributions made here by comrades from other districts are really an inspiration to us in Eastern Pennsylvania and a challenge, I think. In the past, Eastern Pennsylvania has been a leader among the districts in the country on our overall work around the press. But in 1976 it's obvious we're going to have to work hard to keep up and maintain our position. The comments which were made from this platform indicate the beginnings of a breakthrough in our work with the paper. The reports have been inspirational. I would like to emphasize a couple of

things that we've begun to discuss in Eastern Pennsylvania as key to making new breakthroughs.

First of all, the concept that the entire Party in 1976 must be involved in building the press in order to build the Party. That this is the year that we must put an end to the kind of false division of labor in which clubs have mass workers on the one hand and comrades who work with the paper on the other hand. We've got to make every comrade a mass worker armed with our paper. We've got to bring the paper into those community organizations, into the shops and into the mass movements that we're trying to build. We have got to do that in order to help unite those movements because in this year it becomes increasingly important for activists in the economic struggle, unemployed workers, people involved in the fight against inflation and high prices to begin to see the links between their struggle and the movements and the struggles taking place around the world against racism, the struggles taking place against U.S. imperialism, and there's no instrument for doing that like our DW.

One of the questions which we see as very decisive is the relationship between press building and the 1976 Party election campaign. We had a statewide meeting in Pennsylvania over the Christmas holidays and at that meeting we agreed that we are going to get the Communist candidates on the ballot in the state of Pennsylvania in 1976 as we did in 1972. It is our intention also to run a candidate for U.S. Senate. As you may know, Pennsylvania along with the rest of the county succeeded in achieving the retirement of Hugh Scott from the Senate and so his seat is up

for grabs and we're going to do what we can to run a very different and new kind of Communist Party campaign for the U.S. Senate. We intend to take that campaign not only into the major cities in our state but also into some of the key industrial areas like Bethlehem, Scranton, Johnstown and others in a decisive way. We're going to use the DW in a very new and different way in this campaign in order that the campaign be a basis for building the Party throughout the state of Pennsylvania, which is, I think, the second or third most industrialized state in the country. We also see our election campaign as a real challenge to what we know the Wallace racist forces are going to do in our state. Wallace speaks in a very demagogic, distorted and racist way, to that very unrest and disaffiliation with the two major parties that we have to speak to. And we cannot allow George Wallace to go into those areas unchallenged. We must go in there we must take the DW with us, we must increase its circulation and we must sell subscriptions.

VITO M. - FLORIDA

Daily World readers and our Party in Florida are involved in the fight against S-1, in the senior citizens movement, against inflation, and on many questions. We've heard that some areas of the country think that in Florida we raise money for the press from just a few people. But I want to tell you that we had 430 people at our Annual Dinner for the D.W. in December. And from this kind of involvement of large numbers in support of our press, we are able to present \$10,038. today toward our goal.

FRANCES GABOW, ILLINOIS

I think that what is happening here is that we are opening up the great possibilities for really moving into those areas where we have long become accustomed to working in a habitual way, and breaking with some old habits. But old habits aren't that easy to break. So that as we probe we find that in the process of trying to break with them, certain things stand out and emerge in a way that we didn't notice before.

Gus Hall raised the question, how many of our book stores, how many of our institutions have material for subscriptions, for recruiting members? I have not seen a recruiting blank at this conference yet. There are none on that table.

Or, on literature, one of the leading comrades said to me last night, "What are you so busy about?" I answered, "Well I want to get the literature table set up tonight." He looked at me and said, "You mean you're going to sell literature here?" Well, comrades, we sold \$108 in literature here last night! The value of having the literature table everywhere is not only for those who will come up at that moment and buy the literature, but others see the expanse of our literature which helps districts and comrades working in the field to have ideas on what to order, where to get it, and how to get it. Comrades, we should be very proud. We have such an extensive literature today that we could fill up a book store with only our own Marxist-Leninist oriented literature. We have it-- and we're not yet using it. And that's the thing I want to get to.

I fully agree that we build a

major thrust with the Daily World. But comrades, using the Daily World properly means to build the Party. It doesn't happen automatically because you've given somebody a newspaper. Recruiting and building the Party means an effort to take the next steps, beyond the paper. I know, and I think everyone of us knows that there are comrades who are acting as delivery boys and deliver the paper to people for 15 years, and never get them out to a meeting, never get them to make a contribution and never go a step beyond the delivery. I'm not posing the question that it isn't important for that person to read the Daily World. What I'm saying is that there are sometimes other steps that have to be taken between the reader and the Party. And some of those steps can be filled in with literature.

