

PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

• APRIL • 1938 •

HOW TO BUILD THE PARTY

NATIONAL
PARTY
BUILDERS
CONGRESS
ISSUE

DELEGATES' REPORTS FROM

NEW YORK • NEW JERSEY
OHIO • MASSACHUSETTS
PENNSYLVANIA • UTAH
MICHIGAN • MARYLAND
CONNECTICUT • TEXAS
OKLAHOMA • CALIFORNIA
ILLINOIS • MISSISSIPPI
WISCONSIN • VIRGINIA
MISSOURI • ARKANSAS
WASHINGTON • FLORIDA

FOR JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY
AND PEACE

CONTENTS

The Party Builders' Congress—By Organization-Education Commission of the C. C.	1
A Letter From Earl Browder	2
From 48 States of the Union—By H. C. Adamson, New York	3
"We Must Bring the Party Out in the Open"—By F., Flint Michigan	6
"There Are Limitless Opportunities"—By John Weber, Lawrence, Mass.	9
"We Will Recruit the Negroes"—By J. S., Negro Worker, Florida	12
Some Lessons In Party Building—By Rebecca Grecht	13
"Be Bold: Don't Hide Your Face"—By Bill Richeson, Farmer, Oklahoma	16
Recruiting Steel Workers—By Eugene Davis, Chicago	18
A Negro Longshoreman Builds the Party—By W., Virginia	20
Emphasis on Recruiting Meetings and Parties—By Elmer Huuhtanen, Wisconsin	22
Problems of Party Education—By Charles Krumbein	26
"We Helped to Build the Union"—By W., Steel Worker, Western Pennsylvania	28
A Union Leader Recruits for the Party—By K., Negro Steel Worker, Ohio	29
"Recruit More Railroad Workers—Use the Party Press" By Corrinne Thal, New York	31

(Continued on inside back cover)

PARTY ORGANIZER

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

Vol. XI

APRIL, 1938

No. 4

The Party Builders' Congress

By ORGANIZATION-EDUCATION COMMISSION, C. C.

THE National Party Builders' Congress, held in New York on February 18-21, has shown us that our Party members, branches and units, as well as leading committees, have accumulated a wealth of experience on Party building and recruiting. The utilization of this treasure-house of experience will give a great impetus to the entire work of the Party.

In the ensuing pages, we print excerpts of some of the most striking experiences of the Party builders who reported at the Congress. In them you will find literally dozens of methods on how to recruit. A concrete listing of these methods will be found in this issue. As one comrade stated, the discussion demonstrated that there are limitless opportunities for recruiting, allowing for the exercise of the broadest initiative in methods of approach.

We strongly urge every comrade to read each report carefully, to study it, and see how the experiences of each individual Party builder can affect your own work, or is in accord with your own experiences. Discuss these reports in your branch, your unit, your fraction. Keep this issue of the *Party Organizer*. Refer to it. Use it as a guide and a handbook in your further activities to build the Party.

The recruiting drive is over, but Party building must continue on even a wider front.

A Letter From Earl Browder

Read before the closing session of the National Party Builders' Congress at Madison Square Garden, February 21, 1938.

CONGRATULATIONS on our great common achievement in building a Communist Party of 75,000 members! That is something to celebrate! It is indeed my misfortune to be laid up with grippe just when our great Builders' Congress registers such progress. To replace my planned speech, I am sending you this letter.

About our Party growth: Let us keep a clear head about this at all times. We are making serious progress, compared with our own past, and the history of all working class political organizations in America. The first 75,000 members are certainly the hardest to gather; the second can be gained in a third the time and effort. We have passed a historic milestone.

But our Party is still very small, very small indeed, when compared with the gigantic tasks facing us, and with the population of 130,000,000 whom we hope to influence and guide. This is the decisive fact for us, which we must always keep in mind, which will cure any tendency to "swelled heads" among us, which will help us maintain the necessary modesty which should always be a characteristic of Bolsheviks.

