

PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

. JUNE . 1937 .

**Twenty Thousand New Members
by October 1**

Building Our Circulation —Leeds

Party Building in Auto —Allen

**A General Motors Shop Branch
—Williamson**

One Hundred Per Cent Control in June

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CONTENTS

Twenty Thousand New Members by October 1

Building our "Daily Worker" Circulation
By David Leeds

Party Building in Auto
By A. Allen

A General Motors Shop Branch: Before and After the Strike
By John Williamson

One Hundred Per Cent Control in June
By Org.-Educational Commission of the Central Committee

Party Building Among Women
By Margaret Cowl

Literature on Wheels!
By Joe Fields

Don't Stifle Initiative!
By I. Kastrow

NEW YORK STATE SECTION

Your "Sunday Worker" Man
By Robert Borden

Some Shop Work Problems
By District Shop Work Commission

PARTY ORGANIZER

ISSUED BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

Vol. X

JUNE, 1937

No. 6

Twenty Thousand New Members By October 1

THE last few issues of the *Party Organizer* have carried articles discussing the decisions of the special conference of district organizers held on February 22, which projected two fundamental organizational tasks: *the circulation drive of the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker and the building of the Party through intensive recruiting.*

These tasks cannot be looked upon solely from an organizational point of view, nor can they be solved entirely through organizational methods. They are fundamental political tasks which arise out of the entire situation that exists in the country today, out of conditions created to a large extent by the Party's work in the trade unions, in the last election campaign, the struggle against war and fascism and the defense of Spanish democracy, etc.

Because of the good work of our Party we have intrenched ourselves deeper among the masses. This is proven by our increasing influence, by our work in the organizing drives, and so on. This means that the Party is in an advantageous position to give leadership to the masses, to become a stronger driving force in leading daily struggles.

And precisely because of the positions that we have won, the Party can strengthen itself enormously as an organization, if we take advantage of the favorable opportunities confronting us. Furthermore, the Party must take full

advantage of the present situation if it is to play the important role which the present situation dictates.

Why is it that we have not taken full advantage of the situation? Is it due to lack of organizational measures, or is there a deeper reason? We know, for example, that the lower organizations of the Party have as yet not fully used their initiative in carrying out the main political campaigns of the Party: the campaign around the legislative program, the Supreme Court issue, etc. Correspondingly they have developed little initiative even in regard to local problems.

Thus in some places there has been a falling off in the number of shop papers, neighborhood papers, leaflets, and educational material, street corner meetings in the neighborhoods, and general local activity. Our comrades have not sufficiently brought forward the role of the Party to the masses in the trade unions and other mass organization. They have not sufficiently discussed among themselves in their branches and units, the position of the Party on political problems of local, national and international significance.

More than that, there has been little initiative to take the lead in local struggles and to differentiate before the masses our position as compared with the position of the bourgeois parties on various political problems. There is not sufficient effort yet to reach the honest rank and file of the Socialist Party, to expose the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites as enemies of the labor movement, to build united front movements of all kinds on local issues, to popularize further the necessity of the People's Front and become the driving force in all these movements which will not only lead to strengthening the forces of the People's Front, but at the same time strengthen the Party ranks.

One of the main tasks before us therefore is to raise the political understanding of the Party on national and international political problems. Every Party member must understand that in all united front activities the Party must come forward; it cannot be permitted that our united

front activities cover up the independent role of the Party. The best way to build the united front is by bringing to the masses the fact that we Communists are the best fighters for the united front; we are the clearest on the aims of the united front; we are the most loyal, in spite of the fact that we differentiate ourselves from the other currents in the united front through our ultimate aim—the building of socialism.

This proves that the Party must show its face, must be the initiator of all united front actions, by demonstrating to the widest masses that we are the best, the most sincere force, the driving power, of the broad movements in the struggle for industrial unionism, for the preservation and extension of democracy, in the struggle against fascism and war. And through this, we will also show the masses by our own activity that the ultimate solution for the curse of capitalism is our solution—socialism.

There is no reason today why the Party should not be able to bring new tens of thousands of the best militant workers now participating in the organizing drives into the ranks of the Party. There is no reason why we cannot increase the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* according to the goal set by the February Conference. We can accomplish these tasks if the Party understands these problems politically. This means that we must have continuous discussion and activity which will make every Party member conscious of the necessity of building the Party, conscious of the role of the *Daily Worker* as a mass educator and organizer. Recruiting and building the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* must be in the center of every mass campaign. They are tasks that are central to the further development of the Party. From individual Party members to leading committees of the Party, every task must be correlated to the fundamental problems of building the Party and of raising the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.

The Central Committee has launched a recruiting drive for twenty thousand new members during the period of May to October 1. That it is possible for us to accomplish

this task is shown by the experience in California which has set an example to the entire Party in the matter of recruiting. It is necessary for the entire Party membership to think of this as the prime political task of the immediate period, and set out to achieve the Central Committee's quota. We must:

1. Put the whole Party on the job of recruiting; raise its consciousness to the necessity of building the Party, of bringing every Party member into activity. *This requires intensive discussion, education, continuous guidance and help to the forces below.*

2. Strengthen our agitation, bringing our position on the various problems confronting the masses to the workers in the factories, the farmers, the petty-bourgeois masses in the cities. In short we must fulfil our tasks—the tasks set by the Special Conference, of building the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, and at the same time take steps to *increase the number of shop papers, neighborhood papers, to issue special material in the form of leaflets on a district, section and unit scale.*

3. Assign forces to the weaker organizations for the purpose of improving the activities of the unit bureaus, thus improving the life and activities of the lower organizations.

4. Strengthen the Party apparatus and *build recruiting drive committees which will guide the activities of the Party in the recruiting drive day by day.*

5. Call mass meetings by the Party on various issues; central mass meetings; mass meetings called by units; meetings in small towns to lay the basis for building the Party.

6. Make the state and section committees and the unit bureaus responsible for carrying out this fundamental political task—the building of the Party.

7. Realize that the recruiting drive, that all the political activities before the Party, will be carried out *to the extent that the leading committees will not only guide and check on the activities of the lower organizations, but will exercise continuous control upon themselves.* The leading

committees of our Party are mature enough to understand fully the significance of the tasks assigned by Comrade Stalin to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, many of which apply one hundred per cent to our Party as well, especially the following:

1. The raising of our political understanding of both international and national problems;

2. Intensified education of the Party personnel, development of new personnel;

3. Greater regard for the democratic forms of our Party.

The building of the Party, the raising of its political level, must become the center around which all other activities must be coordinated. Otherwise we will not be able to fulfil the pressing tasks which the present situation places before the Party. California has shown the way. The rest of the Party must follow its example by successfully carrying through this drive. The measure of our political successes in the immediate future will be largely determined by the success of the recruiting drive.

Twenty thousand new members by October 1!

Forward to a mass Bolshevik Party!

