

PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

Sally Kenton

Our problem is to learn how to get efficient results in the working out of effective policies for the task in hand with a minimum expenditure of time and energy. If we can place that goal definitely and clearly before all of our Party members, we can bring about a revolutionary improvement in our Party life.

EARL BROWDER

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Branch Elections: Democracy in Action

By Elizabeth Barker

In meeting the tasks and problems of 1944, our Party has a big and responsible role to play, a role which requires that it become (as Earl Browder has said) "a better Party, a more understanding Party, a more efficient Party." In this, much depends upon the functioning of the Party branches, upon their ability to apply general policies creatively to a particular community, to collaborate on their own initiative with all other patriotic forces in the common effort, to resolve organizational questions speedily and efficiently in the interest of expanding mass work.

At the heart of these questions is the role of *Branch leadership*. This applies with *special* force in New York City where section organizations are generally being disbanded. The election of Branch officers and Executive Committees at this time is, therefore, an essential step toward the stronger Party which big political events require—a culmination of the Campaign of Consolidation and Registration through which we have sought to prepare the Party organization for the job ahead.

No Mere Formality

It is necessary that the entire Party membership understand the importance of democratically choosing those comrades in each locality in whose hands will be placed major responsibility for the Party's work and influence in the great campaigns of 1944. Any tendency toward treating the Branch elections as routine, as a mere formality, would almost certainly defeat the principal objectives which we seek.

The National Committee has called upon the Party to consider the following general tasks in nominating and electing their Branch Executive Committees for 1944:

1. Full mobilization of the people and maximum unity in support of the decisions of the historic conferences of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, and the defeat of all appeaser forces who will try to disrupt the home front in their efforts to hinder victory and the complete smashing of Hitler Germany and the Axis;
2. The adoption of policies by Congress and the Government that will strengthen the morale of the workers through meeting their war needs and thus strengthening the war effort. This means defeat of those forces and policies aimed at placing additional burdens on the workers and little people of the nation, through unlimited profits, increase of prices and increased taxation;
3. The activization and unity of the labor movement in all fields of activity and especially through joint labor political actions in the Wards and neighborhoods;
4. Still greater progress in carrying through Comrade Browder's call to our Party to "Educate the Millions," including the extension of our press and literature circulation and the further building of our Party.

The Spirit of a Real Election Campaign

The elections of Branch leadership should therefore be approached in the spirit of a real election campaign—not in the sense that the candidates represent varying policies, but in the sense that *these elections seek to advance important political objectives*. As a matter of fact, the broader the participation of the membership and the more thorough the political preparation, the more likely we are to see a large number of lively contests for the honor and responsibility of filling leading posts in the Branches!

Thorough steps should be taken to insure the notification and mobilization of the entire membership for both the nomination and the election meetings. It should be a matter of pride to the branch to really turn out the vote and to try to have the new Executive Committee elected with 100% participation.

The nomination meeting should open with a full and

frank examination of the work of the branch leadership. Preparations for this part of the meeting should have been made in advance at detailed discussions in the Branch Executive. The accounting and evaluation of the Executive's work should be both on a collective and individual basis; and the membership should be encouraged to voice their criticisms and suggestions without hesitation. As a preliminary to actual nominations, the plan for the coming Party Building Drive and the new vistas opening before the community branch as a result of the 1943 elections, should be placed before the members in such a way that they understand clearly what is demanded of officers of a Communist Party branch today.

A word about three of the suggested officers: The Branch Chairman, in addition to meeting the general requirements for Party leadership, should at the same time be a comrade who can be the *public spokesman and organizer of the Party in the community*. The Executive Secretary's function in many ways will correspond to the role of the former Branch Organizer—a political secretary and coordinator of the work of the Branch and its Executive Committee. The Chairman of the Labor Committee, a new post in many of our Branches, should be a comrade preferably with trade union experience, who understands the principal issues before the labor movement, and who will be able to help raise these issues for the Branch as a whole, as well as give specific guidance to other trade unionists in the Branch, lead his Committee in keeping contact with them, etc.

No Slates

All nominations are to be made *from the floor*, and *no slates* are to be submitted by the present Branch leadership. Nevertheless, it is essential that we give *political consideration to the question of bringing certain types of comrades into Branch leadership, as well as to overcoming certain difficulties that stand in the way.* In discussing the general qualifications for Branch Executive members we should, in addition to giving careful consideration to the letter of the National Committee, re-read Dimitroff's classic definition of the

qualities of Communist leadership and study Earl Browder's recent address, "A Talk About the Party."

What comrades should our membership especially consider for election to leadership in the Party Branches today?

1. Those comrades who, in addition to displaying loyalty, understanding and ability to apply Party policy, have been active *among the masses* and are recognized as leaders, not only by our Party members, *but by the people of the community*. Often in the past, some of our best mass workers, leaders of mass organizations, have felt unable to accept Branch leadership because they were too busy. It is these comrades who should become members of Branch Executive Committees today and who can do so without giving up their present work, as we make our organizational processes more efficient and less time-consuming. The experiences of the New York City election campaign point in this direction.

Active Trade Unionists

2. Party members who are active trade unionists, who influence and in many cases lead thousands of workers, should *especially* be elected to the leadership of the community Branches today. This is necessary, not only to expedite the full adjustment of all our industrial comrades in the community Branches, but primarily to promote the transformation of the present community Branch into the "Community Branch of a New Type," of which Comrade John Williamson spoke: — a community Branch which understands and reacts to the issues and problems confronting the labor movement. While the post of Director of the Labor Committee will generally be filled by a capable and qualified industrial comrade, the election of trade unionists should by no means be *limited* to this post nor the trade union comrades approached simply as "specialists." In a number of areas the Branch Chairman himself may well be elected from among the trade union leaders who are now members of our community clubs. In many cases the membership is not yet well acquainted with the trade union com-

rades and their work, for most of these are extremely busy in their shops and local unions. It is suggested that the present Branch leadership invite a number of the leading trade union members to participate in their discussions on the elections and that the qualifications and experience of these comrades be brought before the membership as a whole. The problem of busy union members finding time to participate in the leadership of the community Branch can only be resolved in terms of the political perspectives of the coming period. These are perspectives of the trade union movement itself, which call for the political organization and activization of the workers on a neighborhood and Congressional District basis. As a member of the Executive Committee of his community Branch, the trade union comrade will be in the best position to encourage and give assistance to this process.

New Members

3. Hundreds of the *newer* members of the Party, particularly those who joined in the past year, should now assume leading posts in the Branches. During the election campaign many of these new members proved to be the best Election District Captains and canvassers, just as during the 1943 Party Building Drive they were among the best recruiters. Special attention should be given here to the election of Negro and women comrades, both "new" and old, but particularly from among the many splendid Negro and women members recruited in the past year. Many of these comrades have deep ties among the people and the organizations of the people. In Branch leadership they can make important contributions to the process of transforming our Party organization along broader and more flexible lines, to carry forward the Party's political content in forms most suited to the needs and traditions of the people. Especially is this true with regard to our Party organization among the Negro people.
4. In re-electing present Branch Officers and Executive Committee members, the membership should consider, in

addition to their general political understanding and activity, the ability these comrades have shown in solving the so-called "inner" organizational problems of the Party in the interests of achieving greater efficiency and the working out of more effective policies for mass work. Their leadership in organizing the election campaign work of the Branch, the 20th Anniversary Press Campaign and the 1944 Registration of Party Membership should be considered in this connection.

