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Our Estimate of the Recruiting Campaign. Next Steps Ahead!

REBECCA GRECHT

THE National Recruiting Drive is now in its second month. We can report that during the month of September close to 4,500 new members were recruited into the Party, which is more than twice the average monthly recruiting for the first eight months of 1937. Districts which lead in the drive are Chicago, Wisconsin, Western Pennsylvania, Seattle, Minnesota, Alabama and Boston. All these districts have more than tripled their average monthly recruiting in September.

The Chicago district recruited 661 members, the Seattle district 333; Western Pennsylvania, 220; Alabama, 188. The New York district, reported 1,272 new members passed through the units, with 2,000 additional applications on hand. We can record excellent work among the Negro people in Chicago, where 132 Negroes joined the Party in September. In such districts as Alabama and Oklahoma there has been a steady increase in the number of Negroes recruited.

Reports from districts and field organizers show that the Party as a whole realizes today, more than ever before, the political necessity of recruiting. The question of

Party growth is no abstraction. To an increasing number of Party members who are active in their shops, the trade unions, their communities, the need for building the Party through the recruiting of militant forces among the people is made ever more urgent by the very development of progressive movements and the role our Party can and does play in them.

The recruiting of 4,500 new members in one month is a definite advance which we do not wish to minimize. But this figure by no means approaches the heights we could have reached. It merely points to the splendid possibilities existing everywhere, to the correctness of the statement of the Central Committee that the situation today is most favorable for Party recruiting. Furthermore, the fact that the membership as a whole has accepted the recruiting campaign with enthusiasm demonstrates that the drive is opportune, and in accord with the fundamental needs of the Party and the masses. It remains for us to translate this enthusiasm into action, to carry it into our daily work.

The campaign, thus far, has revealed a number of serious shortcomings. First of all, despite the general enthusiasm manifested, actually only a small percentage of the Party membership is doing the recruiting. For example, in the Wisconsin district 160 new members had been recruited between August 15 and September 25, but only 5 comrades participated. In the Seattle district, only about 250 members out of a recorded membership of 1,800 participated in the drive during September. Analysis of Chicago recruiting shows that the first 600 new members were brought in by 368 comrades—and Chicago has a membership on record of more than 3,500. To intensify the campaign demands that steps be taken to involve the majority of our members, at least, in the drive to build the Party.

For Individual Recruiting

How can this be done? It is essential, everywhere, to draw attention *more decisively* to the *individual* activity

each Party member. Let a way be found to get each comrade to report in the branch or unit or fraction meeting what he or she is doing to recruit one new member. We must strive to convince each comrade that it is his own actual work that counts in recruiting, and that among his own friends and acquaintances some one can be found who, with a correct approach, may be persuaded to join the Party. Individual comrades can be helped to fulfil their duties by others more experienced, by the collective activities of the branches and fractions.

In order to achieve this individual approach to Party recruiting, however, in order to make each comrade feel that Party building depends upon him, and not upon the other fellow or the Party in general, it is necessary to broaden still more our comrades' political understanding of the urgent need to build the Party. This means that we must take still more energetic steps to arouse our membership to the significance of current political events on a local, national, and international scale, and to the vital role our Party must play in the struggle for unity of all progressive forces against reaction, against fascism and war. We must stimulate our membership politically through discussions and analyses of decisive events in our country, in respect to the developments of the C.I.O., of the unity of the labor movement, independent political action of labor, the administration's policy on national and international issues—linking these discussions with the particular problems faced in the city, locality, shop, trade union or other mass organization, in which the comrades work. A politically stimulated membership will see more clearly still how imperative it is to build a strong Party to give policy and direction to the growing progressive movements, and will respond more readily to appeals for individual recruiting.

Black Politics

We must consider, at the same time, our political approach to the masses whom we are seeking to recruit. Again and again we have emphasized that we must bring

our Party before the people, through all forms of agitation and propaganda. Comrade Browder has stated that the way to recruit masses of people is to talk politics. Today, more than ever before, the masses are politically stirred, tremendously affected by the C.I.O. drive, by events in Spain and in China and the struggle against fascist aggression generally, by the struggle of reaction in America against progressive labor and political policies. In such a situation, we must make our position clear to the masses, telling them who we are, how we work, popularizing our policies on all questions, our perspective and aims, our goal of socialism.

It is not enough that the masses learn about our Party through the general activities of the Communists as a whole on the broad issues of struggles facing the American people. The workers in a given industry should be told what the Communist Party means *to them*. The workers in a shop should be told how the Communists fight militantly and energetically for improvement of *their* conditions. The members of a trade union should know the Communists as the most reliable, responsible and energetic fighters for trade union organization and trade union unity. In the neighborhoods, the people should know the stand of our Party in the struggle against the high cost of living, against high rents. The Negro masses, the women, in every locality, should be told concretely what the Communist Party proposes and carries through in their behalf, and in their community.

In many districts there are comrades who have individually recruited ten or more members. In each case, these comrades report that this was made possible by boldly discussing political questions with their fellow-workers, their friends and acquaintances, by unhesitatingly analyzing the position and policies of our Party especially as they relate to the particular interests or activity of the individual approached, by unhesitatingly asking progressive people, who in their practical work follow the Party leadership, to join our ranks.

There are many ways in which this political work may

be carried on. We have the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. Public meetings of all sorts can be held—open unit or branch meetings, mass meetings, street meetings. Leaflets can be issued in every locality, in every city. Shop papers can be published. Contact lists can be circularized with suitable material.

Every comrade should ask himself: To whom am I giving the *Daily Worker* or *Sunday Worker*? What relative, friend, fellow-worker do I bring with me to a mass meeting, to an open unit meeting? With whom do I discuss political questions? Whom can I ask, boldly and frankly, to join the Party? Whom do I invite to my home for a friendly chat on issues of the day?

Every unit and branch should ask itself: What meetings have we held to explain our Party's position on the fascist invasion of Spain, of China? What leaflets have we issued on local problems? To whom are we distributing our party press? What have we done, for example, to explain the Communist position on the issues raised by President Roosevelt in his Chicago address and his most recent radio speech? How do we clarify our struggle for socialism as our final aim? How are we utilizing the editorials and Central Committee statements appearing in the *Daily Worker* for this purpose? In short, how do we speak and work among the masses?

Recruiting is a task not only of *effective organization*, but essentially also of *politics*. Organizational measures and guarantees are necessary for a successful recruiting campaign; but without political work they will fall far short of the goal.

Recruiting in Basic Industries

Another weakness evident in the recruiting campaign thus far is our work in basic industries. When we consider, for instance, that of the more than 600 new members recruited in the Chicago district, only 77 were workers in basic industry, the problem becomes obvious. A similar situation exists in most other districts. We have not yet in this recruiting campaign penetrated sufficiently

among the steel and auto workers, the packing house and railroad workers, the mine, textile and marine workers. The weakness is glaringly evident especially in steel and auto, where best results can and must be obtained precisely because Communists have been in the forefront in these industries in helping to build and consolidate the new industrial unions, and where therefore a solid basis has been laid for mass recruiting.