Building Our "Daily Worker" Circulation

By DAVID LEEDS

THE special conference of district organizers in February decided that a national circulation drive for the *Daily Worker* and the *Sunday Worker* begin on March 18 and continue until July 4. The specific objectives of the drive were to be:

- a. Complete check-up on the *Daily Worker* apparatus in each part of the country to be certain that competent comrades were in charge.

b. Every Party member to become a regular daily reader of the *Daily Worker* and, where subscriptions could be placed, the Central Committee to make it possible for Party comrades to subscribe at reduced prices.

c. Throughout the drive the principle of concentration was to be followed, *i.e.* in those areas where the major and basic industries are located the drive to receive special attention.

d. Our goal to increase by 25,000 the number of readers of the *Daily Worker* and by 100,000 the readers of the *Sunday Worker* by July 4.

In preparation for this drive, special detailed plans were worked out and sent to every district and section in the country as well as printed in the *Daily Worker*. The national quotas were divided up so that each district could know what its share of the increase would be. In turn these quotas were broken down for the sections and units.

So as to aid in getting the drive under way, various comrades from the center visited the concentration districts and participated in the special conferences held in each district following upon the National Organizers Conference held in New York.

Now what have been the results?

We know that the district leadership placed competent comrades in charge of the press on a state scale. For example, we know that in such districts as Boston and Pittsburgh, the district bureau of the Party searched through all of its personnel to locate a competent comrade who could do the important job of managing the press competently.

But on a section scale and then down to the branches and units, insufficient check-up has been made by the district offices as to the quality and competence of the *Daily Worker* managers in the lower organizations. Unless steps are taken to make certain that each unit, shop or street, has its press manager, our decisions of February 22 will remain empty phrases. But merely having a press manager is not sufficient. We must be certain that he has a full understanding of the problems of building the press

in his territory and that he is capable of fulfilling the important task assigned to him. Unless a complete check-up is made on the press apparatus the success of the drive is more than seriously endangered.

Every Party Member a Reader of the Daily Worker

In regard to the second decision of the conference—on the question of making every Party member a regular reader of the *Daily Worker*—we can say that the results have been very spotty. In Wisconsin, where the drive in this direction was started earlier than in the rest of the country, by far the best results have been secured. Almost all the Party members there are now yearly subscribers to the *Daily Worker*. The Chicago district, one of the largest in our Party, started off with a bang on March 18 and sent in a substantial number of Party subs but then there was a serious lag until just recently when again they have obtained good results in securing Party subs in accordance with the conference decision. Chicago has shown that real results are obtainable in the matter of getting the Party members to subscribe to the *Daily Worker*, but only when adequate concentration is given to the matter.

On the other hand, the Detroit district of the Party, which participated in some of the most historic labor struggles this country has seen for a long time, has done virtually nothing in the matter of securing subs from Party members. To date we can say that only about one per cent of the Party members have become paid mail subscribers since the drive opened on March 18; and since the special rate for Party members, made possible by the Central Committee of our Party, is good only until May 18, this question, unless it receives the fullest consideration of the Detroit district bureau, will leave Detroit far behind other concentration districts.

In concluding on this point we should say that the special subscriber's stamps prepared by the center should be used immediately in an effort to check up on the Party membership as to whether or not they are subscribers to the *Daily Worker*. We feel certain that if the question is

placed properly before the comrades of the Party they will definitely want to avail themselves of the opportunity of subscribing to the *Daily Worker* at the rate the Central Committee has made possible.

Concentration in the Key Centers

In the matter of concentrating in the key centers during the drive, the following can be said: In most cases the comrades have not adequately understood that concentration does not mean just concentrating in a key district, but in turn each of the sections must concentrate in its concentration points at the same time. This means that particular concentration shops must receive the fullest cooperation and we must see to it that the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* become imbedded as the paper of the basic industrial workers. It also means that a street unit or branch must plan its *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* drive in the same direction that it plans its concentration tasks. Only in this way can we understand the full meaning of the decisions of the special organizers' conference. Without concentration the drive will not succeed.

The center in an effort to aid the concentration districts has sent to each of these territories a special subscription getter to set an example as to how subs can be secured for our press if proper attention is given to the problem. In this way we attempted to develop and duplicate in many districts the work that Whirlwind Larson has been carrying on in Illinois.

One Y.C.L.'er who was sent to the Michigan district secured 17 subs during the first week the comrade was there. This comrade writes the following:

"In working at the task of securing subs for the *Sunday Worker*, I find that non-Party workers in such a basic industry as auto really like the *Sunday Worker* and want it. The problem of getting them to read the paper is not one of convincing the workers that the *Sunday Worker* is a good paper, but rather it is a problem of the mechanical process of bringing

the paper to them or as in my case, of reaching them to secure the subscription."

Similar success has been secured in other districts. This proves to us that with the proper concentration on the problem of building the press, even an inexperienced sub-getter can secure masses of new readers for our papers. We can now say that where there is a Bolshevik will, a Bolshevik way can be found to increase our circulation.

To date our results show that the *Daily Worker* has not been used in any special way during this drive except in the rarest cases. The *Daily Worker* has not been used as the opening wedge for increasing the prestige and influence of the Party but rather has been brought in at the tail end of the work. If we understand the possibilities of using our *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* as an opening wedge for driving the Party forward we will then find it possible to make special plans during the drive to build both bundle orders and subs.

How far have we gone towards achieving the quotas set?

We must say that here again our results have not been uniform. As a result of New York district's special concentration on the *Daily Worker*, we find that circulation has gone up a number of thousands. We find upon checking up on the districts outside New York City that the *Sunday Worker* circulation has gone up a very slight extent in most cases. If we compare the increases achieved so far with the quotas set for each district and the general national quota set by the special organizers' conference on February 22 we can definitely state that only a beginning has been made.

The drive has still a good number of weeks to go and if an immediate check-up is made on each phase of the drive in every district, section, unit and branch and in turn on the work of each individual comrade, we will find that when July 4 comes around we will have had a good drive. We can see from the beginnings made in several of the districts, especially in some of the sections and units,

that the plans laid out are good, and the quotes set are by no means high. It now remains merely a question of the proper concentration of work and the complete understanding and use of the possibilities before us.

Full speed ahead! Let's be sure to go over the top by July 4.

Party Building in Auto

By A. ALLEN

THE Communist Party in Detroit has always stood for the establishment of such a fighting, industrial union as now represents the 200,000 organized auto workers, and during the whole organizational campaign preceding the strike all efforts of the Party were centered on helping the organization of the auto workers.

During the wave of strikes, with thousands of workers involved in the sit-downs in the plants and in street picketing the role of the Party was definitely to aid the union in the establishment of a well-organized strike machine and, at the same time, to build the Party.

Experiences of a Unit in General Motors

Let us take, for example, one of the units in General Motors. When the sit-down took place, the first task of the unit was to see that democratic elections were initiated to set up the strike machinery inside. In such a situation, this action cannot be delayed, as in the first few hours of the sit-down everything is in a turmoil and an organized group of ten people, working systematically, can quickly bring about order and discipline.