Secret Ballot

In sending out the call for the election meeting, it would be well to include the names of those nominated at the previous meeting. At the election meeting itself, the greatest care should be taken to maintain the fullest democratic procedure. The secret ballot must be used no matter how great a degree of unanimity seems to have been achieved. Where there is only a single nominee for a particular office, the ballot should contain room for a "yes" or "no" vote on that nominee.

Shortly after the Branch elections there will be instituted, through the counties, a network of short-term training classes for the newly-elected functionaries. The National Office of our Party will soon publish a Manual for Branch Officers and Executive Committees which should prove of great value to the newly elected leaders.

Immediately after the elections, each Branch should hold an Installation of its new Executive with appropriate ceremony, either at the Election Meeting itself or at an affair to be organized shortly afterward. In either case, the Installation of Officers should have the character of a political celebration, a demonstration of the unity of the Branch membership around the new leadership, in whose hands it has placed such great and honorable responsibilities for the crucial period to come.

Kings County Finds New Actives

By Harry Graham

Kings County Election Campaign Manager

The election campaign taught us one outstanding lesson in Kings County. It is a lesson that applies with equal strength to every other section of the Party, and to all other campaigns. *There is no such thing as "deadwood" in our Party.*

From beginning to end, our campaign proved this. We began early—in February. We knew that, because of the impact of the war on the voting population, and because this was going to be generally thought of as an "off year" election, only an early start would guarantee our being able to roll up enough votes to send Pete back to the Council.

A Selected Group

The first job we set for ourselves was to "sell" the campaign to a selected group of comrades from every section, who would thereafter constitute the nucleus for our campaign apparatus. The selection was made with the County Election Campaign Director and the section leadership; and it is noteworthy from the beginning that at least half of the comrades chosen had never held any important functions in the Party apparatus before.

By April, we were in a position to begin raising concrete questions with this group of forty comrades. Our first step was to plan for a file of 50,000-60,000 known progressive voters, whom we would spend the major part of our effort from then on convincing to register and vote. Names were to be obtained from various sources: from the comrades in the branches, through their contacts in trade-unions and elsewhere; "exchanges" from the industrial sections, of people whom they knew in Brooklyn, although we did not;

Daily Worker readers; and members of the families and friends.

By the time registration came around, we had a total list of close to 60,000, broken down into files kept in the clubs, and arranged according to Election Districts and blocks. These files never left the clubs: duplicates were made for the ED workers to use, and the original still remains in the club headquarters as the basis for future contact.

The canvassing, which began in May, was generally extremely satisfactory, because of the selected character of the names in the files. Where there were two contacts in a big apartment house, for instance, it was not difficult to enlist these two to get others for us, who would listen sympathetically, or at least courteously, to what our canvassers had to say.

9,200 Signatures in 11 Days!

This warm reception made it easy for us to begin planning for that enlarged corps of 650 which we had decided we would need by the time of the petition campaign in August. By August, we had that corps; and in 11 working days, got 9,200 signatures, the greatest number we had ever obtained, and that in a month like August! It is important to note that the greatest majority came from *the specific blocks in our files!*

For registration itself, we had set a goal of 800 election workers, planning to work from the same files as those we had started with, now enlarged by the addition of new names drawn from our experiences of the past several months. In an "off year" it is usually the old party "machines" that get out the registration; this time we did it. The 800 were out on the job; and when the figures were checked, it was found that *an average of 74 per cent of those on our file cards had actually registered.*

Then the big problem began. With our new lists set up, on the basis of registration, we now had to get to these people, and through them to everyone else we could get to, with our message. For that we needed 1,200 election workers as a minimum—or *three times* the number we had begun with only six months before. Where were they to come

from? Hadn't we already combed the Party dry of every force that could be expected to do election work?

Using the "Old-Timers"

Not at all! In the meeting which we held with our campaign managers—(we always dealt with our problems centrally, trying to have our finger on the pulse of every club, to know what was happening there, etc.)—we discovered there were in every section, and altogether a few hundred of them, comrades who had previously been quite active, but were not now, for one reason or another. In some cases, these included former section functionaries.

It was to these comrades that we now turned. We did not raise the question of their recent falling-off in activity; where we did not know the actual reason, we preferred to give them the benefit of the doubt. Nor did we approach them to resume activity *in general*. We appealed to them instead on the basis of their former activity, pointing out to them the great significance of this election, and the serious consequences that would follow from a defeat for Pete. On this basis we proceeded to work out with them a *short-term* plan of work, covering a three-week period. Convinced that they were not being drawn into more than they could take on, these comrades agreed to our plan—and *more than 400 of them* were now enrolled as new election forces, bringing our total even beyond the 1,200 we had hoped for. What is more, once they took on the work, every one of these comrades turned in a splendid job, in some cases far surpassing the goals we had agreed on for them.

At the same time, we were appealing to our generally active members to reach every single member of the Party with this request: that they help us make a list of their friends and relatives to deepen our own; and that they pledge to visit these people *on their own time and in their own way*—with the one single task: to get them to vote first choice for Pete. The results of these two moves—with regard to former actives, and "absentees"—can be seen in the final totals: *the highest first choice votes of any candidate in the city*.

What is the lesson? Instead of piling campaign after campaign on the same few harassed forces—what you might call

our "permanent actives"—we must draw up such plans for our big campaigns and drives as will enlist the activity of many of our members who do not generally come forward, but can be involved in *specific campaigns, with specific tasks, and for a specific period*. We have many comrades who cannot engage in day-to-day activity; once we advance for these comrades the idea of *minimum jobs, parts of a big job* that they can take on without committing themselves to continue on other work after that is over—once we free some of our comrades from a real or imagined fear of *permanent obligations*, we will find them coming through with flying colors.

Developing a Corps of Reserves

Such procedure has many advantages. From the point of view of the campaign itself, it adds on unnumbered man-hours to the actual total. In a sense, we are developing second- and third-line troops, *reserves* whose value cannot be overestimated. But in addition, we are also winning back into active Party work comrades who really belong there, and who may even, as a result of this limited task, find their own way into more steady responsibility. Most important of all, we are giving new life to the branch as a whole, and helping it solve a major problem of personnel.

In Kings County, we have already made up our minds that the tremendous lift which this campaign brought to the branches must not be lost. In the careful *planning* of our work to find *the proper place for every member*; and in the continuation on a permanent basis of the ED apparatus, which holds the key, together with the Membership Committees, to the success of these plans—in these we see the guarantee that the lift will remain, and carry us forward to even greater heights.