Read the March Issue of "The Communist"

YOU will find a full analysis of the results of the national Communist Party membership campaign, and our future tasks in building the Party for effective struggle for jobs, security, democracy, and peace, in the report of Comrade Jack Stachel, member of the Political Bureau of our Party. This report together with the reports of Clarence Hathaway, James W. Ford, Roy Hudson, and Fred Brown are published in the March issue of *The Communist*. To understand the policies of our Party, read and study *The Communist*.

From Forty-Eight States of the Union

By H. C. ADAMSON, New York.

FIVE hundred Americans from forty-eight states of the Union came to New York City to attend the eventful four-day sessions of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the National Party Builders' Congress.

More than 150 of the 250 out-of-town delegates had never seen the corner of Broadway and 42nd Street before in their lives. They came by trains, bus, automobile, boat, from all parts of the country. More than half a hundred major industries of America were represented: marine workers, miners, steel workers, cannery workers, lumber workers from the great Northwest, weavers from the roaring textile mills of New England and the South, auto and railroad workers, fishermen, building trades workers and others. Farmers were there, too. School teachers and white collar workers were among the delegates. The large proportion of Negro delegates from many parts of the country, and the active part they took in the discussions testified to the advances the Party has made among the Negro people.

Their host, the New York State organization of the Communist Party, provided a warm, comradely welcome for the visiting delegates. Special committees arranged for housing, gave information and attended to other services in a swift and efficient manner.

On the opening night of the Congress a huge welcoming banquet, with more than 1,000 guests present, greeted the delegates with the sort of hospitality for which New York is famous.

The next morning the New York State Party had four chartered buses with professional sight-seeing guides waiting at the doors of the Congress meeting hall to transport the visiting delegates on a "rubber-neck" tour of the "big-city."

The guide came in for some good-natured heckling. He would point his finger at swanky Central Park hotels and say, "There's where John Doe, the big Wall Street banker lives," and the delegates would grin and roar out, "He won't be living there long—some day the workers will be using those buildings for themselves."

En route, the delegates craned up at towering eighty-story buildings in mid-town Manhattan, and they looked down at schools of jellyfish swimming in tanks in the Aquarium at Battery Park. After a view of the Statue of Liberty and New York Harbor, they enjoyed a Chinese meal at the colorful old Port Arthur restaurant in the heart of New York's Chinatown.

The next point on the itinerary called for a view of one of the oldest and worst slum areas in New York City, the lower East Side. Big strapping delegates from the open spaces of the Middle West, the farms and factories of the Pacific Coast, looked aghast at horrible fire-trap tenements, filthy streets, and pale-eyed children. One of them muttered, "Some day we'll tear down these ratholes . . ."

A brief stop was made at a local East Side headquarters of the Party, where the delegates learned how the Party in that neighborhood carries on the fight for slum eradication, decent housing, against fire-traps, for organization of tenants, and for better schools and playgrounds. The buses then headed for a visit to a model section headquarters of the Party, Section 24, and to the headquarters of the Harlem Division, located in the heart of the world's greatest Negro community.

In the evening, with theater tickets to *Pins and Needles*, *Power*, and *One-Third of a Nation* presented to them, the delegates saw the best that New York's famous theaters and Broadway offer this season, and how they liked it!

The next day began the meeting of the Central Committee and the sessions of the Party Builders' Congress.

From Puget Sound to Key West, and from Cape Cod to the Golden Gate, the Congress of ace Party Builders heard their fellow delegates, one after another, deliver stirring reports on how each individually recruited twenty,

thirty, fifty new members; how more than 2,000 were recruited in Chicago, hundreds in Alabama and Oklahoma, 8,000 in New York, and so on. With the reports, political horizons widened, new understanding came, and life and meaning were put into the slogan, "*Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism!*"

The great climax of the Congress came with the closing session on February 21, in America's largest indoor arena, Madison Square Garden, when 20,000 jammed the huge building to the rafters.