In these industries, there has been a general awakening of large masses, and thousands of militant forces have come to the front who work with the Communists and accept their leadership. If we are not yet fully taking advantage of this situation to recruit thousands of new members, it is due largely to the fact that our comrades in the trade unions and in the shops do not yet fully understand the role of the shop units and the industrial units as Communist political organs. These comrades tend to act simply as progressive forces in the trade unions, losing sight of one of their main tasks, namely, as Communists, to find the way to bring before the masses the position of the Party on the vital issues confronting them; to show them that the Communists are not only among the most active forces in the trade unions, but point out the immediate road ahead, and final solution.

In this connection, we must ask a special question: What about our shop nuclei? What are they doing in the drive? How are they explaining Party policies not only in theory, but in actual practice in their shop activities? How are shop papers being utilized?

Once again, in all districts, cities, counties, a thorough review should be made of our activities among the basic workers, of our efforts to involve the trade union forces of the Party in the recruiting campaign, of the work of shop units. Political and organizational concentration in these industries must be emphasized. Party leaders must be given definite responsibility over one industry, or unit, or section. The coming weeks in the recruiting campaign should show a marked advance in our work particularly among the newly organized masses.

Recruiting and Fluctuation

The recruiting of 4,500 new members places special responsibilities upon our Party organization. In itself, this recruiting does not necessarily mean that the Party will grow by that number. This growth depends upon the assimilation of the new members, upon attention to problems of Party organization, the inner life of our branches and units, the education of our membership, new and old.

Fluctuation is still a tremendous problem. So, also, is the contradiction between the actual Party membership and the monthly dues payments. The recruiting drive, if taken only as a drive for new Party applicants, will not solve this problem. But if the drive is bound up with attention to improving the Party organization, then it can have a significant effect on diminishing fluctuation. As our comrades are aroused on the question of recruiting, so also should they be aroused on the problem of fluctuation. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee has called upon our Party to tie up the recruiting campaign with the consolidation of the Party organization, with attention to the organizational status of the Party. The Political Bureau has asked that special efforts now be made to bring the membership as a whole into good standing, to raise the payment of dues as a political responsibility of every Party member, to make our new members as rapidly as possible an active force in Party life.

We have seen during the first weeks of the national recruiting campaign how deep and broad is the influence of our Party among the masses. There can be no question but that our Party now has an opportunity to increase its membership by tens of thousands. This must be our goal.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the October Revolution

"GIVE us twenty years of Soviet power," Lenin said "and no force on earth will be able to destroy it."

The twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution is an irrevocable fact. For twenty years a new system of life has existed on one-sixth of the earth. A socialist society has arisen and triumphed—a fact so real, so indestructible that its very existence has affected the life and hopes of the toiling millions in every corner of the world.

In these twenty years a vast land has been transformed, a socialist life created, insecurity banished, work and a future assured to 170,000,000 people—all under the leadership of the Communist Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin, the party of scientific socialism of Marx and Engels.

These twenty years have stamped themselves deeply and indelibly into the hearts and minds of the working class in every country giving them confidence and strength and, above all, leadership in a world menaced by fascism and war. They have taught the workers by living example to understand their historic mission in building a new classless society. They have, in the very existence of the Soviet Union, guaranteed that the remaining five-sixths of the earth will move irresistibly towards socialism. No other period in the history of mankind has had such a significance for the whole future course of human history.

The significance of the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution cannot escape millions of American toilers, but our Party has a special task of clarifying and deepening the lessons of this great anniversary, particularly for the millions who today are marching in the ranks of militant industrial unionism, for the millions who are forming a progressive bulwark against reaction, fascism and war. *The month of November should be a month of great initiative on the part of our whole Party, of every branch and every member to carry the message of socialism, of the triumph of Leninism and the historic role of the Com-*

munist Party among the widest masses in our country.

Today the Soviet Union is the greatest bulwark of peace and democracy in the world. To strengthen the ties of friendship between the peoples of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is a vital necessity in the development of the American People's Front for democracy and peace, against reaction, fascism and war. The celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution must serve to bring this great truth to millions of people in our country.

The triumph of socialism in the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of our great Comrade Stalin was possible only because Trotskyism and its Bukharinite allies were defeated. *Socialism has been victorious in a single country and this victory has not only proved the profound correctness of Leninism and the leadership of Stalin, but this single country, the U.S.S.R., stands today as the greatest hope of the toiling masses everywhere in the struggle against barbarous fascism, in the struggle for a better life, in the struggle for peace; it stands as the greatest guarantee of the final victory of socialism everywhere.*

The strategic task of uniting the working class and all progressive forces against fascism and war requires the most energetic struggle against the Trotskyite wreckers and disrupters, the proven agents of fascism. To bring the full meaning of this to the American masses is a vital task and obligation of our Party in helping the American people draw all the lessons from the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

But above all, the twentieth anniversary should serve as a great stimulus to build the Party, to recruit into its ranks thousands of the friends of the Soviet Union and socialism. Never has the justification for the growth of our Party been so evident to tens of thousands of class conscious workers and progressive people as today. The full appreciation of the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution involves the inevitable conclusion that the American Party of socialism must be built up and strengthened. *Let the month of November be a landmark of energy and initiative in Party building!*

Make the "Party Organizer" Your Voice!

By THE ORGANIZATION-EDUCATION COMMISSION, C.C.

THE *Party Organizer* today has a circulation of more than 10,000. It is read by comrades in all parts of the country, in every district. Party members, active everywhere in mass work, look to the *Party Organizer* more and more for guidance in their activities.

The *Party Organizer* seeks to reflect the life of our Party—not alone its inner organizational problems, but how the Party conducts its work among the masses of people, in trade union organization campaigns, in the struggle for defense of democratic rights, in the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

The *Party Organizer* is a basic medium for exchange of experiences of our Party membership. Events and problems in Pittsburgh are of vital significance to the rest of the country. Problems of work in Detroit, center of the auto industry and the great auto workers' union, may well affect activities in every other center of basic industry. How a shop unit carries on Communist work and a branch develops community activity; how our political work has improved in our own Party ranks and among the masses; how a section is overcoming fluctuation in membership; how comrades win influence among national groups; how the Party is being built; in short, how every Party organization, from branch to district, carries out Communist policy—these are questions which concern our entire Party. All of our comrades should be enriched in their practical work by the treasures of Party experience in every field. The *Party Organizer* serves as a medium for this.

The *Party Organizer* is issued by the Organization-Education Commission of the Central Committee as the voice of the Party membership. *Its value depends upon the contributions of comrades everywhere.*

As yet, too few comrades write for the *Party Organizer*. This not only brings about a lack of material, or lateness in publication, but lessens the value of the *Party Organizer* as a cross section of Party life, and weakens its effectiveness as a guide to our Party forces.