It is regrettable that in the reports here today there was really no mention made of the use of literature. We have to make a special effort to examine that large gap between the tremendous outlay of literature and how we use it. We succeed when we exert special effort; for example, the use of The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back, by Gus Hall. In our district we ordered 7,000 copies. About 5,000 are out and 2,000 to go, which is 2,000 above our quota.

We need a plan and a program on literature that's going to break through and build those bridges between our whole mass field and our Party building drive. Maybe it means a special literature conference to guarantee this.

* * *

I WANT TO SPEAK FOR A FEW MINUTES ON A SUBJECT WHICH IS SADLY
NEGLECTED AND THAT IS THE SUBJECT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS, AS IT AFFECTS
THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN THE U.S. !

By Billy Allan, Michigan

Many times we express admiration for the bourgeois press as to how these prostitutes are able to sell the people whole batches of misinformation. I don't have the time to tell you about the revolution that's going on in the Newspaper Guild, or what's happening among the workers here on TV and Radio. But there's a tremendous desire among them to know what we think and what we're talking about. And new possibilities exist in many places for us to break in to the bourgeois press, to the radio, to the television. I suggest some ideas as to how to do this in the few minutes I have. Number one, I think that in connection with establishing Bureaus, every district should try to have two or three comrades including a district party leader and sit down and establish themselves as a Daily World Bureau. Just like that! You don't need to major in journalism at the university to do that. A leading comrade of the district must devote a little time to help and encourage the comrades of the local Bureau. Things are happening in Angola, things are happening regarding the military budget, Gus Hall comes to town, Henry Winston comes to town, many other events take place. This band of young Bureau enthusiasts, turn them loose, they will take our leaders up to the city rooms, they will bug the city editors, they will say, "These are notable citizens come to our town, interview them!" When Jarvis Tyner came to our district when he was running for Vice President in 1972, I went to the TV station and they interviewed him right on the sidewalk and put it in the news. Our young comrades in the League can break down walls which we old timers are afraid to even start trying to break down.

Secondly, there are many important news events that the paper should be covering. Kissinger came to our town. The NCLC too, was at the press conference and he jumped up and made his usual speech about Rockefeller and after he sat down, a very sharp young woman got up and said, "I'm from the Daily World, Mr. Kissinger," and she threw him a \$64 question. He never quivered when the NCLC had the floor but when this question came from the Daily World he knew his double talk was in trouble.

We had a story, but unfortunately the Daily World did not print it, that this young comrade of ours squeezed out of Kissinger. Print your Bureau people a press card, with a union label on it please (not labor donated) and turn them loose--and these wonderful young comrades will take on the bourgeois press. We don't have to have the pro's. They'll break in, they'll get our people on page 1 and they'll show how to struggle for Socialism.

* * *

FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE

HANLEY HEMMINGSON - MINNESOTA:

I am a farmer. I function politically without a close collective since there isn't one in the area. I'm sure that in this way I make mistakes, but I think it is better to make some mistakes than to sit on the side. Recently in our community there was a struggle in the school. I began to attend the school meetings and picked up a rather quick education on the issues there. I was in a good position to participate because the D.W. has had much material on other school strikes and the issues of school financing, etc. In this case the teachers' struggle was a just one, and they were forced into a strike situation. My wife and I functioned with them at their strike headquarters, and when a public meeting was held by the board, it turned out that I was the only one who spoke in behalf of the teachers. The teachers felt we were very helpful to them, and they listen to our views. Our press is invaluable in giving us confidence to speak on these issues. Several now have a copy of CRISIS OF U.S. CAPITALISM...

At the last County fair, we had a petition to nationalize petroleum. At a small fair this kind of thing can be very successful and it was amazing the support we got. People who signed certainly know that it's time for a change.

