

PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

OCTOBER • 1937 •

BUILD THE PARTY!

The Drive Opens

Recruit the Masses! —Stachel

A Foundation for Recruiting—Cacchione

Let the Masses Know Our Party
—F. Brown

Building the Y.C.L. in Industry—Wernick

We Must Reach New People —Mucci

The Party Shall Be Built in Ohio!
—Goldfrank

Mass Work and Party Building
—Braverman

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PARTY ORGANIZER

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NO. 10

The Drive Opens

ON SEPTEMBER 1, the two-month recruiting campaign launched by the Central Committee officially opened.

The month of August has been a month of preparations. Conferences of the central states in Chicago, of the Atlantic and Eastern states in New York, of the Middle West states in Minneapolis, of the Southern states in Chattanooga; meetings of Party leaders in trade unions as in New York, Philadelphia, and other centers; state, county and section committee meetings, functionaries' and membership meetings, unit and branch meetings—throughout the country these have taken steps to mobilize the membership and concretize the Central Committee directives.

Reports thus far received indicate that considerable enthusiasm for the drive has been aroused. This is good. But this is only the first step. Enthusiasm must be harnessed to *organization*. Planning must be followed up by *action*, by *control of decisions*.

Every day now counts. Every branch, industrial unit, shop nucleus, and fraction meeting, if well-planned and organized, can result in hundreds of new members.

The directives of the Central Committee declare:

“The two-month recruiting drive . . . is the primary immediate task before the Party today. It must focus attention upon all the problems of Party building, and *make maximum use of all available resources, experi-*

ences and forces. It must set the entire Party in motion and lay the base for continuous mass recruiting. . . .

"The two-month recruiting campaign is a drive for mass recruiting. Our Party everywhere has established close contacts with thousands of people who have cooperated with us in united front activity. *These can be brought into the Party.* We have recruited in recent months many outstanding builders of the C.I.O. unions and militant leaders in the people's struggle for liberty and progress. *Through these people who have the confidence of masses, our Party is now in a position to recruit not hundreds, but many thousands into our ranks.* This must be our goal."

The objective conditions are favorable for Party building. We have the program; we have the energy and enthusiasm; we have the forces!

Let us go forward to make this two-month recruiting campaign a landmark in the growth and further development of our Party!

Recruit the Masses!

By JACK STACHEL

WISH to deal with a number of vital problems in the Party recruiting drive.*

Last year our Party recruited 25,000 members. The average recruitment is 2,000 members per month for the entire country. That ought to prove one thing—that despite all obstacles, despite the "Red scare" and shortcomings in our work, 25,000 American workers each year profess their desire to become members of our Party. That, in itself, should show whether workers can be brought into the Party or not.

*From a speech delivered at the Central States Conference on Party Building, held in Chicago on August 22, 1937.

We can establish something else. It has been revealed that in Cleveland, out of a membership of 2,000, only 200 or about 10 per cent participated in recruiting. This is very high compared with the average figure in other districts which is less than 5 per cent (as I had occasion to check recently at a functionaries' meeting in Connecticut). We know that a very small fraction of the Party membership participates in recruiting; and yet 25,000 workers entered our Party last year. That means that in this campaign, if we mobilize a substantial part of our Party membership to recruit, there is no question that in the next two months' period, we can recruit *tens* of thousands of Party members.

Today we are not only dealing with an ordinary situation in the country. There is no question that during the last period the workers have learned a great deal. Not only have millions joined the unions, not only are workers becoming more class conscious, but the experience of the recent period, both internationally and within the country, with regard to the development of the People's Front movement, the failure of the last session of Congress to adopt adequate social and labor legislation, the experience and the fight for trade union unity, have brought lessons to the working class as to the correctness of the program and activity of the Communist Party. And if in such a situation we mobilize a large section of the Party membership to recruit, we are going to have a more than gratifying success in this campaign.

The difficulty always is that each one of us is inclined to think that someone else is meant when we say recruit. The Party will recruit, the district will recruit, the section will recruit, the unit will recruit. But very often we forget that the Party is made up from top to bottom of living individuals and unless these individuals are involved, there is no abstract Party, district, section or unit to do the work. The strength of the Party depends on how each Party member carries out the Party's policies and performs his duties and task. The difficulty is not that the membership cannot be activated or refuses to be activated. It is

simply a question of organizing the initiative and activity of our Party members for this task.

We sometimes forget—we talk so much of work in mass organizations—that our Party is also a mass organization. It also consists of masses. It also has its own laws. We also have to have organizational leadership, and have to work with great care within the Party, just as in a mass organization, to draw the members together, to see that they are made comfortable, so to speak, in the work they have to carry on. We have to organize our work in such a manner that the more experienced comrades will work in teams with the less experienced, show them where to begin and help them perform their tasks. If we work on this basis, mobilizing the membership and showing them what to do, I feel certain we will have a tremendous response.

In analyzing the reasons for the slow growth of the Party at the last Central Committee meeting, we came to certain conclusions. We found that in order to overcome our weaknesses we have to tackle the problem in a two-fold manner. First, we must consider our political weaknesses with regard to bringing forward the Party, to registering what the Party does.

We talk about independent activity. What do we mean by this? We mean that the workers should identify the deeds of the Party with the Party itself. Very often things are done, things of which we can be proud, but which very few people are able to identify with our Party. As Comrade Browder has said again and again, we must be modest and not advertise ourselves in a vulgar manner which will repel people; but that does not mean that we must always cover ourselves up so much that nobody can recognize us. If we do that, we may assume an appearance which will frighten people away. But if we show ourselves correctly, we will attract the masses.

The second important questions which was stressed was attention to the actual task of recruiting. Mere talk and even the best activities of distributing literature, organizing meetings, and doing better Party work in general,

will not bring results if we miss one more thing—attention to recruiting and organization. We know many cases where there have been mass meetings of tens of thousands of workers of which the Party could be proud, where no effort was made to recruit. Naturally that shows that it is possible to do everything which could lead to recruiting and then fail to recruit simply because we don't recruit.

The Central Committee meeting stressed the question of the inner organization of the units, something very closely connected with the growth of the Party. For our Party has not increased in numbers corresponding to the recruiting. There is still too high a fluctuation in our ranks. The first few months are the hardest. The attention we give to the new members, how we receive and educate them, how we make friends with them, what work we give them—these are the problems which determine whether they remain in the Party or not. These are the problems to which we must give most serious consideration.

Some comrades express certain ideas in this way: The C.I.O. is organizing the unorganized; it is even leading struggles, as we saw in Michigan, against high rents; the unions and the C.I.O., through Labor's Non-Partisan League, are taking up more political issues; what role, then, is there really for our Party except to advocate revolution, which the workers are not yet convinced about today? And, these comrades may think, the revolution is not yet popular, so we cannot even advocate that; therefore, there is very little we can say to influence workers to join the Party.

