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PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

Our special task as Communists is the political education of the millions, to bring deepened understanding in the course of the struggle.

EARL BROWDER

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Our Achilles Heel

By GIL GREEN

(We print below excerpts from a report delivered to the New York State Committee on September 2, 1943.)

Comrades:

I am going to make a different kind of report on the press. I won't burden you with figures, indulge in recriminations or criticisms, or project a concrete, detailed plan of action. We have had plenty of plans.

I want to discuss this problem in relation to the basic task that we as a Party face in the State of New York, the solution of which will enable our Party to take another great leap forward towards a mass Party with close ties to the non-Party masses and the trade unions.

Our Party in New York has many achievements to record. We can be proud of our Party. We are the largest state organization of our Party, with some 40 per cent of its national membership. It would be difficult to find another state in which the Party occupies greater positions of responsibility and leadership.

Our Greatest Obstacles

And yet there is no other place in the union in which red-baiting is as rife as it is in this State, particularly New York City, where the enemies smear the Party on every occasion, whether it be our position on Mayor Hague of Jersey City—which became a greater issue in New York than it was in New Jersey—or anything else.

Also there is no other city in which it is so difficult to muster all of the progressive forces in the labor movement, all the influence that we have, on a broad front of struggle. We have frequently noted the tendency for the Party to substitute for other forces, that is, for our Party to carry the full load of various campaigns and various endeavors.

We also witness the fact that, despite our influence in the labor movement, we are quite far behind other states in respect to the official relationship of the Party and its leadership to the leadership of the trade union movement. Many trade union leaders close to our Party often fear public association with it. It is no accident that at the New York *Daily Worker* conference held some months ago there were fewer and less important trade union officials participating than at similar conferences in other cities.

This is true partly because we have not yet made our own friends understand that there is a decisive change in world events, a change also in the political situation in New York that makes possible their coming forward in a bolder fashion.

The Basic Reason

But there is another reason for this situation, a basic reason. In New York City we have today the national, if not the international, center for reactionary Social-Democracy. *It is the Forward-Dubinsky gang of Social-Democracy that plays a major role in intimidating every progressive force in the labor movement and in the community that wants to march together with us.*

Witness the campaign of vituperation they are conducting today against Sidney Hillman because he is ready to cooperate with the Left Wing forces and because he wants a united ALP. Witness the scurrilous campaign of Luigi Antonini against August Bellanca and Joseph Catalonotti of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers because they want real Italian-American anti-fascist unity. It is a known fact that the only reason the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are not yet a part of the N. Y. City CIO Council is because Hillman, Jacob Potofsky and Louis Hollander are still fearful of the poisonous influence of the Forward clique amongst the Jewish workers and in the ranks of the Amalgamated itself.

Therefore, the question of isolating and defeating reactionary Social-Democracy is the decisive question for labor unity and the future of our Party in the City and State. Only when we have accomplished this can our Party make another great leap forward. If we fail to accomplish it, then we are going to endanger our present positions and labor unity will

be impossible of realization. That is how decisive is this question.

The Forward-Dubinsky gang has received a number of telling blows. We must not under-estimate these. But it would be fatal to exaggerate them. This gang is on the defensive on certain questions, but not entirely. It is far from defeated. Every day it continues to poison the minds and to influence new sections of the workers and of the middle classes.

Social-Democracy Has Not Been Routed

It is true that the objective conditions for the growth and development of Social-Democracy are less favorable today, but Social-Democracy can still grow and will grow if we leave things to chance, if we do not understand how to take advantage of the favorable objective conditions in order to rout them. If we do not combat them consistently and skillfully, they can continue to influence large masses in the labor movement. Remember that they today put forward "Left"-sounding slogans. They try to exploit the growing class and social consciousness of the workers and employ provocations in order to oppose labor's class interests to the interests of the whole nation at war.

Among the Negro people, too, they attempt to place the justified grievances and demands for equality not as a war task, but as something in conflict with national unity and the war effort. With all of the achievements that the progressive movement can record in building Negro and white unity, it would be a mistake to believe that the demagogic line of the Randolphs and Crosswaiths has already been fully exposed and defeated.

We should also note that Social-Democratic ideas and influence seep into the ranks of our own Party as well. Our Party does not live in a vacuum. Our Party is not made up of people who were born Communists. Our Party is made up of people who, in large numbers, are not yet thoroughly convinced Communists. To think that these people are not influenced by the currents around them and by the activities of the Social-Democrats is folly.

In the last few years the Social-Democrats have found new

media through which to reach masses. In the first place, the *New York Post* is lending its columns more and more to the Social-Democratic clique, as can be seen in their labor page edited by the Social-Democrat, Victor Riesel. Social-Democratic influence also finds outlets in *PM*, the *Nation* and *New Republic*, and, of course, in the reactionary press. The Social-Democratic Old Guard didn't have to worry about getting publicity for their red-baiting in the ALP primaries.

The ALP primaries, although registering a defeat for the Social-Democrats, also showed that they still have considerable influence among sections of workers and professionals, especially among the Jewish people. It would be a big mistake to think that this influence is felt only in the old generation. The votes don't prove that. The *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *Post* and *PM* do not influence the old generation of Jewish workers who read the *Forward*; they influence the American-born section of Jewish workers. Nor is this section a politically backward section. It is, on the contrary, a forward-moving section of the working class. Let's not forget that those masses who follow the ALP are, politically speaking, on the Left as compared with those who still follow the two old parties.

The Struggle Is for the Advanced Workers

In other words, the Social-Democrats are contending for leadership amongst those masses who are becoming awakened politically, are being drawn into the labor movement and into the political struggle around progressive and advanced slogans—the masses that potentially belong to us, but are kept from us by the lies and poison of the Dubinsky-Antonini-*Forward* and *New Leader* crowd.

How are we going to defeat this gang? We are going to defeat it by broad, correct mass policies, by working in closer unison with those sections of the labor movement that are ready for winning the war, represented by Murray and Hillman in the CIO.

But we are not going to win this fight unless we also draw the conclusion that it is necessary to conduct an ideological struggle for the masses, for our position on daily questions of policy. It is not just a question of winning masses for the war

in general. It is necessary to *deepen* their understanding in respect to the war and our policies on the war. One can be for victory in the war and still be misled by the Dubinskys or Reuthers and favor policies harmful to the war effort. Without an ideological struggle, it is impossible to win the fight against Social-Democracy and avoid great dangers for the war effort and for our Party.

Education for the Millions

I think this is what Comrade Browder meant when, at the Plenum of our Party a few months ago, he said that the main independent role of our Party was "to educate the millions." I think we have not drawn all the conclusions from that remark. I think that we have not appreciated the fact that this means twice as much for New York, where we have this organized disruptive force in the labor movement, as for any other city or state.

The weakness of our ideological work is the Achilles' heel of the work of our Party today. We are not doing basic education. This expresses itself in the neglect of basic Marxist education of our own leading personnel. It expresses itself in an attitude of indifference towards the Workers School. It shows itself in the failure to appreciate the reasons why we have undertaken to give a mass circulation to Comrade Browder's book, and why Comrade Browder is at this moment engaged in writing another basic book on the war. It is to be seen in the fact that we do not really consider the circulation of *The Communist* as of key importance for the ideological preparation of our own Party members.

And, in the first place, it expresses itself in the failure to appreciate the role and the meaning of our press and the way we must use our press as a weapon.

