

PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

• MARCH-APRIL • 1937 •

Control Tasks Adopted by February
Conference of District Organizers

Toward One United May Day!

Build the Party! Build the Daily Worker!
—Brown

Working in Rural South Jersey
—Lindstrom

The Party in Small Towns —Powell

Building the Party in California

From Secret to Open Work —Saunders

C O N T E N T S

Control Tasks on Building the Party and the Circulation of our Press Adopted by Special Conference of District Organizers, February 22, 1937	
May Day By Org.-Educational Commission of the Central Committee	9
The Party Building and Daily Worker Drive By F. Brown	13
Building the Party in California By California State Membership Committee	19
Work in Rural South Jersey By Eric Lindstrom	25
The Party in Small Towns By O. B. Powell	29

NEW YORK STATE SECTION

From Secret to Open Work By Vera Saunders	33
A New Neighborhood Institution By Sam Roberts	35
Recruiting on the Brooklyn Waterfront By F. Phillips	40

NOTE—Beginning with this issue, the PARTY ORGANIZER will be published in the middle of the month preceding its date of issue, instead of at the beginning of each month as hitherto. In consequence the present issue is dated March-April. Future issues will appear about the 15th of each month.

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Control Tasks on Building the Party and the Circulation of Our Press

ADOPTED BY SPECIAL CONFERENCE OF DISTRICT ORGANIZERS,
FEBRUARY 22, 1937

WE MUST take note of the fact that the growth of the Party membership lags considerably behind the greatly increased activity of the masses, both on the economic and political front. It does not by any means keep pace with the influence of the Party gained as a result of the correct application of the line of the Party, and the Party's active role in all the major economic and political struggles of the masses. Present estimates indicate that the 1937 registration will be not more than 25 per cent above the membership of the Party a year ago. *This serious situation is reflected to an even greater extent in our failure to materially increase the circulation of the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker.* A frank recognition of this pressing problem, together with a determined and persistent effort to solve it is the first condition necessary for its solution.

2. This is not a new problem for our Party. We have for a long time suffered from a very high fluctuation of membership (last year we recruited some 25,000 new members, as against a net increase of only around 8,000); neglect of systematic mass recruitment, especially as part

of our participation in the big struggles; insufficient effort in the building of the circulation of our press. Our Party has not yet completely rid itself of a tendency to rely on spontaneity in the field of organization. *But these problems, viewed in the light of the present situation in the labor movement* (strike struggles, growth of the trade unions, movements for independent political action, etc.) *take on a new emphasis.* And unless solved *now* they will not only make it impossible for the Party to take full advantage of the present favorable situation for the building of our Party and its press, but will endanger the very role that our Party is already playing in the labor movement, make it more difficult to play an ever increasing role in the great movements of the masses that are now developing.

3. The solution of this problem requires that we overcome the major organizational weaknesses which have already been made clear time and again. It also requires that we adjust the Party's organizational structure, its methods of work and leadership to meet the needs of the growing labor movement, that all Party committees and organizations distribute their major forces on the basis of the needs of the struggle in line with the Party's well-established policy of concentration. While much progress has been made in this direction, the wave of strikes at this moment has clearly shown that a much greater readjustment in this direction must be made for the Party to be able to meet the new situation in the labor movement.

The Ninth Convention of the Party and the December meeting of the Central Committee gave considerable attention to the need for adaptation of the Party's organizational structure and methods of work to the new situation. The decisions adopted then may be summarized as follows:

a. Simplification of the Party structure, its adaptation to the political life of the country, to the major tasks of the Party. In line with this there was recommended that in addition to the factory nuclei, there shall be built, where expedient, industrial branches based upon the industry, or local union, in a given territory; that as much as possible

the branches shall conform to the ward, the election district, etc.; that the other subdivisions shall be based on the state, the city, the county, etc. Experience already shows that there must be avoided, however, a mechanical approach to these questions. For example, when a branch is too large it militates against efficient work and results in a difficulty to activize the membership. Also we have found still other types of units possible and necessary as, for example, special day units of housewives.

b. More direct connection of the Party leadership with the lower organization, with the elimination of all artificial forms. This means that for the smaller county organizations there is no need to build sections, since they also result in setting up barriers between the county leadership and the nuclei and branches, while robbing the lower organizations of the leadership of the more experienced comrades who are taken up with the sections.

c. Establishment of organizational forms and methods of work to make possible the development of the initiative of the lower organizations, the widest possible Party democracy on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. This means where practicable the establishment of regular delegated bodies of representatives of the nuclei and branches on a city or county basis, strict observance of Party democracy in the election of leadership. One of the important tasks is the stabilization of the leadership in the lower Party organizations. To accomplish this it is necessary to do away with cooptions, make proper selections on the basis of discussions of tasks, the fitness of the candidates, election in a democratic manner, constant assistance by the higher committees. *Special attention must be paid to the composition of the Party committees, especially the need to bring forward the best mass workers from the trade unions, the large factories and other mass organizations.* Without this it will be impossible to establish capable, authoritative leadership.

d. Simplification of the work of the Party committee, the elimination of all unnecessary inner meetings, adjust-

ment of the tasks and assignments to Party members on the basis of their tasks in the mass organizations, simplification of the dues system (monthly and lower dues). All these adjustments are essential to meet the needs of the new type of workers (active in the trade unions, etc.) who are being attracted to the Party.

e. Serious and constant attention to the education and training of the Party membership. Regular political discussions of the vital issues at Party unit meetings; development of all types of schools, classes for Marxist-Leninist education, for the training of the membership and leading personnel; special training in the technical aspects of the various Party functions (including keeping records, how to run meetings, etc.).

f. The development of Party recruiting and the building of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* as regular Party tasks *as an integral part and result of the mass work of the Party.*

4. These decisions where applied are already showing in practice that their general application by the entire Party will enable the Party organizations better to meet the needs of the struggle, and result in overcoming many of the present weaknesses which militate against the building of a mass party. It is necessary, of course, that these decisions be applied with the greatest flexibility, and not mechanically. It is also necessary to bear in mind that while stressing these organizational forms here we do not at any time look upon organizational problems as separated from the major political problems. Both are indissolubly bound up together.

The Daily Worker and Sunday Worker

It is not necessary at the present time to adopt new resolutions on the organizational problems. The old resolutions as summarized above will suffice. Our major difficulty has been the lack of attention to problems of Party building and the circulation of the press. We shall here therefore limit ourselves to a few measures which are to

receive immediate attention in the campaign for Party building and the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* circulation.

The task of building the Party and that of increasing the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* are indissolubly bound up. One cannot be solved without the other. The Party must, while helping to establish the independent apparatus of the *Daily Worker*, assume full responsibility for building its circulation.

The majority of the Party comrades do not read the *Daily Worker*, do not know the line of the Party, and are unable to carry the Party line to the masses. They are unable to work as true Communists.

The building of the circulation of our press is a key task to both the solution of the inner problems of the Party and to the conversion of the most militant workers to Communism.

5. The recent struggles and those now in progress have greatly increased the possibility for the building of the circulation of our press and literature. In the auto strikes, in the steel campaign, etc., we found more and more the workers ready and often very eager to receive the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. It is with this new situation in mind that we must approach the building of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. What is necessary is that we organize properly to get the benefits of this great labor and class consciousness that has developed, to bring the paper to the factory gates, to the union halls, to the workers' neighborhoods and homes.