Such ideas must be speedily overcome. True, in the past, we were the only ones fighting for unemployment insurance, leading strikes in 1929, 1930, 1931. Now others are also doing this. The Workers Alliance is leading the fight for relief and the C.I.O. is leading strikes. But the role of the Party assumes greater importance although it is somewhat different than in the early periods, precisely because millions have been organized and activated, and we can now go more freely to larger

masses with the broadest issues of the class struggle, including the struggle for socialism.

What role did the Central Committee give to our Party in relation to all the developing mass movements? First, our Party is the best mobilizer, organizer and fighter for the very things which are commonly agreed upon by forces advocating the People's Front, by the C.I.O., by other progressive forces. For proof, take any strike, any election campaign. Where can work be carried through most successfully if not in those places where we have Communists?

Our Party has drawn the lessons of the necessity for more independent political activity on the part of labor. Certainly we have great possibilities to enrich the masses' understanding of their experiences, to show how we can accelerate the building of the People's Front, the Farmer-Labor Party. The workers are learning that the Party is flesh and blood of the working class, the most advanced, self-sacrificing part of it, which can always throw the searchlight of Marxism-Leninism on the path the people must travel in order most effectively to carry on the struggle towards our goal. They are learning to value the experience and understanding which our Party is able to bring to the struggle, the experience of a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, with the great experiences of the world movement, of the Russian revolution, of victorious socialism in the Soviet Union.

Certainly these teachings furnish us with great weapons with which to equip the masses, even those who desire only to fight for an immediate program. But as they fight, as they have victories and defeats, the masses learn, and ask questions. Millions are asking the question, "What now?" when they see wage increases followed by high prices and rents; when they see union organization accompanied by company unions; when they see the war danger growing. What answer can we give to the miner who, after winning \$6 a day, loses his job because of mechanization? What answer can we give to tens of millions who remain unemployed? What answer can we give to workers, who, after being told about peace and prosperity,

see a war against all China on the part of Japanese imperialism, a fascist invasion of democratic Spain, which already threatens to engulf all peoples in a new world war? What answers can we give to the problems which the working people cannot help but raise, except our answer, our program—socialism? What answer except that the working class cannot confine itself to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, but must use their organized forces to strike at the cause of all their sufferings, to change the entire capitalist system. The trade unions and other working class organizations fighting for immediate needs cannot by themselves accomplish this. *Our Communist Party is needed.* And with this, tens of thousands can be won to our side.

The Central Committee of our Party, realizing the present great possibilities before us, realizing the willingness of our Party membership, as proven a thousand times, to fight and to sacrifice, is going to organize its work in such a manner as to best utilize the great energy and devotion of our comrades in order to emerge out of this recruiting campaign a stronger Party, strengthened in understanding, strengthened by a great increase in membership.

Our Party today occupies a position of prominence in the labor movement and those who really want to fight against any of the attacks of the capitalist class know they can count upon us. It is no accident that Communists are placed in leading posts in mass movements, for Communists have proven they can be trusted, that they know how to work and organize. How much more will we be accepted as an integral part of the labor movement, of the People's Front when, instead of a Party of 50,000, we will be a Party of 100,000!

It should make our comrades proud to think of a Party of 100,000 in the United States! It should enthrall each one to think of the possibility of saying, "I am a member of a Communist Party of 100,000, with organized discipline; a Party which leads millions!" For a Party of 100,000 can and will lead millions!

Such is the immediate task before us in the Party recruiting campaign. Let us go forward with boldness, energy, and will, with confidence in our ability to achieve our aims!

The National Party Builders' Congress

THE National Party Builders Congress will be held in New York City on November 11, 12 and 13. The congress will discuss concretely the experiences and lessons of the Party Building campaign, and mobilize the Party Builders for continuous recruiting. The delegates will be honored at a banquet, will have an opportunity to tour the city and will be guests of honor at the Madison Square Garden celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution on November 13.

All districts are entitled to send a minimum of two delegates to the congress. In addition, the larger districts—New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Seattle, California, Boston, etc.—are entitled to send one additional delegate for every hundred members recruited. Smaller districts—in the South, Middle West, etc.—may send one additional delegate for every 50 members recruited.

Delegates to the congress are to be chosen from among those comrades who have the best recruiting record during the campaign.

This congress must become a stimulating force for the promotion of socialist competition among the active Party Builders, and for stirring individual comrades to recruit so that the district may send a larger number of delegates.

All districts, counties and sections should mobilize a large group of active Party comrades to compete for the privilege of being chosen as a delegate to the congress.

their names should be popularized; records of their recruiting made available so as to stimulate their own competition, as well as that among the Party members in general. These comrades should be invited to speak at unionaries' meetings, membership meetings, selected branch meetings, to state how they propose to get the new members that they are determined to recruit. In any one city these comrades can be called together for discussion with a leading representative of the state committee on methods of developing their campaign.

The *Party Organizer* welcomes all news about these individual comrades for publication. *On to the Party Builders' Congress!*

Recruit the Negro People

A *N Appeal to the Negro People*, a stirring analysis of the role of the Communist Party among the Negro people and a ringing call to the Negro masses to join the Party is now being published in pamphlet form by the Central Organizational-Educational Commission. It is signed by outstanding and nationally known Negro Communists, including James W. Ford, Angelo Herndon, Harry Heywood, Maude White, Merrill Work and Louise Thompson.

The *Appeal* declares:

“During the last ten years, a great change in the outlook of the Negro people in the United States has taken place. The Communist Party has helped to start this rebirth in the life of the Negro people, the like of which has not been seen since the great abolitionist and emancipation movement prior to the Civil War. The leadership of the Communist Party and its organization of struggles for equal rights and opportunities for cultural advancement are bearing results.”

The *Appeal* discusses the role of the Communist Party in the Scottsboro case, and in the successful struggle to free Angelo Herndon. It shows how our Party has consistently fought for political and trade union equality and rights, for social and economic equality. It describes the work of our Party in the South.

The Central Organizational - Educational Commission urges all branches and units of our Party, particularly those carrying on work among the Negro masses, to select and distribute these pamphlets widely, utilizing the *Appeal* as an instrument with which to increase the recruiting of Negro people.

The directives of the Central Committee on the Party recruiting drive states:

"All districts shall give special attention to the problem of winning Negro masses for the Party. . . . The districts shall bring forward Negro forces, men and women, as organizers and agitators in the recruiting drive, involving them directly in the leadership of the drive. Tours shall be arranged for Negro comrades. Efforts shall be made particularly to recruit from among the Negro masses newly organized in basic industries."

This is one of the fundamental tasks facing all districts of the Party in the two-month recruiting campaign.