To talk about ideological struggle for the masses, and then to lose sight of the role of the press, is to indulge in mouthing phrases—nothing more. The *Daily Worker*, the *Sunday Worker*, and *Freiheit*—these are our main weapons for bringing ideological clarity, for deepening the understanding of the masses on the everyday issues of struggle.

Notwithstanding all the headway we have made in mass work, we cannot speak of any increase in basic Party influ-

ence as long as the circulation of the *Worker* and *Daily Worker* show no improvement. Without this we cannot speak of any guarantee of a bigger vote this year than last.

What explains the failure to build the circulation of our press? It is true that the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker* as they are today cannot become mass papers.

If the Rest of the Country Can Do It, New York Can

But if we use that as the excuse for the failure to increase circulation or as an explanation for the decline in circulation in New York, we would merely be shunting our own responsibility and refusing to face facts. Why? Because the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* are no different for the rest of the country than for New York. Yet the Philadelphia District of our Party, with one-tenth the membership of New York, got more subscriptions for the *Sunday Worker* in this drive than we, not only relatively but absolutely. A year ago New York was selling 50 per cent of the *Sunday Worker's* national circulation. Today we are only selling 30 per cent of the national figure. If the *Sunday Worker* figures have declined nationally, it is only because they have declined in New York; they have not declined elsewhere. On the contrary, they have been going up elsewhere.

That is point one to answer the argument that the reason for the decline is to be found in weaknesses of the paper itself.

Look at our own experience. Whenever we try to sell the paper, we succeed. One night the comrades in Harlem ordered a bundle of 1,000 copies. How long did it take to sell them? About an hour. But how many times have we gone to Harlem with *Daily Worker* bundles?

Have we ever failed to sell papers when we went out in front of the large war shops in Queens? We didn't sell thousands, but we sold dozens of papers each time.

Therefore, what is the main problem before us today? The fact that we completely underestimate the ideological threat of Social-Democracy in the ranks of the advanced workers in this city and in this state. We childishly believe that if we go out and get 100,000 workers to register for Election Day, that guarantees that they will vote for us. That we are work-

ing for a large registration is good, but does not guarantee that those who register will know how to vote.

That we help build large mass movements and great Polo Ground meetings is also good. But even these are no guarantees. *The only guarantee is to be found in the daily, consistent struggle for the masses; explaining and explaining again our position on every issue of the day.*

When this truth registers in our minds, comrades, then we shall make a change in respect to the press. If it doesn't register, then we won't make any change whatsoever. That is the central thought I want to leave with you.

How many section and club leaders know the circulation of the press in their territory? How many of them feel alarmed that the circulation of the *Daily*, *Sunday* and *Freiheit* has declined in their territory? How many think that has any bearing on the votes they are going to get in the election campaign? How many are ready to accept this as a barometer of whether the Party is really making basic headway amongst the workers in their section? Too few. How many sections and clubs have a real apparatus for the press? How many view the question of the press as a key political task guaranteeing our lifeline to the masses, without which we cannot function even for a day?

The Acid Test

We have to shake up the Party to the realization of what is our big problem and the role of the press in the meeting of that problem. *Every comrade should judge the effectiveness of his or her mass work by how many new readers have been gotten for our press and for our Party.*

Our Party nationally is going to have a membership drive starting February 12th for 30,000 new members. Certainly New York will be expected to recruit no less than 12-13,000 of these. How do we expect to get new workers into our Party in February if we don't build up a great reservoir of people who read our press and are convinced of the correctness of our policy? And how are we going to guarantee that the 6,000 new recruits we gained in our last drive remain in our ranks, if they are not readers of our press?

Building the press is not a matter of a "campaign." It

must become the center of all of our activity and the barometer by which we judge the effectiveness of our mass work.

Three Political Motions

I don't want to project any concrete plan. We have had plenty of good plans time and time again. My only attempt is politically to convince the comrades of the crucial importance of this question. I merely want to propose a number of political motions for your consideration:

1) That the State Committee and every county, section and club of our Party accept the challenge of making a change in respect to the press. That the whole Party accept as a barometer of the effectiveness of our mass work and influence the circulation of our press.

2) That we organize the completest integration of our election campaign with our press building and Party building activities.

3) That there be a real ideological campaign in the Party to raise the importance of press work to a new high level in relation to our basic problems in the struggle for the masses. That we try to involve everyone to one extent or another in the building of the press, through sub-getting in the trade unions, shops and neighborhoods, the sale of the paper in the streets, at open air meetings, and at shops.

If we accept the political responsibility for this job, we will do it. We have never yet failed when we were convinced that something had to be done. If we arrive at that conviction on the basis of really appreciating the immense problem before us and the dangers that confront us, I am certain that we can make a decisive change in the circulation of our press in New York.

Harlem's Heavy Artillery

By Charles Loman

At a recent Daily Worker Conference, Comrade Minor told us that the *Daily Worker* is essential war material and must be delivered to the workers on the home front with the same spirit and sacrifice that we use in fighting for increased production and getting the guns, tanks and implements of war to the soldiers on the battlefield.

We should know that a product, no matter how good, will not sell itself. The *Daily Worker* must be sold consciously by those of us who understand its value. We must sell it to new sections of the people and particularly to the many new workers coming into industry for the first time.

In Harlem, especially since the outbreaks of August 1st and 2nd, we are conscious of our responsibility to bring deeper understanding to the Negro people as to the most effective way of struggling for Negro rights and for winning free and equal participation in the war effort. There is no better way of doing this than by getting the *Daily Worker* to more and more people in the Harlem community.

A Circulation Plan

Some time ago, after discussion in the Harlem section, it was decided that we would concentrate on building the circulation of our press along with the integration of our new members. This is admittedly the most important task facing us. Utilizing some of the suggestions and experiences of the comrades in the various clubs, our section administrative secretary, Comrade Rose Gauden, mapped out an excellent plan for increasing the circulation of the press.

In carrying the plan through, we had many new and valuable experiences in all the Party clubs in the section. We now sell the paper nightly on certain busy street corners. We get 100 papers five nights a week and 250 for Sunday,

and we try to cover with the press any large meetings or other places where there are large gatherings of people.

At a Negro baseball game some Sundays ago, three comrades with 75 *Workers* and with leaflets on the recent Harlem outbreak, covered the game. We found that just saying, "Buy the *Daily Worker*" was not an effective way of selling the paper. We then began to shout slogans. One of the comrades stood about 15 yards ahead, meeting the crowd with leaflets on the Harlem outbreak, while two of us stood further back and sold the paper, yelling the slogans which were on the leaflet, linking up *The Worker* with the struggle for Negro rights. We used such slogans as: "Harlem is the concern of all New York. Read all about it in the *Daily and Sunday Worker*"; "Read America's greatest win-the-war newspaper, the paper that fights every day for Negro rights"; "Help win the war the quickest, get our boys home the quickest. Read how to do it in the *Daily and Sunday Worker*"; "*The Worker* is the only paper that fights every day to end Jim Crow in baseball." We found that such slogans not only attracted the attention of the people, but made them interested in its contents. Along with seeing the leaflet on the Harlem outbreak, there were many people who bought *The Worker* for the first time. At this game we sold all of our papers and distributed 4,000 of the leaflets.

We repeated the same thing the following Sunday, and the experience shows that wherever large crowds of people gather for meetings or entertainment, there *The Workers* and the *Daily Worker* can be sold.