We propose the following measures as immediate steps to be carried through by the entire Party:

a. *A campaign to make every Party member a reader of the Daily Worker.* For this purpose there shall be established special subscription rates for all Party members for a period of two months. Where comrades buy the paper every day through newsstands, or other means, the unit bureau is to check regularly whether every member of the unit is a regular reader of the *Daily Worker*.

In those cases where there exist special difficulties as, for example, fear of exposure in company towns, etc., the Party committee is to work out special measures, with special points at which the *Daily Worker* can be received and obtained by the Party members. *By May First every unit is to send a report on the number of members and the number of readers of the Daily Worker to the Central Committee on special blanks to be provided by the Central Committee, copies of this report to go to the District Committees.*

b. Each district, city, county, section, at once to examine the *Daily Worker* apparatus, and assure the existence of a *Daily Worker* committee, with a competent comrade in charge, a campaign mapped out for increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. A comrade who is to act as the *Daily Worker* correspondent shall be part of this committee. In general the central apparatus shall make a special campaign for mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* among all Party members and sympathizers throughout the country and in the metropolitan area. For the country as a whole we shall concentrate on the *Sunday Worker*. The system of special editions in connection with certain industries, campaigns, struggles, shall be developed. A district reaching a high circulation shall be able to secure a special page or pages devoted to the news and problems of that territory. Where local papers are being planned they should be combined with the *Sunday Worker* with local printing of some of the pages, the *Sunday Worker* furnishing the rest of the material.

c. The principle of concentration shall be followed in the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* drive. This means major and first attention to the basic industries and centers of struggle (steel, auto, textile, marine, mining, etc.), the concentration districts. Our aim must be to make the *Daily Worker* the unofficial organ of every struggle. Special attention should also be paid to build the circulation among the Negro masses.

d. Our goal should be 50,000 readers of the *Daily Worker*; and 150,000 circulation for the *Sunday Worker* by the end of June.

Party Building

6. The present struggles of the workers have greatly multiplied the possibilities for and made much easier mass Party recruitment. But it is necessary to bear in mind that only if the Party, while giving its maximum energy to the development of winning these struggles, at the same time brings to the masses its own proposals in its own name, only if the Party develops its independent activities, only if the masses learn of the role the Party is actually playing, will we be able to mobilize our own Party for mass recruitment, and draw militant workers into the Party. Also to keep the new recruits, to develop them from mere militant workers to conscious Communists it is necessary to devote the greatest attention to their education and training.

a. The system of membership committees and membership directors shall be established from the Central Committee down to every unit. The Organizational Department shall work out more detailed tasks for these committees. The membership director shall be a politically developed comrade, a member of the respective leading bodies under whose guidance he works (Central Committee, District Committee, Section Committee, unit bureau).

b. The practice of political discussions, special educational meetings, dealing both with the Party campaigns, current events, as well as on questions of Party program, must be instituted regularly at meetings of shop units, industrial units, and branches.

c. The *Party Organizer* shall give more attention to the problems of the work of the lower Party organizations, the work of the membership committees, the methods of Party education.

d. The *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* shall systematically print material dealing with the Party program

and become a campaigner for Party membership.

e. We shall institute regular monthly reports on the progress in recruiting by every unit, the status of the membership. Such reports shall not be limited to mere statistics but shall indicate the methods of recruiting, the reasons for members dropping out, etc. The Central Committee shall provide regular blanks for this purpose.

f. With the monthly and lower dues system in operation, special attention must be given to regular payment of dues, and that members pay on the actual basis of their earnings. Neglect of this major task will result in both financial crisis, and loss of considerable membership because of big accumulation in arrears.

g. It shall be considered a breach of Party discipline to hold any meeting under the auspices of the Party at which non-Party workers are in attendance, at which there is not an organized appeal for Party membership and the proper organization of recruitment, application cards on hand, etc., as well as the sale of our press and literature. There shall be published immediately a special pamphlet or folder for free distribution for purposes of recruitment. It shall state the aims, activities of the Party, tasks and duties of members, dues payments, etc. It shall be ready for distribution not later than March 31, 1937.

h. We shall institute regular quarterly examinations of every Party member in each unit as to recruitment; and it shall be noted if a Party member has or has not recruited a new member during that quarter.

i. The principle of concentration shall be followed in Party recruiting as outlined in the the tasks for the building of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.

7. The purpose of this Conference is fully to face our organizational problems, and once and for all take measures to assure their solution. For this reason, the Conference decides that for the next period until the building of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and recruitment becomes a normal and regular Party task, the Central Committee decides to set up in all districts, city and county

organizations, a *special Party building committee*, to consist of the following comrades: *district, county or section organizer, membership director, Daily Worker manager.*

May Day

BY ORG.-EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

I.

MAY FIRST this year comes at a time when the working people in the U. S. are making big forward strides on the economic and political fields. The victories in marine, auto and steel reflect the determination of the masses to build their unions and improve their conditions. Everywhere strikes are sweeping the country as the workers, under the leadership of the C.I.O., move forward to organize the unorganized in the basic industries, and as Negro and white workers unite in common struggle. In the political arena the struggle of the forces of democracy against the forces of reaction is sharpening around the issue of the usurped powers of the Supreme Court, and the masses are mobilizing to defeat the reactionaries just as they defeated them last November. May Day, the international day of working class solidarity, this year comes at a time when the explosion of a second world war is imminent, when the forces of world fascism have raped Ethiopia and invaded Spain, and are making preparations for an attack against France, Czechoslovakia and the democratic countries throughout the world and especially the country of proletarian democracy, the Soviet Union.

II.

In such circumstances May Day this year must, above all, symbolize the character of the struggle being waged by the American masses to improve their conditions: organizing the unorganized, building great industrial

unions, winning higher wages, shorter hours, and real collective bargaining. It must reflect the struggle being waged by the democratic forces against the bulwark of reaction—the Supreme Court. It must demonstrate the international solidarity of the workers with the heroic people of Spain who are in the front-line trenches in the struggle against fascism. The May Day demonstration must therefore rally the masses around the following slogans:

1. Organize the unorganized! Every town a union town! For a powerful and united labor movement!

2. Abolish the usurped powers of the Supreme Court! Support every measure which curbs the autocratic rule of the judiciary! Preserve and extend democratic rights! Build the American People's Front against reaction, fascism and war! Build the Farmer-Labor Party, the party of the people against Wall Street!

3. Support the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist invasion of Hitler and Mussolini! End the embargo against the democratic and friendly government of Spain! Build a mighty peace movement of labor, farmers and all progressives! Defend the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace and democracy! Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world!

III.

Because of these broad issues May Day this year must have the widest possible character, so as to demonstrate to the bosses that the workers are on the march organizing the unorganized for better conditions and greater democratic rights. Our comrades should appeal to all organizations, trade unions, fraternal and cultural groups, which are working for the improvement of conditions, which are participating in the organizational drives, and which are fighting the forces of reaction in the political field, to come out on May Day and show Wall Street that the workers and their allies are marching for a better life.