We appeal directly to the thousands of Party activists, readers of the Party Organizer, to write of their experiences for the benefit of the whole Party. Tell us how you work to carry out Party policy. Whether you are an active rank-and-file member of a unit, or a Party functionary, your contribution will be welcome. Make the Party Organizer your voice!

Recruiting in Illinois

FROM REPORT OF M. CHILDS, CHICAGO, ILL.

ON OCTOBER 1, we had a total of 612 paid initiation cards for September. We count only paid initiations and books issued. We do not take into consideration application cards filled out and filed but not taken care of. We are sure there are at least another 150 such applications in circulation, which we have a record of and check up on, but do not count until the books are issued.

Before summarizing and indicating the prospects and tasks, it might be well to give a brief analysis of the recruits. Of these recruits 336 are employed in industry; 106 are housewives; about a dozen are students; and the rest might be classified among the unemployed and various miscellaneous categories that cannot be placed in the above-mentioned groups, 183 are members of trade unions—107 belonging to the C.I.O., 57 to the A. F. of L., and 19 to independent unions; 419 are male and 193 female.

One of the most heartening facts is the number of Negroes recruited. Our records show the recruitment of 132 Negroes during September. Another encouraging feature is the number of native born and citizens recruited: 373 are native Americans, 136 naturalized citizens, 125

are foreign born workers who have not yet become citizens. About 70 per cent of the new recruits are under 40 years of age.

The weak spot, in our opinion, is expressed in the recruiting among the basic concentration industries. We have recruited only two dozen steel workers during September, 40 metal workers, 17 miners — 16 of them from the U.M.W.A., 11 railroad men and only 9 from the packing industry.

Our task right now is first of all to continue to stimulate recruiting in general and to discourage any let-down, so that we can proceed at least at the September rate.

In order to take steps to correct weaknesses and to improve the situation before the drive is over, it is necessary, first to change the situation in the packing, steel and railroad industries, particularly in the first two. Then, it is also necessary to involve more Party organizations and individuals. In spite of increased recruiting, only a certain number of branches are actually involved. There are a good number of branches and units still crawling along, very slowly waking up to the seriousness of this task. Our analysis shows that the first 600 recruits were brought in by only 368 people. While this is an improvement over the past, it still shows that only a fraction of the Party actually recruits.

Another very important task which I want to underline is the consolidation of whatever gains we make. This means more attention to the branches and their life and activities. We must work overtime to absorb the new recruits. We have discussed this problem in the District Bureau on two occasions in the last three weeks and have taken steps to safeguard the new recruits from the disease called fluctuation. Our Educational Department is making an effort that should be of great help.

I am addressing six to seven open Party meetings a week. Last week I covered nine meetings, including some out of town, and I find that the greatest weakness is lack of educational life in the organization. If we can solve this problem, we will be able to hold the new recruits.

Our I.W.O., which should be the most fertile field for recruiting, is still lagging behind. Many of our language bureaus on a national scale are not yet fully involved in the recruiting campaign. Some of our more important language groups move entirely too slowly, held back by a sectarian approach to the whole problem. They tend to look upon the workers in our sympathetic organizations as unfit to belong to the Communist Party, or they want to maintain the Communist Party as a select organization of the chosen few. This situation must be corrected. Our language bureaus can be of great help, particularly in the steel and packing industries.

We are setting ourselves a goal for the November 7 celebration. We hope that this big meeting, which we are planning in Chicago, will be a fitting climax to the campaign, so that when the drive is over, we will have gotten a sufficient start to continue recruiting at a much greater pace, although in a normal fashion as a day-to-day task.

The First All-Southern Communist Party Conference

By JOHN J. BALLAM, SOUTHERN REPRESENTATIVE,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

THE first All-Southern Communist Party Conference was held in September at the Public Auditorium in Chattanooga, Tenn., with leading comrades present from Alabama, Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky and North Carolina. The large number of trade union members and leaders who were present as delegates demonstrate the effect of the C.I.O. drives in the textile, steel, mining, oil and other industries to organize the hitherto unorganized Southern workers. This, together with the effect of the last presidential elections and the growing influence of the Communist Party, has resulted

in curbing the political grip of the Southern reactionaries and in a noticeable extension of civil rights.

The fact that the Party conference was held openly with Negro and white men and women delegates fraternizing in a public hall in a city in the deep South was in itself a reflection of the determination of the Southern Party organizations to carry on open Communist activities and establish the legality of our Party below the Mason-Dixon line. In Richmond, New Orleans and in Birmingham, the districts have already established bookstores and open headquarters. Charlotte, N.C., Tennessee, and Kentucky are planning to do the same in the near future.

The reports and discussion showed a remarkably high level of political development and followed closely the brilliant reports of Comrades Browder and Ford for the Central Committee. Out of 128 delegates, 52 took the floor and many more would have spoken if time had permitted.

The reports made by Comrade R. F. Hall of the Birmingham District, Donald Burke of Virginia and Jack Strong of Florida, were especially noteworthy for their line and analysis.

The conference brought forward a new type of Negro comrade, resolute, proud of his people and of their contribution to the life and culture of America and to the building of our Party in the South. These Negro comrades are demonstrating by their day-to-day activities in the trade unions, in labor's struggles, in political activity and by their Party work, their outstanding ability and leadership, and are compelling recognition of the Party line for the unity of the white toiling masses and the Negro People, and the consequent gradual breaking down of discrimination, Jim Crowism, the ideology of race superiority and race hatred. The Scottsboro case was made a prominent issue in the conference, as well as the struggle for the extension of civil rights epitomized in the report of Comrade Gelders of Birmingham.

New Party members, some of them only three weeks or so in our Party, enlivened the conference by their re-

ports of successful recruiting. In one instance a new member, president of his local union, reported recruiting eleven members in a town in Alabama notorious for its terror against union men. As pointed out by Comrade Browder, in his summary, these new Party members are showing the older comrades how to apply the directives of the Central Committee in the recruiting drive.

This first Southern Party conference set a milestone on the path of the development of our Party in the South. It remains now for all Southern Party state organizations to crystallize this new political and economic upsurge of the hitherto backward Southern masses into organizational achievements. These organizational shortcomings were recognized and stressed. The conference laid the basis for overcoming these obstacles to building the Party in the South. The conference adopted resolutions among which are the following:

1. Carrying out the line of the July Central Committee Plenum.
2. Improving and extending the work among Negroes.
3. Transforming the present *Southern Worker* into an adequate Southern Party organ.
4. Working among the agrarian population.
5. Civil rights, class war prisoners, Party legality, etc.

Greetings were sent to the peoples of the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the proletarian revolution; to the republican government of Spain, the Lincoln and Washington Battalions, and the Communist Party of Spain; to the Chinese People, and the Communist Party of China; to Mooney, McNamara, the five imprisoned Scottsboro boys, and others.