Harlem Plays a Winner

By Charles Loman

If any of our Party members in the Harlem section ever felt tempted in the middle of the election campaign to give up the job of electing Ben Davis to the City Council as a "lost cause," that feeling couldn't have lasted very long. There was too much pressure from the community by that time against it.

That isn't overstating the case. It wasn't long after the campaign got under way that Harlem decided Ben Davis was a "winner." You could feel that everywhere you went: in the thousands that came out for the big Golden Gate affair; in the hundreds that stood on the street-corners to hear our speakers (we held 41 street meetings during the last two weeks of the campaign—an all-time record for Harlem). You could feel it, too, in little incidents like these: the first-year high-school boy who came in day after day from his Civics class to help us explain P.R. to the voters, and marched back triumphantly the day after the final count to prove to a sceptical Civics Teacher that Ben *could* be elected; the woman who put up a bulletin board outside her apartment house, and rushed home one rainy afternoon to find that thoughtful neighbors had taken it in, and were ready to take on the job of caring for it after that.

A People's Candidate

Ben Davis was a *people's candidate* from the start. And that didn't mean that people didn't know he was a Communist. A lot of them knew him before the campaign started, from his work in the Herndon and Scottsboro cases, and his leaflet to the community after the August outbreaks; and those who didn't know him before didn't take long to make up their minds, once they heard him talk about the concrete neighborhood issues that faced them, and tie them up with

the big issues of the war, and of the Negro people everywhere.

Much as Candidate Davis's personality and energetic campaigning contributed to the final victory, too much credit cannot be given to the rank-and-file Party workers for their splendid work, and to the leadership of Audley Moore, Rose Gaulden and others in organizing their efforts. There never has been such a mobilization in the Harlem section. Members who had not been to a meeting in months responded to our letters, or to the visits of the ED captains. Where they could not take on ED assignments, they made themselves responsible for their churches or apartment houses. The results can be seen in the fact that while quotas were established, calling for the average of one-third of the registered voters for each ED, pledges were obtained from 57 per cent on the average, with some ED's of course running still higher.

Getting Our Message to the People

The reason for this success was not sheer numbers, but the effective use of them in getting our message to the people. Clubs stayed open every night and most of the day; and one even had a full-time worker in charge. Outside of each club was a bulletin board, with Adam Powell's endorsement, the CIO statement, the folder on the August outbreaks, and clippings from the *Daily Worker* and elsewhere, changed every day. Many people stopped to read these, including outstanding community figures. In addition, the Non-Partisan Committee succeeded in getting a "trailer" into five of the leading theatres in Harlem; and as star-studded as the Golden Gate entertainment was, that meeting also packed in real political content. It was here, as a matter of fact, that numbers of non-Party workers volunteered to help, and to get others to help.

Street Meetings

The street meetings (of which there were as many as 3 or 4 a night towards the end of the campaign) reached anywhere from four to five thousand people. They also served as the basis for extensive *Daily Worker* sales; the 19th A.D., for instance, hit a new high of 300 daily for a period of four weeks.

These meetings also had the effect of stimulating speaking activity on the part of many who had never tried it before. There were times when some of the excellent speakers from the State and National Committees of the Party were delayed; and fired by the enthusiasm of the crowds, these new comrades took to the platform with readiness—and did very well, indeed.

House-to-House Work

It was the basic house-to-house work that was our biggest achievement. Here, as in the large meetings, our comrades found no red-baiting; instead, a lively interest in the issues and in our candidate's platform. Comrades who were already recognized and esteemed in their neighborhoods found new friends; their biggest job was to explain *how* to vote for Ben Davis, and not *why*. A real socialist competition developed between ED's; the prize effort was put forth in the 21st ED of the 19th AD, by a non-Party worker, who got out 445 votes in that one ED, the highest cast in any ED for any candidate in the city. ED workers found contact during their canvassing with many key community figures, *the sort of contact that can now be deepened—and will*. The sale of *Daily Workers* also was stimulated by the canvassing, sales of from 20 to 50 being made in the big apartment houses. Harlem can tell from its own experience what a good idea it is to put the ED apparatus on a permanent basis.

Support Outside Harlem

In all their work, the Harlem comrades were encouraged by the broad support Ben Davis was getting from outside the community. The folder on support of the labor movement was very effective in making people see the real meaning of Negro-white unity; and Bob Raven deserves special commendation for his talks, which won him great admiration from the street-corner crowds. Some white comrades from other sections of the city who had come up for a single evening's work, returned for three or four more, on their own suggestion, and even took over ED's of their own. On Election Day, 100 seamen came into Harlem to man the polls, distributing literature, and getting out slow voters.

It was a real thrill on Election Day to see that mobiliza-

tion. It even earned the compliments of the Democratic and Republican party workers, who watched voters coming into the polls announcing they had come to vote for Rivers and Davis, and flourishing our sample ballots.

A Basis for 1944

Altogether, the campaign was a real experience for our Harlem section. It gave us tremendously increased confidence in the people, and in our ability to get to them with the truth; it showed the great value of the ED apparatus; it gave us a basis for 1944. Not only will there never again be a City Council, as Gil Green said, "without at least one Negro in it"; but it is not likely that the Party in Harlem will ever forget the political understanding and maturity we met in the community. 1943 was a milestone in Harlem; there are bigger milestones ahead.

Root the Party in the Community

By Nan Halperin

President of the Mosholu-Norwood Club, Bronx

If the local branch of the Communist Party were suddenly to disappear, would the community notice it? Here is a picture of how our branch has answered that question.

Our territory covers 17 E.D.'s. The population is about 60 per cent Jewish, 40 per cent non-Jewish, of whom about 25 per cent are Catholics. It is predominantly a white-collar neighborhood, with few basic workers until recently. The trade-unionists are mostly transport, plus some furriers and a good many needle trades workers.

It is essentially a residential community, with one main shopping center. The Club is right around the corner from this business street. After several months, we now have a pleasantly decorated club-room, capable of holding 125 people, with a piano, a radio, a typewriter and a mimeograph machine, collapsible work-tables, kitchen equipment, and a telephone. The club did not use one penny of its treasury to get all this equipment; by sheer perseverance and determination, the membership went out and got it for us. We even have a \$500 fire insurance policy, the gift of one of the members.

Our Headquarters Always in Use

On Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday afternoons, as well as on Wednesday evenings, the women of the neighborhood fold surgical dressings for the Red Cross, which has designated our club as a Work Center. On Thursday evenings, there is a Dance Group, the majority being non-Party neighborhood women. Saturday afternoon has been set aside for a choral group. On alternate Tuesday evenings, we have an informal forum; and on Monday evenings, a class for Party workers, to which non-Party friends and contacts are also invited. On Friday evening, the club is shared by the

IWO and the AYD. Almost every Saturday evening the club is used for a social affair, conducted by one or the other of the groups already mentioned. We have many requests from other neighborhood groups than these; but as you can guess, for sheer lack of time we have to turn down a number of these requests, and very regretfully too. Can anyone doubt that closing our headquarters would make a dent in our neighborhood life?