The Story of Our Unit

By G. LELAND

THIS is a report of some experiences in an important East Bay unit of comrades active in a trade union. A year ago this unit had about twenty members in regular attendance. The comrades had considerable influence in the union. At last January's registration, this unit had about ten members and not more than four or five

attended regularly. Their influence in the union had diminished.

Why had this happened?

Our comrades had helped to build this union, to defeat the reactionaries and make it a progressive force. While they were thus active in the union they built the Party unit also. But when the union's progressive character was assured, then a bad approach to the problem of retaining the new Party members and continuing to build the Party developed, which resulted in the beginning of dissolution of the unit. This happened for a number of reasons:

1. The newly-recruited men were good, militant trade unionists who respected the Party and followed its leadership. But they were not yet really Communists. They had been fighting for a rank-and-file progressive union. When they got it, the fight seemed over.

2. The leading Party comrades in the unit did not take the trouble to give personal attention to the development of the new Party members. They made the mistake of thinking that the new comrades were fully Communists and understanding as soon as they began to attend unit meetings.

3. The above was the result of a lack of understanding on the part of the unit leadership, of the relation of the Party and our members to a progressive union.

The new members recruited in the heat of battle felt that there was no need for the Party after the battle was won. And there was no education in the unit as to how Communist work may be carried on among trade unionists, what our *political* policies and perspectives are. There was no collective leadership in the unit. Until the last week of June we did not have a functioning unit bureau.

But now the situation is being taken in hand. A new leadership is being developed in the unit. The comrades now realize their mistake in neglecting educational work, and the unit is now having good "educationals"—as on the people's Legislative Conference, and aid to Spain. We will lack the unifying influence of a healthy unit social life. The problems we faced taught us that we must build the

Party. During the period of going downhill, we were doing no recruiting. Now we have a recruiting drive on and realize that recruiting should all along have been part of our day-to-day Party work. We are concentrating on a couple of shops, so that we will be able to set up one or two shop units soon. Our comrades in the union are regaining their position.

What were the lessons we learned?

1. That Party work and trade union work are inseparable and must go forward together.

2. That the union members recruited into the Party must be educated on Party policy.

3. That the unit bureau must function.

All these things are necessary, or else the unit will go to pieces.

A Foundation for Recruiting

By P. CACCHIONE

I WANT to deal with the role of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* in relation to Party building.

We have in our county 180 units and over 100 of these are shop and industrial units. Our biggest problem on the question of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* is to involve the shop and industrial units into building the circulation.

Where we have succeeded in getting a shop or industrial unit to move on the question of the *Daily Worker* we have had remarkable results.

Our industrial unit of retail clerks, for example, decided that not only would our own comrades sell the *Daily Worker*, but they would persuade sympathizers in the retail clerks' union to do something about it as well. The result was that clerks in stores, Party and non-Party, too

four or five papers each and sold them to the customers of the stores. The unit takes about 300 a week.

Take the shipyard strike. The strikers were Catholic workers; many were very prejudiced. The Red scare existed when the strike broke out. Our comrades went with the *Daily Worker* and they were chased away from the picket line. In order not to antagonize the strikers, they went to the union hall to sell the papers. They were able to sell copies of the *Daily Worker* and talk to the workers, so that in the closing days of the strike the comrades were able to go to the picket line and give out the *Daily Worker*.

At the beginning of the strike we had a weak unit of five comrades, fearful of coming forward as Communists. At the end of the strike the comrades were openly working as Communists and had recruited thirty-five, among them some of the Red-baiters who had chased them away at the beginning of the strike. Our comrades had fought for relief for these strikers, taken them to the relief bureaus and got checks for them. This experience helped to win them for the Party.

Here is another example. Comrades working in the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Company accepted most enthusiastically the plan of the Central Committee for recruiting. They discussed the *Daily Worker* and ordered 1,000 of the special Labor Day C.I.O. edition, to be distributed at places on the B.M.T. They discussed what they could do to bring the paper into the union and build the circulation there. They selected three members of the unit, comrades who worked in the shop, respected and loved by the workers, to bring in the *Daily Worker*, discuss the questions raised in the paper and start to get subscriptions, thus beginning to come out openly as Communists. This will help to make the workers, who are mostly Catholics, realize that the Communists are working for the interests of the union.

We had hard work to break down the Red scare among the comrades on the B.M.T. Stories were being circulated that the C.I.O. Transport Workers Union was controlled

by the Communists. A large number of names of supposed Communists were sent to Father Coughlin's paper which is read by many Catholic people in Brooklyn. Then just before the union poll was taken among the transport workers, an official of the B.M.T. told the workers to go to church that Sunday and hear what the priests had to say about the union. The workers went, and in churches in Brooklyn and Queens there were delivered most vicious sermons against the union. The workers were very indignant about this, and in fact the sermons acted as a boomerang against the Red-baiters, with the workers voting overwhelmingly for the C.I.O. union.

This helped to break down the Red scare. Our comrades prepared for an open meeting, and invited at least fifteen workers who were all recruited into the Party.

We can look forward to our comrades in transport who have been weak in Party recruiting, to do really effective job in building the *Daily Worker* and the Party during this campaign.

Now as to another weakness. If we analyze the percentage of our membership in the branches and in the industrial and shop units that read the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, we find that our comrades in the branches read the *Daily Worker* to a higher percentage. For many of our industrial and shop units function only as trade union fractions, do not take up political problems and the tasks of our Party. The conception in the industrial unit is that the campaign of the *Daily Worker* and other political campaigns are the job of the comrades in the street branches only. We must work hard to break down this wrong approach.

One of the first tasks we have in getting new members is to gain subscribers to the *Daily Worker*. The worker who become readers of our press are able to understand the Party better, and this makes it easier to recruit them.

This goes in line with the need for carrying on an educational campaign to make the Party membership, and especially the comrades in the trade unions, understand the importance of building the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday*

Worker. If the comrades in the trade unions were consistently building the *Daily Worker*, they would have no trouble in building the Party and getting many of the intricate problems before the trade unions passed on the floor, for the *Daily Worker* itself would lay the basis for educating the members of the union to carry out correct policies.

Let the Masses Know Our Party

by F. BROWN

THERE is today tremendous enthusiasm among the leading Party forces for our recruiting campaign. The problem before us is to transmit this enthusiasm to the tens of thousands of Party members in all districts. We will succeed in this task if the recruiting drive will be really organized. This means: if the recruiting commissions will function properly; if the leading comrades will go to the lower organizations of the Party, assisting them with advice and concrete guidance; if we will be able to organize our forces that are active in the trade unions, our forces active in the fraternal organizations, active in other fields.

But more than that. The recruiting drive will be successful to the extent that we will be able to raise our agitation and propaganda to a higher level. This means that during the recruiting drive we must utilize to the fullest extent the *Daily Worker*, the *Sunday Worker*, the language press, all the magazines under the influence of the Party which bring the Party program before the masses. We must make better use of the radio, and especially of the hundreds of shop papers. Here in the shop papers we have

a powerful instrument at our disposal. Through them we can reach hundreds of thousands in the shops, in the unions, in the neighborhoods. The problem is how to utilize this loud speaker to make it tell its message, to bring before the masses our program—our immediate program and ultimate aims.