At the conclusion of the conference an open meeting was held to which were invited leading trade unionists, Negro leaders, professional people and others. Comrade Browder made the main address, a brilliant analysis of our Party program in relation to the C.I.O., the revolutionary traditions of the old South and their place in our present situation, and on the tasks before us. Comrade

Browder was followed by Comrade Ford. These speeches created a profound and favorable impression on this typically Southern audience and received prominent notice in the Chattanooga press.

In the few weeks since the conference was held, the Southern districts are already reporting increased activities in recruiting new members, establishing new branches and perfecting existing Party organizations.

The Alabama district has recruited 108 new members in the month of September. In one evening in Bessemer, Alabama, 17 were recruited. In one week, 20 farmers, sharecroppers, laborers and their wives were recruited in the black belt. In Kentucky where the Party organization is still very weak, the Party is now being brought out into the open. An immediate result was the increase in membership of an important shop unit in Louisville from four to nine members. The branch in Louisville held an open meeting at which 155 people were present, 50 per cent of which were Negroes. Eight new members were recruited at this meeting alone. Tennessee reports 20 new recruits, 14 from the city of Chattanooga, of which 3 are Negroes. They expect to pass the 30 mark for new recruits this month. On Negro work, a N.A.A.C.P. branch was formed which is the only Negro progressive organization among the 35,000 Negroes of Chattanooga.

These are but a few indications of the spirit and enthusiasm now being developed in the Southern districts and their determination to build the Party.

Wisconsin Moves Ahead

FROM REPORTS OF WISCONSIN STATE COMMITTEE

WITH the central aim of realizing the task set by Comrade Browder, of arousing the initiative of the entire membership to build the Party, the Wisconsin State Committee of the Party has been busy organizing and leading

the recruiting drive. Preparations started August 15 at the Milwaukee County Convention.

It required four weeks of membership meetings, county committee meetings, etc., for results to show even a little. The third week of August, 10 were recruited; the fourth week, only 6. The first week in September, 15 were recruited; the second week, 14; the third week, 28; and the fourth week, 43—the highest recruiting figure in several years.

The drive actually began during the last two weeks of September. Between August 15 and September 25, 160 new members had been recruited. However, only 53 comrades actually brought new members into the Party. Nine comrades recruited a total of 62 new members—more than half of all. It is clear, therefore, that one of our major weaknesses in the drive is the small percentage of Party members involved. There is no question but that we could easily double our membership by November 7 if we succeed in drawing into activity the majority of our comrades.

That this is possible was shown at a membership meeting held in Racine. When it was reported that the comrades in Racine had pledged 30 recruits by October 1, and had recruited only 11 by September 22, the 31 comrades present at the meeting pledged to bring in 30 more recruits in the remaining few days. One comrade, a leading trade unionist, pledged 25 recruits by November 7; by September 26, he had already turned in three. The final results on October 2 were that Racine had recruited 22 members or 73 per cent of its pledge, second only to Hurley, which recruited 15 or 75 per cent of its pledge of 20.

In Wisconsin, we have tried to make socialist competition a widespread method for stimulating recruiting. We have encouraged competition between cities, and between individuals. We have popularized in weekly bulletins the results of this competition, and have made it an interesting factor in the development of the campaign. For example, Kenosha and Racine were in competition with each other on the fulfillment of their pledges in September, with the loser arranging a beer party for the winner. Racine won

the competition, and Kenosha prepared to carry out its end of the bargain. Competition was also developed between individual comrades in Racine and Kenosha, those failing to fulfil their pledges contributing one dollar to the State Committee.

Another method used in Wisconsin is the organization of "tugs" from stronger cities and sections to help pull weaker ones along in the drive. Thus Milwaukee County sent a "tug" to Madison, in the form of a commission composed of a few active comrades, to examine the status of the recruiting campaign, and discuss with the leading committee and the membership ways and means of overcoming their weaknesses in the campaign. In the socialist competition between Racine and Kenosha, it was proposed that should Racine be victorious in September, the comrades would form a "tug" for October, to tow Racine along, and thus stimulate their activities.

The State Committee declared to all the sections that in order to arouse the initiative of the entire membership to build the Party, it is necessary to set the Party house in order organizationally. In other words, serious attention must be paid to the life of our Party organization, while the recruiting campaign is in progress. Racine is giving a good example. Since the drive started, Racine has set its units to meeting regularly; has controlled its membership; has found a section organizer; has initiated open Party mass meetings and distributed leaflets on Party policies, as a form of bringing forward the independent role of the Party.

Similarly in Sheboygan, where the drive is being combined with organizational steps to put the new branch on its feet, as well as with political action. The first Party leaflets were issued during the drive and regular unit discussions have been initiated. The unit also has begun a campaign to drive the Nazis out of the city, where they have had one of the strongest groups in the country. Units that were not meeting have been brought together and are beginning to take up real political work. We can see clearly that where real recruiting begins, the whole Party becomes

alive and our entire organization is improved and consolidated. *Recruiting and improvement of Party organization must go hand in hand.*

Madison is now giving us an example of how the radio can be utilized for Party recruiting. The Party has a regular fortnightly radio broadcast in Madison. Now the comrades are arranging breakfast radio parties on Sunday mornings to which non-party contacts are invited, and the broadcast discussed. In this way, Madison hopes to recruit new members and strengthen the organization in the city politically.

A number of comrades are now in active competition to be chosen as delegates to the National Party Builders Congress in New York. The district, as a whole, is being greatly stimulated politically and organizationally and begins to realize the political significance of Party building. We shall strive to maintain our place as one of the leading districts in the recruiting campaign and expect that this drive will lead to steady and continuous recruiting on the part of a larger section of our membership.

How I Recruited 27 New Members

By HENRY HUFF, SECTION ORGANIZER, ABERDEEN, WASH.

I HEREWITH offer my contribution to the treasury of experience, which is undoubtedly being gathered by our Party builders throughout the nation at this time. I want to tell how I recruited 27 new members into the Party.

I am sure that the greatest contributing factor to my ability to add 27 new members to our Party in one month is that I have been successful in associating myself with large numbers of non-Party workers. In being connected with these people socially (and I wish to stress the im-

portance of Communists, particularly section organizers and all established leading Party functionaries, extending their social relationship with the masses far beyond the realm of the yet too narrow inner-Party social life) it is only natural that I become a counsellor to a large percent age of non-Party friends and help them in a manner, as only a Communist can, to solve their many problems.

Always keeping in mind the fact that working people as a whole are very practical people and need to be convinced in various ways that we Communists are not only good talkers and writers about their problems and how to solve them, but that we are really fine, congenial, modest and able people willing to help them with their difficulties and, at the same time, respect their rights to differ with us as to political beliefs, I have especially concerned myself with achieving that essential acquaintance and close social connections with as many people as possible—to give them that chance they want, and should have, to test us out to their own satisfaction.

Introduction to people is an important organizational task that should not be overlooked or underestimated by Party leaders. I see to it that our most prominent and respected union leaders introduce me, not only to the progressive people, but to the Red-baiters and those people in the unions who are branded as reactionary, “no good,” etc. In many cases, I find these people to be basically honest, willing to learn; some have joined our Party and become very good Communists and most of them have ceased to be Red-baiters.