We Are Active in the Community

But the neighborhood not only knows and uses our headquarters; it also knows and welcomes our members. It is chiefly through our activity in various war campaigns that we have come to be recognized. The Third War Loan, for instance, was conducted through the local CDVO office, which has gone in for some heavy red-baiting in the past. Although they turned down our request for assistance for a Bond Rally we were planning, they kept their offices open the night we held that rally, and when we brought in the pledges, as we said we would, they were genuinely touched, and thanked us most cordially. As soon as the National War Fund Drive began, we went to the Local Chairman, who accepted our offer of volunteers with the note of warning that we were to act as individuals, and not go in for politics. We gave him our profoundest assurances to that effect!

Spend Time With the People

In addition to this activity, we have taken care to use every opportunity to make ourselves better known as people to the community. Even with the limited time we have, my husband and I manage to spend some time at the usual gathering-places of the community, including the Church and Synagogue bazaars and socials. Here we are known as Communists, and our relationship is a most cordial one. This in a neighborhood that was once a center for Christian Front and America First activity! We have also seen to it that we make ourselves known to community *leaders*, including the clergy. One afternoon, I sallied forth, on the suggestion of my Section organizer, armed with *Victory—and After*, to meet the local rabbi and a Lutheran minister. My visit with the

rabbi had no immediate results except to introduce the club to him, and to tell him that it is on the same block as his Synagogue. When the Jewish holidays came round, we sent him a greeting. The visit with the minister was more fruitful: we discussed many problems, international, national and local, and when I left, *Victory—and After* stayed behind. He also welcomed my invitation to the women of his parish to assist in our Red Cross work.

All in all, I think we have made our mark in the community. When we have shown them that we can produce results in the war activities they are carrying on, and in other matters, we have been accepted as an integral part of the community war front. When we have shown them that we are also normal, healthy Americans, they have come to know us as neighbors and friends; and this is a first and very important step towards listening seriously to what we have to say.

Involving the Membership

In all these tasks, activation of the membership has been of course an integral factor. When members hesitated to appear at the branch, we reminded them that, if the community does not red-bait us, they certainly should not. We have also taken full cognizance of the fact that we have a busy and a varied membership; and that since our members can get tired, too, a little effective planning and imagination is not to be omitted in helping them arrange their activities. The results can be seen in the fact that we actually have a waiting list of members who want to do membership work. And when Anne, a recent recruit, who is a girl in her early twenties, told us quite frankly that she was unhappy in her Party work, we arranged the Dance Group mentioned above. Today she is not only Secretary of that group, but also a Membership Captain. Our new members have much to offer; we must never let them get lost through hasty or mechanical assignments.

Make the Masses Turn Toward Us

Do we still have organizational difficulties? Of course. And when we solve these, no doubt there will be others. But they will be solved, for the Party branch is in motion, and

that is what counts. Let's not forget that for many of our new members, we still have to prove in actual practice the special character of Party work. Nothing will prove that like seeing the masses turn to us, and accept and welcome our aid. That makes their own work meaningful to them; and gives concrete reality to what we told them when they were recruited: that as our influence grows in the community, so will the community work itself advance. So too will the Party grow, and assume its place as ideological leader of the people.

Thoughts on Election District Work

(A Discussion Article)

By Bill Lawrence

The favorable progress of the war places on the order of the day (a) complete and total mobilization of all resources of the United Nations for the speedy and final knockout of the fascist hordes, thus terminating the war, and (b) the preparation for a lasting peace and prosperous post-war period.

Try as you will, one cannot separate those two tasks from the approaching and crucial 1944 elections. Both the quick ending of the war and the post-war period to a great extent depend on the continuation of the policy symbolized in our commander-in-chief, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and in the agreement arrived at by the Big Three at the Teheran conference.

As the hour of victory nears and the collapse of fascism becomes obvious, one may anticipate that the Benedict Arnolds will attempt a last desperate stand. Exploiting every grievance and prejudice, cloaked in stars and stripes, the traitors will wage a final crusade against the President and against the United Nations before being pushed over the precipice into oblivion. It is the mass strength of the American people that will make that final push.

Marxist Clarity Is Essential

Yet the big job is ahead and far from completed. There are costly bridges of human sacrifice yet to be crossed. Tears and blood must yet be shed before the hour of final victory is at hand. Clarity and vigilance are therefore imperative, lest in moments of agony and individual loss, some fall prey to the tune of the defeatists. It is especially in such times that clear-sighted Marxist vision is required, Communist Party leadership essential.

The recent New York councilmanic elections prove that where candidates rose above partisan boundaries and placed the interests of the nation above all, presenting the issues squarely and clearly to the people, where thorough organization prevailed and workers actually were canvassed, the electorate responded and left no soil for the defeatists to cultivate. Where unity of aim and action was absent, where the issues were confused, where reliance on spontaneity were substituted for organization, people's candidates suffered defeat. Where concrete plans and organization were replaced by mere lip service, the demagogues emerged the victors.

The success of the Communist candidates is attributed to good planning and organization, among other reasons. Correctly so. Through painstaking organization and canvassing, Communist Party candidates were enabled to reach tens of thousands of voters. This was particularly true where the Party worked through the medium of the election district.

It is with the view of reaching ever-larger sections of the population with Marxist clarity, for the benefit of our country and its victory, and the rallying of the people behind the President, that we want to discuss the election district system.

Not the Old Group System

The system of election districts must not be confused with the old group system of the Party. Unlike the old group system, which was purely an inner Party organization and in the main functioned in a vacuum, the election district system (1) will be, as it must be, based on a definite political territory; and (2) will not limit itself to inner problems of Party organization, but rather take a mass approach to its activities, involving the people and becoming an integral part of community life.

Essentially, the purpose of the election district group, as we see it, is two-fold:

(a) To know, maintain contact with and help activize all Communist Party members residing in the given election district.

How often one hears, "If only we could activize more

Communists, what things we could accomplish!" If we fail to involve greater numbers, it is not altogether the fault of those who are not active. Rather the blame lies with those of us who direct the work and have not sufficiently attempted to adjust the assignments of non-actives to their other needs in life. Frequently, and this is particularly true of new members, an assignment is viewed as an "every night in the week" job which they do not feel—and often correctly—that they can afford to undertake. We do not sufficiently take the trouble to uncover such hesitations and frankly discuss them. To put it in the words of one of the comrades, "We are too busy to bother with those who can't be active," not realizing that a half-hour spent with such a "non-active" may result in great productivity.

Personal Contact With Party Members

Hence, one of the major objectives of the election district captain is to know the comrades in the given district *personally*, to know where they work, to know their problems and inclinations. In short, on the basis of personal consultation, to be able to give real help to comrades in determining their fields of activity. The election district captain should particularly maintain contact with the comrades of his district who are employed in large shops or active in labor or people's organizations. Here too, in personal consultation with the comrade and the club Labor Secretary, the captain should help the comrade apply club decisions in the sphere of the comrade's main activity.