Helping the Newer Comrades

In selling the paper on street corners at night, some of us who are more experienced go out with the newer comrades, stand with them on the corners and help them to sell the paper. We give them slogans and help shout them until the comrades themselves adopt those slogans that fit in with their own methods of selling the paper. Usually we have some leaflet on the current situation which we distribute while one of the comrades sells the paper. In this way we encourage the newer comrades to come out.

Often when people who buy the papers for the first time

hesitate at the purchase, we tell them that this is a paper for all the people, and discuss with them and mention various mutual acquaintances whom we know read the paper—Dr. So-and-So, or Rev. So-and-So, or whatever influential people, respected in the community, are known to read the paper. We tell the purchaser, "If *they* read the paper, why should you hesitate?"

Learning from the Red Army

In looking for new ways and ideas on anything, I find that we can always turn to the valiant Soviet peoples. The powerful strength of the Red Army is due in one phase to their complete mastery and effective use of their heavy artillery weapons. We know that heavy artillery in warfare is used to break down the strongest fortresses or military barriers of the enemy, in order to prepare for the advance of the infantry and soldiers with the lighter weapons. We, who are soldiers on the home front, must learn to distinguish and make the best use of our respective weapons of struggle. The *Daily Worker* and Comrade Browder's *Victory—And After* are our heavy artillery, and we must utilize them properly to break down the strongest walls of reaction and of political backwardness on the home front.

We have a fertile field for the sale of the *Daily Worker* in Harlem and in all other communities. We are still experimenting to find new methods. We must be bolder and reach people whom we never approached before. Our plans will work if we ourselves put work into them.

Talking to the Millions

By David Goldway

Election campaign time is mass education time. It is then that we have our best opportunity to talk "to the millions."

The first thing that must be said about our mass education in the coming election campaign is that there must be a lot of it. Street meetings, mass indoor meetings, forums, leaflets, etc., become No. 1 jobs for every branch in the Party.

But the crucial question is not only *how much* propaganda, but also *what kind*. One of the conclusions we drew after the 1942 elections was that while in many ways we conducted a splendid campaign, our failure to roll up a sufficiently large vote for Amter was due, among other things, to *the weakness of our propaganda*. You will recall our analysis: Our propaganda was too general and not directed to individual voters. We dealt with international problems without relating them sufficiently to local issues. We failed to integrate our agitation for the second front with the economic problems of the workers. We concentrated so much on drawing votes away from Dewey and Bennett that many people were allowed to gather the impression that a vote for Alfange was as good as a vote for Amter. These lessons, as well as many others about propaganda methods, must be carefully studied as we go into the 1943 election campaign.

The following are a few suggestions on the technique of mass education:

1. Know Your Audience

Whether you are writing a leaflet, speaking at a street meeting, or just ringing doorbells, you have to make sure that your arguments are directed to the *particular people you are addressing*. That means knowing something about your community—the people in it, their national, economic, social and cultural background, the problems they face, the

issues that concern them most, the little things about their daily lives that are frequently the most revealing. These things should be made the starting point of your propaganda. If your branch is in an Italian community, for instance, every leaflet, every street meeting should be so planned as to approach whatever problem you are working on from the special point of view of Italian-Americans. If you are discussing the Second Front with a group of Jewish people who are worried about the fate of their fellow-Jews in Europe, then the most telling argument is likely to be the fact that salvation for the Jews under Hitler's heel can really be achieved only by a land invasion of Western Europe. Or if you are talking to a group of women whose deepest concern is their men-folk in the armed forces, then the best line of argument is to prove that a Second Front will be the least costly in loss of human life.

From the point of view of propaganda, this last argument is perhaps the most important in our arsenal today. There is hardly a family that does not have a boy in the service. Opponents of the Second Front demagogically play on the people's deep desire to save the lives of their loved ones by falsely representing the postponement of the Second Front as the road to a "cheap" victory. Our propaganda, consequently, must prove that a "short war," won by an immediate all-out offensive, will be the most economical and humane, as well as the most certain of success. A good slogan might be "Let's Back the Attack to Get Our Boys Back!"

In order to help provide this essential background, election campaign committees or education committees should prepare for their canvassers and other campaign workers a brief description of the community in which the branch operates, indicating such things as national composition, predominant types of workers, religious groups, relative strength of political parties, major neighborhood issues, etc.

2. Make Your Starting Point a Point of Agreement

The cardinal principle of all propaganda is to start on common ground with your audience. Unless you do that, you have very little chance of ending on common ground. In the first place, your listener must be in a receptive frame

of mind to follow your reasoning. He will not be if you start out with an idea that gets his back up. Moreover, if you want him to follow the logic of your argument, you must convince him to follow your thoughts, step by step. Unless he does, the most "logical" of conclusions will appear illogical to him. The proverb about leading the horse to water was invented to drive home this point.

The finest object lesson in the effective use of this first principle of propaganda technique is Browder's masterful book, *Victory—And After*, particularly the chapter entitled, "Is Communism a Menace?" Every Party propagandist—leafletter, outdoor speaker or educational director—could profitably reread the Browder book with a special view toward studying his method of presentation, his technique of propaganda.

3. Refute the Arguments of the Enemy

Underestimating the arguments of the enemy is an almost universal weakness of the propaganda work of our Party branches. Branch leaflets that I have seen (with the one notable exception of those issued by the needle trades branches) very rarely take sharp issue with the *arguments* of the enemies of the war effort. Defeatists, appeasers, social-democrats are condemned, to be sure; but sharp, polemical propaganda, which rips apart the ideological basis of their dirty work, is still the exception rather than the rule.

The job of the educational director is to stimulate such polemical activity. He should scan the news with an eye to singling out those issues which need to be answered. He should stimulate the open-air speakers to deal with them. He should make sure that canvassers and E. D. captains are prepared to discuss them when they go out among the people.

4. React to Everything and React Quickly

These days, with our large community branches and our fortnightly meetings, we have in many cases allowed ourselves to lose our political alertness.

The present election campaign should be made the occasion for remedying this weakness. The executive commit-

tee should follow the news day by day, and be prepared to react immediately on important questions facing the world—or the community. Leaflet committees should likewise be prepared to function on short notice.

Above all, the *Daily Worker* should be recognized as the best propaganda instrument for reacting to emergencies. Bundle orders and special mobilizations should not be regarded merely in terms of boosting sales but should be used as a way of reacting to news. For instance, an alert branch organizer, seeing an important new development like the outbreak in Harlem, or the recall of Litvinov, will, without waiting for a "directive" from his section or county organizer, order an extra batch of papers and make a few phone calls to guarantee their sale in the neighborhood.

5. Call for Realistic Action

The test of skillful propaganda is the action which it inspires. Unless we are careful in working out the *program* which should accompany our propaganda, it will be sterile. Even worse, it may result in disillusion and passivity.

An example: Last spring a great many of our branches did some good propaganda work on the problems of prices and rationing. In most cases, the campaign started off with a bang, for the issue is very close to the hearts of the people. But almost invariably, the activity petered out, often leaving the people cynical about the possibility of remedying the mounting evils on the consumer front.

Why did this happen? The chief reason is that while we did a good job in *agitating* the people about their problems, we fell down when it came to advancing a realistic program of action. Some branches led the people to believe that everything could be fixed by policing the stores and reporting a few violations. Others, recognizing that the solution of the problem required more fundamental measures, directed their activity toward putting pressure on Congress. In the first case, the people soon got the feeling that they were attempting to drain the ocean with an eye-dropper. In the latter case, it was hard to channelize the resentment against a five-cent rise in the price of eggs into fighting for such re-

mote and dimly understood things as “subsidies to processors” and “over-all centralized planning.”