I think that from now on we must realize that to go to the masses it is not necessary to be perfect, skilful orators or writers. I think that each one of our members should be able to bring before the masses our program and aims, and convince them with simple arguments.

We can remind them of the bitter misery of millions of unemployed during the Hoover administration, and how it was our Party which raised the slogans of adequate relief, of unemployment and social insurance, organizing demonstrations, playing a leading role in marches to Washington and in developing the mass pressure which forced the government to grant relief.

Today, we are confronted with a powerful C.I.O. movement for industrial unionism. It is a known fact that our Party gave this movement its fullest support from the beginning. We have done so not only because we fully understand the economic significance of industrial unionism, for which we have campaigned for years, but because we know the tremendous value of powerful industrial unions in the struggle against the reactionary forces and fascism, because we understand the role of the C.I.O. as one of the most powerful bulwarks for the preservation of democracy. It is for this reason that so many of our comrades, with no ulterior motives, gave their best to help build such a powerful movement. And their tireless work is today appreciated by the masses.

This is another argument that we must bring before the people to prove that our interests are not different from theirs. But there are many more such arguments, as, for example, the position of our Party at the time of the 1936 Presidential election campaign, when we demanded the defeat of the Republican-Liberty League combination. Certainly the Party was one of the factors in

allying the American masses to defeat the American Tories. We should explain this to the masses.

Today, everywhere, progressive movements are springing up. And everyone who is honest knows that our Party has contributed to the development of these movements, that our Party already for the last two years agitated and acted for the building of a People's Front. For we know that a powerful instrument the People's Front is for the maintenance of democracy, for the defeat of fascism and reaction. The examples of France and Spain are the best proof. Our comrades everywhere are demonstrating how strong we are in defense of democracy, menaced by fascism, how our words are followed by deeds. Surely this is being exemplified in the heroic struggle of hundreds of American, French and other Communists on the anti-fascist battlefield in Spain.

Comrades, we have nothing to hide. Our books are open, our deeds speak for our sincerity. The main question is to make known our position to the broadest masses, to answer the slanderous campaigns of our enemies with arguments that are supported by facts, by our daily work.

I am more than confident that our recruiting drive will be successful if we will keep constantly in mind the political and organizational role that our Party must play to bring about the defeat of fascism, of the black forces of reaction.

You know that the reactionaries and the fascist forces are very aggressive everywhere. Spain has been invaded by Italian and German fascist bands. China is being invaded by Japanese militarists. The reactionaries are trying again to gather strength in this country as well. We must not forget what happened in Congress, the defeat and mutilation of bills and measures by which the masses would have benefited.

While we are discussing and planning how to build the Communist Party, the reactionaries are actively plotting against the democratic forces of our country. Under the very nose of the government, the Nazis are gathering and drilling in thousands, agents of the Nazi Intelligence Service operate freely. If the authorities would make it

their business really to investigate, they would find some thing that would alarm the whole country. Who does not know that the Nazis are preparing an army in our land that the Italian fascists, the Greek fascists, the White guardists are part and parcel of the Nazi movement; that these fascist forces are crystallizing, preparing, working hand in hand with the Liberty Leaguers, with the reactionary forces in our country?

We, the Communists, must be alert and vigilant, and influence labor to stand on guard. We must be more and more active, we must build the Party into a mass Party because we know the role that our Party will have to play in bringing about unity of all the progressive forces, which is a prerequisite to defeat the forces of reaction. We must realize and keep in mind all the time that our Party has a historic mission to perform. Whether the progressive forces or the reactionaries will win in the United States will depend a great deal on the growth and activities of our Party.

How New Kensington Works

By M. STANOVICH

I WANT to point out the mass work in the New Kensington section of the Pittsburgh District* to give an idea of what we are doing.

We decided to get an ambulance to send to Spain by Labor Day. Through the work of Communists and progressive forces, money was contributed by the Central Labor body, the unions and other mass organizations. We have already raised over \$900 in connection with this and expect to raise the remainder in the next few days.

Now about the struggle against vigilanteism. We have

*From speech at District Party-Building Conference.

earned something as a result of the vigilante groups in Johnstown and we did not want to have the same experience in New Kensington. Our comrades got busy, and helped to influence the Aluminum Union, with a membership of 6,000, to call a united front conference for democratic rights. The conference was held. The delegates were mainly from the trade unions, from the Central Labor body, the Miners Union, the glass and steel unions, from the Republican and Democratic clubs and from religious groups. It was a good conference, and we are preparing for another.

These are examples of Party mass work which are fundamental to recruiting new members.

On recruiting. Of the five delegates we have at this conference, four are trade union leaders, and one is very active in the International Workers Order. Our section had suffered much as a result of many of our forces having been taken out of Party organization work, and put onto other work. The district has decided to remedy this and a miner, one of our most active comrades, the vice-president of one of the biggest coal locals, has now been made our section organizer.

Last week we had a meeting of the section where we were to take up only one point, recruiting and the financial drive, and where the most active comrades in the Party and the trade unions were to be present. There were twenty-five people in attendance and they pledged individually to bring into the Party fifty-five new members within the period of two months. We had this meeting Wednesday night, and now, a few days later, I find that already two of the comrades have fulfilled their quota and have turned in the applications of the new members they had agreed to get. This shows that the enthusiasm and spirit are there.

We haven't yet taken it up in all the units; but now, in line with the decisions of the Central Committee, we are checking up. The section committee has organized a commission of the section—for the first time to my knowledge—a commission of twenty of the best people we have.

They are to meet twice a month to check on the work in regard to recruiting, to the campaign for finances and the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.

We have picked out the concentration points. In Kensington we will concentrate on the aluminum plant, in which there are 6,000 organized into the union. (Last year only 400 were organized.)

In mining, Harmorville is the concentration point. The Kensington section has 120 members, and we have agreed to double that. I am confident that the enthusiasm and spirit that are necessary to build up the Party are there and that we will be able to achieve our goal.

Material for New Members' Classes

By A. LANDY

THE recruiting drive confronts us with the task of preparing the Party to receive its new members. The serious way in which the whole Party has taken hold of the drive is the best indication that the reception of the new members will be accorded equally serious attention. It is a fact that the problem of Party building has never been so well understood or met such a sensitive response throughout the Party as at the present time. Today the Party is making the most earnest efforts to overcome any routine or indifferent approach to the question of new members. New members' units, new members' classes, initiation ceremonies, attention to the personal circumstances of new members, social-educational meetings and lower dues are all part of our effort in this direction.