CLARA JORGENSEN - MINNESOTA:

I'm one of the rare species people don't think much about any more. I'm a farmer. I would like to see some articles on farming and farmers in our press. Thirty percent of the jobs in Minnesota are generated by agriculture. There is great misunderstanding even by comrades of farmers and their problems, and there isn't the sensitivity there should be. Agriculture is something we should pay closer attention to...food is not grown on supermarket shelves, you know. Many of the events that happen related to agriculture are important for everyone to know about. For instance, at the recent National Conference of Mayors, the mayor of St. Paul, Minn., got a resolution passed requesting a national food policy. And at the last Farmers Union Convention there was a resolution calling upon the federal government to guarantee a nutritionally adequate diet for all Americans.

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Proposals:

ADOPTED AT THE EAST COAST, AND THE MIDWEST
PRESS AND PARTY BUILDING CONFERENCES,
January 10-11, 1976:

I.

1. Adoption of fund drive goals by each district, period January 1 - May 15th, plus 10% after May 15th for shop bundles.
2. Adoption of circulation goals:
 - a. 3,000 new 6-month or longer subs.
 - b. 10,000 increase in paid bundle circulation.
 - c. Fight for 85% renewal rate on all regular subs.
3. Each district to have a Press Director to coordinate all activities.
4. Every district large enough to build a "Friends of the Daily World" organization. Other areas to build "Readers' Clubs."
5. Each club to have a Press Director.
6. Every club order a regular paid bundle.
7. Move quickly to involve DW readers in forums, mass activities, correspond with the press, etc., which will help us be in close touch and active relationship with most readers. This will assist the renewal rate and help us extend the press apparatus.
8. Special attention to reaching the goals for the monthly steel bundles, and getting these copies to steelworkers.
9. Each member of CC, NC and district leadership to undertake specific goals in press work and new subs. Other activity such as renewals to be worked out with comrade's Party club.

(Cont'd - next page)

II.

1. Press staff to take the lead, with full Party support and assistance, to organize writers' bureaus in concentration district and industries.
2. Prompt attention to promotional literature for DW (and PW) drive.
3. National initiatives to establish a national framework for "Friends of the Daily World" as soon as possible.
4. Special sub offer on the steel bundle of 4-months free sub.
5. Special FREE introductory sub blank to use in connection with petition campaign and election year.
6. That expiration lists be regularly available to all districts and to the National Org. Dept.
7. That special goals, public events, etc., be worked out to welcome the 4-page Spanish paper when it comes out.
8. That efforts be made to convene a broad DW Readers' Conference in 1976, after the elections.
9. Special recognition be worked out for contributions of \$1,000 and \$500 to the Fund Drive.

* * *

Proposals:

ADOPTED AT THE WEST
COAST PRESS AND PARTY
BUILDING CONFERENCE,
January 17-18, 1976:

the PEOPLE'S WORLD

1. That each district use last year's Fund Drive quotas as a guide, and that each club, section, county and district make every effort to INCREASE last year's quotas.
2. That this conference adopt a subscription drive quota of 1050 new 6-month or longer subs, with the Northwest having a quota of 200; Northern California of 400; Southern California of

(Cont'd next page)

400; and New Mexico-Arizona-San Antonio area a quota of 50.

3. The Fund Drive and the Sub Drive to start as of January 1st and to be completed by July 4th.
4. That an additional circulation drive take place after the July 4th completion of this drive, for the purpose of completing the effort to double the circulation of the People's World in 1976.
5. That all districts establish a renewal apparatus as a special section of the press apparatus, with a goal of achieving 85% renewal rate.
6. That each district elect a press director to coordinate all activities: Funds, Subs, plant gate and club bundles, and broader press activities.
7. That all districts plan to publicly welcome the Spanish section of the paper with receptions and special events.
8. That all districts give special attention by all levels of Party leadership and membership to develop a press apparatus that is in touch with at least 90% of the readers, involving them in some activity in their communities, readers clubs, forums, correspondence with the press, etc. which will improve the rate of renewals, and further extend the mass influence of our press and the Party.
9. That the staff of the paper take the lead in organizing writers' bureaus for correspondents in concentration areas and industries.
10. That special attention be made to steel workers of the \$1 for 8 weeks trial sub in the steel issues of the paper.
11. Each member of the Central Committee, the National Council, and district leadership take specific goals in press work, new subs and paid bundle readers; to work out some activity and renewal of subs with their clubs.
12. Every Party member to pledge an amount of time each week to press work in some form, with a minimum of two hours per week or 8 hours per month.
13. That every district with sufficient readers have a Friends of the People's World organization, and without exception every area to organize readers' clubs or some similar form of activity.
14. That each club elect a press director as a member of the club executive.
15. That each district organize regular distribution of the paper

to key industrial plants in other concentration industries besides Steel, and that for the districts on the Coast this include distribution to Longshore, which is now a national concentration.