Comrade James W. Ford, the great Negro leader of our Party and the American people, was the first speaker. Then Comrade Clarence Hathaway read an inspiring letter from Earl Browder, whom temporary illness kept from the meeting. Comrade Charles Krumbein, Secretary of the New York State Party and chairman of the meeting, stirred the delegates to wild enthusiasm when he declared: "New York state has recruited 8,000 new members—but we feel mighty proud of all those comrades, who, working under much more difficult conditions, as in the South, the West, in the steel towns and mining communities, have made possible the growth of our Party by 22,000 new members." A great speech from Comrade William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Party, closed the momentous Congress.

The Central Committee meeting and Party Builders' Congress gave a mighty message of progress to all America. It was an historic occasion, long to be remembered in the annals of our Party.

"We Must Bring the Party Out in the Open"

By F., Flint, Michigan.

A YEAR ago, the eyes of the world were upon a mighty strike of auto workers in Flint. Communists participated actively in the strike, but the Party as such was never mentioned throughout the whole strike except when the *Daily Worker* was brought in. Comrade Foster wrote in *The Communist* that there was a classic example of a great struggle being carried on without any recruiting into the Party. We began to think about this basic question.

A member of the Black Legion went around saying there were over 2,000 Communist Party members in Flint. The thing that struck me was that there were probably at least 2,000 who agreed with the Communist policy, who should be in the Party but were not. The main thing was that the comrades were afraid. At first, you know, we could not have a meeting without having our heads bashed in either by the police or the Black Legion. You have probably heard how we recruited into the union, holding meetings in basements with the lights out so one could not see who the other was. Recruiting into the Party was even more difficult. Hence the comrades got a wrong approach to people.

When a comrade met a person that was not a "Red," he felt he must be a reactionary. So he would isolate himself. Comrade Stalin said in his speech on *Mastering Bolshevism* that the people who belong in the Party are the people who believe in the policies of the Party. Now here in Flint people knew that there were Communists, but the Party was not seen. People didn't mind saying they were Democrats, but there wasn't a Communist that came out and said he was one. So we had to take a different approach. Then when we decided to bring forward the policy of the Party, we found some of our comrades were not developed enough to do it.

We had to take up the question of education and then our comrades began to learn just what the Party was. Therefore, when they went out, they were able to tell the people what the Party stood for.

So the machinery was set up, and recruiting started. Our first step in bringing the Party's position before the workers in Flint was the holding of a public forum. We told the comrades, who hesitated to ask workers to join the Party, to bring these contacts to the public forum, and we would talk to them there. They did so, and we signed them up.

Then there was the Chevrolet shop paper. In every edition, we asked the workers to join the Communist Party. Sometimes we devoted the whole back page to this appeal.

I want to give a little example to show how willing people are to join the Party, but they cannot understand why we don't come out into the open. I directed the distribution of the shop paper in front of Chevrolet. We had to be very careful, because the police would pick you up and hold you, not long, but for just about five minutes—enough time to permit a whole shop of 15,000 workers to clear out. As I stood there, several persons came to me and said: "Who puts out the shop paper?" I answered: "I don't know. Probably the Communist Party." The next issue of the shop paper came out late, and as I stood before the gates, the same workers came to me and said: "Well, why don't you put it out on time?" So I recruited these people. That's all there was to it. I just asked them to join the Party. In that way we managed to recruit a great number.

Another method we used to recruit was through the group system. After we held such a group meeting, we could recruit 90 per cent of those present. The workers would admit to us: "We knew you were Communists, and why didn't you say you were!"

In that manner we were able to increase the size of the Party in Flint by five times during the recruiting campaign.

We have also set up machinery to take care of the new comrades. We are holding new members' classes. Furthermore, we have set up a membership commission, which interviews new members and places them correctly, puts them into such work as they can carry out. In that way we activate the members. The new comrades are not being overburdened, for if we give them work they cannot carry through they lose confidence and become inactive. Perhaps some people can be given some mimeograph work to do; some can write articles for the shop paper, perhaps not like a writer, but in simple language that explains the line well enough. We have encouraged this, with the result that we are overflowed with material for the shop paper. Everybody wants to get out a shop paper.