In most districts the organization of new members classes has so far met with the least success. The lack of suitable material, proper teachers and sufficiently serious

and persistent efforts to organize such classes are some of the reasons for this. It has become more and more evident, however, that there are even more fundamental reasons for our past difficulties in establishing new members' classes. Once new members are placed in old units, it is very difficult to get them released for what appears as an additional task outside the unit. In most cases, the units hardly encourage their new members to attend these classes and when attendance at a class is made as an assignment, it is only as another task thrown in with a number of other activities in which the unit immediately involves them. It is not strange, therefore, that so few new members find their way to such outside classes.

On top of all this the practice of grabbing a member the moment he joins the unit and loading him down with a mountain of assignments is often carried over into the new members' classes themselves. He goes from the unit to the class only to be bombarded again with a pile of knowledge and information, enough even to stun a seasoned veteran. Without knowing it he is made the bewildered object of a heroic effort to cram a Marxist education down his throat in six hours, no more nor less.

It is evident that no person can perform the miracle of mastering Marxism-Leninism, even in an elementary way, in such a short time. In view of this, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that we clear up in our own minds and work out in practice just what the character of these new members' classes should be. Whether they are made a part of the activity of new members' units or whether they are made the main assignment of the new members for the first six or eight weeks, the original difficulty will remain if we do not make the classes a little more modest and adapt them to the actual needs of the new members.

We cannot forget that when a person first joins an organization, it takes him some time to get acclimatized. This is especially true for people joining a party which is so different from anything they have known before. We must give the new member as much time as possible to

get acquainted, and feel himself at home. This means that we must establish a clear-cut distinction between the *initiation* of a new member, which in practice does not end with his first meeting, and the *elementary education* which every member, new or old, should get if he has not received such an education before.

On this basis we propose that the first six weeks, at least, shall be considered a new member's initiation period during which time everything shall be done to make it easy for him to get accustomed to his new surroundings and to be introduced to the life of our Party. In this light the new members' classes should assume less the character of the school and more the character of semi-social discussions. They will be most effective if they are conducted in the spirit of collective talks in which are answered questions uppermost in the new member's mind about the organization he has just joined. This will prepare him for activity in the unit and for participation later in elementary classes. Like any person joining an organization for the first time, the new member wants to know more about the party he is joining, what its rules are, who its leaders are, what it expects of him, what he can expect of it, how much it is going to cost him, how it is going to fit in with everything he has done before, and so on.

To answer these questions, without trying to launch into a systematic education, should be the chief task of the new members' classes. This is the character and principle underlying the six lessons which the Center has prepared as material for these classes, now being sent to all districts. These lessons may be used by the instructor either as a guide or as his own lectures. The average length of each of these talks is fifteen minutes. The instructor delivers his brief talk as an introduction in order to open up the discussion. The last session aims to enthuse the new member to want to study further. After this period of initiation, he can be sent to a class of Principles of Communism. When the six weeks are over, the membership director should have a final conference

with each member to determine what work he is best able to do, what he prefers best to do.

The instructor should try to adapt the lessons to the type of members he is handling, the important things is to observe the principle involved. However, where the lessons as such are read, the greatest care should be taken to read them with proper emphasis, not rushing over sentences or ideas. Experience will tell whether these lessons will meet our needs.

Forms of Socialist Competition

WITH the eighteenth anniversary of our Party the State Committee of the Party in New York,* in coordination with plans adopted by the Central Committee, is undertaking a huge drive to build our Party to the strength required at this moment in order to make it a more effective factor in the class struggle and in the building of the People's Front in America.

The drive is a threefold one. (1) To secure a fund of \$240,000, which will provide \$90,000 for the *Daily and Sunday Worker*, \$45,000 for the national, district and county training schools, \$15,000 for the election campaign, \$10,000 for the Party's concentration work among the Negro people, and the balance for the activities of the Party in the center, counties, sections and units. (2) A drive to increase the circulation of the *Daily and Sunday Worker* and the language press of our Party. (3) A real intensive recruiting drive based on socialist competition around some of the founders and leaders of our Party.

*From the New York state recruiting plan.

Socialist Competition—Building the Party Around Its Leaders

This competition will extend within each fraction of our Party as well as between the sections in every county. Prizes will be awarded to the fraction or section which accomplishes the best results.

The basis for the competition will be around a number of leaders of our Party, members of our Central and State Committees, comrades whose lives and work are bound closely with the life and activity of our Party.

The following comrades, each one a leader among the masses, each one a beacon light in the glorious achievements of our Party, are the candidates who will not only have the full support of our Party membership, but who will, as far as possible, actively participate with their groups in socialist competition! The comrades are Browder, Foster, Ford, Bloor, Krumbein, Amter, Bittelman, Stachel, Wortis, Hathaway, Minor, Gold, Hudson, Bedacht, Olgin, Holmes, Wiseman, Rosa Biltmore, Herndon.

Method of Competition

Within each fraction the comrades are to organize the Party building drive around six leaders of the above mentioned group. (In the smaller fractions, the competition will be around less than six leaders.) Each fraction will therefore be competing among themselves, while at the same time each group organized around a particular leader in a given fraction will have the support of those section committees of the Party who are also competing for that particular leader.

In the counties, one leader is assigned to each section as the spearhead of their campaign. That section will at the same time have the competitive support of other sections, as well as of those groups within fractions which are also competing for that leader. The competition will thus be two-fold, creating a condition within the fractions and counties as will give a keener zest to the competitive drive, and will achieve the goal of *building the Party*.

For example: The fur fraction has the following six comrades assigned to them: Browder, Krumbein, Gold, Hathaway, Olgin, Bittelman. The leading fraction holds a meeting and discusses the Party anniversary and the drive for recruiting, the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, and for the raising of the \$240,000 fund, and works out its plans for all these three phases of the campaign. It then assigns a committee to conduct the drive for funds. It also designates a special committee for the building of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. And, in connection with recruiting, it designates six leading members of the Furriers Union, each one to conduct the drive around one of the six candidates assigned to them.

Thus, for instance, Comrade Potash would, let us say, campaign for Comrade Krumbein, Winogradsky for Bittelman, and four other leading comrades for each one of the other four candidates. Comrade Potash will then mobilize all the members of the fraction that he can win over to his side for the competition for Krumbein against the others, and this will make up the group that Comrade Potash is working with *within* the fraction. Thus six leading comrades of the union will mobilize every Party member in the fur fraction in competition against each other around the leaders of the Party assigned to them.

Prizes

The prizes to be awarded may be a trip out of town for the individual winner so that this comrade may visit some basic region of our country. For an out-of-town winner, the comrade who achieves the best results will be given a trip to New York for the Lenin Memorial meeting, at which time all the prizes will be awarded. Other prizes may be a typewriter or mimeograph machine to the winning section. The Central Committee will also award a personally autographed photograph of Browder, Foster or Ford to the outstanding Party Builders.