A good price and rationing program will develop simultaneously on the broad *and* the narrow front. The people will be given leadership in the fundamental fight—that against the “Farm Bloc” and business-as-usual reactionaries in Congress—and also will be shown how to do something *immediately* about the chiseling and extortion which infuriate them every day in the grocery or butcher stores.

6. Keep Your Propaganda Simple

The key to effective mass education is simplicity and brevity. We constantly have to fight against the almost irresistible tendency to say too much. And I don't mean merely lengthy speeches. In talking to people we must learn that we are most likely to be successful if we try to convince them of one thing at a time. This is especially true of leaflets. The basic principle of leaflet writing is to develop a *single* thought, to drive home a *single* message.

Our language likewise must be simple. We must strive to use the language of the people among whom we are working. We must take nothing for granted, explaining our basic concepts and the very terms that we use. I remember being asked at a Party branch meeting to explain the phrase, “Congressional obstructionist.” If *Party members* find such terms meaningless, what should we expect from the man in the street who reads our leaflet or listens to our street-corner speaker?

On this subject, Comrade Georgi Dimitroff, speaking to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, said:

“Every one of us must make it a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule:

“When writing or speaking always have in mind the rank-and-file worker, who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you! You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak.”

7. Find the Most Attractive Form for Your Propaganda

Let's take our street meetings, for example. The ingredients of the usual street meeting are a stand, a flag and

a speaker. This is criminally inadequate. We should use placards, posters and other pictorial material. As every patent medicine hack knows, a chart standing beside the speaker can do more to attract and hold an audience than the loudest bellowing. As for slides, film strips and movies, their attractive power is so great that every branch should seriously consider the possibility of securing the technical equipment necessary for their outdoor use. Where possible, a portable victrola should provide some music. Some of our skits can be presented out in the open. The sale of bonds and war stamps should be a standard part of street meeting procedure. And, of course, we should provide the prime requisite of all street meetings—a group of comrades circulating among the audience selling the *Daily Worker*, the 10-cent edition of *Victory—And After*, and some appropriate pamphlets.

Our leaflets likewise need plenty of “dressing up,” both from the point of view of content and of form. A word on form. The first requirements of an effective leaflet are simplicity and neatness. A sloppy job can sometimes do as much harm as a political error in content. I’ve seen many a leaflet, for example, ruined by bad free-hand lettering. Yet a “stencil lettering guide” is inexpensive and easily purchased. Photographs, cartoons and drawings can be “borrowed” from the *Daily Worker* and elsewhere. The same, by the way, applies to *Daily Worker* editorials, many more of which ought to be reproduced as leaflets by our Party branches than are.

* * * *

The coming election campaign provides the opportunity for a tremendous leap forward in both the quantity and quality of our mass educational work. Let’s seize the opportunity. Let’s give serious, concentrated attention to talking “to the millions.”

Ballots Are Bullets

By B. Wells

IN WAGING a successful election campaign for victory in 1943, the slogan, "Ballots Are Bullets," must echo in every part of our City and State. It must become the rallying point and rehearsal ground for victory on the home front. The army of voting civilians, like the military forces, must be trained for action.

Thousands upon thousands of people in every community have gained the precious privilege of the free ballot, to enable them to determine the kind of men and women they will send to city, state, and national legislative halls to speak and act in their behalf. Yet all too often this franchise is used lightly, or worse still, not used at all. If, therefore, we are to achieve the election of a win-the-war slate in our city, the people must be roused to the patriotic necessity of exercising their voting privilege. We must guarantee that long before November 2nd rolls around, the voting population know all the steps necessary to be taken to enable them to vote.

A Startling Fact

Too long have we taken for granted the fact that everyone knows that in order to vote, one must register with the Board of Elections. An examination of a progressive CIO local disclosed the startling fact that out of over 300 eligible voters, only some 33 had enrolled in any party, and not many more had registered to vote in the last elections. If that is true of a politically conscious section of the population, how much truer is it of the voting population at large. We must no longer take anything for granted. We have our job cut out for us in this election.

In Brooklyn, the task supreme of our Party and the progressive forces is to re-elect to office the outstanding win-the-war City Councilman, Peter V. Cacchione. Pete is a pretty

popular fellow in Brooklyn. We daresay he is known from Red Hook to Gerritsen Beach, from Bensonhurst to Ridgewood, and all around the town. He has probably spoken before more audiences than any other elected official—at war bond rallies, flag-raising ceremonies, consumer groups, victory councils, and among the Negro people in their own churches. But we cannot depend upon Pete's popularity alone, especially since war dislocations have cut down the potential vote of our borough. We know we will have to work for his re-election. Above all, we will have to conduct a vast educational campaign that will convince the people of Brooklyn that Pete *must* be re-elected in order to continue the fight for the needs of the people and a speedy victory in the war. We must combat any apathy toward an "off-year" election period, and we must insure an unusually high registration to precede the casting of ballots.

Indoor Rallies

One facet of this educational program is a series of indoor rallies throughout the month of September around the theme of registration. There is no getting away from it—if you don't register, you can't vote. If you don't register this year, you cannot vote in the primary presidential elections in 1944. These two important points must be brought home to every voter in our borough. Beginning with September 10th, and continuing throughout the entire month, we have engaged over 22 halls, some large and others larger, for these rallies. They will be held in every assembly district of Brooklyn. The object of these rallies is to reach a minimum of 10,000 people to whom we can personally speak on the patriotic importance of registering to vote. The meetings will each have one main speaker, a national or state leader of our Party. There will be entertainment, sale of the *Daily Worker* and of literature, and an appeal to join the Communist Party. No meeting will last more than two hours, and an advance sale of tickets will guarantee the audience.

Simultaneously during the month of September and until November 2nd, about two million pieces of literature will be distributed house-to-house by the election campaign work-

ers. These will include the record of Pete in office, registration literature, How To Vote Under P. R. (Proportional Representation), a special appeal to the womenfolk of the men in the armed forces, literature designed for the Negro people, the Italian and Jewish people, trade unionists, etc. The month of October will witness a series of outdoor rallies conducted in every community of Brooklyn, with loud speakers, music and other attractive features.

Most Potent Weapon of All

Throughout this campaign, whether outdoor or indoor, and in addition to the other literature distributed, we are determined that the voters will receive the most potent weapon of all, the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. All meetings will sell the papers. All canvassers will be equipped with the *Daily Worker* and with subs for *The Worker*.

The battle for the elections is on! The people of our borough must be made aware of the issues involved! Embarking on one of the keenest races ever engaged in by our Party, we are determined to reach the widest sections of the population, to re-elect Peter V. Cacchione to the City Council.

Trade Unionists in Community Branches

By Bill Lawrence

FROM its very inception, the Communist Party made clear that forms of organization are never an end in themselves. Like policies, forms change to meet new conditions. Outworn forms, however good in the past, retard progress when applied to new conditions. Yet the creation of new forms without appreciation of political causes may prove equally harmful.

The decision to dissolve industrial branches is not merely a problem of organization, but primarily one of politics. The integration of trade union comrades into community branches is not merely a process of merging; it is an attempt to create a Party branch of a new type.

Disappearance of industrial branches does not mark the end of trade union activities by Communists, but rather will: (a) raise trade union work of Communists to higher standards; and (b) involve ever greater numbers of Communists in the most decisive stream of activity.

The influx of trade unionists into community branches is not to be looked upon in the narrow sense as a god-send to fill certain vacancies in branch posts, but as an opportunity to link the Party community work with the problems and tasks of the labor movement.