As section organizer, I have seen to it that frequent letters, in the name of our section committee, are written to the unions and mass organizations, extending our greeting, pledging our continued support to them in their struggles and inviting their membership to be our guests at open Party membership meetings. Most of these letters have been read to the membership of these various organizations and have brought many people into our Party and many more within close range of it.

To sum up the foregoing and find the answer as to why

and how I was successful in recruiting 27 members in September is simply this: I ask a number of the many people I am acquainted with, in a serious manner, to join the Communist Party and explain to them why the Party needs them and their help and especially why they cannot afford to stay out of the Party any longer. Twenty-seven of them accepted my advice and came into the Party.

This, of course, is a good recruiting record for almost any comrade to reach and I am proud of the fact that I was able to do it. But if we examine the recruiting of our Section as a whole for September, we can see that there are some very definite weaknesses that must be corrected and which, perhaps, to some extent can be linked up with my good individual recruiting record.

With a membership of 94 on September 1 in our Section, we were able to recruit 72 and control 6, a total of 78 for the month, which is still good, but when we examine the number of people that actually participated in recruiting, we find a situation which is not so good. Less than one-fourth of our membership participated in recruiting and only six comrades recruited 57 or approximately 80 per cent of the total recruiting for the month.

This situation makes us ask ourselves a serious question: How can we involve our entire membership in recruiting even to the extent of one new member for each member, and how much faster will our Party grow if more emphasis and effort are put into getting all our people to do a small part in a big drive? This is a problem that must be met and solved in the shortest possible time if we are to build a mass Communist Party and learn how to utilize the full capacity of our membership and its potential strength in this and many other important campaigns we shall face in the future.

Comrade Bristol issued a challenge in our district that he would recruit more new members than any other comrade in District 12 during the Party building drive. I accepted the challenge and to date I am leading by a fairly safe margin. However in order to correct some of the weaknesses in our work and improve our Party build-

ing campaign as a whole, I am also challenging Comrade Bristol and all other section organizers not only to recruit more members than they, but to involve a larger percentage of the membership in recruiting for the whole period of the drive, to re-register 100 per cent of our membership *on time* when re-registration begins, and to fulfil our quota first on the *Western Daily Worker* drive.

Let us make these our slogans:

Every Comrade Get His Member; A Powerful Party Press; Forward to a Mass Communist Party in the U.S.A.

Connecticut Steps Out

By A. LANDY

THE Connecticut District is entering the last lap of the recruiting drive with the objective of one hundred fifty new members by the end of the campaign. At this writing eighty new members have already been recruited, which in itself represents an eight-fold increase in recruiting over the average of the first six months of the year.

The state committee, at its last meeting on October 10, took stock of the drive and raised the slogan: From Inner Mobilization to Actual Recruiting. The section organizers of Bridgeport, Hartford, Stamford and Springfield, particularly, undertook to carry the drive to a successful conclusion by personal example and leadership in actual recruiting. There is every indication that the objectives of the state committee will be fulfilled.

Together with concrete plans for completion of the drive, the state committee discussed and adopted two other measures as a guarantee that the new members will stay in the Party. These measures are:

1. An organizational educational program aimed to tighten up Party organization and institute a system of Party education;
2. A plan to register 1,000 members by January 1.

The majority of new members recruited during the drive are metal and needle workers. The needle unit of Bridgeport and the Russian Bureau stood out, in this respect, as examples of good conscientious work. The Russian fraction, with a state membership of 26, set itself the task of doubling its membership. At this writing, they had not only recruited fourteen new members, with a definite guarantee of going over their quota, but they are opening up three new towns for the Party, by establishing units in Bristol, Colchester and Meridan, all industrial towns in which the C.I.O. is either being built or in the process of being built. This good work of the Russian comrades is the result of collective leadership, effective political guidance and attention to organizational details. The Bridgeport needle unit, which in a short time grew from three to thirteen members, has also conducted the drive in a way that shows a deep appreciation of the task of building the Party.

Before the drive is over the district will also have opened up ten new towns for the Party. Steps are being taken to see that these new units, once they are organized, are given proper attention. For this purpose comrades are being selected whose task it will be to visit these units regularly and help them organize their political and educational work.

There is every indication that the recruiting drive has had the effect of arousing the entire Party to a keener understanding of the whole problem of Party building. The drive promises to be only the beginning of a more consistent and steady recruiting in every section. The comrades can now see for themselves that the figure of 150 new members is far from the number that could have been recruited in the Party during this period. The metal units alone have just about that many immediate contacts. If they have not succeeded in bringing these into the Party it is because too much time was spent by the district in mere mobilization, too much dependence was placed on only one form of recruiting, namely, group meetings, and not enough actual individual recruiting was carried on day

by day. As a result, weeks have been lost waiting for meetings which in most instances did not materialize.

For this reason the state committee decided to concentrate on the most immediate prospects during the last three weeks, with the section organizers teamed up with four or five of the best recruiters in the section, personally undertaking to bring these prospects into the Party. While the leading forces concentrate on this, the rest of the Party is being stimulated to speed up its recruiting during the last lap of the drive.

The Party in the Connecticut District has played an important role in organizing the unorganized throughout the state. It has contributed some of its most energetic and competent forces for this purpose. But it is precisely these forces who have done the least to build the Party. These comrades alone could easily have recruited 200 new members during the drive. One of the main tasks of the last three weeks of the recruiting drive is to galvanize our leading trade union forces into action. The state committee meeting took measures toward this end, including a plan for consistent political education of the leading trade unionists in the Party.

With the district leadership taking energetic command of the campaign the recruiting drive in Connecticut is bound to meet with success.

Building the Party in the District of Columbia

By MARTIN CHANCEY

DURING the past six months the Party in Washington has grown from a membership of 75 to well over 200, and has increased the number of units from four to sixteen.

The history of the Washington Party is one full of zig-zags, with some advances followed by very sharp setbacks.

Analyzing with our membership the reasons for our failure to maintain the advances made, we reached the conclusion that in the struggles we conduct we must recruit the best forces into the Party, and with them develop a well-trained collective leadership. Our membership took this lesson to heart.

In response to the claims of our members that after years of activity in mass organizations they have no prospects for recruiting, our leading comrades met with many of them individually, and closely examined their activities and connections. The results were surprising. Many of these comrades were surrounded by workers who had supported the Party financially and in every other way for years, but had never joined the Party because it had never occurred to our comrades to ask them to do so.

We drove away, hammer and tong, in a campaign to make our comrades recruiting-conscious, to gather in the harvest after years of toil. We met with considerable success.