Building the Y. C. L. in Industry

By CLARA WERNICK

THE St. Louis Young Communist League is at present engaged in a recruiting drive to increase its membership from 300 to 500 members by October 30. In carrying through the recruiting drive, we understand that different methods of recruiting apply to different types of branches of the Y.C.L. At the same time the experiences in recruiting in industry can be valuable to all branches in their plans. I want to discuss here the question of how the Y.C.L. was built in the electrical industry of St. Louis from four to fifty-five in less than one year and I wish to discuss the plans drawn up recently in one of the shops to double this membership in two months.

Since the League was the driving force in the organization of the union in the three largest shops in the electrical industry in St. Louis, which employ approximately 7,000 workers, approximately 50 per cent whom are youth, it is therefore logical that the League should grow simultaneously with the union. The major recruiting done in the industry was during the height of the organizational activity, which included strikes, sit-downs, or threats of strikes in the industry.

The main thing we must note in connection with recruiting during strikes is that we cannot be too bold and direct in approaching young workers who have already been tested and proven militant for the Y.C.L. I want to note here several methods employed by different comrades which proved extremely successful, although to older members of the League they may seem naive and too direct. Some of our comrades think that before one recruits a member he must be thoroughly convinced not only of the Y.C.L. but also of the C.P. program and be ready to throw himself wholeheartedly into seven-day-a-week activity for the Y.C.L. Although very few of

Our developed comrades will admit that this is their attitude, the method by which they approach recruiting proves that in actuality it is. I want to list here several approaches used by some of the newer comrades as a sample of proper recruiting.

One comrade approached recruiting on the following basis: He did most of his recruiting on the picket line by directly telling a militant worker who would be knocking the boss or the conditions in the shop that he sounded like

Communist. The usual response was: "If I am, you are." Our new comrade responds to this: "If we both are, the boss must have made us Communists." And from this proceeds to invite this militant youth to a Y.C.L. branch recruiting meeting. Of course, he knows beforehand that this worker is honest and reliable, which is always the advantage of recruiting in a shop. This Y.C.L. member recruited five new members himself because he assumed that all honest workers are Communists at heart and that our job is merely a job of making them conscious of this.

Another comrade, who is in a leading position in the union and has the respect of the membership, uses a very direct approach which at first the rest of us feared but which we found was very good. He would hand a promising worker a copy of the *Daily Worker* or some pamphlet, ask him to read it over and let him know what he thought of it by the next day. This was a direct opening and in most cases because he selected the proper people he contacts, thus approached, joined the Y.C.L. Those who did not join remained friendly and are gradually being brought around to a fully sympathetic position. Other comrades would use the method of sounding the worker out generally and on the basis of his reaction, "popped the question."

None of these approaches is new or different but these new young comrades who approached the question boldly and recruited directly were the ones instrumental in building the Y.C.L. and laying the basis for a real broad mass movement in the industry now.

Now that the strikes have been settled and agreements

signed in the three major shops, the excitement has died down and recruiting becomes a little more difficult. Most of our comrades in shop branches have run into this problem, where it is easy to recruit during the height of struggle but quite another problem to maintain what one has recruited and go forward during a quieter period.

I think it is therefore important that we examine the activity and planned recruiting of one of the branches in the electrical industry. This branch at the beginning of the drive had twenty-eight members. In one week seven new members were recruited and the branch promises to continue recruiting at this rate so that by October 30 there will be fifty-five members. The other two branches have similar plans but I wish to use this one branch as an example. The branch normally has two meetings a month, which are educational and social, in addition to dealing with problems of the union pertaining, in the main, to youth work. For the two months of the drive, the comrades decided that every meeting shall be a recruiting meeting. At the previous meeting, the list of people to be invited is gone over with each comrade promising to bring one or two contacts to a recruiting meeting and an interesting program prepared. This simple matter of having each comrade promise to bring a specific contact whose name he gives in advance is extremely important because then the matter becomes a simple single assignment rather than the scouting around and vague task of finding someone abstractly. The program is interestingly prepared. Refreshments are served and an interesting educational feature presented. At the first meeting every new contact joined.

Although this is a shop branch, one of the reasons that the life of the branch is interesting is the fact that wives, sisters and friends are recruited into the branch and made a part of it. It is not enough to say that they are recruited but it is very important not to neglect these people by making them feel like outsiders because they are not employed in the industry, but rather to find where they fit in with the work of the branch and give them specific

assignments. In this way we have found that some of the most active members of the branch are the wives of the comrades. In addition to the meetings at which recruiting takes place, the branch also will held a hay-ride and other such affairs at which contacts are invited. We can learn a great deal from our newer comrades who know nothing about our old sectarian methods of work and if we watch them closely we will learn to come forward boldly and build the Y.C.L. as a broad mass youth organization which we are never ashamed of but proudly mention everywhere as one of the best youth organizations in the country.

We Must Begin to Reach New People

By A. MUCCI

RECRUITING in the coal fields of Southern Illinois in the past has been slow and very unsteady. Our leading committee realized that there were great possibilities for recruiting, and after discussion we came to the conclusion that the fault must lie with ourselves, with our methods of work.

The main weakness was that we did not have a strong local leadership in a number of the small industrial towns. We have been trying in the past to build up our local leadership as much as possible. One of our methods was to ask local comrades to speak at meetings. Not long ago, we would not have proposed them as speakers, but we came to believe that if they had the opportunity to speak at different meetings, these comrades would develop, would feel that they were part of the Party and would carry on independent work.

We decided also that whenever we have a meeting in a

town, we must advertise effectively the name of the comrade who is speaking. We feel that it has been a shortcoming that we have not billed our comrades, the words "mass meeting" having been more important than our speaker. Now we emphasize that all leaflets must have the name of the speaker in large type so that the comrade will be known throughout the field.

Another thing we did was to begin visiting new people. In Springfield, for example, the unit is rather weak. We decided that the comrades must take two or three nights a week to go out to talk to trade unionists. It did not matter if the comrades knew them or not, but let them go and talk about the Party. I went out two different nights and was very well received. I was surprised at the response of some of these people to the Party. One fellow at first was rather antagonistic, but after we had finished discussing he invited us over for supper.

All of this may not seem very much, but if it were carried on by every unit, this talking to people about the Party, at least we would develop support and lay a basis for further recruiting.

That is our outlook in the coal fields—that we must begin to reach new people. Our main idea is to begin to bring the word of the Party forth. We must bring forward the question of the People's Front and all the rest of the Party line. There are plenty of people who are ready to listen, and there are plenty of people who are ready to join the Party, as was shown recently when one comrade recruited seven members in three days.

Concerning the two-month recruiting drive, our main objective is to launch a house-to-house campaign with Party literature. We cannot cover every town in the sub-district, but we intend to concentrate on certain towns. In this literature we will have a card, with blank spaces for remarks or an address to write to if people want to know more about the Party.