The Political Reasons

The political considerations for the dissolution of the industrial branches may be found in the following quotation from Earl Browder's report to a meeting of the National Committee held in New York June 11-13:

"In the trade unions Communists need no special organizational forms of any kind. Everything that we have to do, our tasks and aims, we share with the great majority of the trade

union members and leaders, and we must make that clear beyond any question and we must establish that in the practical life of our Party so that no one can doubt it.

“Communists can and must work in the most free and democratic manner in trade unions and other mass organizations with all other honest patriotic forces, under the one main banner which unites us all—of unity to win the war, to hold the home front firm. There is not and there must not be any special discipline among Communists in the trade unions. The Party, of course, will continue to demand of its members their complete adherence to trade union decisions and policies democratically arrived at, as well as the full support of our national war effort to which everything else must be subordinated.”

Practical Tasks

With the above as a political premise, let us turn to the practical tasks of the community clubs.

1. The club executive shall take the necessary steps to assure the complete organizational integration of comrades transferred in. That means a careful check of attendance at club meetings. Where transferees fail to report, *they should be contacted immediately by mail or visit* so that no one is lost in the process.

2. The club executive may decide on a joint session of the executive and those transferred, to acquaint transferees with the work of the club, to seek advice on how to coordinate trade union and community work, to devise means to enrich the quality of the club's activities. The findings of such a joint session should be made the occasion for a report to a club membership meeting, with special preparations to assure a maximum attendance. The acceptance of the new transferees at this meeting should be dramatized and used as the opportunity to recruit new members.

3. Until such time as new elections in the clubs take place, some transferees may be asked to attend meetings of the executive to help as well as learn in the solution of new problems.

4. Each club may elect a committee, to be known as the Industrial Committee. The approximate tasks of such a committee shall be:

a) To keep a record of all trade union members in the club.

b) To urge comrades eligible for trade union membership to join a union.

c) To devise a plan to enable the Industrial Committee to check on the activities of the comrades in their respective trade unions.

d) Wherever possible, the head of such a committee should be a trade union comrade; this comrade to report about every six weeks at a club meeting on the contributions to the war effort made by the branch through the trade union activities of the comrades in the branch.

e) The Industrial Committee shall determine the number of comrades in the club working night shift. Where there are more than three such comrades, a group shall be formed to meet during the day with one comrade acting as leader.

f) When necessary, comrades of one industry in the same club may meet as a group to discuss a current and common problem.

Improve the Quality of Our Work

In all of these proposals and ideas, the paramount thing for the comrades in the branches to remember is to improve the qualitative participation of the Communists in trade union activities. There should be discussions in the branch on improved union work in relation to production, to advancing the war effort, etc., and not regarding the inner problems of any union. The best way to do this is to stimulate our comrades to secure readers for the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*.

Above all, what is required is a correct understanding of Communist Party work. The old artificial definitions of so-called "Party members" and "mass workers" must be scrapped. To view as a "burden" in the branch those who cannot canvass in the community because they are active among thousands of workers in a union is short-sighted, to put it mildly. Rather, trade union comrades should be helped

to carry the project of the club to their fellow trade unionists.

Here is an example: The club aims to secure 50 subs for *The Worker* and 100 blood donors for the Red Cross. Comrades active in shops or trade unions who achieve their objectives among their shopmates, should report on their accomplishments at a club meeting. New subscribers to *The Worker* and those whom the comrades encouraged to donate blood should be brought as guests, so that these non-Party workers may learn the true character and aims of the Party at one of its meetings.

Another example: The club may be part of a community movement to encourage a certain Congressman to remain in Washington when an important bill comes up. The trade union comrade who does not have time to canvass citizens in the community may know ten fellow trade-unionists residing in the given Congressional district and get ten letters written as part of his daily trade union activity. He may even call the record of the Congressman in question to the attention of his union and get organizational action on the matter.

Unionists to Participate in Community Work

It is equally important for the trade union comrades who are transferred to the community branches to attempt to learn and appreciate the important work carried on within these branches. Instead of coming into the community clubs with an air of superiority, trade unionists should utilize their valuable experiences among organized labor to enrich and improve the quality of the work of the branch as a whole.

In other words, what is required is the elimination of an artificial separation between trade union and community work. With real understanding and leadership, one will become an integral part of the other.

Basing ourselves on such comradely understanding and integration of the activities of all concerned, we shall lay the groundwork for improved work among the masses, thus facilitating the process for speedy victory over the Axis.

The Party's Response to the Harlem Crisis

By Rose Gaulden

IT WAS the unity of action of white and Negro forces which prevented disaster in the Harlem community during the crisis days of August 1st and 2nd. If it had not been for this unity of labor, the Communist Party, and other progressive organizations, the poll-tax camp would have succeeded in provoking another Detroit in New York City.

As soon as the people came out into the streets, members of the Communist Party immediately went among the people to spread the word that the way to fight discrimination, Jim-Crow practices, and economic inequality is not through disorganized, disorderly acts. In the name of the Communist Party, our comrades joined the volunteer civilian patrol to help restore order.

Leaders of the Harlem Section Committee on duty 24 hours a day during the crisis, kept themselves informed on all developments during the crisis and constantly communicated these developments to the Party members who were among the people. Armed with this knowledge, the Party members were able to forestall, in various neighborhoods, harmful outbreaks which false rumors had been intended to arouse.

The people appreciated the activity of the Communist Party and of the *Daily Worker* in helping to prevent disaster in Harlem. When, after order was restored, the Harlem Section Committee mobilized its members to canvass from house to house with the *Daily Worker*, people readily bought the paper. They welcomed our comrades who told about the causes of the disturbance in Harlem. After listening, the people said that the *Daily Worker* was their paper and the members of the Communist Party their people.

The *Daily Worker* has become the link in the neighborhood uniting the people with Communist Party members.

This is revealed in the work of the Lincoln-Douglas Club, of the 19th AD. In its drive for subscriptions, the Club requested *Worker* subscribers to get the young people in the AD to write the Club letters on any article in *The Worker*. A prize was offered. The best letter was by a 14-year-old girl. The Club is holding an open meeting where the prize will be awarded, inviting the girl's family and residents of the neighborhood. At this meeting the Party, together with the people from the community, will discuss neighborhood issues.

The activity of the Section around issues closely linked with the life and bread problems of the people has given new enthusiasm to members of the Party, most of whom are new members. They have seen the live interest of the people in the *Daily Worker*. The result is that now, every Communist Party Club has a *Daily Worker* committee and a *Daily Worker* table in front of its headquarters. There has been a continuous increase in the sales of the paper ever since.

While not all members of the Party responded to the activity during the crisis in Harlem, today the real interest of the members in community work is demonstrated by the work of the Lincoln-Douglas Club, by increases in sales of the *Daily Worker*, by the fact that control of Party members and dues collecting becomes an easier task. The Harlem Section Committee is confident that its plans to get every Party member to be a constant reader of the *Daily Worker* will be successful. This work will lay the basis for effective work in the coming elections.

All this is a lesson in how persistence in mass work under the guidance of the Section Committee helps to rally the entire Party into important work in the community. Moreover, if actual continuity of mass work is achieved, if large gaps of inactivity are not permitted to separate one occasion for Party leadership in mass work from another, each event in our work becomes a stepping stone to further activity and the Party becomes established as the Party of the people in the community.

Once again the Harlem section has demonstrated through action the consistent policy of the Party in the fight for full equality for the Negro people and for the winning of the war.