16. That each district examine the club and individual bundle orders with an effort to increase the bundles now being used. The Coast Press Committee wants to emphasize this method rather than by increasing street racks, unless they are individual racks.

*

The following motions were adopted by the conference and are binding on all West Coast districts:

1. That each district is to elect, appoint, or by volunteer a comrade who is in charge of renewals work (separate from the Press Director). This person is to record renewals, keep records, recruit others to help in the work, and send reports back to the Berkeley office to Toya Robinson.
2. For the Spanish edition, each state is to assign a person to take charge and be responsible for reporting Chicano activity in their area.

MOTION DIRECTED TO NATIONAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

1. That this conference go on record to ask the Political Committee to re-establish the post of West Coast Editor of the magazine to help guarantee that it reflect important events, analysis and developments on the West Coast as a national magazine, and we urge that it be a full-time post.

MOTION DIRECTED TO THE WEST COAST PRESS COMMITTEE

1. Headlines to correspond to content of stories.
2. Reference on front page to inside stories.
3. Request on front page to ask people to take a subscription (particularly Steel issues).

* * *

SUMMARY:

"ANYONE ELSE COULD SAY, 'THESE HAVE BEEN WONDERFUL CONFERENCES,' BUT WE CAN'T DO THAT BECAUSE FOR US HOW SUCCESSFUL A CONFERENCE IS ISN'T DECIDED AT THE CONFERENCE BUT BY WHAT IS DONE, CONCRETELY, AFTERWARD. THAT WILL TELL US WHETHER THESE WERE WONDERFUL CONFERENCES."

GUS HALL

Our Party is doing some very fine work, and on a much higher level. And some of these experiences! what comrades have to do to get to shop gates regularly -- well, the whole Party should hear about them.

And I've thought about it, that maybe my opening remarks were too critical, and concentrated too much on weaknesses. And although I've given that side of it some thought, on the whole I have come to the conclusion that the criticism was justified, despite all the very good work. It is justified from the standpoint of what is now possible and necessary.

One of the themes running through these conferences is that in Party building, we must do more to keep the door of the Party open to all honest workers and people, so it is not difficult for them to come in. We have to further develop the concept of welcoming recruits into our Party. In addition, we must pay careful attention to make it as easy as possible for people who are not in the Party to work with us.

There is a new sense of confidence in our Party. It is because we have emerged on a new level as a Party in the U.S., starting from the 21st Convention, and we have a new status in the country. There is a new respect for our Party, even by those who disagree with us.

We are in a new relationship with the Left and we should realize this. It should give us a certain style of work. Liberalism is in a kind of crisis - they are hesitant to break with reaction and hesitant to join with the working class. As for the New American Movement, it is less and less a serious movement, and is becoming more a kind of hobby, formulating and reformulating resolutions, which also flows from their elitist concepts.

Again, on the changed political climate, FORTUNE magazine

has the first of three articles on Communism and Angola, which they say is possibly the most important series they have had in some time. I want to quote from it on Maoism:

"The policy of the Peoples Republic of China no longer has a leftist look to it. The Chinese are obviously putting their own state interests ahead of any claim to proletarian internationalism. The Chinese line up in support of the regime in Chile, in Portugal, and the NLF in Angola, which the United States also supports. All of this has left Maoist radicals around the world feeling that they have been 'sold out.' This leaves the Russians taking a lot less ideological heat from the Chinese."

If we can now organize our work to carry out the decisions of these conferences, we can make the qualitative turn. Anyone else could say that these have been wonderful conferences. But we cannot say that because for us how successful a conference is isn't decided at the conference, but by what is done, concretely, afterward. That will tell us whether these were wonderful conferences.

Comrades, the question is not whether we will move forward, it is when and how soon!

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Editor's Notes: Some contributions at these Conferences were not available, because the drive belt broke on the E.Coast Conf. tape recorder on Sunday; the recorder volume was too high for the room site in Chicago, making parts of Sunday's tape unusable.

We did not include the remarks of Dorothy Robinson, John Gallo or Phyllis Willett of the business and circulation staffs, as these have by now appeared in their respective papers.