Another important factor which enthused our membership was the fact that for the first time in the history of the Washington Party we attempted to equip our membership with a clear picture of the economic and political situation in the city. We worked out a plan of action on a city-wide scale, giving each unit and Party member an understanding of the role they are to play in this general plan of work. We organized our work around four major tasks: trade union work, activities among the Negroes and the unemployed, and the fight for the right to vote, rallying all progressive forces in the fight for suffrage with the perspective of building a broad People's Front around this issue. Many of our comrades began to realize the need for more Party forces to cope with the varied tasks before us.

A decisive factor in laying the basis for continuous recruiting was our success in bringing the Party more into the open. The existence of a Communist Party in Washington had been known only to a small circle. Our comrades had developed the theory that in Washington there are

"special circumstances" requiring that we work deeply underground; that the Party could not go on the air, that it was not possible to distribute leaflets or have mass picketing.

However, no sooner were efforts made to bring the Party into the open, then we found that it was mainly the repressive imaginations of our comrades that had caused them to bury the Party so deeply underground. We readily obtained a contract for a series of radio broadcasts on such subjects as: the local relief situation, the Supreme Court, our position on the Negro question, Trotskyism, etc. Some of these talks were issued by the Party in a series of folders for mass distribution. Leaflets, reacting to local issues, also began to appear quite regularly.

A number of struggles were carried through for the right to picket fascist embassies, as well as struggles in the unemployed and trade union field, in which the constructive role of the Party was apparent. These actions greatly raised the prestige of the Party and brought its activities to the attention of a large section of the population.

Some of our most effective recruiting was done as a result of the struggles carried on by the trade unions, such as in the food industry. There, a small number of comrades, openly known as Communists, were active in leading the first sit-down strike in the city, at the Willard Hotel. As a result we built a good-sized unit in the food industry.

One of our most recent experiences in recruiting was in the cleaning and dying strike, which tied up most of and industry in which 90 per cent of the workers are Negro. Two known Communists were among the leadership of the strike. The assistance given the strike in the form of relief and picketing was done openly in the name of the Party. At the close of the strike we called fifteen Negro workers who were among the leading forces in the strike, and after a brief appeal they all joined the Party. They were sure of tripling this number within a few weeks.

Our best recruiting, however, was done in the unemployed field. The Workers Alliance carried through some very dramatic struggles, such as a twelve-day sit-in strike at a Home Relief Bureau and the occupation of the District Building (the Washington City Hall). The sit-inners were impressed by the visible role of the Party in mobilizing moral and financial support. As a result of our work in the course of these actions a new Party unit was established of fourteen Negro workers.

With our work rapidly expanding and with most of our membership new, we have had to give many responsible functions to comrades quite new in the Party. Several have failed to make the grade either because we had made a bad choice, or because we didn't give them enough assistance in learning their job. But the majority of new comrades selected for leading posts are beginning to fulfill their responsibilities with more self-assurance and efficiency. And we can now see emerging some two dozen comrades who are becoming a real force in our work and will undoubtedly constitute the backbone of our Party in Washington.

I have mainly discussed the positive features of our work. I could also point out some very serious shortcomings such as the fact that the *Daily Worker* circulation hasn't even increased in the same proportion as the membership; that the bulk of our new membership doesn't have a clear conception of Party discipline and responsibility while the efforts made to educate these comrades are entirely inadequate. We have not yet built an effective section apparatus that can check up on the carrying through of decisions and mobilize the Party for the various campaigns. Many other difficulties could be enumerated. But we can say that the Communist Party of Washington is becoming recognized as an increasingly important factor in the life of the progressive movement of our city.

Party Building Among Progressive Forces

By JERRY COLEMAN, ALABAMA

ONE of our Party units in a community of white farmers and miners in North Alabama has given leadership to many local movements, but in spite of its close contact with the people the comrades failed to recruit a single new member since it was organized, about nine months ago. When the organizer of the unit was asked about recruiting certain leading union members he said they were good union men but not good material for the Party.

The progressive union men in the community were good enough to be elected to leading union offices by the membership. During the election campaign these progressives had obtained an invitation for a Communist Party speaker to come before the County Farmers' Union. They came to a private meeting to listen to a Communist leader explain the Party program. They listened to Comrade Browder's election campaign talk on a victrola record, in fact they listened to it carefully several times. They read Party literature as often as they could get hold of it.

From the time of the first Party meeting till the present these progressives have followed the leadership of our Party. They have weathered several tough "Red scares." They defended the right of Communists to membership and office in the unions. It requires understanding and courage to take this position in backward, rural sections of the South.

Some of the progressives, working close to Party members yet never taking part in the discussion or planning of the Party, quite naturally began to resent being presented with Party decisions. They resented not being invited to join the Party. They felt that the small group in the Party unit was getting together secretly to make plans for them to carry out. They worked hard in the union and they

wanted to participate in the discussion and planning.

The first expression of their grievance come with criticisms of Party members' work by non-Party people. Some of the criticisms were justified and there developed an under-current of antagonism between Party members and other union progressives. The Party unit itself became divided and matters went from bad to worse. The danger developed that the progressives might lose faith in the Party as a whole.

The district leadership recognized some of the shortcomings in time. It went to the unit and held an open meeting to which the progressives were invited. Our Party members suffered so much from their own "Red scare" that they did not invite the progressives to join then nor even make known their own membership; they left it to the District Organizer to do the inviting. Although the meeting served to clear up some misunderstandings, nobody was recruited.

After this meeting the Party comrades discussed the shortcomings of the meeting and their own failure to recruit. The next day two members were recruited and several more are expected to join soon. In addition the Party members are now setting out to recruit progressive union members in other communities. One recruiting meeting has already been held and several more are being arranged. Our comrades have taken a new lease on life.

With the new life in the unit the grievances and misunderstandings can be thrashed out in the Communist way. The new members can add their ideas and knowledge of the community to the plans and work of the Party. The members will be able to branch out, carry more influence in the unions and in other phases of community life. A stronger Party unit will do more to unite the progressive movement and give it better leadership. The unit is stopping its ostrich-like work, hiding its head in the sand every time the "Red scare" is raised, or even without it being raised. On its present course the unit can establish the citizenship of the Party in North Alabama and defeat the reactionaries at every turn.

From a Manual For Membership Directors

ISSUED BY MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE, SEATTLE, WASH.

THE work of the membership director in every unit is of the greatest importance to the entire activity of the Party. We can readily understand the value of having a membership director who knows each member and his capabilities so thoroughly that he can help fit every single member in the unit into some activity for which he is especially qualified, and which is vital to the complete success of the program of our Party.

Role of the Membership director

1. The membership director should see that new members receive their membership books as quickly as possible, that they are assigned to the proper unit, and that transfer cards are sent through promptly for those transferring.

2. He should be informed constantly as to individual member's correct address, attendance, dues payments, and membership in mass organizations and trade unions.

3. The membership director should work jointly with the financial director in calling the roll of the unit at every meeting in order to check on dues payments and attendance, and should see that squad captains and shock brigades are established to make personal calls in order to collect back dues and draw delinquent members back into activity.