"Inner Problems" and Mass Work

By Elizabeth Barker

AS we plunge into this important election campaign, one of our chief obstacles appears as a sort of "inner gap" between the correct decisions and actions of our leading committees and the ability of our branches to apply these decisions practically and creatively. This expresses itself in our perpetual "membership problem"—our seeming inability to involve more than a small percentage of our forces in Party life and activity.

With 25 per cent more members this year than last, we nevertheless see a generally smaller mobilization of our forces in direct Party activity, lower dues payments and attendance, a declining circulation of the Press and a lower sale of Party literature. A small active group plunges from one campaign to another, substituting for the activity of the rest of the membership, whose ties with the Party are being weakened because the active comrades do not have the time to see them, help guide their thinking and make a place for them in the Party's work.

A Vicious Circle

Many of our Section and Branch leaders find themselves in sort of a vicious circle—too busy with the pressing mass work and campaigns to solve the "inner" problem. This problem, of course, is not really an inner problem at all but a question of helping our members to become more effective, more enlightened mass workers *wherever they are*, whether in the trade union, the mass organization or the community. It calls for a higher quality of leadership, a creative and political approach to each member, and a thousand times greater utilization of the Press and of Party literature. And this is very difficult for an organizer who works all day in a shop and who must, in his few evening hours, concentrate upon the most important mass campaigns.

Comrade Browder in his summary at the June Plenum said:

“The inner level of our Party always proceeds better when the Party’s face is turned towards the masses, when we are always reflecting the problems of the world, of our country and of our community.”

We have not yet mastered these words of Comrade Browder. If we had, then the increase in our mass work should have resulted in a flowering of our Party organization and “inner” life. “Inner work” and “mass work” always appear as opposed to one another. Therefore, we are forced to solve our problems with a multitude of seemingly unconnected “drives” with which the members feel so burdened.

There are no blueprints or pat answers to this problem because it is not primarily a question of organizational form but of the political content of our work. It is the prime question which we face in the transfer of the industrial comrades to the community Branches, which is a process of creating a “new type of community Branch.” We will find solutions and necessary forms as more of us, in *all* ranks of leadership, *think* about the problem and try to find solutions in the process of meeting the immediate, emergency tasks.

Solve the Problem NOW!

There is no better time than now, in the heat of election campaigning, when every member’s participation is most needed. We noted as a weakness in last year’s election work the fact that our contact with the voter was too general, too casual to convince the individual human being on the basis of his particular problems, sentiments and circumstances. Our E.D. Captains were sent out to ring a lot of doorbells “cold” and not to develop a base among that conscious labor and progressive group *closest to us*.

Who are those voters “closest to us?” The *Worker* subscribers, the petition signers, the members of mass organizations and trade unions—but *first and foremost our own Party members!* We can expect and can get higher forms of campaign participation from our members than from anyone

else, but we cannot *take for granted* even the most elementary form of their election activity—registration, enrollment and voting. Past experience shows that a startling number of Party members have failed to register and vote. Fully functioning Membership Committees, campaigning among the members alone, would influence the votes of at least 100,000 people, since each of our 25,000 members certainly has political contact with at least three others beside himself (in his family, his shop, his trade union or his neighborhood). Another example: Kings County set itself a goal of 8,000 signatures on “Pete’s” nominating petitions. Owing to a number of circumstances, some beyond the leadership’s control, it was necessary to make a real “powerhouse” mobilization of the petition campaign, with a relatively small group of comrades climbing stairs and ringing doorbells for two weeks solid. Yet there are 6,000 Party members in Kings County, most of whom would sign the nominating petition and get at least one or two others to sign!

Many Membership Committees, which we have defined as the “lifeline” between Branch and membership, were seriously weakened in the midst of the summer’s campaigns and in some Sections practically tossed aside. Membership Committees complain that they are either used as routine “dues collectors” or, more often, as “errand boys,” taking a catalog of tasks and directives to the members who did not attend the meeting. Yet the Membership Committee is, in terms of the rich potential of our membership, a most valuable and essential election apparatus!

A New Approach to Membership Work

The time may come soon when we will be able to handle our membership work through an Election District or Block Captain system which would at the same time be the foundation for Branch community work, when the distinction between the “membership worker” and the “community mass worker” is completely eliminated. At the present, however, we can and should broaden our concept of the Membership Committee and strengthen it, not as an “inner” apparatus apart from our main mass work, the election campaign, but as a most important campaign committee.

Some comrades may object that the Membership Committee *has* been visiting the members on the election tasks but has failed to convince them to come out and canvass, etc. Here again it is a question of the *content* of our work rather than of the organizational form. Often we fail to interest our members (and particularly our new members) because we appeal to them on the basis of "inner" discipline and directives alone—an approach totally different from the kinds of discussion we have with the non-Party voter.

If the Membership Committee is a *campaigning* committee, just as our E.D. Captains are campaigners, we will not lose our "magic touch" simply because we are canvassing workers whose names are on our rolls. The big war issues at stake in these elections, the perspectives for stronger national unity in the re-election of "Pete," the glowing record of New York's Communist Councilman in the service of the people and the war effort, the signal demonstration of Negro and white unity in the withdrawal of Carl Brodsky for Ben Davis in the Manhattan Councilmanic race; the unique role of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* in the campaign—these are the questions which will move our members into election activity with understanding and enthusiasm!

The consolidation of our Party organization in preparation for registering our membership and launching a new Party Building Drive, the increase of our Press circulation, cannot be achieved if we "wait till after the elections."

Some Suggestions

Following are a few suggestions for carrying on election campaign work among and through our own membership:

- 1) Section and Branch Executive Committees should discuss the concept of the Membership Committee as a mass work committee and take all possible steps to strengthen the committees where they have been weakened.
- 2) Membership Committees should hold regular meetings, particularly during the Election Campaign period, *at which the political issues of the campaign are thoroughly discussed, all questions answered, etc.*

- 3) All those members who do not attend regularly should be visited both by the Election District Captains and the Membership Committees who will discuss with them the issues of the campaign, give information on registering, enrolling and voting, supply them with campaign literature, etc.
- 4) Our major concentration should be upon finding forms of participation in the campaign work for those who cannot attend regularly, go out canvassing or come to mobilizations. Every member has some group of people whom he influences: his family, his friends, his closest neighbor, his shop-mates and fellow trade union members. He may be willing to take responsibility for work in his own house. A housewife may be able to distribute literature and campaign among other housewives in the park and the stores. In some sections where a number of members live in one block or belong to the same family, a small meeting in one of their homes can be held to discuss the campaign and to organize the work of that group of members in the community.
- 5) Through individual discussion with our trade union members we can enable them to raise the election issues, distribute literature, sell subs among their fellow workers, or prepare them to take the floor and participate effectively in a discussion of election issues in their union meetings. We should invite them to attend the Branch meeting, *not* to be exhorted to go canvassing but to report on the progress of their election work in the union or mass organization.
- 6) Special attention should be given to inviting our new members and their families to election rallies and to street meetings where they will hear our candidates speak and perhaps have a chance to meet them.
- 7) The *Daily Worker* and especially the subs to *The Worker* are key to a continued political contact with our members and their families, as well as to the people at large. We could and should have a record-breaking campaign for *Worker* subs during the election campaign on the basis primarily of every Party member selling a sub to the friend, relative or fellow worker whom he convinces to vote a straight labor, win-the-war ticket in November!