In this plant the unit was small, but it met every day, and in the course of the strike, it increased from five to fifteen members, six of whom were former Party members

who, as soon as they saw that Party members were active in the strike, stated they were former members and desired to work with the Party.

As a result, two nuclei were formed, because when fifteen people meet inside a factory the stool-pigeons use the occasion to say that cliques are forming. So the group was divided into two units and a steering committee was established which met with the Section Organizer every day to discuss matters of policy.

The units, meeting regularly, were able to accomplish political tasks besides engaging in the day-to-day activities; literature was brought in—all the C.I.O. pamphlets, pamphlets exposing Hearst and literature on Spain were eagerly read by the workers.

The *Daily Worker* was brought in on the second day of the strike. An anti-Party worker raised the issue in the strike committee that if the *Daily Worker* were brought into the plant the employers would say that the union was a Red union. The Party comrades answered by saying that the *Daily Worker* was the only paper that supported the strike, that it was a union paper. A debate was held in the strike committee meeting and the *Daily Worker* was accepted by a unanimous vote "as the best paper that comes into the plant." As a result, workers hearing of the discussion began to read our paper.

During the strike we recruited six new members. After the strike the unit seriously discussed recruiting and decided upon the following method. Every comrade had contacts but had no time to visit them. Because of the danger involved in calling open unit meetings, it was decided to assign a comrade as the Party builder to gather up all contacts, visit them, bring them literature, and eventually recruit them. In this way, 21 new members were brought into the Party.

In the Chrysler strike we had the following experience of a shop unit: We had eight members. Three days after the strike began, 11,000 workers were in the union. The Party unit was so overwhelmed with the multitude of tasks that they could not even find time to meet, with the result

that for seven days there was no strike committee; lots of Red-baiting; the *Daily Worker* agent was beaten up, and the *Daily Worker* was not allowed in the plant. Few contacts were made. Finally a unit meeting was held, proposals were made and carried through. First, an inside mass meeting was held and certain stool-pigeons, who had been moving about freely among the workers, were cleaned out. A company stooge who tried to organize a back-to-work movement was expelled from the union. Regular meetings of the shop-stewards were established. In other words, what should have been done seven days earlier was delayed simply because the Party unit did not meet.

However, we got to work. A Party builder was elected, and in the course of two weeks, we were successful in recruiting eight new members by the same method as was employed in the General Motors strike. Now we have a new, lively unit which has constituted itself a class for one hour of each of its meetings, and is rapidly becoming consolidated.

The Street Units and Their Part in the Sit-Downs

Some of the street units were active during the strikes and others were not. The tendency was to become active around the soup kitchens and the picket-lines and to forget completely the political role that the street units and section committees must play.

Some of the workers knew that these active people, who worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, were Communists, but the majority of the workers did not know us. This was obvious, as only in isolated instances was the independent role of the Party brought forward.

The *Daily Worker* was sold, not in all cases by the section, but by people hired or by a few comrades working for the district *Daily Worker* apparatus. As a result, definite assignments for political work—such as the selling of the *Daily Worker*, organizing mass meetings in support of the strike in the name of the Party, telegrams of greetings from the Party to the strikers—were not carried out in an organized manner. The Party appeared in spots but not

as a part of the struggle, did not reach all sections with its program and position on the strike.

Not until the district issued a citywide shop paper, *The Spotlight*, was the position of the Party brought to the workers. In many places our paper was well received.

The tendency that prevailed during the strike in the lower organizations of the Party was one which showed that individual comrades had become so immersed in the practical tasks of winning the strike that the political tasks of the Party were sorely neglected. Thousands of workers could have been reached with our literature, thus laying the basis for recruiting hundreds into the Party. The street units could have accomplished this task. They could have been of tremendous aid to the shop comrades who, in their own particular activities, suffered the same weakness of not issuing shop papers, which would have shown the workers that the Party is part and parcel of the whole strike movement.

In the light of all this, the organization apparatus of the district must take extraordinary steps and see clearly what must be done, because we will again be faced with such problems in the future.

Learning how to involve other people in work, putting the whole Party apparatus into motion, directing the energies of the leaders, not into individual tasks in the strike, but into the work of getting the whole Left-wing movement including mass organizations, into the strike—these are the tasks of the section leaders. If they do not accomplish these tasks they leave a whole apparatus stranded and the apparatus waits until orders come down from above before it moves.

Such a situation cannot continue—these “middle-men” in the apparatus must be removed, must be freed.

Organization Now Will Decide Everything

Now, with the gradual changes in the section committees, with the sending of the actives into the units, forming branches with capable leaders and attaching the former section organizers to the district, results are forthcoming.

With 200,000 workers in the union, fresh from the greatest struggles Detroit has ever seen, our tasks are just as great as they were during the strike.

With twenty-eight shop nuclei in Detroit, daily attention must be given them. All of the leading personnel must be members of the shop units and must aid in consolidating these new units organized during the strike. The mechanics of the union (shop stewards system, etc.) are now well under way. The tasks of the shop nuclei must now be the raising of political questions in the unions.

Independent political action, *i.e.*, for a Labor mayor, can obtain a great deal of support now. Furthermore, the masses of workers are deeply interested in Spain. If educational classes were organized, which the workers are desirous of having, all of these issues could be raised and clarified. But unless the shop nuclei have a program, meet regularly, and are given the benefit of the leading comrades' knowledge and experience, many of these things will not be accomplished. Only if the units function in an organized manner will these things be achieved.

Just as the sit-down shook the city of Detroit, so will the coming election campaign for city council. Every politician in town now seeks the support of labor. We must see to it that labor goes along the path of independent political action, with labor candidates, with union candidates.

Our shop papers can discuss problems in a way that the unions cannot. We can speak of what is happening all over the country in the field of independent political action. We can speak of Governor Murphy from an angle that the unions cannot. We can clearly expose the daily role of the stool-pigeon "Revolutionary" Workers League. We can bring forward to the workers the role and program of the Communist Party.

The reorganization is doing great things for our street units. It is politicalizing the members through the county committee meetings, through the sending of speakers to all street units. In the county committee meetings, street and shop units are brought together and work out their day-to-day problems jointly.

The tasks that face the Party in auto are such that many things are left undone because of lack of forces. But are there forces? Yes, hundreds of workers in the auto industry today are ready for the Party. The tons of propaganda we have been issuing during the past few years have not been in vain. Many times during the strikes, workers have said, "I know you. I saw you passing out leaflets or selling the *Daily Worker*."

The recruiting drive for 1,000 new members by July 3, which opened on May First, takes on additional significance because of the need to bring into the Party these hundreds of new members, to bring fresh enthusiasm, energy and vitality to the great task of establishing unity, peace and consolidation in the unions.

The building and strengthening of the Party are the best guarantee that those tens of thousands who are today union men will remain union men, will continue to follow the path of industrial unionism, will complete the job of making Detroit a 100 per cent union town.