Our comrades should appeal to trade unions and trade

unionists to sponsor such May Day demonstrations. Whenever the trade unions will call demonstrations under the auspices of trade union committees, our Party should give full support. We should show the workers that the Communists are in the front ranks of those who are demonstrating for industrial unionism and independent political action.

Our Party should strive for a united front agreement on May Day with the Socialists wherever possible. We must be on guard, however, about entering into united fronts with the Socialists in those places where the Trotskyites are in control. There can be no compromise on our part with counter-revolutionary Trotskyites who will try to use the May First demonstrations for their anti-working class and anti-Communist aims. We must clarify the workers on the counter-revolutionary and disruptive policies of the Trotskyites so that they will drive them out of the labor movement. The Illinois State Committee of the Party has already given us an example of how to use proposals for a united May Day as a means of showing to the honest elements in the Socialist Party the destructive role of the Trotskyites. We quote the proposal of the Illinois comrades as a model which should be followed in other states:

“We propose to the Socialist Party that there be selected a committee of genuine Socialists who will repudiate the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, and who will strive with us to build a powerful united movement for May Day. We call upon you to rid yourselves of the Trotskyists and rescue the Socialist Party from their influence, so that the Socialists and Communists can march together this May Day and in the future against the menace of fascism, reaction and war.”

IV.

Measures should be taken immediately to call conferences for May Day demonstrations along the lines sketched above. The entire Party must be mobilized and

swung into action in a campaign which will reach the widest masses. Our state organizations, sections, units, should immediately begin to issue their own leaflets and appeals. There should not be a trade union, a factory, a fraternal or cultural organization, a neighborhood center, a Negro organization, which is not reached by our leaflets and slogans. Now is the time to begin using our crayons and stencils, to dramatize our slogans and make them appealing and visible to everyone.

Every Party organization must build up groups of people to prepare banners, floats, placards, sketches, plays, etc. We already have plenty of experience; all of it must be used and improved upon. The units of the Party should begin to plan just how they will mobilize the masses and just how they will participate in the demonstration. In the larger cities, steps should be taken to select and train captains to drill Party members in marching, and to mobilize Party sympathizers in all unions where progressive forces are in the leadership. This year the demonstration should have the character of a marching, militant army of labor parading the main streets of America.

The demonstrations and the preparations for them must stress the American tradition of May Day, its origin in the struggle for the eight-hour day, and the need to raise this tradition of American working class struggles to higher levels to show the present march to industrial unionism and independent political action.

From the viewpoint of dramatization, we propose that the concentration be on banners and a few interesting floats which will project our main slogans, instead of having hundreds of small and confusing placards. Discipline in the ranks and a well-organized march, carried off with a martial swing, are essential. This demands the selection of experienced captains and some time spent in training and preparation for the march.

v.

The May Day campaign this year coincides with our campaign for the *Daily Worker* and Party building. They

should reinforce each other, and in our May Day agitation and propaganda we must stress the role of the *Daily Worker* as the champion of the working class and organ of the Communist Party, and we must convince the workers of the need for a mass Communist Party as the best guarantee for victory in the fight against reaction and fascism. It must be considered a breach of Party discipline, whenever a leaflet is issued or a meeting under Party auspices is held, to fail to sell the *Daily Worker*, to secure subscriptions, and to distribute application blanks and make appeals for Party membership.

The Party Building and Daily Worker Drives

BY F. BROWN

DURING the election campaign we were able to shake the prejudices of masses in regard to our Party. This was achieved because of our correct line and also because we were able to introduce new methods of agitation. For the first time we used the radio and were able to speak to millions. We issued millions of pamphlets, etc.

Today we are confronted with the problem of how to bring these masses a step nearer to us. It means that we must continue our mass agitation and propaganda; we must continue to use the radio. And more than that, we have to make up our minds that one of the best means of reaching the masses is to develop the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and increase the output of our literature. We need more mass meetings, more forums, more lectures, etc. In this regard, the suggestion for a Speakers Bureau is a very good one. But the Speakers Bureau cannot be limited merely to the Center. It is necessary that each state organization erect such an apparatus and develop

a whole group of speakers, in order to reach the small towns especially.

Furthermore, Comrade Weinstone was correct when he said that we must make more use of the theatre. Parenthetically speaking, the trouble is that, while a few years ago we made some headway in this direction and succeeded in developing a proletarian theatre, today many of these amateur actors, and many of the people who were involved in this movement, have become actors in the theatres of the W.P.A. and are doing some good work. This means that we are confronted with the problem of building up a proletarian theatre.

These are some of the many ways through which we can reach and influence the masses and bring them closer to us. But it is not sufficient to channelize this growing Left-wing mass movement towards our Party. Mass agitation must be followed up with concrete deeds. It means that we must mobilize the masses around specific issues, and in this regard the problem of a more independent role of the Party in respect to the mass struggles and drives conducted by the trade unions is of the utmost importance.

This is one way to make the masses realize the role of the Party, to make the masses appreciate the Party, not just the individual Communists who are active in the particular phases of work and struggles. It is not sufficient to bring large masses closer to the Party. We must recruit masses of workers into our ranks. We know that most of the recruiting is the result of the work of the lower organizations. More than that, it is the result of the activities of individual Party members. The conclusion must be that to achieve mass recruiting, mass agitation must be followed up by mass activities of the lower organizations around specific issues. If we want to make the lower organizations more active in this direction, we must improve, first of all, the education in our Party, improve our organizational activities. This is the key to the problem that we have discussed so many times.

We see that we are still confronted with a gap in our

Party. We are still operating with a stratum of the most active comrades. This was evident in the election campaign, at the beginning of the steel drive and other drives. It means that the lower organizations are not yet active, are not participating actively in the struggles, are not developing their own initiative, and in some cases are stagnating. The units will develop initiative only to the extent that we raise their consciousness to their role, to their problems. Here we see that the central problem before us is to treat our Party as an organization in itself, as an organization that needs constant guidance, systematic education, assistance, help.

The way we are handling the *Daily Worker* is the best example which proves the lack of system in our work, which proves that we do not properly handle the Party as an institution, an organization for itself. In the last two or three years, the *Daily Worker* built up its own distributing apparatus, and we were satisfied. We thought that the problem was solved. The line was to simplify the work in the units and rid them of some of the many burdens they had. And what happened? Today we have reached a point where we have the apparatus of the *Daily Worker* working independent of the Party organization. In a very few instances and with some exceptions in regard to the *Sunday Worker*, the lower organizations of the Party are not distributing agents of the *Daily Worker*. The figures prove this clearly. The conclusion is that exactly at the moment when we are moving forward, when the influence of the Party is growing in the trade unions, we are confronted with a stagnant circulation.

To reach a goal of 50,000 circulation, it is necessary, in my opinion, first of all at once to develop a real ideological campaign in our Party, for the purpose of making every Party member *Daily Worker* conscious, to make every Party member understand what the *Daily Worker* means—that the *Daily Worker* is the most powerful educator of our Party, which is not just published to guide the activities of the most active revolutionists in this country,

but to guide *every* Party member. Second, that the *Daily Worker* is one of the major instruments at our disposal for reaching masses, for bringing masses into our movement; the best instrument to make masses acquainted with the line of the Party on all the vital issues of the toiling people.