4. To develop an understanding of each Party member, his capabilities, interests, activities, etc.

5. To be successful in the above the membership director should have an active interest in each individual member's assignments, know how they are being carried out, and if the member is able to do the work, whether he likes it, etc.

6. The membership director should work very closely with all members of the unit bureau, helping the education-

ul and literature directors to see that special guidance is given to members so that they may overcome political misunderstandings and weaknesses. He should be able to make recommendations to the unit organizer in regard to the right member for the right job, based on a thorough understanding of each member.

7. He should see that members are notified of fraction meetings and that they realize the importance of attending; that fraction secretaries are given the names and addresses of new members.

8. The membership director should be responsible for guiding recruiting activities in the unit, see that they are discussed at every meeting, and that lists of contacts are kept and that the work of individual members responsible for the contacts is kept active and stimulated. Special attention should be paid to seeing that members of mass organization and trade union fractions take up recruiting in their meetings, and that a close check on the work being done with their contacts is kept. The membership director should take a leading part in working with special committees during the recruiting campaign, and help to organize their work.

Methods of work with old and new members

With new members:

1. The membership director, or some other member of the unit who is qualified, should have a friendly talk with each new member (if possible a personal visit) when he is brought into the unit in order to make him feel at home in the Party.

2. Assignments and new members' classes:

a. The first assignment of a new member should be to attend a special educational class for new members, with no other assignments to be given during this period.

b. The membership director should see that the new member is notified of the time and place of the class, and should know whether or not the comrade is attending. If the new member fails to attend he should be contacted personally at once.

c. When the new member returns to the unit he is ready for an assignment; this should be made after a consultation with the new members as to his interests, and a discussion in the unit bureau. The membership director should make whatever recommendations he may have to the unit organizer and the unit bureau, based on his knowledge of the new member.

d. A specially close check should be kept of new members to see that they pay their dues and do not get behind and that they attend unit meetings. Care here will do much to prevent fluctuation by preventing members from dropping out because they are behind in dues payments or out of touch with the unit. If a new member becomes delinquent he should by all means be contacted by the membership director, shock brigade, or squad captain immediately.

3. Mass organization and trade union fraction work:

a. The membership director should find out the trade union and mass organization to which the new member belongs and notify him of fraction meetings, helping him to become interested in this important work and to realize the need of attending these meetings.

With old members:

The membership director should show the same interest and attention to working with the older members of the unit that he does with the new members; they too need guidance and encouragement in the "mastering of Bolshevism." The old member as well should be urged to attend educational meetings, should be contacted if he fails to attend unit meetings or pay his dues regularly.

The membership director should help to point out to the old members their obligation to the new members so that they make more of an effort to establish friendly relations with the new members and give them special guidance when necessary.

New York State Section

ISSUED BY NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

Party Building Problems in New York*

by MARY DALTON and BEE WELLS

IMMEDIATELY following the June plenum of our Central Committee, Comrade Steinberg presented an organizational report giving a picture of the Party on a statewide scale, proposing some organizational changes in our branch and industrial units which would guarantee the best utilization of our membership both in their trade unions and in the neighborhoods in which they live. Following the line of the discussion which dealt primarily with the problems raised at the plenum of the Central Committee, our State Committee initiated a Party building drive which was three-phased in scope—recruiting, the raising of a huge sum of money to cover the financial needs for the year, and the increasing of the circulation of the *Daily Worker*. This plan embodied as well certain organizational proposals to be recommended to the units of the Party for organizing our neighborhood units and branches on the election district basis. This provided for the activization of the thousands of members in our shop and industrial units in their residential districts; for the better conduct of unit meetings to be held on an educational basis every two weeks; (intervening meetings to be

*Joint report of the State Organizational and Membership Departments submitted to a recent meeting of the State Committee.

conducted on the election district group basis only); for the improved handling of our new members; for the new types of new members' classes, training instruction for these classes, etc.

The recruiting plan, embracing not only these proposals but a new form of socialist competition based upon the popularization of the leadership of our Party, was sent to our counties, sections, units and fractions.

How were some of these plans carried out? Through the district a meeting with the leading trade union activists was held. Comrade Browder discussed with our comrades the necessity and great possibilities of building the Party and our press. The effect of this meeting was one of high enthusiasm and responsiveness on the part of the comrades. Challenges between unions and fractions were issued, and everyone pledged to go out and at least double the membership in his fraction as well as to raise a large sum of money in the fund drive. Many trade unionists pledged to contribute a week's salary to the drive. Following this meeting, members of the trade union department and of the organizational department met with almost every one of the leading fractions in the district helping them to organize their forces for the competitive drive on all fronts. Many open meetings of fractions have already been held or are scheduled to be held.

Many units are now discussing the recruiting plan and have applied it to their specific possibilities, many others are just now beginning to apply themselves to the task of consciously and systematically bringing into the Party the people they work with, meet with and play with in the course of their activities. The sections should involve all members of the unit in the drive at each unit meeting. Our records show that only a small percentage of the membership is involved in the drive. Section 18, a good section, with a membership of 750 has involved only 39 comrades in recruiting. In the Harler Division only 39 units out of 89 have done any recruiting and in terms of membership only 100 comrades out of 2,600 brought new recruits into the Party. At this time

we can report a total of only 1,286 new members who have been assigned in five weeks, which is only a slightly higher figure than normal.

These 1,286 comrades, who have been assigned so far, represent only a fraction of the number of comrades who have been actually recruited since September 1. We can conservatively estimate that an additional 3,000 have been recruited, who are waiting to be taken care of. For example, in the needle trades section, some excellent recruiting meetings have been held, with good results. The fur units have already signed up about 80 fur workers; the cloakmakers have signed up many workers in their own trade, as well as some strikers from the automat whom they recruited while they helped them on the picket line. The newspaper units have broken through a long period of stagnation (with the assistance of Comrade Len Carver) and have recruited several typographical workers. In that section alone, there are at least 200 new recruits *to be assigned during the next week or two.*

After Recruiting—What?

The solution of this problem of absorbing all the new members quickly after they are recruited is one that must be given the closest attention. One way of course is further to impress upon all comrades the necessity of taking personal responsibility for their recruits. *After contacting someone for months, another day or week if necessary should be devoted to checking up and seeing that the new recruit has been attached to his unit.* But mainly this responsibility rests upon the sections. And this problem should not be relegated altogether to the membership departments, which in the best instances do not yet enjoy the political status which this responsible work demands. In most instances the section organizers or the organizational departments are satisfied when they have filled the post of membership with one or several comrades, and expect that these comrades, by virtue of their title, will perform miracles, when the organizational guarantees for these miracles are not there.

The membership departments in all sections must be strengthened and enlarged with comrades who are organizationally equipped to handle this work, if we are to absorb the hundreds of new recruits in each section as the drive gains momentum. In this connection, two methods for quickly assigning comrades should be employed. One, that a comrade of the membership committee be assigned to attend the open unit meetings held in the section in order to issue the books right there to the newly recruited members. At this time they should not only be initiated and welcomed into the Party, but should be told where and when to report to their new members' class.