The Press in the Elections

By Rebecca Grecht

OURS is the grave task of enlightening the people, the workers in the first place; of deepening their political understanding; of making crystal-clear the issues in the elections, and the role of the Communist Party.

To accomplish this, we must make use of all instruments of clarity and enlightenment at our disposal. *First among these are the Daily Worker and The Worker.*

We must state categorically that there can be no effective campaigning by Communist Party members without the utilization of the Daily Worker and The Worker. We must declare without any reservations that this is not a matter of election campaign activities on the one hand, and, as a separate task, circulation activities on the other hand. Rather is it a question of increasing the circulation of The Worker and the Daily Worker during the coming weeks as a basic requirement in election campaign activities.

Our Most Effective Campaigns

The *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* are the most effective political campaigners for the Communist and other win-the-war elements in the elections. The canvasser visiting a home spends only a little time with the voter and then must leave. A subscription or renewal to *The Worker*, however, will bring the paper into this home once a week for the entire period of the election campaign. A copy of the *Daily Worker*, systematically sold to the voters visited, will leave behind when the comrade goes, vital material for political enlightenment. Can there be any question at all but that the press is our right arm, so to speak, in the elections?

Placing the issue in this way will assure the necessary organization of press activities during the election campaign on an Election District basis and in shops and unions. It will make possible the integration of the work of press directors

and campaign directors, and will develop that unity of effort which separates it from other activities as an additional "burden."

While emphasizing the above for all counties in New York City and State, we address ourselves particularly to the Communist Party organizations in Kings County, which has the great responsibility of working for the reelection of Peter V. Cacchione. The circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* in Brooklyn will be decisive factors in the campaign to re-elect Pete.

Some Concrete Proposals

Concretely, here are proposals which every club and branch, every section and county should put into effect:

1—*The circulation of the Daily Worker and The Worker during the election campaign is the political responsibility of club, section and county executives, as is the election campaign itself, and should be organized accordingly, with the necessary directives and control.*

2—*Present subscribers to the Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the thousands whose subscriptions have lapsed, are the basic forces to concentrate among in the election districts. Such contact can undoubtedly result in many sub renewals to The Worker.*

3—*Special efforts should be made during the next few weeks, as a follow-up on the mobilization of September 12th, to obtain large numbers of Worker subs. 5,000 were obtained in the drive ending Labor Day. Together with the results of the September 12th effort, at least 5,000 more should be secured.*

4—*Canvassers in election districts should take along subscription cards and two or more copies of the Daily Worker to sell. These papers can be obtained from the club headquarters if branch bundles are ordered, or can be bought by the comrades directly from a newsstand.*

5—*Comrades carrying on their election activity in shops and mass organizations have the responsibility likewise of getting Worker subs and renewals, and selling copies of the Daily Worker to their fellow workers.*

6—Street sales on main thoroughfares must be organized during this period. At all meetings, not only should sufficient copies of the *Daily Worker* be on hand, but time should be taken for special reference to and sale of the paper, as well as the getting of "*Worker*" subs. ✓

7—Every club and section should arrange for a systematic checkup on the *Daily Workers* sold in canvassing and of the renewals and new subs obtained. Thus the canvassers will be helped to appreciate their responsibility in increasing the circulation of *The Worker* and the *Daily Worker*.

8—In every club and section the work of club press directors and election campaign managers should be closely coordinated to assure maximum results.

A Special Offer

At this point, we want to stress the special offer of a 6-week subscription to the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* from October 1st to November 15th, for \$2.00 in the Metropolitan area, and \$1.50 up-state. During this period there will take place the national conventions of the CIO, the AFL, and the United Auto and Aircraft International Union.

Without any doubt, hundreds, even thousands, of these short-term subscriptions can be obtained, particularly from workers in shops and unions, who will find only in the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* the full coverage of these conventions, and during this period, news and clarity on issues in the elections. A special folder has been issued announcing this offer, with a subscription blank, which may be obtained through the district and section, or directly from the *Daily Worker*.

Finally, let us stress that we will advance in our efforts to make the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* powerful instruments for the political mobilization of the people in the elections, if we determine to put into life the emphatic declaration made by Comrade Browder and fully accepted by the National Committee at its last meeting, that "*our special task as Communists is the political education of the millions, to bring deepened political understanding in the course of the struggle. . . .*"

How a Brooklyn Branch Organizes for the Re-election of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione

By Martin Steltzer

To re-elect Pete Cacchione to the City Council is not going to be an easy job. Now that the reactionaries know his energy and qualities of leadership, they are determined to see him defeated. As one of our guest speakers, Mother Bloor, put it the other day, "They are organizing all the forces of darkness against Pete." But we are equally determined to organize *our* forces for him.

In order to be able to function with a maximum of efficiency in achieving this goal, it is necessary to be clear on two points: We must know the composition of our party forces and of the people in the district. Also, we must understand exactly what are the difficulties and problems we are up against in this election year.

Here is how our branch, the Peter V. Cacchione Club of the 23rd Kings, has gone about its job:

The Petition Drive

In our petition drive, just completed, 1) our membership committee contacted our members, gave them petitions, and asked them to canvass their own homes and friend; 2) we took petitions into our shops and mass organizations; 3) we picked a special corps of comrades to canvass by blocks the list of *Worker* subscribers and their neighbors.

We have a number of comrades who are small businessmen. They contacted their customers and friends during working hours and after. One of them, Comrade Max, a barber, obtained 125 signatures for Pete Cacchione. "How did I do it?" says Max. "Well, after I closed up shop I either visited the homes of some of my customers or I went over to Lincoln Terrace Park and met people I know and asked

them to sign, and I also give them petitions to get their friends to sign."

Another comrade, Kitty, has obtained 40 signatures in her apartment building and the one next to hers. How? "Well," says Kitty, "I went to my neighbors, spoke to them about Comrade Cacchione's record, especially his fight for rent control and against the high cost of living. I asked them, don't you want a man like him re-elected to the City Council? If you do, the first thing is to place his name on the ballot so you'll be able to vote for him. Won't you sign the petition?" And they did.

Italian comrades, like Pop Cataffo and Sal canvassed the members of the Italian Lodge of the IWO. They say, "Speak to the Italian people about Pete's record, and the liberation of Italy from the Nazis, and you get signatures."

Work Among the Negro People

Our party in Brownsville had close contact with a number of Negro ministers and their churches. Due to the active participation and leadership of our Party in the defense of the Franklin girl in the so-called "mugging case" last April, we have gained the respect and confidence of the Negro people of our community. Today one of the ministers speaks at meetings held under the auspices of the Communist Party in Brownsville. And the Negro people of our neighborhood have signed Pete's petitions.

In order to be able to carry out our work we have set up a special election campaign committee in the Branch, composed of a membership director, group captains, the branch organizer, the campaign manager, and representatives from national groups and neighborhood activities. We have set up an election campaign fund which takes care of paying for loud speakers, leaflets, literature, etc.

Our petition signature lists and other lists of contacts have been broken down. They are listed by blocks, and block captains are responsible for getting them out to vote. Special comrades have been assigned to do Negro and Italian concentration work.

As we work for Pete's reelection, we are also doing our best to further the sale of the *Daily*, the *Sunday Worker*, the

Freiheit and *L'Unita' del Popolo*. through our block system methods. In large apartment buildings, comrades have become Cacchione House Captains. We are paying special attention to "pulling out" the vote during registration week.

Solving the Problem of an "Off Year"

Now a word about the special problem which faces us this year—an "off" year. Because there are no elections for President, Governor, or Mayor, this November, the registration in general is likely to be light. It is our special job to overcome this.