Concretely, how can we go about solving this problem? First of all, it will be necessary to improve the distribution apparatus of the *Daily Worker*. This means that in every district one of the most capable comrades, politically and organizationally, will be put in charge of the distributing apparatus. More than that, we have to take immediate measures for the training of a special corps of *Daily Worker* agents, just as we have training schools for the development of leading comrades on the function of section organizers, etc. We need a number of short courses for *Daily Worker* agents, in which we can discuss the building of a distributing apparatus and all methods of reaching the masses.

Take Pittsburgh, for example. It is not an easy thing to build a district apparatus there. A comrade with organization ability is needed there, a very capable comrade who will work out the plans of how to reach the various towns in this large area, a comrade with initiative, with experience. Do we have many of these experienced people? No, we don't. We have to make them. But this is only part of the operation. The *Daily Worker* apparatus is not sufficient. It will be necessary for the next period to make of the Party a real distributing apparatus of the *Daily Worker*.

In this respect, I think that if we will be able, through our educational campaign, to make every Party member conscious of building the *Daily Worker* circulation, there will be no problem in the units on the question of house-to-house distribution of the *Daily Worker*. We did this before when the Party was much smaller, and with success. Why can't we try it again? The most important of all measures to raise the circulation is *that every Party*

member become a subscriber to the *Daily Worker*. This will solve many problems. First of all, it will mean raising the educational level of the Party members, and, secondly, they will become *Daily Worker* conscious and understand the importance of getting new readers for the *Daily Worker*, which means new subscribers.

In regard to recruiting. Recruiting will increase to the degree that we build up the *Daily Worker*, that we increase our agitation. But more than that, to the degree that we will be able to activize the lower organizations and develop their initiative, and to the extent that our Party will come forward with its independent role in the various campaigns. At this point I also want to emphasize—to the degree that our Party members in the trade unions will really start to recruit. Up until now, in my opinion, there were many reasons why mass recruiting was prevented to some extent in the trade unions. But today, these old reasons are merely excuses. One or two years ago, when we began to entrench ourselves in the A. F. of L. unions, our comrades had to work carefully. But today our comrades are known, their work is appreciated. The question now is to come out more boldly with the independent role of the Party, to make known to the masses what the Party is doing, what the Party role is. By properly mobilizing our forces inside the A. F. of L. unions we shall be able to strengthen our ranks by the thousands.

In the last year we've learned something very important—that the best forces we are getting into the Party are those who come from the trade unions, the most healthy elements, the most eager to learn. Here I want to raise a special problem, which will have to be solved. In the last two years many trade unionists were recruited, and sometimes high standing trade unionists. Now, what kind of Communist education do these trade unionists receive? Comrade Williamson, for example, is the personal teacher of three or four in Cleveland, the same is true of Pittsburgh, Chicago, etc. Do we think it is enough, however, just to train these leaders of masses? These comrades never

saw a unit of the Party, and have had no opportunity for theoretical training. They are very loyal comrades who follow the Party line with regard to trade union problems, but they have not had the opportunity to develop into full-fledged Communists, Party leaders. This is an important problem because there are a few of these comrades in key positions, in high leading positions among organized masses. We will have to find the ways and means of educating not only such comrades, but also all trade unionists if we want to get real results in recruiting, and also get better results in the trade unions so as to entrench ourselves solidly, to come forward boldly with the independent role of the Party.

Do we know all these things? Did we discuss many of these problems before? Surely we did. There is nothing really new before us. Then what is to be done? In my opinion, at the present time there is one thing that has to be done, and if we do it this will bring real results. We have to create the guarantees for the fulfillment of just two main tasks: one, to develop the circulation campaign for the *Daily Worker*, get every Party member to become a subscriber; and, two, to develop recruiting as a daily task.

Such guarantees can be created by establishing the proper apparatus, the proper personal responsibility. In one of our resolutions there is a point where, in speaking about recruiting at mass meetings, it says to "make neglect of appealing for members a breach of discipline". I would say that it should by all means be considered a breach of discipline if *from now on* the district bureaus, section, and unit bureaus of the Party will not have on their agenda every week, or every second week, a review and control of the activities in *Daily Worker* circulation and recruiting. Only in this way will we be able to check up on each other as to what has been done. If we will not adopt such a simple method, we will go along in the old way. The pressure of so many tasks will make us neglect these two questions, unless we give them systematic attention.

We should not lose any time in calling special membership meetings. We must concentrate on the two tasks put forward, even at the expense of other work. Yes, at the expense of many details in our work that can be handled by other comrades. It is only by concentrating exactly on these two simple tasks that we will take a step forward in stabilizing and improving the Party, which is the only guarantee for successful work among the masses.

Building the Party in California

BY CALIFORNIA STATE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

IN LINE with the decisions of the Ninth National Convention of the Party and with the California State Convention, regarding the building of the Party, our State Org. Commission laid plans for the carrying through of a recruiting drive. At the conclusion of our drive in February we had a total of 1,916 new recruits brought into our Party since September. Of these, 760 are members of the A. F. of L.; 407 are women; 206 are youth for the Y.C.L.; 93 are Negro workers; 100 are former Party members; 203 are Spanish and Mexican workers; 1,115 are native-born Americans. This is the most successful drive our district has ever conducted.

The drive was climaxed with a Congress of our best Party Builders held in San Francisco on February 6 and 7. To this Congress 70 delegates came from all over the state, who had recruited ten or more members since September. There were several who had more than 30 recruits to their credit. Their experiences, as related in the discussion, will be compiled into a special document to be used as a guide for future work.

The organization of the Congress was as follows: The evening of February 6 a special banquet was given in honor of these Party Builders. At this banquet, banners were presented to those sections which had done the best

work by the state secretary, Comrade William Schneiderman. The Bakersfield, Monterey, and San Francisco sections received these banners for their excellent work. The next day, an all-day session took place, at which Comrade Schneiderman gave the main report. The discussion by the Party Builders was excellent, and great enthusiasm was shown throughout the entire meeting. At the conclusion of the Congress, books were presented by Schneiderman to each Party Builder as a reward for good work. These books were personally signed by Comrade Anita Whitney, state chairman of the Party and Wm. Schneiderman, state secretary.

Some of our recruiting experiences will undoubtedly be of interest and aid to other districts as they revealed definite weaknesses which must be guarded against in the future, and also brought out positive useful points.

Two weeks prior to September 7, our State Organization Commission met and outlined a general plan of work for the recruiting drive committee, which was composed of four comrades. Here are the important points of our plan:

1. That this special state recruiting committee should be in constant touch with the state organization commission.

2. That every county and section committee hold a special discussion on recruiting and immediately establish a special recruiting apparatus, and set for itself temporary quotas.

3. That all units and branches hold similar discussions, and in turn select one comrade to be in charge of recruiting.

4. That special publicity be given to our recruiting drive, which should be called the Browder-Ford Membership Drive.

5. That the recruiting drive be closely linked with the election campaign.

6. That members of our state committee personally visit the sections and give them special assistance.

7. That we must take proper measures to give our new comrades political education, and conduct our recruiting campaign on the principle of personal responsibility.

The main task before us was to convince our leading comrades in the counties and sections of the importance of recruiting and, by the example of their leadership, set the entire membership into motion. We must admit that we overestimated the quickness with which our Party would respond to such a broad campaign as recruiting, and found that two weeks was not sufficient time for preparation.