A General Motors Shop Branch: Before and After the Strike

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

BEFORE the Fisher Body Cleveland strike, the Party shop branch numbered approximately 24, some of whom no longer worked in the plant. The branch did not have strong ties with the workers in the plant. While the great majority belonged to the local union, only a few were active. The others had little faith that the workers would move. The branch was not able to cement around itself decisive sections of the workers to help build the United Automobile Workers of America, work within the company union or develop any other mass movement in the interests

of the workers. Branch life itself was barren, with meetings sometimes held once a month and little educational work developed. The one positive feature of the branch activity was the more or less regular issuance of the Party shop paper *Spark Plug*.

What do we have after the strike? The shop branch has grown to nearly 50 members, all the new members young Americans who are active and able members of the local union. During the strike, the Party members joined hands with other active, progressive trade unionists and their joint work resulted in effective and democratic strike leadership, which brought victory. After the strike, local union elections were held. Here again, the Party members collaborated with the large group of progressives, and a leadership was elected which is definitely of a progressive complexion, including Communists. Today the branch meets regularly, has a well planned agenda, including political discussion at every meeting. The shop paper still comes out and is generally distributed at the local union meeting.

How did all this come about? What were some of the problems and difficulties?

Problems and Difficulties of Our Party

1. The Party came before the masses of the strikers and present-day union members as a force which together with them waged their strike struggle victoriously. It did not appear as an outside force but spoke as a part of the workers. While of necessity devoting most of its time to the daily strike problems, nevertheless, it raised sharply other political questions inside and outside the union such as support of all the common people through the organization of a People's Conference and subsequent mass meetings, unity of the Workers Alliance and the United Automobile Workers of America, development of support among the organized language groups of the city, etc. At all times, the Party shop paper and *Daily Worker* received systematic distribution. The main problem we had to overcome was the definite tendency on the part of the

Party members to become conceited, and therefore to think that they alone could "run the works." Here our comrades forgot the fact that we were only a handful and while the experience, knowledge and political understanding of our Party as an organization helped the Fisher Body shop branch to find the answer to the daily problems and to look ahead and plan things, nevertheless, we ourselves could not carry these out alone. Furthermore, some of our people forgot that we must also learn from the masses. At several moments in the strike, when the Communists forgot these decisive things, we faced danger, but by speedy correction, the battle was won, the Party prestige increased and some new members won for the Party.

2. In connection with the local union elections, it was necessary for the Fisher Body shop branch to learn another lesson, that is, that we Communists are not interested in "capturing" the union. We only have one interest—that the United Automobile Workers of America shall remain a fighting progressive union, consolidating its gains and remaining a firm adherent to the C.I.O. Towards this end, every Communist worked.

Keeping this in mind, the approach of the Party in the local union elections was not to put forth Communist candidates for all key offices. Understanding the need of the broadest unity of all active progressives in the local who stand for unity, consolidation, democracy and the C.I.O. as against a few office seekers, opportunists and Red-baiters—the Communists unhesitatingly supported for election a majority of non-Communists who, however, were good progressives.

The final results showed the correctness of this policy when a progressive leadership inclusive of Communists was elected by an overwhelming majority.

3. We must recognize frankly that the independent activity of the Party as an organization is still weak. This results many times even in misunderstandings, since the union membership and leadership do not see us at work as a political party, taking up the numerous issues of the Supreme Court fight, high cost of living, support for Span-

ish democracy, development of a broad People's Front movement in the elections including Labor's Non-Partisan League. When the Party fails to carry this out, we are too often viewed by the non-Party workers as mere schemers inside their union. While this is not true, we encourage such ideas by failing to conduct proper all around political activities.

Examples of this in the Fisher Body situation are seen in the failure of the Party branch to work in such a way as to activize the Fisher Body local in the May Day demonstration, which was built up around such issues as Fisher Body local workers are interested in. Furthermore, the Fisher Body local does not grasp its real power, with 7,000 members, inside the United Automobile Workers of America Auto Council, where it should give leadership, not only on "pure" trade union questions but on important political questions which the trade unions and workers are vitally interested in.

The Party shop branch still suffers from sectarianism insofar as it does not boldly bring these things to the masses, reflecting a certain lack of confidence in the workers.

Shortcomings in Our Party Shop Branch

Within the Party shop branch itself, we are confronted with a serious question—one which is understandable, but must be overcome. The new members have seen our Party as good strike advisers and generally good leaders in the limited field of union activities. But they have not yet themselves absorbed Communist understanding, so as to understand that while the Communists have no interests separate and apart from the auto workers and are good union builders and leaders, nevertheless being a Communist is still something more. This is not the fault of the new member. It is the duty of the Party to teach them. Therefore, the greatest attention must be given to (1) connecting up all political discussion with the auto workers' conditions and giving the union something to do; (2) developing a love and understanding for reading the *Daily Worker* each day; (3) systematic political training

of the most active Communists in the union and union leadership.

Side by side with this must go the open functioning of the Party. It is a scandal that the *Daily Worker* is not sold each day at the factory gate. Here it is, first, the question of Party consciousness by the leading Party comrades and, secondly, the question of apparatus. The shop paper should become a real political leader of the auto union members and not just a mere trade union paper. It is interesting that innumerable members say, "Why don't we change the heading *Spark Plug* to *Labor Digest* (local paper) and make it our union paper?" but when it came to the local union executive ordering the *Daily Worker* for its educational room there was a sharp difference, although it was eventually ordered.

It is necessary to combat the reactionary idea of "no politics in the union" which in reality means bringing in capitalist politics. Not every worker who raises this idea is a reactionary, but only through patient, systematic work is it possible to overcome this idea.

4. While the Fisher Body shop branch numbers nearly fifty today with all working in the plant, this is still unsatisfactory. Only a few have been recruiting. With every member recruiting, a shop branch of one hundred is possible in a short time. During the strike, workers who were considered good Party candidates were brought to the branch meetings and in this way were brought right into the Party. We never had the problem of making them see the Party as an organization insofar as the branch was concerned, because that is how they saw the Party at work from the very beginning.

It was really humorous, if not tragic, to see a few of the old sectarian language comrades view the new workers joining the Party. Some in fact stayed away from branch meetings till they made "sure" the newcomers were O.K.

With this start, there is every reason to believe that the Fisher Body local union can become a stronghold of everything progressive in the Cleveland trade union and progressive movement.

One Hundred Per Cent Control in June

By Org.-Educational Commission of the Central Committee

THE Ninth Convention of our Party decided to establish a regular control of the membership between registrations. It is well known to us that every registration and control of our membership shows a considerably higher number of members than was shown by the average dues payments previous to registration and control. For example, the June, 1936, control showed a membership 30 per cent to 35 per cent higher than the average dues payment. In the 1937 registration we had about 25 per cent more members registered than average dues payments. These facts prove that even with certain shortcomings in registering all members on record, we succeed in bringing back into our ranks thousands of members who, for one reason or another, fail to pay their dues regularly.