The other method is already adopted in some sections and should be followed in all others, that is, of having the newly recruited comrade brought to the Section headquarters, where the membership director meets him, gives him his book and assigns him to the new members' class.

The new members' classes must be put on a regular functioning basis, and the best comrades be assigned to teach these classes. Manhattan County has initiated a new step in this direction. There the Educational Department has begun a class to train teachers for these classes. This has been a longfelt need in our work, and we are confident that this will bring some good results, and certainly some new teachers so sorely needed. The class consists of about 20 comrades and meets twice a week. Two sessions are devoted to field work, that is visiting a branch, an industrial unit and a shop unit. These units and their work are then analyzed, the necessary conclusions drawn, and the curriculum for the new members' classes improved as a result of this. Similarly, the new members' classes are also conducted on a field work as well as class work basis. There are ten sessions now instead of five as in the past and the new comrades are given their first training in a much more systematic manner. Other counties should adopt this method of training teachers and new members so that in this respect too we have the organizational guarantees necessary for the new comrades to better

understand the Party which they have joined, as well as their role in it.

An important problem in connection with building the Party, which must be stressed, is the necessity of maintaining regular contact with shop and industrial units. Generally this contact is too irregular, and accounts in some measure for the lag between the dues payments and the membership on the rolls of the sections. We know that in many sections, shop units have not been seen for weeks at a time. With the growth of the Party and the consequent growth of our shop units, this problem requires more attention. How can any section function properly without this regular contact? Does the section know all its shop units? How they function? What their problems are? Do they issue shop papers, sell literature and the *Daily Worker*? Recruit? Regular contact must be established by meeting with the comrades in their units.

In order to enrich our Party membership with the workers from the trade unions, special attention should be given to the industrial units by the sections, and every assistance given them to make them the strong force in the Party they should be. During this drive, particularly, they should be visited weekly, helping them to see the necessity of holding open meetings, issuing leaflets to their fellow workers on why they should join the Party. The industrial units respond readily, if properly guided and worked with.

The street units and branches present an acute problem. For inadequately as the shop and industrial units function today, their problems are not in most cases as diverse as that of the average street unit, whose task is not only to penetrate the neighborhood life and its many problems, but that of activizing their large membership to carry out the campaigns and tasks of the Party. In the first place, the average branch or unit can count on only a small percentage of its membership to carry on day-to-day work. Many comrades are engaged in mass work which somehow is not closely related to the work of the branch. The attendance at branch meetings is not too good at any time, nor is there more than a handful who come to meetings

regularly enough to be able to be involved in any continuous work that the branch has set itself to accomplish or that the section expects it to carry on. The average attendance at unit meetings for the past few months has been from 30 per cent to 40 per cent. The dues payments are only slightly higher.

In June we only controlled 15,800 members, which was less than the number we registered in January, and in spite of 3,812 members recruited until control. Over 4,000 members of our Party may already be lost to us, and yet the sections have taken this too lightly and not given it the organizational force necessary to control this burning problem facing them. Absentees, especially the chronic cases, should be visited and brought back into the units.

The average member in our Party joins it certainly for better and not for worse. But the average member wants to feel that he is performing some work which is in some measure coordinated and related to the big tasks he knows the Party must perform, and he wants to be guided and must be told how, where and when to do his work. Is the average branch organizer equipped to direct the activity of the members in his organization? Is he the comrade who, because of his confidence in his own ability can command the respect and devotion of his membership and give them that guidance and help in their activities which our comrades increasingly demand? Unfortunately the average branch organizer has *only the willingness and sincerity to work*, which is excellent, but that alone is not sufficient. More often he is a frustrated individual because he is confronted with many tasks and details, not knowing which to tackle first. This is not entirely his fault. What is needed today in our Party is a new form of guidance to our branch organizers other than that which is given in the routine meetings of organizers at which directives are given to them.

Our district and county training schools are preparing and training hundreds of comrades for more effective leadership. Many of these comrades when they are graduated are absorbed in the sections and trade union apparatus.

Training Branch Leaders

What is acutely needed today is a new kind of school, or if not possible, special classes for training branch and unit organizers precisely on the functions which they have to perform. Once we have taught comrades what their functions are and how to perform them, we will have the guarantee for the practical day-to-day leadership that is needed in our branches. Our membership will certainly more readily respond to their tasks if properly organized, and the problem of finding the proper task for each comrade will be more readily solved. Fluctuation, due to comrades falling out of the Party because they do not find the proper niche in it, will be greatly reduced. We can much more afford to take out a number of branch organizers and release them from their activities, today, thus guaranteeing their better functioning tomorrow than to permit the situation we now face, where most of our branches function as best they can under the circumstances, and that best is not nearly good enough.

Proposals previously made for classes for other functionaries in units and branches must be followed up and carried through. Once our comrades responsible for their specific posts understand their tasks, we will not only have a better situation, but we will have the people who will help carry them through. If finance secretaries knew the political and organizational importance and status of their tasks, comrades would not only pay the proper amount of dues (which is not always the case, since finance secretaries feel it a matter of delicacy to inquire into the earnings of comrades) but these comrades would understand the full necessity of paying their dues regularly. It would not be necessary to have a periodic drive for dues payments, such as must be initiated immediately in order to bring our Party membership in good standing, not only for the present period, but particularly in preparation for the exchange of Party books in 1938.

Attention to Our Press

An integral part of our Party building campaign is the

increase in the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. The problem of the *Daily Worker* circulation is tied very closely with the financial campaign, since a loss in circulation means raising bigger sums of money. Finances can only be raised when we grow, when we extend our influence, when we build our Party. Thus the question of Party building, of fluctuation, education, the problems facing us in the absorbing of the hundred and thousands of new members can be repeated in relation to building our *Daily Worker* circulation.

Last March we initiated an intense circulation campaign setting ourselves a quota of a 15,000 increase by July 4.

In April our sales increased by 2,300, and by June 6 we had reached 5,400. With the summer months intervening and the organized drive vigilance beginning to relax, there has followed a steady decrease in the *Daily Worker* circulation. By July 1 we lost 2,400 of the increase and by September 11, lost an additional 1,500 circulation. Today we have increased our *Daily Worker* circulation by 1,500 over our March figures, only 10 per cent of the quota we should have obtained in July.

In our new drive, we find upon checking up with our sections and counties that many units have not taken bundles of papers in the past few weeks. In Harlem, not one of the 84 units has ordered the *Daily Worker* in weeks. No *Daily Worker* commission existed, either in the section or in the division.

It is no accident, but lack of organizational steps to build our press that accounts for the catastrophic loss in the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. Only the organization of county and section *Daily Worker* commissions that actually go into the units and hammer away continually and systematically on how to promote newsstand sales, canvassing, securing subscriptions can overcome this intolerable situation. These commissions must help the street units make the *Daily Worker* the voice of the Party in the neighborhood, the shop, and the trade union.