Also we are going to put on two radio broadcasts that will cost us only \$30. We intend to have tours and open meetings, using local comrades as much as possible, and

comrades sent by the district. We intend to have some language speakers tour the field, as well as Negroes.

We will sell the *Daily Worker* on the streets, and distribute leaflets and bulletins. Different units and sections will begin to put out leaflets on local questions. That is pretty important.

We think it is possible to get our comrades in Southern Illinois fully behind the recruiting campaign. I believe we will have a successful drive.

The Party Shall Be Built in Ohio!

By HERBERT GOLDFRANK

THE objective conditions for rapidly building the Communist Party exist in Ohio without any doubt. Labor has taken great strides forward in strengthening the unions of the already organized workers, in showing that the trade unions of Ohio are really progressive, through the rapid growth of the C.I.O., and through the successful steps taken toward independent political action on the part of the working class. The farmers of Ohio are reasonably well organized in the Farmers Equity Union, the Grange, the Farmers Union, as well as through the cooperatives in Ohio in the Ohio Farm Bureau and their organizations are growing not only in size but also in political awareness. The middle classes, small business men, and professional people are exhibiting greater activity and political consciousness. With such basic industries in this state as steel, mining, auto, chemical, rubber, and railroad, as well as a large and decisive farm population, the situation is ripe for the building of a strong Party which can and will play a decisive role in events in Ohio in the immediate future.

During the recent period the Party in Ohio has held a state-wide conference dealing with our work among the Negro people, a second meeting dealing with women's work, and a general all inclusive state-wide Party building conference. We plan to hold within a brief period a conference of Party people active in mass organizations of various sorts, as well as a conference of trade union comrades from throughout the state.

In discussing plans for carrying out our Party tasks in Ohio, we noted that while Cleveland is Ohio's largest city, with about 1,000,000 people, the towns of Youngstown, Akron, Canton, Toledo, Cincinnati, Dayton and Columbus all have a population of over 100,000. There are also some 25 other cities each with more than 20,000 inhabitants as well as a host of other small manufacturing towns with individual plants employing even several thousand men and women.

Our Party must in such a widespread district with many communities, with their own problems and possibilities, develop competent leadership of local people in each city and county, capable of tackling and solving the questions that arise and must be met by our Party. This places before us as an immediate task the recruiting and training of the best elements in each community. It means that we must place new people in responsible posts, giving them the responsibility for carrying out tasks, but helping them and training them *while they are on the job*.

A second subject that has come to our attention in sharp relief is the education of our comrades. This question has two phases; one, the training of our new recruits and educating them in the principles of Communism as well as the organizational principles of our Party; second, the education of our older comrades so as to equip each person to be able to act correctly for the Party as a leader among the masses.

Recently we held a state Party building conference in Canton, attended by over seventy section organizers, section membership directors and other outstanding Party builders representing almost all areas in Ohio from Toledo

down to Cincinnati and from Steubenville and Bellaire up to Cleveland. This conference took up the problems mentioned above, and in addition dealt with the tasks of sharply increasing the tempo of Party recruiting, involving the mass of our membership in recruiting, diminishing fluctuation and increasing and systematizing dues payments. The discussion at the conference was extensive, and on an effective basis was laid for the Party building drive.

Several comrades expressed incorrect attitudes towards building the Party which had to be combatted immediately. They said, among other things, that we should not recruit older workers but stick to the youth; that we should disregard the foreign-born or foreign-language speaking workers and recruit only native Americans; that we should move very slowly and carefully and recruit only few people, as against mass recruiting; that we should recruit at the present only those who are already leaders in mass organizations. We answered that our approach must be to recruit every one who wishes to join our Party, regardless of age; that the foreign-born and others who speak foreign tongue are a basic part of American life and struggles, and we want and need them in our ranks. We declared that there are not just a *few* good people to be recruited, but large *masses* of equally good elements whom we must strive to win; that while we welcome leaders of the people into our Party, there are *masses* ready to join, and our Party will train hundreds and thousands of leaders out of the rank and file of today.

The Canton Party building conference set as our objective: *to recruit a minimum of 500 members by September 24.*, the day on which we celebrate the eighteenth anniversary of the Party and the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Constitution. The conference was held prior to the launching of the two-month recruiting campaign by the Central Committee, hence our goal was set to this date. But the drive will be extended to accord with the national directives.

The conference undertook in a most serious way to overcome our present shortcomings and build a stronger

Party. Our task is now to see to it that not only the leading comrades in the district, and not only the delegates to the state conference, but each and every Party member is mobilized to carry out the conference decisions. Only in this way will we be able to build our Party in Ohio so that it may be able to cope with the historic tasks before us.

The Making of a Good Branch

By THE WISCONSIN STATE COMMITTEE

WE PRINT below a letter on standard functioning and procedure of branches, sent out by the Wisconsin state committee to all branches in their district.

The conduct of branch meetings is one of the most serious organizational and political problems confronting our Party, not alone today, during the recruiting campaign but at all times. It has already been definitely established that Party building and fluctuation in membership are both very closely related to the character of branch and unit meetings.

One of the complaints often heard from new members is that the branch meetings are conducted in a slipshod fashion; they are not efficient in the conduct of Party business; that they are very dry and do not make effort to educate the membership. A solution to this criticism will go a long way toward solving a number of serious problems.

The Wisconsin state committee is now taking measures to better the life of their branches and units, the directive given below being one step in this direction. The Wisconsin method may be a help to other Party organizations.

We welcome comments from readers of the *Party Organizer* on this question.

Standard Functioning and Procedure of Branches

In accordance with numerous requests, and after much discussion, the Party Life Commission has worked out the following as a regular procedure for the functioning of all branches and for all branch meetings. All branches are requested to begin working according to this procedure as soon as possible.

I. Branch bureau meetings shall be held regularly, preferably the night before the branch meeting.

II. Permanent officers shall be elected for a term of six months at the first meeting after Jan. 1. and at the first meeting after July 1.

The officers shall be as follows: *secretary, membership director, educational director*. These three shall make up the bureau of the branch. In addition, there shall be a *press and literature director and a finance and dues secretary*, either or both of whom may also be elected to the branch bureau should the branch so decide.

For the purpose of conducting the meeting democratically, there shall be a *permanent chairman*. Any one of the officers may be selected as the chairman.

In addition, the branch elects its delegates to the county committee on the basis of one for every twenty members or major fraction. At least one of the delegates must be a member of the branch bureau.

III. The following shall be the standard order of business:

1. Opening of meeting
2. Educational discussion—one hour
3. Initiation of new members
4. Reading of minutes of previous meeting
5. Unfinished business. (Under this head should be taken up any small local matters left over for the last meeting.)
6. Communications. (When communications are headed "to be read at branch meetings" they must be read in full. Otherwise the branch bureau shall decide according to their own judgment whether they shall be read in full or

merely have the substance of the communications reported.