Another problem we are trying to solve now is how to involve everybody in recruiting. When I first joined the Party there was a feeling that the old comrades couldn't recruit, that only the new members could recruit. This has been corrected, and now some of the comrades who have been in the Party for five or six years are the best recruiters. More and more comrades are now taking up the question of recruiting, and feel that it is their responsibility.

Furthermore, in the past, we would recruit in jerks. We would take up the question of recruiting one week, and then forget about it for three or four months. When the fluctuation would become very bad and very few would be left in the Party, the question would again come up. From now on, building the Party will be on the agenda at every business meeting. We will bring the face of the Party out in the open. We will see to it that it becomes an everyday activity, until our Party in Flint will become a mass Party.

What helped us to begin to solve the problem of Party building was increased clarification on how to develop the People's Front. Before our comrades looked upon the workers as either Communists or reactionaries. They did not understand how to differentiate between individuals,

how to convince progressive elements of the correctness of the Communist position. Now this is being changed through education, and we are learning how to approach people, how to work with them, how to convince them.

"There Are Limitless Opportunities"

By JOHN WEBER, Lawrence, Mass.

THERE are in New England at least a dozen comrades who have recruited more than ten each and who have valuable experiences to contribute. Here are some of their methods of work.

The special value of our press in Party building is perhaps best shown in the experience of Comrade H.— of Providence. As a result of painstaking work, she gradually built up a carrier route of 30 *Sunday Worker* readers in an entirely new territory. Though it took her months to do this, she was able when the drive started to recruit ten of these into the Party in a relatively short period and eight of them are Negroes.

Our district is very proud of the work of those comrades who helped us make a beginning in our work among Negroes by raising the Negro membership figure from 17 a year ago to 68 today. There is Comrade P. in New Bedford who recruited nine by organizing teams of one white and one Negro systematically to visit her Negro friends in a new territory. But we scored our most substantial gains in this field largely through the work of Marty Richardson in Boston. It was when he was put on as full-time organizer in the South End that real collective work was organized, and that's his secret of success. Today, practically every meeting of the South End Branch is attended by sixty or seventy, and small as that figure may seem to New Yorkers, it nevertheless

marks a historic change in our work in Boston's little Harlem.

Comrades J. and T. in Rhode Island found that personal discussions on what is happening in Spain helped them more than discussion of any other issue in attracting people to our Party and convincing them of the value of our program. Some of the best competition in Rhode Island was secured when the four competing branches decided to carry on their drive in the names of the four Rhode Island boys fighting in Spain.

Some of the best examples of mill concentration come from New Bedford, where Comrade M. recruited fifteen, thirteen of whom are textile workers. His method was to pick carefully the proper literature for each of his contacts and follow up on the basis of what they read, tying it up with conditions in the mill. Comrade Joe recruited eight, seven of whom were in his own mill, because he took seriously the aim of the Party to build shop nuclei.

All our experiences prove the value of developing the most friendly and personal relations with whole families of workers. One of the best examples of this is the work of Comrade E.— in Vermont who recruited ten because she knew how to tie up the smallest and apparently humdrum everyday difficulties faced by working-class families with the role of our Party. But a certain Comrade M., in New Bedford, seems to have added a new wrinkle on the family question. It was his ambition to make his whole family Communist. First he went after his four brothers-in-law. Now he's getting after his four sisters-in-law.

One additional word on the district drive. Thirty-seven per cent of all our recruits come from three industries peculiarly basic to New England: textile, marine, and shoe. For the first time since the Open Letter of 1933, textile recruiting ranks first among these. Marine ranks a close second, with 56 recruits, of which Comrade S. secured fifteen. Lawrence, New Bedford and Rhode Island entered into a three-cornered competition. Part of our pledge was that 50 of the recruits would be textile

workers, and we secured 68. We in Lawrence won out in this competition, securing a 145 per cent growth.