In spite of the fact that registration brings back a large number of workers who are on the verge of dropping out of the Party, there is quite a large number of members who are not reached by our units during the registration period. The problem of fluctuation is still with us. There are thousands of workers who pay their initiation fee, get a membership book, and after a certain period of time, drop out of the Party. The problem of fluctuation will be solved only if we succeed in improving the political education of the membership, if we further develop inner-Party democracy and, among many other things, strengthen and develop the leadership in the lower organizations.

Besides all these basic problems which have to be tackled seriously, there are certain administrative steps which will help us reduce the turnover in our Party. If we agree that registration brings back thousands of members into the Party and if we consider that this registration takes place only once a year, then we must come to the conclusion that between these yearly registrations, a system of control-

ling the membership will help us retain even more members.

The mid-year control should not be looked upon as a purely administrative procedure. There is no need to go into all the beneficial results of control. We know that our registration, besides bringing back members, helps us tighten our Party organization in the shops, in the various trade unions, helps us in activizing the members in the neighborhoods, etc.

This control will take place during the month of June. We must keep in mind that the control will lose all its effectiveness if it is dragged out. We must organize our apparatus in such a way that all members on record are reached by the units within a period of two or three weeks at the most. Everything necessary for the control is to be found in the membership book, on one card. There are a few questions, not so extensive as the registration blank, which have to be filled out by each member. As a member is controlled, a control stamp, provided by the Central Committee, should be put in his book in the space provided for it. The control card should be torn out of the book and sent to the section and from there to the district.

One of the main problems which has to be tackled is the question of dues payments. We are certain that those people in arrears are in the Party and will be reached through the control in June. All these arrears in dues must be wiped out during the period of control. The members should be made to pay up their back dues. Nobody should get a control stamp who has not paid his monthly dues, at least through the month of April and his international solidarity stamp. All efforts should be made to have every member up to date during the control, but those who are in arrears for only one month should be considered in good standing.

The districts and sections have three weeks in which to prepare the control. They must put the whole Party apparatus in motion. It would be advisable for the state, county, city, and section committees to help the units in this work. If the control cards are compared with the

registrations, the district and section committees and the units will be able to find out exactly who among these members must be gone after. This material will help the membership committees in their work.

The districts should send in the following report to the Central Committee not later than the first week of July:

1. The number of members controlled.
2. An analysis of those who were not controlled: (a) occupation; (b) length of time in the Party.
3. Plans, methods, etc., for reaching those who were not controlled.

Party Building Among Women

By MARGARET COWL

THE Party conference on women's work held in Detroit has helped me in my own work since my return. Women comrades to whom I reported said that now they really feel the Party is giving attention to their special problems and are enthusiastic."

This comes from a woman comrade doing leading work in a trade union of a large and important industry, and represents the enthusiastic response of the women comrades to the conference.

The outstanding feature of this conference which inspired many comrades to improve work among the masses of women was the appearance of new forces who in the discussion showed that they are in contact with masses of women, that they know the most immediate thoughts and needs of women. They are leaders in big struggles—the auto strikes, and the wave of smaller strikes in which many women took part, the trade union auxiliary movement, the fight against the high cost of living, etc.

In a simple, yet in a very political way, these women

comrades told how the latent abilities of women were awakened, how many of them became the spokesmen for thousands of women.

There was X who at first very energetically opposed a sit-down in her plant. Women should not strike she said. Because she was articulate, the workers elected her on their strike committee. There was not a single Party or Y.C.L. member among the 2,500 women in that strike. Nearly all the women were religious. They wanted to be organized into the C.I.O. They wanted someone to help them organize their committees. The union sent in an organizer who used bureaucratic methods, one who placed herself above these inexperienced women workers. The woman turned her out. Communist and Y.C.L. women went into the plant. They assisted X with her problems. They helped the shop chairlady in the largest plant in the strike to carry through her everyday responsibilities. They were in the plants every day to dispel the rumors and gossip spread among the women that threatened the unity of the strikers. They were there to encourage the most active women, who became discouraged because of these demoralizing rumors. They helped the shop committees with their educational and entertainment programs in the plants.

Problems of Women Sit-Down Strikers

Women sit-down strikers have many more family problems than men workers. Educational work, particularly among husbands, about the need for unity on the part of their wives with other strikers had to be carried on to help keep the women in the plants. Attempts by employers to break the strike by having active strikers arrested and their children taken away on the charge of being unfit mothers had to be fought in an organized way. The young unmarried women had their special problems. Many of them worry about unpaid rent and the holding of their clothes for same. In plants where men and women work, the employers spread vicious lies and gossip about immoral goings-on. It was necessary not only to organize the

work inside these plants to offset such lies, but in some instances to involve the women in mass strike work on the outside of the plant.

In most cases the trade union organizer does not bother about such things which are peculiar to a strike with many women. This, in spite of the fact that such problems if not properly handled endanger the unity of the workers and the success of the strike. Women will not speak to men organizers about these problems. Neither will they consult with women organizers who do not see or respond to their special problems. It was the women comrades who helped these strikers with the so-called simple everyday problems and they won the confidence of these women. When Red-baiting priests sent their agents into these plants with food gifts for the strikers, they failed in their Red-baiting.

When this happened, the Communist women were in a good position successfully to attack such attempts openly in the meetings of the strikers. Articles appeared in the *Daily Worker* supporting the strike. The *Daily Worker* was brought into the plants. Women comrades met with individual active women to tell them about the Party. They explained how the Communist women were able to help the women win their strike because they got their knowledge about these things from the accumulated experiences of the working class movement by the Communist Party, because of the working class policies of the Communist Party. To some of these active women this was a revelation. Here was a Party that paid such special attention to their problems particularly at a time when it was most necessary to help them.

The strikers were convinced through their own experience that the Party was their friend, that the Party was really helping them win their strike for a better life. A meeting of a small number of women was held where a few comrades explained more in detail about the Party and asked these women to join. A Party unit was organized. It decided that its main task would be to organize the young girls into a sports group in several of the plants

and a Y.C.L. unit. All the new Party members asked that the Party help them get more education so that they could be better leaders among the working women. A six weeks class was organized. They attended class during the course of the strike.

Among the most inspiring speakers at this Detroit Party Women's Conference was our new Comrade X who in the beginning was opposed to action on the part of women. One of the most interesting speakers at the girls' round table discussion in the Young Communist League Eighth Convention was a friend of Comrade X. And the chairlady of a most important plant followed them into the Party. They are concentrating on bringing into the Party other women who were active with them in the strike. Some of these active women said they would follow the Party because they have the greatest confidence in it, but that they would not join because they would have to confess this to the priest. The new Party members have initiated talks among these women on why a worker should join her own Party, the Communist Party, even though it is opposed by the priest.

Through closest attention to the most important, the so-called simple, needs of the women workers, through intense mass work, leading forces have been found who will give guidance to 2,500 working women seeking a way out of their misery and position of inequality. These forces came out of the ranks of the working women themselves. *That was because the Party was built in the course of the strike.* There was no waiting until "we found time" from the details of the strike to build the Party, which often means losing contact with the most active strikers.

Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries

There are thousands of auto and steel workers' wives organized into trade union auxiliaries. Many auxiliaries were organized in the course of the recent auto strikes. This auxiliary movement was a great contribution to the trade union in helping to win its gigantic gains, particularly

in the sit-in strikes. In some places these auxiliaries are now engaged in important movements against the trusts which are planning to increase rents. They have organized big movements to celebrate Mothers' Day as a day for peace.

Every speaker at the Detroit Women's Conference stressed the fact that had they not found new forces, these important broad movements could not have been a reality.

Visits to the home of active workers' wives resulted in the recruiting into the Party of the entire family. The husband and other members of the family were generally working in the plants.

This is how women's Party units were organized—not after the strike, but during the course of most intensive work.

"Had we given more time to the building of the Party, the work among the masses of women would have been developed on a broader scale." Everyone at this conference understood that the work already accomplished plus the organizing drives now taking place among working women should be a stepping stone to organizing half of the population, the women, into a broader movement to combat the rising cost of living, to fight war preparations by greater support for the women of Spain who are so valiantly fighting fascism. This movement among women is proceeding too slowly in our country, and our work must be intensified.

To strive to accomplish this the conference decided to call upon the women comrades in the Party to enter into a competition to *build the Party among the masses of women*. This can and will be done.

Literature on Wheels!

By JOE FIELDS

SOME time ago, a group of resourceful comrades in one of the Mid-Western districts spent their vacation by organizing a "literature caravan" and traveling about the countryside, selling books, pamphlets and other progressive literature to workers and farmers in the towns and villages along the route. In this way they not only enjoyed a novel vacation and made expenses, but occupied the summer season usefully by bringing the Party to a section of the population which had never been reached before.

The comrades fixed up a little Ford with show racks along the side on which the pamphlets and periodicals could be attractively displayed. Whenever they reached a likely town they would pick out a suitable corner, set up their literature display, and hold an open-air meeting at which one of them spoke on some current issue of local interest. Then, holding up and describing the various pamphlets and periodicals, they would urge their listeners not only to buy a copy for themselves, but additional copies for distribution among their friends. In this way, our comrades succeeded in distributing a great quantity of literature to people with whom the Party had no previous contact, and at the same time won new friends and sympathizers, and even some recruits.

The recent experience of San Francisco in organizing such a traveling literature caravan should be an inspiration and an incentive to other districts to launch similar ventures, now that the warm weather is here. The first results of this trip show the need for reaching out of the big cities, wherever and whenever possible, into the small towns and farm areas where there are tremendous potential forces for the Party which can be obtained in connection with the current recruiting drive.

The literature truck left San Francisco on April 15, headed south with a good selection of pamphlets, maga-

zines, books and theoretical literature. Because of his inexperience in this field of work, the comrade in charge simply wondered just how to proceed with the matter. He began to ask first one, then another, for contacts along his projected route, and in very little time, found himself with an endless chain of connections. His subsequent experience proved that every one of these contacts, if properly followed up, could become *centers* for literature distribution all year round in their towns or villages.

Let us quote from the comrade who was placed in charge of the truck:

"To say that this method of literature distribution met with enthusiasm expresses it mildly. Everywhere we went the comrades were anxious to arrange for meetings in homes, inviting ex-comrades, Socialists, Epics, liberals and others who were interested in the fight for progress and against fascism.

"We feel positive that the truck idea will give us contact with many of those who have been isolated from us, helping us to bring back to our Party many of these who left us prior to the *Open Letter*. In fact, it is most inspiring to see the interest the American worker has in his and her future, and the readiness with which they wait for instructions from our Party."

Literature Caravan Bring Good Results

Here is the record of the actual work done by the literature caravan between April 15 and April 24. The comrades started out with 61 contacts, of which 21 were Party members, the rest sympathizers. Four meetings were held on this trip, in the course of which our comrades succeeded in arranging 12 meetings for the next trip, and at the same time they obtained a much clearer idea of the kind of literature most in demand. The average attendance at these meetings was twenty-five, and our comrades felt that they could anticipate at least this average attendance at meetings on future trips. The mileage covered on this trip was 1,400 miles. The total expenses were

\$25; \$59 worth of literature was sold, and our comrades anticipate a sale of at least \$100 worth of literature on the next trip.

There were great interest and demand, particularly among trade unionists, for C.I.O. pamphlets. One of the locals of the Tunnel Workers Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., but having endorsed the C.I.O., had a Women's Auxiliary which raised the question of adopting *The Woman Today* as its official organ.

San Francisco's experience is a valuable contribution to a field of our literature distribution which should be much more intensively developed in the future. The lumber towns of the Northwest, the mining patches of Pennsylvania and the Virginias, the fruit, dairy and tobacco states of New England, the Middle-West farm belt, the countless towns and villages which dot our landscapes, contain tens and hundreds of thousands of workers who are almost completely isolated from the progressive anti-fascist, labor and peace movements which are today gathering new force and energy. They can be won for these movements, and for the Party.

The literature caravan can be in the form of a trailer, or it can be a plain Ford. It can be rigged for displaying literature and holding open air meetings, or it can merely be utilized for carrying the literature, the comrades in charge arranging meetings in the homes of contacts along the way. With a well-prepared talk on the new developments on the national and international arena, including Spain, the struggle against fascism, the C.I.O. movement, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Soviet Union, unemployed and relief conditions, etc., our literature can be linked up with every one of these problems, distributed at every gathering, and recruiting carried on. The face of our Party can be brought forward at these meetings, and new recruits won for it. Subscriptions for the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, and for our magazines can be sold. Often, isolated comrades, the only Party member in a town or village, can be activized in literature distribution as his or her main organizational activity, establishing

permanent contact with the central literature department, ordering literature regularly and distributing it among townsmen and fellow-workers.

There is ample time for Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Minnesota and Boston to follow the splendid example of San Francisco and organize the distribution of our "literature on wheels" to the masses in town and countryside. Through this means many can be won for the Party.

Don't Stifle Initiative!

By I. KASTROW

"DO NOT allow anyone to destroy your initiative," is what Comrade Stalin's message seemed to say to comrades who are comparatively new in the revolutionary movement, and whose new ideas and proposals are looked upon many times as unworkable, not based upon experience, and, hence, utopian.

Your proposals are not good; they can't be carried out; we can't do this or that; we won't be able to get money to buy a decent headquarters; your leaflet is bad, etc., etc. This is how the initiative of many comrades is stifled.

Comrades who have enthusiasm, a new outlook, and who can find new ways of working under new conditions are many times told: you have no experience; give up your ideas because we never did it before and we can't do it now. . . .

Many new comrades are discouraged by such responses and often back down. They were certain that their proposals were good, were confident of their workability, were eager to participate in carrying them out, but a bucket of ice water to drench the little flames of ideas in their head was the only greeting they received.

Who welcomes new comrades in such a manner in the

revolutionary movement? Are they self-critical Bolsheviks who are always looking for new methods? Do they have an understanding of how to develop new cadres? Do they realize that conditions have changed and that changed conditions require new methods and that into the movement are entering new people who can and must be placed in leadership?