7. Standing campaigns and new business—to be introduced by report of county committee delegates and branch bureau. (This will, of course, cover the main substance of the work of the branch.)

8. Good and welfare. (Under good and welfare shall be taken up all questions dealing with Party life, or any other general questions upon which our Party work can be improved.)

Special notes: (1) During the course of the recruiting drive and the drive for the *Midwest Daily Worker* the shall be on the order of business at every meeting under point 7: "Standing campaigns and new business." (2) At the first meeting of every month it shall be the duty of the membership to request a report from the branch bureau as to whether the *monthly report blank* has been filled out and sent in to the county and state office, and as to what the figures show as to the status of the branch.

Experiences in Mass Work and Party Building

By L. J. BRAVERMAN

THE campaign to organize the workers in the mass production industries and the splendid results thus far in almost every field where organization was tried, the participation of large numbers of Party forces in these campaigns, give us the greatest opportunity to put into life our slogan of rooting the Party among the masses and advancing the People's Front movement in the U.S.A.

In this short article I want to deal with this question locally. Prior to the drive of the C.I.O., the Party in our section had little contact with the workers in mass production industries. In steel we had only three comrades work-

g in the main mill without any contact with the company union, or general influence among the workers. Nevertheless, when the steel organizing drive started, we began to move along with it and played a leading role. The first meetings were organized by our people. The first to join were those whom we contacted. In general, we made ourselves an important part of the drive. Today we have increased our nucleus to more than fifteen, with additional members of the Y.C.L. who have obtained jobs in the steel works. Those who have joined the Party are leaders of the steel workers.

In one of the main steel towns our comrades did and are still doing an excellent job. One of them, in particular, in the Party a little over a year, has built up a record of union recruiting that cannot be matched by any individual locally. He is liked and respected by large numbers of workers, is a leader in the union. His leadership and popularity were not utilized to any great degree, however, to build the Party. We cannot pin the responsibility for this on this new comrade. While it is true that he appreciates the leadership of the Party, defends our position very well, he has not learned as yet how to recruit. After a section bureau member discussed Party recruiting with him, several active union men were invited to an open unit meeting and four of the best members of the lodge joined the Party.

We must expect that there will be mild outbreaks of Red-baiting here and there; that certain local people who are not friendly to our Party will raise the Red scare from time to time. But here we must be able to differentiate between avowed Red-baiters and those who do not understand the issues.

There are, for instance, hundreds of workers in these small industrial sections who believe in the slanders that are being made against the Party, they believe in them because we have not penetrated sufficiently among them to explain to them what our program is and what relation we have to the building of the unions. These workers are average people in these communities. Some of them

are even leaders of C.I.O. unions. But to put them in the same category as we do die-hard Red-baiters, as are some of the leaders of the A. F. of L., is a serious error, and not corrected will isolate us from the main stream of the workers.

Some of our comrades think a progressive means one who follows our full program and is ready to join with us at any time. Because of such reasoning we do not take steps to work with those progressives who are not yet ready to support us on all fronts, but rather stay clear of them.

As one comrade said several days ago, in discussing an officer of a lodge, "Oh he cannot be very good; he goes to church and believes everything the priest tells him. Yet this fellow, "this church goer," is a hard and conscientious builder of the union. Our comrades must understand that we should learn to work with all progressive elements even with those politically opposed to us but who do not follow a policy of Red-baiting in the great task of organizing the unorganized and building the unions.

This sort of thing showed itself in particular in one of the towns where silk was being organized. Because certain local leaders of the campaign did not like us very much and because the local comrades did not agree with the method applied, instead of getting into swing of things, they withdrew from the scene and adopted a policy of "well, we are not wanted, so we might as well stay out; and when these organizers will get into a pinch they will come after us." This policy, besides hampering the campaign, besides depriving the workers of our experience and leadership helps to a very great degree to increase Red-baiting and isolation.

On the other hand, where we have taken steps to defeat Red-baiting, by going out and doing a good job, we have gained influence. This is especially exemplified in another town where we have a Party organization. There the local Party leader has organized two shops of some importance, and has shown examples of good union organization. Hence, though some of the

ical labor leaders tried their best to eliminate him because he is a Communist, they did not get to the first base. For these workers whom he organized learned to respect him, to appreciate his work and knew him to be an honest, bright person. Today workers of other shops are coming to his house asking him for help to organize their shop. There is no doubt that the local Party organizations will benefit greatly as a result of the influence this comrade has gained.

Finally, another danger that we must guard against is losing sight of the Party organization while being involved in mass work. Attending a branch meeting in one of the towns in our section recently I found the following: that the city committee of the Party had not met for two months because most of the leading comrades were involved in building the union.

This conception—that, since we are active, are doing mass work, and coming in contact with large masses of workers, there is no need to hold Party meetings regularly, to plan our work, etc.—has been proven utterly wrong in practice. Precisely because we are doing mass work, because our problems have increased a hundredfold, we must have a well functioning Party apparatus, collective Party leadership, and regularity in our inner Party work. Only in this way will we continue to work most effectively to build the mass organizations of the working people and, through our leadership, build the Party.

The work of Communists in the mass organization, without always having in mind the building of the Party and the improvement of its apparatus and organizational set-up, will mean in the long run that if and when attacks upon us are made, we will not have sufficient organizational support and political strength to combat them effectively. A guarantee that the workers' organizations will live and grow is a well functioning Party, supported by masses of progressives ready to go to bat with us and for us.

Let us build our Party while we participate in building the unions.

Organize Social-Educational Meetings

IN CONNECTION with the task of Party building, the Org-Education Commission of the Central Committee proposes that all Party branches and units organize a series of three social-educational meetings. The first, in October, should center around the elections or the problems of independent political action of labor. The second, in November, should center around the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. The third, in December, should center around the results of the national Party builders' delegates congress.

These meetings or affairs should serve the purpose of bringing the branches forward as a center of life as well as of struggle and politics.

These meetings should not be parties primarily. At the same time they should combine education with entertainment and refreshments. This can be done by means of short skits, slides or any other novel but dramatic method. Little exhibitions of the work of the branches combined with attractive decorations could also be arranged. Steps should be taken to guarantee a full attendance of all Party members who should act as the hosts and hostesses of the evening.

Advance preparations are essential for the success of these meetings. Each member should make a list of relatives, friends and acquaintances whom he will undertake to invite. Publicity should be issued in the shop, neighborhood or mass organization. Suitable comrades should be assigned to prepare whatever little skit the branch intends to put on, samples for which the Center is now preparing. Finally, some adaptation of the recruiting dialo which the Center sent out some time ago could be made so that the meetings result in new members for the Party.