My own personal method of recruiting is a method adapted to the possibilities of a Section Organizer in a small but decisive industrial center. I have carefully built up a contact list of hundreds of people who can be utilized or show any degree of interest in any phase of the progressive and labor movement, and I constantly use it in connection with all our activities. It lends itself particularly to the concentration on the four largest textile mills, where we have recruited more than half our total. Today there is a mill branch of twelve in the Pacific Mills and we have laid the basis for strong branches in the Wood and Ayer Mills of the American Woolen Co., our chief concentration, as well as in the Arlington Mill. The whole broad character of our work in this period of the developing People's Front, particularly in the trade unions, inevitably changes our attitude to shop nuclei. Where in the past we used to think in terms of a small secretive group of three or five, resembling incubator babies whose life hung by a thread, today our shop nuclei can and must come to the world like big, healthy babies capable of rapidly gaining weight and resisting the rickets of fluctuation. If we want to get somewhere we have to start with a dozen or more in a mill branch and our safeguarding measures will be even more effective if we grow rapidly.

Party members are invited to send in articles about their experiences, and the experiences of their units and branches in building the Party and the People's Front.

Send your articles to the Editor, *Party Organizer*, 35 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

"We Will Recruit the Negroes"

By J. S., Negro Worker, Florida.

WE HAD a sort of boiling over in our section which spread out to my unit. We got 12 new members into the Party in one night, and then the unit began pushing in that section in Miami. At the start of the drive the section had 32 members. Now we have 107 members. In my unit, of which I am organizer, one of our problems is the religious question. I had a comrade speak a few months ago on the religious question. We would all be better if we would discuss the religious question more.

My unit started the drive with nine members, and when I left for New York we had 32 members. Among these we have a good group active among the longshoremen, and the hod-carriers. We have three white members in my unit.

There was a little thing that happened that I was very proud of. I wanted to know how the people around town felt about the Communist Party. We called a meeting among the hod-carriers. A professor showed up to that meeting who said that no laborer was worth \$5.00 a day, no matter what he did. Then everybody began to walk out of the hall and only nine people were left. Then the minister got up. He was pretty well fed up with the professor, and I held counsel with him. He said: "We have a scare-crow up to drive the birds away from the crops. The birds that are scared away never get anything, and all you fellows get is 15c a hamper. Boys, you pay a good price." Then I began to show up the professor in that matter. It was very good.

We figure out that in this recruiting drive we have to find new slogans to bring to the people. The women are beginning now to realize that the men's struggle is their struggle. No money, no bread. We began to bring women in to take on some activity in the Party. We had six students from the high school who sat and listened to the preparations for the Negro Youth Congress, and in

carrying on the campaign for the National Negro Congress and Southern Youth Congress, we were able to bring into the Party five members from the Methodist and Baptist churches. They did not know everything about the Communist Party but they realized that anything the Party did was sort of a struggle to uplift the people.

In this struggle for better conditions the people begin to see there is no other way out than the Communist Party. We have several ministers in the town who do not want to come out in the open, but every time they meet someone whom they know to be a real Communist, they have a signed check for him, and consult him on what to do about it. They raise the money in their congregations.

Some Lessons in Party Building

By REBECCA GRECHT

COMRADE BROWDER has often stressed the necessity of Communist modesty. I think we are still within the meaning of Communist modesty when we declare that a conference such as we are having today can only inspire us with a tremendous pride in our Party and in the leadership of our Party. If we can make each individual Party member feel that deep pride (which we cannot but have) in the ability of our Party to lead the American masses in defense of their immediate interests and towards socialism, then we can be confident that it will not be long before we will have a mass Communist Party in the United States.

Comrades, we talk about the need for forces in our Party. But I see right here in this hall, among the hundreds of Party builders, comrades whom we can develop into a corps of the best organizers, educators, and Party

leaders. I think we all agree that a comrade who has the initiative, who has the boldness, who has the understanding to mingle and work among the masses and convince other people to join the Party, is a comrade capable of receiving the confidence of the Party leadership in the district, capable of further development. And that is what we must do after this Congress. *We must give these Party Builders every possibility for further political and organizational development* so that they may be able to give more effective leadership to our Party and to the masses in their future work.