Of course, on the basis of this personal contact, the district captain will be in a position to keep check on the dues payments, as well as make sure that the comrade in question is a constant reader of the press and *The Communist*.

Not a Dues-Collecting Agency

Above all, the relation between the district captain and his comrades in the election district must not by any means be limited to that of a dues-collection agency. The idea is to establish a *political, comradely and human relationship*, where the comrade who does not attend club meetings for one rea-

son or another looks forward to a visit by another comrade as a means for an exchange of political ideas, a welcomed visit of a friend of the family, instead of a routine transaction of dues collection. Some may say, "But who has the time to spend with comrades in the election district? There is so much to be done." The cold facts are that those few who are now active often work themselves to the point of exhaustion, precisely because they are so few. Time invested in activizing "non-active" comrades will more than pay dividends in the final results.

A Permanent Bond With Non-Party Workers

(b) The comrades residing in the election district should also establish contact with the electorate of the given district. They should establish a list of friends of the Party and progressive workers within that community, including all *Daily Worker*, *Worker*, *Freiheit* and other progressive press readers. Such contacts may be used for open club meetings; for invitations extended to various affairs and mass meetings organized by the Party on an A.D. scale; to win new readers for the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*; and on the basis of permanent contact, to cultivate future Party growth amongst these people.

In other words, as we see it, the second objective of the Communists in the election district is to surround themselves with a group of friends within the community as a *permanent bond between Party and non-Party workers*. As some of these friends join the Party, further contacts should be made so as to enlarge the group of friends.

A practical application of projects undertaken by a club shall be discussed in relation to conditions prevailing within the A.D. generally, and given E.D.'s specifically. Discussing mass activity and problems of the community, the Communists of the given E.D. shall always discuss it with an eye toward the given election district.

If, say, a campaign on subsidies or the soldiers' vote is undertaken, if the Red Cross or any other government agency is in the midst of a campaign, the Communists in the respective E.D.'s shall have the task first of all of directing those activities in the E.D.'s in which they reside,

as well as, of course, in the shops in which they happen to be employed. Leaflets issued by the Party at different times shall be distributed in an organized way among the residents of the given E.D.

To summarize this point, the system of E.D. operation is not merely one of activizing larger numbers of comrades, though one cannot overemphasize the importance of it. It is equally important that simultaneously, in the process of activizing larger numbers, the Communists of the given E.D. establish and consolidate that necessary bridge between the Party and the masses of non-Party workers.

Designated by the Club Executive

The district captains should be designated by the club executive. Here it should be mentioned that election district captains need not be comrades who can give five nights a week. If we place a full week's activity as a precondition for an election district captain, then indeed we will get few who will agree to take on the task.

It may be possible to elect as an election district captain a comrade who is himself very active in a union or shop. He may not be in a position to do direct canvassing in the election district, but because of his experience in organization and mass movements generally, he can contribute much towards directing the work of the whole election district, and thus emerge as an excellent election district captain.

Meetings of E.D. Captains

The election district captains of the given club shall meet, say, once a month, under the chairmanship of the Club Executive Secretary, to exchange experiences and to supervise the personnel work of the Party within the club. The club is to retain a Financial Secretary who, if necessary with the aid of assistants, shall be responsible for the club treasury and collection of dues at club meetings.

In the interest of keeping the executive committee of the club compact, and thus enabling it to be a workable body, it would be advisable that not all election district captains be members of the executive as yet. It may be an ultimate objective. The club membership elects its executive, among

whom may be included election district captains. Occasionally the club executive might invite all captains for a discussion on the work of the election districts, exchange of experiences, etc. Once in a while, the club meeting might assume the character of reports from election district captains, with the club membership discussing these reports, and making suggestions toward improvement of the work.

Assistants to the Captain

Where more than ten comrades reside in a given election district, of course it is the prerogative of that group to have one or more assistants to the captain. It should be equally clear that visiting those who cannot attend meetings should not be limited to the captain.

In districts where less than three comrades reside, the club executive may consider the advisability of sending into that election district a couple of comrades from a nearby election district, thus enabling them to have a good-sized election district, thus laying the basis for building the Party there.

These are but a few thoughts on the matter of election districts. Suggestions and ideas from the comrades in the clubs are very welcome, as well as ideas based on collective discussions in club executives.

If You Ask Them!

By the President of a Steelworkers Local

Our shop, a steel plant in Buffalo, was recently organized by the CIO. As in a good many other instances, we were faced with the problem of untrained workers pressed into union leadership. While those elected to office in the union were undoubtedly good honest workers, it was plain that something would have to be done at once to educate them about the labor movement.

My own feeling was that nothing could do the job like reading the *Daily Worker*. As one of the elected officers, I took up this question with my fellow-officers, and with some of the active union members. I headed off red-baiting right from the start by stating that this was a paper with a definite Communist orientation, and then pointing out how foolish we would be to let old prejudices keep us from getting the information we need.

36 Subs in One Month

After the first couple of experiences, I am more convinced than ever that it is easy to get people to read the *Daily Worker*—if you ask them. In one month, I have gotten 33 subs, and non-Party readers have gotten 3 others. When I talked the matter over with these non-Party people they felt that we could easily get 100 workers in the shop reading the *Daily* every day. Since we have a total of 600 workers altogether, that would be a pretty good percentage.

It would also have a real effect on the work of the union. Already, on the basis of the sales we have so far, we have been able to do the following: After the victory at Kiev, the idea came up to collect money for a cablegram of congratulation to the Red Army. We found out that the Embassy at Washington would send our message free, and even try to get an acknowledgment. Nevertheless we kept on collecting, and agreed to turn over the proceeds to Russian War Relief.

The soap can we are using to collect the money has gotten pretty heavy by now, so it goes from department to department by crane.

Using the Daily in the Shop

Typical of the use to which the new readers of the *Daily Worker* are putting it is the following: An editorial dealing with the elections was clipped and put up on the bulletin board last week, even though most of the new readers have been getting the paper for little more than a week. Since then, George Morris' articles on incentive pay have also been appearing on the board. And as soon as elections were over, a lot of non-Party people began asking how Cacchione and Davis were making out. In one department, 10 out of the 40 workers are readers, and bring the paper with them every day.

A Few Suggestions

My suggestions to other shops are:

1. Be bold about the *Daily Worker*; quote it, discuss it.
2. Make a sale *every day*. Decide whom you are going to approach, before you come in.
3. Make your sales talk brief and to the point. You don't need all day to show a worker what it's got for him.

If these suggestions are tried out, a lot of other shops should duplicate our experience.

Membership Work Pays!

By Sadie Freedman

Membership Director, Parkside Club

Through the work of our Membership Committee, we in the Parkside Communist Club have made real advances toward the solution of some of our branch problems.

We have a membership of 250, mostly white-collar and professional workers. These have been divided into 15 groups, ranging from 10 to 20 in number. Group captains are selected who live near their groups. Twelve of the fifteen captains are women with small children. Because of their personal problems, these comrades have arranged to visit the members in their groups only by appointment; in some cases the arrangement is for the comrades to visit their captains.