No, they did not master Leninism. They are not true Bolsheviks. They do not see that new ideas are born that will supplant the old. They fight against the new, holding them back and keeping them from bringing their ideas forward.

Such comrades are retarding our movement. They discourage new comrades. They impede Party development and growth.

The new will move to the front eventually. It must be done faster. . . .

The state committees, the county committees—they all must begin paying more attention to personnel. They must examine every comrade, pick out those who have stopped growing and who are stifling sections of the movement at their birth.

Stop bureaucratic people from holding back new forces! Listen carefully to the proposals and criticism of new comrades. Help them develop initiative. Promote them to more responsible posts.

Guide them, teach them. Many of them can become our future leaders.

For you, new comrades, do not be afraid to try new methods.

Do new things. We have many new positions to conquer. To stand still is our greatest mistake. Do not fear to take the offensive.

1. Every committee should pick out a group of comrades whom they will undertake to guide and train for leadership.

2. Every committee should be on the lookout for and fight against bureaucratic tendencies.

Teach the masses and learn from the masses.

Teach the Masses, Learn From the Masses

By JOSEPH STALIN

Lenin taught us not only to teach the masses, but also to learn from them. What does this mean?

It means, first, that we leaders must not become conceited and we must understand that if we are members of the Central Committee or are People's Commissars, this does not mean that we possess all the knowledge necessary for giving correct leadership. An official position by itself does not provide knowledge and experience. . .

This means, second, that our experience alone, the experience of leaders, is insufficient to give correct leadership; that, consequently, it is necessary that one's experience, the experience of leaders, be supplemented by the experience of the masses, by the experience of the rank-and-file Party members, by the experience of the working class, by the experience of the people.

This means, third, that we must not for one moment weaken, and still less break, our connection with the masses.

This means, fourth, that we must pay careful attention to the voice of the masses, to the voice of the rank-and-file members of the Party, to the voice of the so-called "small men," to the voice of the people.

What does it mean—to lead correctly? This does not at all mean sitting in one's office and compiling instructions.

To lead correctly means:

First, to find a correct solution of the question. But a correct solution cannot be found unless account is taken of the experience of the masses, who test the results of our leadership on their own backs.

Second, to organize the operation of the correct solution which. . . cannot be done without direct aid from the masses.

Third, to organize a check on the fulfilment of this decision—which, again, cannot be done without the direct aid of the masses.

—*Mastering Bolshevism*, pp. 53-54, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

New York State Section

ISSUED BY NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

Your "Sunday Worker" Man

By ROBERT BORDEN

WHEN my unit was transformed into a branch it was brought home to me that the purpose of this change was basically to enable us to root ourselves in the neighborhood and better to carry on effective work in the election districts.

The problem of work among the masses in the neighborhood caused us to raise the following questions for discussion:

First, we wanted to know how we could get to know the people in the neighborhood blocks intimately. Second, we wanted to know how best to let them know about Communism in general. Third, we wanted to know how to let them know where the Party is and bring them into the ranks of the Party.

About this time along came a new Party member, by the name of Comrade Spain. This comrade emphasized clearly the words of Comrade Lenin that "a newspaper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator; it is also a collective organizer." Comrade Spain also pointed out that while a good plan for the utilization of our *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* in neighborhood work was important and of course was better than a poor plan, *the most decisive question was whether we would carry out any plan adopted.*

Then Comrade Spain outlined what he considered a good plan for promoting the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. It simply consisted of the following: Sell the

paper and just sell the paper and let the paper sell Communism. Do not argue with your customer or prospective customer, but sell the paper and let the paper answer the questions raised. The second important point brought out was the absolute necessity of keeping complete and careful records of each apartment visited, and to work systematically.

I was so inspired by the work outlined and suggested by Comrade Spain who had worked in Brooklyn that I undertook to try out his proposals on the East Side of Manhattan. The comrades of the branch bureau gave me a block to work in which was considered neither an especially favorable block nor an unfavorable one. I found there were about 550 families living on this block of which about 60 per cent were Jewish, 20 per cent Italian and 20 per cent Scandinavian.

I worked on eleven consecutive Sunday mornings with the exception of one Sunday when I was ill. I worked from about 10:00 a. m. each morning until about 12:00 to 12:30. Before going out canvassing the first Sunday I read through with the utmost care the pamphlet Spain had written which has been printed in the *Daily Worker* under the title, *Twentieth Century Methods*. This described the entire Spain method to me and answered all the questions that were raised later during my work.

The first Sunday morning I started out with 20 papers and sold the whole lot within an hour. It seemed a though people were in many cases just "waiting for me". The second Sunday I took 30 papers and sold them all in about one and a half hours. Of course, I did not sell all of the same people the second Sunday whom I had sold the first Sunday, because some of them did not want the paper again, having found out that they did not like it, and others were not at home. Those who did not want the paper again were told that I would try to sell them a few weeks later to see if they would be interested then. If they were definite about not wanting it I put an "x" next to their name and did not call again. During the eleven weeks that I worked on this block I sold a

many as 76 papers on a Sunday morning, but averaged about 50. I found seven out of 550 families on the block who were already reading the *Sunday Worker*.

I kept a complete record of each house and each apartment in the house, and, as Comrade Spain had pointed out, this was most important. I found that when I failed to put down sufficient facts (that my customer was a man or a young woman or an elderly woman), when I went back, and tried to sell a copy the following Sunday to a person other than the one I sold the previous week, I was usually turned down. I found it particularly essential to put down as much information about my customers and prospects as possible.

I never took more than two or three minutes with any customer or prospect. I would not let them invite me in for coffee or to discuss some problem. I merely sold them the paper pointing out that the paper answered all questions, and told them that some time later when I had the time I would come back and be glad to spend a whole evening with them. I later visited all my customers when not selling papers and discussed the Party, etc. I never gave any papers away free because as Comrade Spain pointed out, if any one wants the paper he will pay for it, and if he pays for it he will surely read it.

I never asked the customer or prospect for a regular order for the paper because I found that this method had been adopted so often by people selling magazines, etc. Only after I had sold them for eight or nine weeks did I assume that they wanted the paper regularly or tell them that I was going to consider them as a regular customer.

Regular selling and canvassing every Sunday morning is the only way to get real results. To skip a Sunday as I did the morning I was sick left a very bad impression and my customers were not as friendly to me the following week. I sold many people only once but I expected this inasmuch as I urged every one to try the paper just once in the hope that many of them who had never seen the paper before would become regular readers. I sold a good number of them for three or four weeks and even then

found that these people did not want to continue the paper. On the Sunday that I did not deliver the paper I found that out of the large number of customers I had, none of them went down to the newsstand in the middle of the block to buy the paper that day. This proved to me that unless I handed them the paper on a "silver platter" most of them would not continued reading the *Sunday Worker*..

I am convinced that the *Sunday Worker* is so different from the capitalist press in that it is a real straightforward working class anti-fascist paper that our new friends must get used to it, and this takes not just one sale or one reading, but at least eight weeks.