Every Member a Party Builder

There is another task for our Party builders. Perhaps there has been developing in the minds of a large number of our comrades, who have not participated in the recruiting campaign, an idea that Party building is a special gift, a special science that only a few chosen ones possess. We must take Party building out of this so-called special, scientific, academic category. We must in the coming period so extend this movement that every comrade will be able to see and learn how he or she can individually become a Party builder. Perhaps there are not many more thousands that can recruit ten, twenty or thirty, but there are thousands that can recruit at least one new member into our Party. The Party builders who are here today can do a great deal to help build a Party of 100,000 by going back to their districts, their localities, and showing the other comrades how it can be done; by becoming the teachers, so to speak, of other comrades in the methods of Party recruiting. In this way, together with the ace Party builders, together with the mass of our membership, we will really be able to achieve our goal of 100,000 members.

We have stressed the necessity of making Party building a continuous task, an integral part of our work. Well, comrades, we do talk about this need, but you know how things sometimes happen in practice. Take the question of labor unity. The districts or section or branch will dis-

cuss how work, for example, in an A. F. of L. local union can be improved to bring pressure from the rank and file in the interests of trade union unity. But when we discuss this matter, do we at all times ask the question, "How many more A. F. of L. members have we brought into the Party?" Surely we can carry on the campaign more effectively if we increase our recruitment among A. F. of L. members, but we do not always link up Party building with the struggle for labor unity. Or when we talk about a program for peace, collective security, the Japanese boycott; when our sections, units, districts check up on these campaigns, do we always ask ourselves: How has this campaign been utilized to strengthen the Party through the addition of thousands brought into our ranks on the basis of the Party's struggle for peace? But this is precisely what must be done to carry forward Party building on an extensive scale. *No campaign can be considered successful, no task can be fulfilled, if it is not fruitful in Party recruiting.*

Congressional Elections

In this connection, let me emphasize that we are today on the eve of one of the most important campaigns—the Congressional elections. We have had many experiences in last fall's elections showing how our Party forgot to recruit in the course of the election campaign. We heard from Comrade Onda how, in the campaign in Ward 30 in Cleveland, considered in many respects highly successful, and where Comrade Onda, a well-known Communist, was almost elected, the Party recruited only a handful of members. There were similar examples in New York and elsewhere. We have got to change this. We have to make the political campaign we are about to enter, for which we are in fact already organizing, a basis for recruitment of thousands of men and women into our Party, precisely through the leadership of our Party in developing the democratic front in America, and in giving direction and guidance to the struggles of the masses for peace, jobs, security and democracy.

"Be Bold: Don't Hide Your Face"

By BILL RICHESON, Farmer, Oklahoma

THE first thing that I wish to do is to thank the Central Committee and the Party of New York for making it possible for me to be here today. I have enjoyed this Congress, and I have had the desire of my heart realized in being here, that is, to see the Atlantic Ocean, the ships, and the city of New York.

Now, there is a little background to my activities. In 1908 I became a member of the old Debs Socialist wing of the Socialist Party. We built the Socialist Party in my county to 445 dues-paying members, by April 17 at the outbreak of the war. At that time, the St. Louis anti-war resolution came out; I had in my unit a membership of 17, and when we brought that up, there was one man who voted to support the war. The consequence was that in about three or four months they had me in jail. When I came back, all activities were gone. From that day to 1934 I was the only man in my county that would talk radicalism. There was a man in town who was an old member of the I.W.W. He was taking the *Daily Worker*. I met him through a friend of mine. We read the *Daily Worker*, continued to do it week in and week out.

I took a notion I wanted to join the Communist Party. I looked for it for about six months before I could find any man who could tell me how to get into the Communist Party. Finally, a friend of mine came in from Oklahoma City, about 160 miles away, and I asked him about it. He opened up his grip and searched around, got a Party card, signed me up with full instructions that I had to go under a special Party name and not come out in the open. I didn't like that much, for the simple reason that I didn't want to ask anybody else to join something or belong to something I was afraid of or ashamed to belong to myself. But, nevertheless, I took a Party name, and that was about the middle of May. We

belonged to the Texas district then, and along in August I got my book.