These visits have proven very useful. Where comrades have given up attending meetings because of some grievance, real or imagined; or where the feeling has grown up in the comrade's mind that there is nothing he or she can contribute, a discussion with the captain has helped clear this up. One comrade for instance was becoming demoralized by a hard but poor-paying job, and he and his wife had fallen behind in their dues. Through the work of another member of the group, with whom the captain discussed this problem, a better job was obtained in war industry. His problem solved, this comrade became an active canvasser in the election campaign; his wife began work in the CDVO office and both of them paid up all their back dues.

Another member asked to be dropped from the rolls because she felt she wasn't being active enough. On questioning, she admitted that while walking with her baby carriage, she had been discussing with the other women such matters as price control, nursery schools, etc., and lining up votes for

Pete. When told that this was splendid Party work, she was surprised and delighted, promptly paid up her back dues, and is now out with the baby carriage, with a real gleam in her eyes. Another comrade, who was tied down to the house by a little infant, had likewise been gathering votes for Pete, right in the apartment house itself, and was able to pledge six votes halfway through the campaign. There are probably dozens of such unassuming and generally unrecognized Party actives.

Leadership for the Captains

The captains themselves in many instances are not able to get to membership meetings as they would like; and a regular meeting is held by the membership director with each and every one of them. In addition, there is a meeting of the entire committee every month, with a political discussion of immediate tasks on the agenda, as well as the exchange of experiences. When the question of the sale of literature came up, it was agreed to invite the Educational Director to the next meeting, where preparations would be made for the sale of literature through the membership captains to the 50 per cent of the membership who do not attend meetings regularly.

We have learned many things in the course of this membership work. We have learned that comrades with real problems can often get real help from us in solving these problems, and can thus be brought back into active Party work. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that where such help is lacking, they resent the apparent indifference, and rightly so. We have also learned that no one should do membership work who is not really convinced that the greater part of our membership *is* good, and with the proper help will work to the best of their ability. Finally, we have learned that the membership forces themselves need constant contact and guidance, themselves have problems that the Membership Director must recognize and help solve. We are certain that when all these things are properly recognized and handled, other clubs will also have the experience we have had of giving a real lift to our branch life.

Toward a Mass Party

By David Goldway

We are on the threshold of a new Recruiting Drive.

The New York State Committee of the Party has pledged in the name of its 350 clubs and branches to recruit 10,000 new members between February 12 and May 1.

This is twice the quota which we in New York agreed on a year ago. It is 4,000 more than our phenomenal achievement of last year, which shattered all previous records.

Yet the leadership of the State Committee—and we are sure the whole membership as well—feels fully confident that the projected goal will be achieved and surpassed.

Marxists are nothing if they are not realists. Realistically speaking, then, what makes us so confident that we will reach the breath-taking objective of recruiting 10,000 new members in ten weeks?

A Patriotic Duty

The answer is that we have evaluated the present political situation in a sober, in a Communist way. We have concluded not only that it is possible for our Party to grow by 10,000 new members, but that we *must* do so if we are to fulfill our patriotic duty in this crucial moment of the war.

Just think of the surge of political events and movements with which our Recruiting Drive will coincide!

In the first place, the mighty military push “from the East, West and South,” which was guaranteed at Teheran, will in all probability be under way. The war in Europe will be mounting to its victorious climax.

The ten weeks of our Recruiting Drive will also coincide with the setting of the stage for the 1944 elections, upon which, in the last analysis, will depend whether we hold on to the victories we will be winning on the field of battle, or whether we will be letting them slip through our fingers.

Third, it will be in the spring of 1944 that the struggle between those who would wreck the home front and those who would save it will be reaching a climax. Inflation, wages, taxes—the whole intricate web of economic problems will be up for decision. The first approaches to the solution of post-war problems will likewise have to be made.

A Crucial Test for Labor

In that moment of great decision, the labor movement will have to stand up and be tested. Is American labor indeed the "indestructible backbone" of national unity and the war effort? Can labor meet the tugs and strains of production which the second front will demand? Will labor effectively throw its weight into the 1944 election struggles and guarantee the continuance of Roosevelt's policies for another four years? Will labor be able to force a democratic solution of the problems of wages? Will it be able to give a lead for a stable post-war world?

It is in this context that our Recruiting Drive must be viewed. For our Party—the Party of Marx, of Stalin and of Browder—is the vanguard of the labor movement. It is the bearer of clarity and understanding to the masses, the source of courage and inspiration to the millions.

If we carry on our political work properly in the months to come, we will *have to* recruit. The 10,000 new members will be a political necessity.

But as we learned so clearly in the elections, the results will not come of themselves. The Drive must be organized and prepared. The Party must be consolidated; our clubs and E.D. apparatus must be strengthened; the ideological groundwork must be laid; plans must be made in full detail. Just as we figured out where every vote was coming from in the elections, so we must know where we are going to get every recruit.

Above all, two guarantees are required if this Drive is to be successful.

Recruiting Through Mass Political Work

The first is that *the Drive must be coupled with mass political work*. If we want 10,000 new members, the political

activity of the whole Party and of every branch in it must be heightened.

If there was any weakness in last year's membership drive, it was that in many places we did not carry on recruiting and political activity simultaneously. Our recruits were really the dividends of past work; they did not join because of the current activities of the Party. That is one reason why our recruiting fell off so sharply when the drive came to a close on May 1st.

This year we also have dividends to collect. The recent election campaign, as well as all the activities of our clubs during the past year, created fertile soil for recruiting.

But the political tasks of today will not permit us to take time out just to recruit. Nor will we be able to reach the goal we set for ourselves in that way. Politics and the Recruiting Drive both demand that we circulate *more* petitions, hold *more* mass meetings, take up *more* neighborhood issues, work with *more* community groups.

Approached in this way, our Recruiting Drive becomes a great patriotic effort on the part of the Party. For every recruit is won in the course of contributing to the war effort; and every recruit in turn improves our contribution to the war effort.

Far and away the best instrument for effective political work, and therefore for the Recruiting Drive, is the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. It will be idle to talk about any Recruiting Drive at all unless we come through the 20th Anniversary Circulation Drive for the press with flying colors.

A Bold Perspective

The second guarantee is to *approach the Recruiting Drive with boldness and imagination*. For example, in many communities the perspective should be raised not only of recruiting new members, but of recruiting whole new branches. Certain new shops and new industries should be broken into boldly and on a mass scale. The recruiting spirit should be transmitted to every Party member, so that participation in the Recruiting Drive will be, if anything, wider than participation in the election campaign. The thousands who

joined our Party in the last year and who proved their mettle in the election campaign will, with proper stimulation and guidance, produce amazing results in recruiting. Every Party member, no matter how "inactive" he may have been considered in the past, will respond if the full significance of the Drive is brought home to him.