As our first step, we communicated with every county and section and proposed the immediate establishment of recruiting committees, suggested that special discussions be held in units, branches, and fractions, on recruiting, on adoption of a plan of work, and a plan for retaining new members.

We also asked our comrades to notify us of their next county committee meetings with a view to sending comrades from the state recruiting committee to give them help and advice. During the first six weeks of the drive, we personally contacted fourteen out of twenty sections, and it is our opinion that these visits helped us to start the campaign on its way.

We found, however, that our earlier suggestions were not, in most instances, acted upon immediately, and were received with an attitude of "just another campaign". At the same time, we must state that there was a much healthier response to the drive from the lower Party functionaries. As an example we want to mention the reception that our San Francisco delegation received in Los Angeles when it came down to challenge Los Angeles to socialist competition in the drive. Not only were the San Francisco comrades received enthusiastically, but there was dissatisfaction with the fact that the local functionaries had not been properly mobilized for the occasion.

At the outset, it was fundamentally an organizational problem. It became clear that unless the leading bodies

set up recruiting committees, and then fired the units and branches with enthusiasm, our recruiting campaign would become a more difficult problem. In this, we achieved only a partial success. The majority of our sections became aware of the need to have a special recruiting drive apparatus only weeks later, as they found themselves lagging behind, and several sections failed to establish them at all. At the same time, we tried to reach our units and branches directly. This was done through an Open Letter, with a special appeal for individual pledges which were to be returned to the state committee. Also, a series of special letters were sent to sections, units, and branches, asking for their plan of work and a report on the progress already made.

The results of the meetings with Party functionaries in the three largest sections, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Alameda, were fairly good, and the constant reminders from the state recruiting committee brought our comrades into greater and greater activity. In addition, a constant stream of special attractive recruiting material was prepared and sent out systematically in thousands of copies. Under the titles of "Why You Should Join the Communist Party", "Let's Talk It Over", "Build the Communist Party", this material was printed and placed into the hands of every comrade for himself and his contacts. Also, the state recruiting committee issued a bi-monthly *Party Builders Bulletin* for the entire state, and several of our larger counties issued their own recruiting drive bulletins. The *Western Worker* carried articles and information on the drive in practically every issue.

Among the larger sections and counties, the outstanding results were achieved by San Francisco, where the leading committees gave constant guidance to recruiting, and where 616 new members were recruited by the original membership of about 500; 437 of these recruits are members of the A. F. of L. and 316 come from the various marine crafts, recruited during the strike. To a lesser degree, the same was accomplished by Los Angeles, which recruited

825 new members, 145 of whom are A. F. of L. members of whom 48 are from the marine industry. In both counties the main weakness was that there was not enough recruiting among longshoremen, but at the same time we can say that our maritime strike was used splendidly for recruiting by our seafaring comrades.

Several of our smaller sections did excellent work. Bakersfield with a membership of 12, recruited 25 members and Monterey with a membership of about 35, recruited 41.

To sum up, our general weakness was the lack of proper recruiting apparatus in units, branches, sections and counties; not enough contact with the lower bodies. These two things led to our inability to swing the entire membership into the recruiting drive. We estimate that only about 35 percent of the whole membership participated in the drive. Another serious shortcoming was our inability to establish new shop units during the drive.

On the positive side, we had constant guidance by the state organization commission; there was a great deal of enthusiasm of a large number of functionaries which had a stimulating effect on the membership and made them recruiting conscious. A great deal of credit is due to our special recruiting material, our bulletins, and publicity in the *Western Worker*. As in many other districts, the problem of recruiting is much less difficult than the task of educating and retaining our new members. At the outset of the drive we had 2,600 dues-paying members. From September 7 to January 1, approximately 1,400 new members joined the Party, giving us a total of 4,000 members. At the present time, our registration so far shows only 3,300 members, indicating that 700 members have lost contact with the Party, and we are doing everything possible to reach them. This is our most important immediate problem. We are trying to solve this by establishing special visiting committees in the units and branches to work with the membership committees. About 90 percent of the new comrades are assigned to one of the new

members units or classes, held two or three nights during the week. Separate classes are held for new waterfront and professional comrades.

Several technical safeguards have helped us a great deal: After the application card is filled out, a duplicate is retained by the county membership director, and the new member is told on what night his class will be held. A weekly meeting of section and branch membership directors is held, and should one of the new members fail to come to the class, the proper membership director is notified and he is responsible for contacting this comrade and making a report at the following meeting. New members remain for six weeks in such classes and do not have outside assignments, but are asked to concentrate on reading and studying. They pay dues in their classes, literature is sold, and they are notified of important events, and a general attempt is made to duplicate the life of a unit. The instructor must be chosen very carefully. The attendance at new members classes is close to 65 per cent. Wherever possible, we are trying to assign another older comrade to each new members class to help the instructor on attendance, checking on dues, and other details.

Greater difficulty exists in holding regular classes for our seafaring comrades. Since they stay in the port a comparatively short time, we find that it will be necessary to hold our classes twice a week, and conclude the course in three weeks instead of six.

Another problem arises when the comrade is finished with the class and is ready to be transferred to a regular unit or branch. The correct name and address of each comrade must be secured by the teacher, and we must also ascertain in what particular activity he or she is most interested. This information is then given to the county membership director who in turn assigns each new member to a particular section or branch membership director. A follow-up must be made, as there is a great danger of losing the comrade during this transfer.

Most of our comrades are beginning to realize the im-

importance of retaining as well as recruiting members. This was brought out clearly during the discussion at the Congress of our Best Party Builders, and the delegates pledged to go back to their sections and units and help solve this problem of fluctuation.

We are taking steps to see that our section and county conventions take up the following points on their agendas and we are instructing our state representatives to see that these points are not overlooked.

1. That every county accept a goal of dues-paying members by May 1.

2. That every county elect a membership director and see that membership directors are elected and given assistance in every unit, branch and section.

3. That every effort should be made to establish new and additional new members classes.

4. That our sections and counties concentrate on strengthening the existing shop units and form new ones wherever possible.

We are confident that the increasing understanding of the importance of recruiting among our leading Party members, the establishment of regular membership apparatus and our new members classes, will greatly reduce fluctuation in our district and keep up the enthusiasm of the whole Party to make recruiting the central task of the Party in every campaign. We hope to record 4,000 active dues-paying members in California by May 1, 1937.

Work in Rural South Jersey

BY ERIC LINDSTROM

THE difficulties that confronted our rural section were not unlike those in similar section. In the first place our district did not pay sufficient attention to our problems, did not check up on our activities.

For over a year no member of the district bureau met with the section leadership or membership. The district promised speakers and never sent them. The section membership began developing an anti-district philosophy that increased our difficulties—especially in the direction of sectarianism.

Another big difficulty was the low political level of our membership. Our Party members were scattered over the area, grouped in small units, with most of them too poor to attend section rallies. These members depended almost entirely on section initiative for local activity.

Our Party membership was composed largely of older men and women. In rural areas especially we found resistance to the recruiting of young people. Party members refused to bring in their adult sons and daughters. These older members lacked the initiative and drive that young forces give a section—they had difficulty in absorbing the new policies of the Party, they tended to do a great deal of discussing and restricting their activities to sectarian meetings, dances, affairs, etc., instead of the more important mass work in unions and farm organizations.