I worked around quietly and finally found four others of the old Socialist branch members that agreed to come into the Party, and we had a big time Party from then on. It worked that way until Oklahoma was cut loose from Texas and made District No. 31. Even then I could hardly do any work, until Comrade Wood became organizer. He came down to us and about the first thing he said was: "Now boys, the Party has got to have a face. The section organizer and the treasurer have got to be the face of the Party." And I said, "Fine and dandy, that is what I want." And we started work. We had 14 members when the drive started. Since then we have built it up to 104.

Our membership is about one-third women, about two-fifths Negro and the rest just common white men. We have one doctor, one school teacher, and three preachers.

Now, my advice would be to everybody that is working in the Communist Party to work just as boldly as he can. Three weeks ago, we went into the Court House and held an open Communist meeting. Now, anything that we are ashamed of, comrades, we needn't expect to influence our friends to belong to, because if they are friends of ours they aren't going to take it readily if we are ashamed ourselves.

Now, I have heard coal, steel, and other industries talked about here; but if you don't organize us farmers so that we can give you the beans, you are going to get so weak that you aren't going to be able to carry on. I haven't got any industry at all in my county. It is farming and P.W.A. We farmers there on Monday morning go to work; we don't speak to our neighbors even until the next Saturday when we go to town. It seems to me that if I had them packed in like you fellows have here, I could get the job done. The thing holding us back in Oklahoma is our finances. The majority of the people in our neighborhood live in poverty. They are so poor that they can hardly pay their dues. We have fluctuation on dues

payments for that very reason, and that very reason alone; and if we have a fluctuation there in Claremore, don't get alarmed here in the Central Committee. Those fellows get so poor that they can't pay their dues, but they are just as Red as when they have a stamp in their book.

Recruiting Steel Workers

By EUGENE DAVIS, Chicago

COMRADES, I am the section organizer of the steel section of Chicago. In our section, we recruited 260 new members during the recruiting drive. Out of the total membership credited to our section by the district for the entire year, we failed to register 17 members, a fluctuation of less than 5 per cent.

I myself recruited 53 members, more than half of whom are steel workers. How was recruiting done in our section? *Primarily through raising the consciousness of the comrades on the importance of building the Party in steel, and through very detailed and systematic organizational activity.* We worked in every one of our 14 branches and units, primarily through contact lists. Every branch drew up a number of contacts in the steel union, the women's auxiliaries, Workers Alliance of Illinois, International Workers Order, and others who have been *Daily Worker* readers. We saw to it that during the process of the drive, 30 per cent of our Party members were involved. We recruited not only through open unit meetings and small house meetings, but also through visiting contacts in their homes.

I probably spent at least one month, that is, 30 days, visiting contacts in their homes in the afternoons and evenings, accompanied by more than 30 other comrades. We checked up every week on our results.

We tried, particularly, and will keep on trying, to

involve a large number of our members in recruiting. Here is one example of how we did this. I approached some of our comrades who were leaders in the trade unions to organize recruiting meetings. They agreed to do this. After a great deal of concentration and attention to details, I was able, with the help of our trade union comrades, who always are so busy, to organize small meetings, of three to five workers, and thus to recruit a number of steel workers.

A word about recruiting in the Carnegie-Illinois steel plant, as it related to our mass work. We have a unit in this plant. When the lay-offs hit the steel workers, our Party members took the lead in raising the necessity of organizing unemployment committees in the union. Our comrades worked hard in the union to organize successful meetings of unemployed steel workers. In this way, we helped to organize the best steel workers' unemployment committee in South Chicago—in the Carnegie-Illinois plant. From there, these committees spread. And, as a result of the increased influence and prestige of our comrades, we recruited a number of steel workers into the Party. As a result also, unemployed steel workers joined the union. |||

In addition to our four steel units, we have a number of territorial branches, two of which, Branch 8 and Branch 9, were in socialist competition throughout this period, with both branches more than doubling their membership. This was due to the fact that both branches were alive to political issues.