A Qualitatively Different Party

This Recruiting Drive, comrades, will not merely add 10,000 new members to our rolls. It will create a qualitatively different Party—a *mass Communist Party*. And a mass Communist Party will create a qualitatively different United States. By its very existence a mass Communist Party will deal a death blow to the anti-Communist bogey. Accepted as a full citizen by the win-the-war masses of Americans, it will guarantee the routing of the defeatists and will be a source of ever-increasing strength to the national unity coalition and to the world coalition of the United Nations.

It will be America's hope for the future?

The East Side Bookshop

By Ben Bordofsky

With the continued growth of our community clubs and the establishment of community centers, it is necessary that new and improved methods for wider distribution of our literature be instituted.

The 8th A.D. Club of Manhattan with the cooperation of the State Literature Department established the East Side Bookshop in the Club's quarters. A section of the headquarters was set aside for shelves and tables where an attractive literature display has been set up. The display consists of a full stock of Marxist-Leninist books and pamphlets and a representative stock of current win-the-war books and reprints. Special racks for magazines and pamphlets were constructed to make the best possible use of available space. In addition to literature, the bookshop also acts as a ticket agency for various city-wide affairs.

Some Valuable Lessons

The bookshop has now (at the end of November) been in existence four months and some very valuable experiences can be learned from this short time. The sale of literature has increased many times under the new set-up. For example, in the first five months of the club, literature sales amounted to \$105.00; in three months of the operation of the bookshop as part of the club's activity, \$500.00 worth of literature was sold. In October alone \$171.00 worth of literature was sold, and November will be even greater.

The quality of literature sold is also very high. Many people in the club see for the first time the wealth of Marxist-Leninist classics that we have available, and have begun systematically to build libraries in their homes. The sale of general pamphlets has increased in the club. The club members also know that they can satisfy their book needs

right in their own headquarters, and this has resulted in an extra-large sale of general win-the-war fiction and non-fiction. There is also a children's section of attractive books for the young folks.

The bookshop, however, was not set up only for the club members. It is open daily and it has begun to attract people off the street. In order to further popularize the shop an attractive opening announcement was mailed to all contacts on the club's list. Ads were placed in the *Daily Worker* and *Worker*. A mailing is now under way with a specially prepared Christmas catalogue which is being sent to all petition signers and other contacts in the community. Facing the street there is a large permanent sign announcing the bookshop and at the head of the stairs, at the entrance, there are two bulletin boards announcing current specials that are on sale. These steps are bringing results and people are coming in off the street to make purchases and valuable contacts are established for the club.

Sunday Night Forums

The club also runs forums Sunday nights which are well attended. The literature display is arranged to tie up with the topic under discussion. This too has resulted in literature sales, as much as \$20.00 for a single evening.

We can learn valuable lessons from the short time of the existence of the East Side Bookshop. The first is that an attractive, well-stocked and varied display will cause our members to become more interested and thus purchase more literature. Also through the medium of the bookshop we can attract new people to our headquarters and build the clubs in the community. Every club can do what the 8th A.D. did. It is not necessary to be on the same scale. Even on a smaller scale we can increase our literature distribution and help carry out our role of political education of the millions.

Random Notes on Community Work

The following material was selected from reports of several branches on the way in which they established contact with the community, and won prestige for the Party, prior to the election campaign. It helps to understand the ease with which the comrades in Kings were able to win first choice votes for our candidate.

I. (Peter V. Cacchione Club—2nd A.D., Kings)

The Club headquarters is open Sundays for the people of the community to use for such activities as chess and checkers games, a favorite sport in the neighborhood.

To help combat delinquency, the Club invited in the young people of the neighborhood. About 20 boys from 14 to 17 years old responded, and formed a group called the "Patriots." The Club has extended to them the use of the mimeograph machine, to get out a young people's community paper. All their activities are carried on independently of any adult supervision. Parents are grateful that their sons are being kept off the streets, and given a chance to engage in interesting and constructive work.

A personnel committee has been set up to keep in touch with people in the community who have boys in the armed forces, and to interest them also in constructive work, in the CDVO and elsewhere, that will keep them from feeling lost.

II. (Ocean Hill—23rd A.D., Kings)

The Negro people in our community recognize our branch as the organization in the community that fights best and fastest against discrimination and for equal rights.

For example, the son of one of the newer comrades was arrested for misbehavior in school; as a result of immediate branch action, the boy is now out on parole.

A similar "railroading" job was stopped when two young

girls were arrested on a "mugging" charge, the *Journal-American* making much of the case as typical of Negro behavior. We secured the freedom of these two innocent girls, an act for which we received the congratulations and thanks of many non-Party people in the community.

III. (2nd A.D., Kings)

A Committee for Racial Equality was set up some time ago—before Detroit, Beaumont, etc. Its purpose was to fight Jim Crow and anti-Semitism; and for that purpose it had gathered together such neighborhood forces as the Assemblyman from the district; the local CDVO chairman, prominent Negro churchmen and leaders; and leaders from the American Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations; representatives of the Jewish War Veterans and the League of Women Voters; and the Section Chairman of the Communist Party (who, incidentally, is one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Committee, and whose name is printed along with the others on the official Committee stationery).

An Anti-Discrimination Committee was set up for the purpose of investigating anti-Semitic activities in the neighborhood, as well as discrimination in housing, and to render legal aid to all cases coming to our attention.

After one of the leading Committee women gave a tea for Pete, a card was sent out for an Executive Committee meeting to "prevent any political group from gaining control of the Committee for its own purposes." At the meeting the Section Chairman of the Party took the floor to answer this red-baiting charge and was so successful that the red-baiters were isolated and the Committee's determination strengthened to go ahead with its work.

IV. (Ocean Front Section—Kings)

Since we are largely a Jewish community, we decided to make our point of concentration issues and questions of the greatest interest to the greatest number of people in the neighborhood.

Our first step was to hold a mass meeting in the neighborhood to protest against the Nazi atrocities. Among those

who spoke were several Rabbis of the community, the priest of the local Catholic church, and the local Negro minister.

Shortly after, we were called upon to aid in the work of the United Jewish War Effort, which set out to raise \$2,000 for an ambulance to be sent to the Soviet Union. At the banquet which was held to celebrate the completion of that drive, a comrade who had raised \$125 by a cake sale was singled out as the shining example of how to work, and the Party publicly thanked for its efforts. The Party's name was inscribed in the Golden Book which went to Washington.

As a result of our successful integration with the community, the question of a community bulletin came up naturally. In our first issue, we greeted all the win-the-war organizations and activities in the community, and included condolences and greetings to individuals, local gossip, a health column, short book reviews and other items. The distribution aroused such interest that the CDVO leader and the local Democratic Party captain suggested our coming to them for interesting material for future issues.

Correspondence

October 21, 1943.

Dear Comrade Gil:

I have been troubled about the method in which we conduct our recruiting drives, which is largely responsible for the great turnover. Of course, improvement in our work after the recruiting is important, but I think our work before recruiting is the major factor.

References to the February 12th drive are resulting in the same reaction as I feel, and I consider it a duty to bring it to your attention—even if this has already been done through other comrades.