There will be a drop among the voting population this year, due to induction of large numbers of men and women into the armed forces, and also due to the problem of transient defense workers. (Another factor to be considered is that many night workers, and daytime workers on heavy schedules are likely to pass up voting and registering). Moreover, the lack of a progressive win-the-war record of the present City Council makes for general apathy.

That all these problems may be overcome is illustrated by one simple example from our branch. One Negro comrade, a night worker whom no one expected to do much campaign work, went out and obtained 101 signatures from the Negro people in one week. He did this by canvassing *during the day*. It meant giving up much-needed rest. But he did it, thus proving that our difficulties, while very serious, are not insurmountable.

We are going to the people and telling them that 1943 is not an "off election year," but a vital year. The election of a win-the-war City Council is a step in helping determine the election of a win-the-war presidential candidate in 1944.

Correspondence

(The following letter is printed in order to open the columns of Party Organizer to its readers as a forum for the discussion of unsolved problems.

We cordially invite you to join the discussion opened here. We hope that your ideas and experiences will help us move more quickly toward the removal of those obstacles which still prevent us from mobilizing our full organizational strength).

August 23, 1943.

Dear Comrade Green:

We received a notice through the mail and also read in *The Worker* that Sunday, August 29th has been set aside for a city-wide mobilization for subscriptions for *The Worker*.

We feel that we are forced to point out a number of things which have been going on. Here goes:

1. In an excellent speech you made last year you pointed out that the branches must assume new forms, that they must become political factors in the community, that we must turn outward and try to cut inner meetings down to an absolute minimum. We agree wholeheartedly with this; yet, we find ourselves on the executive committee going to as many meetings as before.
2. We now have large branches consisting of 200 people in our case. Many of these people work long hours and don't come around to branch meetings. This presents a great membership problem and needs a well-functioning committee to cope with it. In order to develop such a committee the attention of the entire branch leadership is necessary. Although such plans have repeatedly been made, due to the pressure of "drives" we have been unable to carry out our plans. In short, our membership department is not functioning properly.
3. We completed a successful drive in recruiting fairly

recently where 40 people were recruited in our branch and yet, instead of being able to educate these 40 people and make good Communists out of them, we find that we are in danger of losing them unless individual attention can be given them.

These are only a few of the inner problems we are confronted with. *In spite* of this we have begun to carry on neighborhood work to the point where we are beginning to make our influence felt in the community.

Why are we confronted with all of these problems mentioned above? We have had no breathing space to contact our membership and really work with them. We have had one "drive" after another. We are sufficiently well-developed to understand the necessity of the drives and involving the membership in them, but we can't get to the membership. We have the same 15 or 20 actives that we have always had and if this keeps up, we won't have them for physical reasons if for nothing else. Just to give you an example: for the past eight Sundays there has been one emergency after another. Our executive committee and the nucleus of actives haven't had a Sunday off in eight weeks. Many of us are not too strong physically and we are well on the way to actual collapse unless this situation is remedied.

We feel that the difficulty stems from incorrect planning.

A few weeks ago we stopped everything and worked in the big political campaign that took precedence over everything else this last month. We did a good job. Party petitions suffered, and now we are told that because we have done so badly on the subs, we must remedy it with a mobilization this Sunday. *We can't remedy it in one day* (or one week or one month). We are not having a branch meeting this week, which means that the executive committee will have to go out and contact people individually all week—since that is the only way people in the branches respond. (Had we been able to develop proper membership committees, it would not be necessary for the executive to devote both time and energy for this purpose.) However, the executive committee will be busy this week mobilizing people for a huge street meeting on Stuyvesant Town to be held Friday night.

We offer the following suggestions for discussion:

1. That "drives," with the exception of those that contain deadlines such as election campaigns, special rallies, etc., be included in the day-to-day work of our clubs constantly and not be presented as an emergency measure to be completed in a short period of time. This results in a let-down. Once a drive is completed in such essential day-to-day activities as recruiting, building the press, fund raising, nothing further is done on these since the attention of the membership is shifted to a new "drive"—net result, recruiting goes on only for two months a year.

2. That extreme amounts of energy expended in past campaigns should not be dissipated. We feel that it is the duty especially in this period of the club leadership to take full advantage of new strength in the form of new members—to consolidate our gains—to build new leadership from among the other members of our club. This requires time and energy.

We are sorry that our letter has to come at this time, but this is merely the crystallization of a situation that has been going on for months and has grown steadily worse instead of improving.

Comradely yours,

Joseph B., Paul R., Nettie H.,

Exec. Comm. Members.

Stuyvesant Victory Center, 12th A.D., New York

You Need to Read! . . .

1. *Communist*, September 1943.

"Our Nation's Democratic Historical Path" — Sam Don.
A masterful sketch made in terms of Marxist historical science, of the "social development, national ideology and culture" of our country. Written for the 24th anniversary of the CPUSA, to show the background for our present role in the struggle for national independence.

2. Stalin — *War of National Liberation* — I and II

In these two pamphlets, containing all of Marshal Stalin's important speeches and Orders of the Day since the attack on the Soviet Union began, are found the best and clearest answers to the question of the Soviet Union's role and objectives in this global war.

3. *The Future of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition* — Earl Browder

The deepest and most stimulating discussion of our present "crossroads" in international *political* relations. Special emphasis on the question of the land front in western Europe, and its significance for the future of the "grand coalition" of the United Nations.

4. *A New Italy Arises!* — Giuseppe Berti

This survey of the varied elements in Italian life today shows clearly what democratic forces can be counted on to form the backbone of the Italian nation, and how these forces can best be aided.

5. *Victory — And After* (10c. edition) — Earl Browder

An absolute must for every Party worker, especially the sections on "Hitler's Secret Weapon" and the United Nations.

6. *What Will Happen with Germany?*—Manifesto of the National Committee for Free Germany

This historic statement was made by free Germans of all ranks and classes now residing in the Soviet Union. It gives an effective answer to speculations about the future of Germany.

7. *Your Congress and You* — Frank Rhylick

A lively and provocative picture of the functioning of the 78th Congress, together with a presentation of how Congress operates.

Some Questions . . .

"How many section and club leaders know the circulation of the press in their territory? How many of them felt alarmed that the circulation of the 'Daily,' 'Sunday' and 'Freiheit' has declined in their territory? How many think that has any bearing on the votes they are going to get in the election campaign? How many are ready to accept this as a barometer of whether the Party is really making basic headway amongst the workers in their section? Too few. How many sections and clubs have a real apparatus for the press? How many view the question of the press as a key political task as guaranteeing our lifeline to the masses, without which we cannot function even for a day?"

A CHALLENGE...

1. That the State Committee and every county, section and club of our Party accept the challenge of making a change in respect to the press. That the whole Party accepts as a barometer of the effectiveness of our mass work and influence the circulation of our press.

2. That we organize the completest integration of our election campaign with our press building and Party building activities.

3. That there be a real ideological campaign in the Party to raise the importance of press work to a new high level in relation to our basic problems in the struggle for the masses. That we try to involve everyone to one extent or another in the building of the press, through sub-getting in the trade unions, shops and neighborhoods, the sale of the paper in the streets, at open air meetings and at shops.

—From "Our Achilles Heel" by Gill Green, printed elsewhere in this issue.

Read the
5¢

DAILY WORKER
THE WEAPON FOR EQUALITY

On Your Neighborhood and Subway Stands