But even after eight weeks we must continue to see to it that they get the paper delivered because they will not go out of their way to buy it.

I found that it was most important to become good friends with all my customers and even those who did not buy the paper. I would carry a housewife's bundle of food up a flight or two of stairs as I was walking up, or pick up their bottle of milk from their doorstep when I rang the bell to deliver the paper or attempted to sell them a paper, etc. I would dress neatly, shave carefully, have my hat on when I came up to the door and take it off when I rang the bell. During the first few weeks I did not tell them that I was a member of the Communist Party, but after a period of four or five weeks I invited them to an open Party branch meeting of which I was a member or to an open forum of the Party branch.

Ever since I have been in the Party I've canvassed quite regularly, but I must admit that I never liked it. In fact I always dreaded the idea of going out with the papers—perhaps I might say I even hated it. But now I shall be equally frank and say that I now really like canvassing, in fact, want to go out with the papers. Now why the change? Formerly I thought it was a waste of time, that I was not doing anything for the Party but, most important, I did not see any tangible results. Now through this new method of canvassing, I have found many friends

for our Party and have come in real contact with the masses in the neighborhood.

But let me say that I did not find everything just a "bed of roses". For example, Mrs. C. bought the *Sunday Worker* each week but every Sunday morning both Mrs. C. and I had to persuade Mr. C. to let her buy a copy, he being very religious. We now have her regular order.

Now take the short man living alone in apartment 37. He would be taking his shower under his make-shift hose every Sunday when I arrived. He joked with me but did not want the paper. However he had a friend living across the hall and as a joke he paid me the five cent and had me give a copy to his tall husky friend. The next week I carried the joke along by persuading the tall husky man to give me five cents so that I could give his short friend a copy, which he did. Now after eleven weeks they are regular subscribers to the *Sunday Worker*.

My results were that I got 54 new regular readers on one block for the *Sunday Worker* after eleven weeks work, spending just two hours a week on the block. I have since them turned the 54 orders over to a regular home delivery carrier. I have gotten about half of my *Sunday Worker* reader to read the *Daily Worker* as well. About twelve of my customers have been recruited into the Party and one into the Young Communist League.

Some Shop Work Problems

By DISTRICT SHOP WORK COMMISSION

THE first point to be considered in our shop work is to develop our shop units not merely as trade union organizations but to improve the political life in the units to such an extent that they can function as the Communist Party in the shop.

For us to do effective work it is necessary to have confi-

dence in the desire of the workers to struggle for their demands and in their ability to organize.

Sometimes we hear even from some of our own comrades that the workers are ignorant, that they don't understand trade union organization. Reports have shown that when we have confidence in the workers, when we do not explain our inability to organize as a lack of desire on their part to be organized, but rather examine our approach to these problems, our methods of work, we can overcome many of these difficulties and will be able to get the workers into action.

To illustrate—when the steel drive started in this country we decided to start work in an upstate steel mill, a plant that employs 10,000 workers. A state committee member visiting upstate went to the unit meeting expecting the comrades to be very enthusiastic. However, after attending the first meeting of the unit to find out what they were doing in the steel drive, to the surprise of our state committee member, seven or eight comrades took the floor and every one of them stated that while the steel drive may be going well in Pittsburgh or in Cleveland, as far as their mill was concerned nothing could be done. The workers still remember the 1919 strike when they were blacklisted. "The spy system in the shop is such that you can't budge," comrades said. "In our shop many of the workers are old. They know that if they start organization they will be dismissed." Other comrades stated that many of the workers are young and they don't care about their jobs, and therefore you can't get them to organize. We spent several hours trying to overcome these arguments. At the second unit meeting we saw the results of the discussion. We began to ask the comrades whether they had ever heard workers in the shop expressing disgust and complaining about their conditions, etc. They began scratching their heads and said, "Well, I remember when the foreman made a row one day and one fellow in my department stood up and showed real militancy."

Another comrade stated that in his department a couple of workers were involved in a recent strike in another city.

Another comrade stated that he knows somebody who is very active in a Ukrainian organization. Everyone suddenly discovered someone whom we could approach. Five days later we succeeded in getting 25 contacts who declared their readiness to start work in the plant. Two weeks later we not only succeeded in getting 25 contacts but in getting the C.I.O. to send down an organizer and had more than 100 workers registered in the union. And today the town has an organization close to 1,500 workers. This shows that if we want to do work as Communists we have to develop confidence in the workers.

The building of a Labor Party is one outstanding task. We initiated the movement for a Labor Party and have helped to crystallize it in New York. Yet we find that when we go to the branches of the American Labor Party many of the workers from the basic industries are not present. The comrades in the power industry have shown how responsive the workers are to a Labor Party. "Our union voted 100 per cent. How was this done? Because when we started issuing our shop paper, about two years ago, it was issued regularly and the question of the Farmer-Labor Party was presented in every issue." This also shows the importance of our shop papers.

The lack of work among the Negroes was shown by the almost complete absence of Negro comrades at our conference. This means that although our shop units operate among approximately 10,000 Negro workers in the industries our comrades have not yet seriously discussed their failure in recruiting many of these workers into the Party. The comrades from the Harlem Hospital show us how recruiting can be done. They report:

"We recruit on international issues, such as the Ethiopian war, on national issues, and on local issues. You remember last year when 39 babies died due to neglect. Well, the Communist Party dramatized this issue, putting picket lines on the outside, carrying coffins, etc. As a result we got five recruits for the Party and we also were able to bring a lot of workers closer to us."

We must learn to give the workers our interpretation of all political events, and acquaint them with the history of our Party. It is necessary to show the workers how the Communist Party from its very inception fought for industrial unionism and how we helped to crystallize the movement for industrial unionism which now finds its expression in the C.I.O. movement. In fighting Trotskyism we must not only explain the Moscow trial but also the relation of the Trotskyites to the People's Front in other countries, their role in the Labor Party movement, their splitting policies in the trade unions in this country.

Another important phase of our Party is the activity of our comrades and the proper division of work. This is very essential. We see that in many units, comrades are overburdened and yet other comrades find no work to do. Such a state of affairs in the units which does not activate all the comrades cannot result in a healthy unit life. Therefore the confidence that we must have in the masses must also find expression in the unit itself. We can find some definite task which every one can do on the basis of ability and the work the comrade can do best. In teaching others how to organize we must make sure that our units are really an example of organization. We are beginning to organize our own meetings—starting meetings on time, adhering to schedule, following democratic procedure, etc. Our Party cannot be built and we cannot teach non-Party workers unless we show by example how organization work should be planned. We must divide our time between the routine work and the political work if we are to give the workers real leadership. When there are good functioning bureaus the units eliminate much of the mechanical work. The bureau discusses the agenda for the following meeting, brings proposals to the unit and plans the work. Such a bureau discusses the daily work of each comrade, the assignments to the proper people, so that each comrade will be given the kind of work he likes and does best. Unquestionably such a method will keep members, will lessen fluctuation and will make each member feel he is needed for the Party and will be a happier Party member.