In examining the life of our units we discovered that two, which functioned only at intervals, tended to become fractions in mass organizations—one in the Agricultural Workers Union and the other in the Landisville Fruit Growers Association. This restricted Party life failed to develop good Communists of these members.

And, finally, we had no full time section organizer which we felt to be necessary.

To meet these difficulties it was decided to carry out the following:

1. Carry through a vigorous election campaign and fulfil our recruiting quota of 25 new members.
2. Send two of our new and young Party members to the district training school to provide new leadership.
3. To have a section organizer sent in from the district.
4. To establish a functioning section committee that

met frequently and represented all the units and mass work in the section.

A section organizer was sent in after some delay, who helped revive two Party units of three each which had become inactive.

It was discovered that section committee meetings (twelve comrades on the section committee) were failures. Members did not have the funds to come to a central meeting place and the section couldn't provide fares or gas and oil.

Therefore, we adopted a policy of bringing the section leadership to the units instead of having the unit send its section committee members to out-of-town meetings. A section bureau of five was elected—all of them under thirty and four of which had been in the Party less than a year; these comrades the most active in the section.

The section bureau is now the section leadership. It meets every week, takes up the problems of each area, makes assignments, and sends out copies of its minutes to all the units. It meets in different towns and invites the unit memberships to meet with it in each locality—thus bringing section problems to all the members.

Our work began to improve. The full financial quota for the election campaign was raised and the literature quota fulfilled. About fifteen new members out of a quota of 25 were recruited. There was more mass activity generated by the Party and meetings were better attended.

A base had been laid for future work that is already producing results. Since that time about ten more new members have been recruited. Four units function regularly, with two more in the process of organization.

One of our big problems is raising the political level of our members. Sending in the best people to district and national training schools, therefore, becomes a primary responsibility in any rural section. Pushing the sale of literature is even more important in rural areas than in cities, especially printed speeches of our Party leaders on current problems.

In reviewing our experiences in the past six months as a rural section, plus some knowledge of other rural sections, a few generalizations can be made.

1. The problems of rural sections cannot be solved in terms of city problems alone. The leadership of each district must first take the initiative in studying rural sections and units, in trying to understand their peculiar Party and mass problems, and then give advice accordingly. The fact that many of our rural sections are somewhat sectarian in their methods of work, do not carry out Party programs and campaigns as they should, is more a responsibility of the district than it is the rural comrades themselves.

2. Rural sections must overcome a tendency to make our Party a party only of older people. Recruiting young people, sending them to school, and putting them in the leadership of our rural sections will immediately bring improvements. In this connection the districts should assist in helping to raise money to send rural comrades to school.

3. Rural sections should not depend too much on the districts to send in Party organizers to solve their problems. It is far better to send one or two of the best comrades from rural sections to a district or national training school and make them section organizers than it is to rely on outside organizers from cities.

4. Section committees of ten or over were impractical as the week to week leadership of rural sections whose members are scattered over a wide territory. A small bureau of four or five members that meets weekly in various localities with the unit memberships will accomplish more results. It is as easy to get a section membership meeting as it is a section committee meeting in some rural sections.

5. The issuance of a mimeographed "town paper" is one of the best ways to bring the Party to rural people. Such a paper is edited every two or three weeks in Vine land, taking up local problems and events mainly, and the paper is meeting with a good response.

The Party in Small Towns

BY O. B. POWELL

OUR Section takes in all of one county and a small part of another, so we have a strip of country about 75 miles long and 50 miles wide. It is one of the largest war-producing districts in the country and the bosses brag that they are able to turn out war material within 24 hours. The chief industries are oil, steel and ship building, with a fair sized agricultural section.

Before the 1934 terror resulting from the great San Francisco General Strike, the Party was based only among the unemployed with an occasional trade union member. The Party was driven underground and having no trade union base was almost wiped out.

One year ago I was sent in as section organizer with the instructions to work among the trade unionists. This seemed like a hopeless task to most of the members as they claimed we had no contacts. At the first section committee meeting we decided to use the *Western Worker* as a means of contacting the trade union people. We then worked out a list of what we thought were progressives and mailed them a sub for three months. Next we decided to call on these people and ask them if they would like to attend a class in trade unionism. A number of them agreed, so the class was started. After it had been going a few weeks, we picked out the most developed of these people and asked them to join the Party. Four signed up and soon a unit was formed.

However, the main difficulty is that most of the members are on shift work, making it hard to have a full attendance. We are trying to work out a way of splitting the unit without weakening the work.

A class in political economy is being held which we feel will help further to develop new members; but we must give that up for a while and start forming a new members' class so that we can show the comrades how the Party functions. This is a very serious weakness that we

must immediately overcome if we expect to keep these members, as many of them do not understand the way a fraction must work and its relation to the unit.

A fair amount of literature is sold but not nearly enough for the size of the town and the number of contacts we have. We feel that the main trouble lies in the fear that has developed among some of the comrades regarding their being exposed in the places where they work. We say that we must protect our members in the unions from being exposed, but must not go so far into our holes that we will do nothing, and use the excuse that our comrades so often offer when they are checked up on for not carrying out assignments. This is, "Well, you don't want us to be exposed and lose our jobs, do you, for then we will be of no use to the Party." Of course we do not want anyone to lose his or her job, but we must also learn how to work under difficult conditions without exposing ourselves and still carry on a maximum of Bolshevik work.

Another example of work that we have done among the trade unionists is the building of a fairly large unit in a company-controlled sugar factory town. Up until a few weeks ago we had only three members and they had not met as a unit for months due to the excuse the comrades offered, saying that, "this is a hard town to work in due to the spy system, etc." We agreed with them that it would be no easy task to get new members here, but said that it could be done. The same procedure was taken here as in the town mentioned above. The *Western Worker* was sent to a number of contacts, and then these people were visited and asked to join the Party. Most of them were interested but were afraid of the discipline, etc. We then arranged an open unit meeting of the three older members and had these contacts sit in on the meeting. Instead of taking up business we had a lesson on the role of the Party. At the end of the meeting we asked every one to sign an application card, and the result was that four joined and we got the other two later on. Every one of them are trade union members. One has been in the Party

only a month and has been elected as a delegate to the Central Labor Council from his union. This comrade was contacted through the Browder broadcasts.

Next we will refer to a unit that was organized in the navy yard. One year ago, we had a very weak unit in this town. Now we feel safe in saying that it is one of the strongest in California, having tripled its membership in one year. and 60 per cent of the members belong to the A. F. of L. One highlight is the literature distribution—they are getting a bundle of *Wester Workers* regularly besides numerous other pamphlets. When the special issue of *Soviet Russia Today* came out, the comrades immediately went to work collecting 15 cents from contacts and ordered the magazine. When the issue came out they had collected 100 names with the money for the edition and delivered it to them in the navy yard.