I think that intense drives for short duration result in recruiting people who are not prepared for the Party, and if a different approach toward achieving large recruiting records were made, the same people could be recruited on a better basis.

I suggest that recruiting be placed on a year round basis, with prizes and competition for, say, the first quarter of the year, the second quarter, etc. That would stimulate recruiting activity without the bad results of intense prodding for just a couple of months during the year.

I want to be more concrete. At the present time, when branches know the drive will start February 12 and they will be given large quotas, and that any recruits between now and then won't be to their credit in the official figures, no effort is made to speak to people about joining the Party. People are not being cultivated over a long period of time by coming to party meetings, being visited frequently, etc., and asked to join at the time they are ready. I know we should be doing the type of work now to prepare the ground, and when February 12 comes around we will "reap the harvest," but actually the harvest does not yield the figures of our quotas, and we often pick unripe, and from some of the reports I get, even bad fruit.

In other words, I think our contacts should be cultivated

more carefully and not high-pressured before the deadline of the recruiting drive. Isn't there something wrong with the picture when we can talk of a "deadline" for recruiting? If it were on a quarterly basis, the pressure would not be so great, as branches would feel they had a chance to win next quarter if not the current one.

I do not think Recruiting can be treated like Sub Drives or Fund Drives, which can be pepped up for a couple of months, with party mobilizations, etc. Joining the Party is not like paying a dollar for a sub, and high pressure does not bring good results. Past experience seems to prove the correctness of my opinions on this point.

This is probably a matter for decision by the National Committee and I hope you will take it up with that body.

Comradely yours,

Stella Biber.

* * *

November 18, 1943.

Dear Comrade Stella:

I am sorry that I could not find the time to reply to your letter before this. However, I can assure you it was not because the question that you raise is not of great importance.

What you say has undoubtedly a great element of truth, namely, that it would be far preferable if the Party could develop so high a rate of recruiting throughout the year as to make unnecessary special recruiting drives. However, we have not succeeded in achieving that and I am afraid we cannot sit back and wait until that is accomplished.

As you know, the National Committee of our Party is planning a new recruiting drive, to start in February, with the objective of recruiting twice as many as were recruited a year ago.

Of course, here and there people are recruited during drives who have not been adequately prepared for the Party, but it seems to me that any worker who honestly wants to become a member of the Party should be able to find his place in its ranks without any long-term advance preparation. The

big problem is not that we have been recruiting in our drives people that are no good, but that we have not learned how to maintain that intimate personal and political relationship with each one of those recruited which alone can guarantee their complete integration in the Party and their education as Communists.

This is an even more complex problem in our system of large clubs than it was when we functioned in the main through small groups. But even in the large clubs, where a proper relationship is established with the new member, we find no insuperable obstacles to completely drawing that member into the life of the Party. The experiences of the last drive are varied. There are some clubs which doubled and trebled their membership and which have the best records today in membership involvement. And then, of course, there are others where the opposite is true.

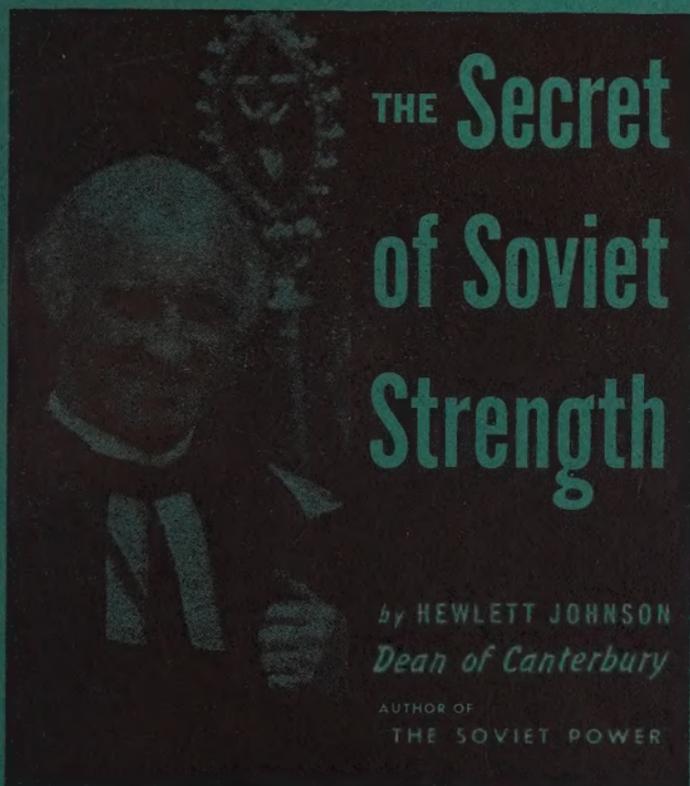
It seems to me that if we can succeed in making our large clubs factors in the community, with a variety of activities, with headquarters that are open and that function all week long, and if in addition to this we establish some kind of permanent election district apparatus through which every Party member is kept in close contact with a captain, is seen by that captain, is served by that captain, and together with that captain works out his or her own best contributions to the movement—through these means I believe that the basic solution can be found.

After all, the British Party has through recruiting drives grown from an organization of about 10,000 members only a couple of years ago to an organization of about 100,000 today, and they have really recruited on a mass basis, even recruiting at open air meetings and recruiting *en masse* at large indoor meetings.

Therefore, the point I wish to make is that our faults lie not so much in the manner in which we recruit but in the functioning of our organization, in the manner in which we establish our links with the new members who come into our ranks.

Comradely yours,

Gil Green.



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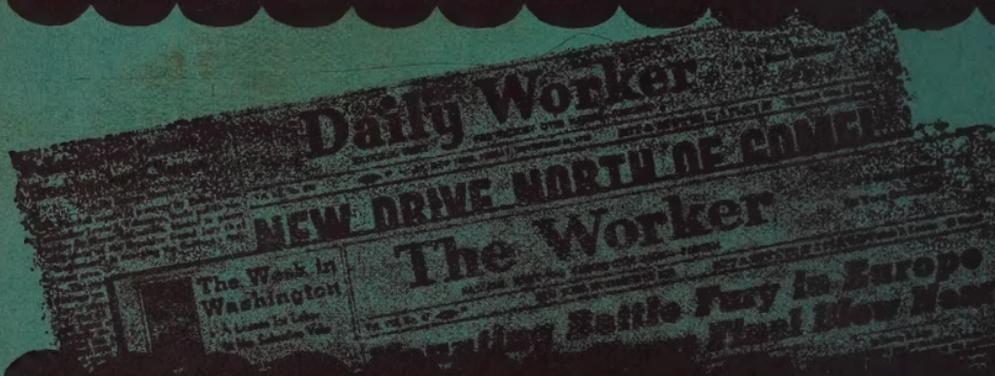
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The present prime objective of the Daily Worker and The Worker is to help win the war, to strengthen national unity for war policies that will speed victory and guarantee the peace to come.

To understand the major issues of the war on all fronts, to know how to make your best contribution to victory, read the Daily Worker and The Worker.