The last unit that I will mention is the one which we just formed in a steel mill town. As before, we had two comrades here for a long time but they did not seem able to recruit and in fact had never had a unit meeting. Since the C. I. O. drive has taken place we are concentrating on this town, as it is most important that we have a strong Party if we are to succeed in the steel drive. We have recruited two new members here and have held our first unit meeting. The points on the agenda were, mainly, the *Western Worker*, recruiting and building the steel union. At this meeting we also selected a list of contacts for the *Western Worker* and started a class in trade unionism. From this class we expect to recruit ten members by April 1 from the steel mill, rubber factory and the fish cannery.

Now one word on our work in the Central Labor bodies. In one of our Central Labor Councils we can say that we have made great headway, in view of the fact that this was a very reactionary council a year ago. Now we have a strong enough fraction and we are able to put over any progressive measures. We have built around this group a large number of sympathizers who will work with

us but are not ready to join the Party.

A highlight in our work here was the ousting by a vote of two to one of the reactionary president. The Council has endorsed the American League Against War and Fascism, the Progressive Legislative Conference that was held at the state capital, besides numerous other progressive resolutions and bills. Now we have gotten the council to go on record endorsing and organizing a meeting for the Spanish Youth Delegation that is touring the country.

In order to coordinate our work in the unions we are organizing a trade union commission as follows: All Party members who are delegates to the Central Labor Council, and one member from each union that is not represented on the council, to meet every two weeks as a body to take up the problems in the Central Labor Council and the unions at the same time. From this body we will elect a bureau of three to function between meetings. In this way we will be able to eliminate unnecessary meetings and take up all the problems in the Central Labor Council and carry them back to the unions with much less difficulty.

Now I want to refer to the work of the Central Labor Council in the navy yard territory. We have a large fraction there, but the comrades have developed a fear of the reactionaries, and so when one comrade takes the floor and is opposed by the reactionaries, the rest do not come to his rescue. We must overcome this as we have enough members and sympathizers to outvote the fakers.

We have lost very few members during the past year and the reason for this is the constant check-up that is conducted in regards to dues and unit attendance. We were the first section to complete our 1937 registration although we are faced with a situation where each unit is in a town ten to twenty miles apart, which means that a representative from the section must attend all meetings until the members are able to stand on their own.

We still have many shortcomings to overcome: to develop new leading forces who will be able to handle unit meetings, etc., and to see that the assignments are carried out

New York State Section

ISSUED BY NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

From Secret to Open Work

BY VERA SAUNDERS

IN THE early part of June, 1936, our unit was formed as a result of concentration work of a street unit. Our plant had been a point of concentration for a period of two years. Issues of the *Daily Worker* had been sold at the plant, and other Party material issued. One comrade was in the shop, and two were recruited as a result of the concentration work.

The unit started functioning with a membership of three comrades and an additional two sympathizers who attended the meetings. The unit meetings were held regularly each week and were attended by all five people as well as the section organizer and the union organizer.

After five weeks of discussion on the principles, tactics and strategy of the Communist Party the two sympathizers joined the Party. It was agreed that the most important points to be considered by our unit were: the building of the union, education of the unit comrades, and the building of the Party. It was agreed that on building the union, the utmost caution would have to prevail due to the notorious anti-labor policies of the company with which we were dealing. We went about it in the following manner:

We decided to build up secret union groups of the workers, functioning independently of one another, and, of course, without the knowledge of the company. We selected a number of workers as initial contacts. The basis for this selection was their strategic position in the plant, their personal qualifications for leadership, and their

influence with the men. Three such men were picked in the beginning, the comrades in the unit discussed the matter of union organization with these men, and arranged for the union organizer to visit them.

These men, together with the Party comrades in the shop, set to work lining up for the union picked individuals. Meetings of the union groups were held in private homes of the workers once a week where needed, and once every two weeks when found more desirable. The comrades in the unit attended the various group meetings to assure the leadership of the Party.

At the *union* group meetings which resulted, the comrades took leadership in discussing the necessity of building the union, and after the union organizer had given his report, the comrades would go into the details of whom to recruit to the union groups and how to recruit them. General discussion was also initiated by the comrades on the labor movement as a whole, and we began to have regular discussion periods at each of the union group meetings, actively involving the workers in such questions as the C. I. O., the American Labor Party, industrial unionism, etc. It was constantly pointed out that ours was an industrial type of union. We had to overcome the results of an A. F. of L. sell-out some years ago, and point out that *we* believed and practised trade union democracy.

A list was drawn up of all the workers in the place, and was gone over systematically at each of the group meetings for additional recruiting for the union. We placed the utmost emphasis on the type of workers we desired, especially at the beginning of the work. In this way we built up a strong leadership among the workers from the very start.

The method of recruiting into the Party was also thoroughly analyzed. Here, too, the unit endeavored to recruit men capable of leadership, and today a unit of eight has been built up, consisting of men not only capable of leadership, but actually exercising tremendous influence in the shop, men who are popular with the workers.

One of the effective measures of securing Party recruits was the arranging of smokers (parties), where friendships were strengthened, and by thus negating many emotional resistances to Communist ideology, making it possible to reach the proposed comrades' minds in an adequate way.

In this regard it was believed that a knowledge of the opposite point of view was almost as essential as a clear knowledge of the ideology we wished to offer. Thus Democratic and Republican platforms were studied and compared with the Communist platform. The comrades visited the houses of their contacts, and through forming firm friendship facilitated their work.

From the first, the unit agenda invariably included a discussion on such problems as the Spanish situation, Zionism, the class struggle, election campaign, Trotskyism, etc. As our unit grew, we began sending the comrades to school to study the principles of communism, and political economy.

At the next meeting of our unit, we expect three workers to join the Party. This will give us a unit of eleven in a period of eight months. We also expect a number of other workers to be recruited within a short period.

On the basis of the methods here described, and because we were able to keep our organizational work for the union a secret from the company, until 50 per cent of the workers had been organized, an action was carried out which swiftly moved to a successful conclusion. As a result, the union was recognized in the shop, and the workers are openly wearing their union buttons, insisting, by the way, on wearing them on the left side.

A New Neighborhood Institution

BY SAM ROBERTS

WALKING east on 29th Street between Lexington and 3rd Avenues you pass first the Andreath Talmud Torah, a Jewish religious institution. A little further

down is a dark, subdued, solemn looking church. Customary institutions of a neighborhood in the mixed East Side. Across from the church in bright contrast is a building ablaze with lights. It might be a private evening school, or the offices of a nice neighborhood club. It is a respectable, modest four-story building of quiet fire-brick with long dignified French type windows. It is the new headquarters of Section 24 of the Communist Party, undoubtedly the most presentable, and impressive section headquarters in the country.

As you enter the large, clean lobby you are immediately aware of a busy, smooth-running institution. There is a directory on the wall to guide you to the different departments: Room 1—Trade Union; Room 2—Education and Shop Paper; Room 3—Information; Room 4—Membership and Personnel, and so on.

Bonnie Clark, a pretty, smiling girl in Room 4—information—asks cheerily: "Yes, Comrade?"

"I have an appointment with Comrade Brown."

"Just a moment, please."

While I wait I sit on a chair in the reception room. (Yes, you heard me—a reception room and with chairs!) I think what a wonderful impression this would make on a newcomer in the Party or on a stranger. How utterly different from the frantic, haphazard, disordered and hysterical Party sections I have been in.

Comrade Brown, section organizer, the oldest organizer in New York, in terms of service, greeted me from behind his large, orderly desk. Hanging on the wall beside him is the large *Sunday Worker* map of Spain, testimony that the work for Spain is constantly before Section 24. Close to the map is a large portrait of Lenin.

Brown speaks quietly, patiently. He is unassuming. He speaks without flourishes and directly to the point. One begins to realize why his section is one of the most outstanding in the country.

For some time the Section Committee has been looking for a place that could be both executive offices for the

Party and a people's center for the neighborhood, said Brown.

"We wanted a place that would establish the Party as an acceptable, normal organization of the neighborhood. Too often people in the neighborhood have been justified, because of the appearance of our Party headquarters, in what they think of the Party.

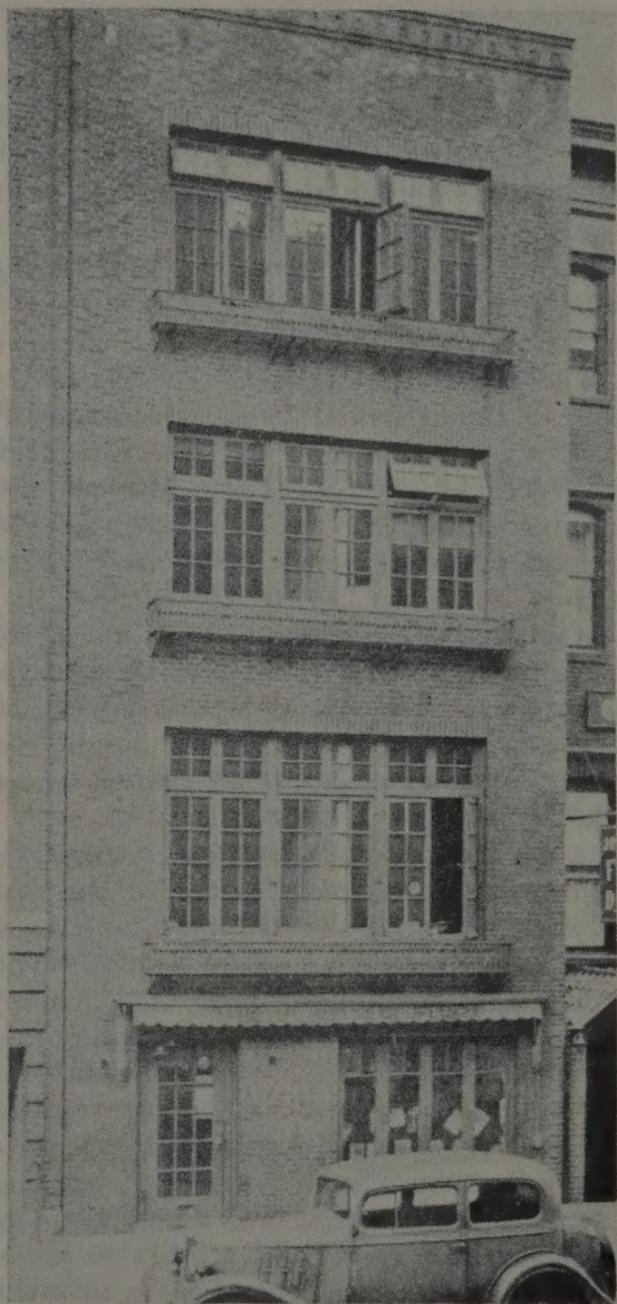
"We wanted a place to which we can proudly bring people outside the Party."

Section 24 can certainly do that now. Brown cited an instance. There is an East Side Tenant's Association in the section territory, a broad united front association. A woman, a member of the Democratic Party who is a member of the association, came up to the Party headquarters one day for a conference. She was greatly impressed and said so. This helped establish better relations between her and the Party.

In addition to raising the prestige of the Party the headquarters has increased the efficiency of the section apparatus and inspired the Party members. No sitting on top of one another; no shouting in order to be heard; less frayed nerves. Every department has a large room where it meets and works.

As to inspiring the membership: Every Party member in Section 24 I have met is glowing with pride for the new "section". I can just imagine a comrade speaking to a neighbor while canvassing, and saying, "Why don't you come around to our center some night" and then proudly receiving him at the center. The new center raises morale and increases the desire to work in the neighborhood.

On the ground floor is a large, neat bookstore with row on row of books. Not only do the units get their literature in the bookshop but there is also a circulating library for the neighborhood with books ranging from *Love is Free* by Edworth to *Capital* by Karl Marx. Comrade Shichter in charge of the store told of plans to make the store popular throughout the entire neighborhood as a People's Book Store.



FOUR-STORY HEADQUARTERS OF SECTION
24, NEW YORK

A further step in utilizing the center for educational work is through weekly forums. The week I was there the topic was on "Lincoln".

"How about finances?" I asked Brown. "Many sections say they can't have a better place because of lack of funds."

"We pay \$100 a month rent and about \$90 upkeep including phone and lights. But because the building is so presentable and roomy we are able to rent rooms for meetings. Not only do units and branches meet here and pay rental but we also have a non-Party Armenian school and two non-Party Armenian organizations renting rooms during the week. In the six weeks since we have been here we have collected \$70 in rents. Not only do we expect to cover our costs in this way but even have a little left over."

The building is run by an administration committee and a full-time manager. A superintendent from the neighborhood takes care of heating and cleaning.

A telephone rang with a call from a room connected by "inter-communication" telephones and Brown had to leave.

His parting words were: "All sections should try to establish themselves in the neighborhood as an acceptable, normal neighborhood organization. Appearances have a great deal to do with this. This will help root us in the neighborhood, stimulate our work, and increase our recruiting."

Recruiting on the Brooklyn Waterfront

BY ED PHILLIPS

BY UTILIZING various methods, Section 26 has recruited fifty members during the recent general marine strike. This was mainly made possible by making every

effort to fill the day-to-day needs of the striking seamen. Upon seeing our Party in the forefront of their struggle, the seamen accepted our help and guidance.

From practically the beginning of the strike several comrades consistently maintained a coffee route for the 300 seamen stationed in Brooklyn. At every dock along the eight miles of the Brooklyn waterfront, in the wee hours of the early morning the pickets would give welcome to our comrades who passed out hot coffee. While waiting for them to finish their drinks, our comrades would discuss various issues, bringing out the role of the Communists and the Communist Party in the strike, the Spanish question, the auto strike, etc. The *Daily Worker* was then given to the strikers as our comrades passed on to the next picket line. In this way, we were able to win the confidence of many of the non-Party seamen, and as a result, succeeded in bringing 50 of them into our Party.

I want to bring out especially the role that the *Daily Worker* played and how it was correctly used by our comrades. As was pointed out before, a *Daily Worker* was left every day with the pickets when the coffee was handed out. Another means of putting the paper in the hands of the strikers was by leaving a bundle in the strike hall every day. As a result of this our Party's position and other real news of the strike in the various sections of the country was awaited anxiously by the strikers.

We then found it necessary to take steps to consolidate the Party organization on the Brooklyn waterfront. In line with this necessity a seamen's unit was formed. This proved of tremendous importance and practical help in recruiting, and in solving the day-to-day problems.

Although the unit is by no means functioning in the best way as yet, nevertheless it gives the promise of becoming a real driving force in solving the future problems on the Brooklyn waterfront.