After the May Day massacre of steel workers in South Chicago, these branches participated actively in the organization of meetings in defense of civil rights and in the entire campaign around this issue. Later on, when these civil rights meetings and the civil rights committees then merged into Labor's Non-Partisan League, the comrades in the branches, in ward groups, became active in helping to build Labor's Non-Partisan League. Thus, through participation in mass work, our territorial branches also increased their recruiting considerably during the drive.

A Negro Longshoreman Builds the Party

By W., Virginia

IN VIRGINIA we tried what we called concentrated recruiting. We set out to recruit members into the Party who could give leadership after they were given a little education on the Party line, and these people would then help us to hold the members we would recruit afterward. We decided first to put forward a program that would meet the needs of the people of Virginia, and then recruit people who could help carry out this program.

For example, there was the need to build the Southern Negro Youth Congress. We decided upon a fellow whom we thought would be good to work for this, and we went out and recruited him. Then the question arose about a struggle against the poll tax, which the Negro people were very much concerned about—out of 45,000 Negroes, only 1,117 were qualified to vote because of this. We went out and recruited the kind of people who could give leadership to this struggle. We had a glorious opportunity to build the united front around this issue.

Then the call came from the National Negro Congress to send a delegation to Washington on the Anti-Lynch Bill. Immediately our unit, made up of teachers, social workers, lawyers, professionals, longshoremen and others, got together. This was on a Monday. We sat in our unit and worked out a plan for the next day. We figured on organizing a meeting by telephone calls. Each of us picked out certain individuals in organizations and called them for a meeting on Tuesday night. We had 54 individuals at this meeting. A delegation of four was elected. We raised the money, and sent them to Washington the next day. On their return we organized a mass meeting in one of the largest churches to get a report. We used this also for building the united front. We set up a Civil

Liberties Committee of twenty-one, nineteen of whom represent organizations including the Communist Party. So you can see in helping to build this committee, in giving leadership to these organizations representing some 8,000 Negro people in the City of Norfolk, we will be able to recruit many more into the Party.

Now as to how I recruited nineteen new members. Fifteen out of these nineteen are white-collar and professional people. It seems funny that a longshoreman should recruit a teacher or a lawyer. But it's not funny. It was because I had the attitude towards one that I had towards the other. Don't ever say to the person you're trying to win over that he is wrong. But just give him a little something to think about and leave him with that. Don't argue with him when there's a lot of people around, but hand him a little pamphlet. He respects you then; you have his confidence, and sometime later you can sit down with him and have a talk.

Now, about the women. You've got to have a different way of approach to women. In approaching women teachers we show them that they are just on the edge of the fence of falling into the domestics, because in Norfolk, if a Negro teacher loses her job she goes out as a domestic.

Talk about the overcrowded schools and the overtime she has to put in. Get her stirred up over this and she will look for a way out herself. When this happens, find a suitable pamphlet for her to read, go to her house and when she is not busy, give her a little Marxism-Leninism—not too much, just a little. Then you will find that you can win these people, too. And when you bring them into the Party, give them something to do, and give them confidence in themselves. And if they haven't got self-confidence, but see that you have confidence in them, they will be all right.

One bad approach that the average comrades have to the Negro is to argue with him about religion. Religious or not, if he is in the South he is Jim-Crowed just the same. Go to him, and if he begins to argue on the bible, just don't you argue with him. Say: "Sure! That's all

right. The bible's all right. But what are we going to do about our conditions? What about jobs for our girls," and so on. This is the way to win him.

Emphasis on Recruiting Meetings and Parties

By ELMER HUUHTANEN, Wisconsin

IN SPEAKING here for the Party in Milwaukee County, I think it is of first importance to discuss our experiences in mobilizing the 20 per cent of our members that took part in the recruiting campaign so that we may be the better able to mobilize the 80 per cent of our Party membership who were not directly involved.

When the drive started, we in our county organization called a number of special meetings to popularize the Central Committee decision to launch a Party Building campaign. In the months before that time our recruiting had all but gone down to nothing. Because of the meetings we held, and the convention of our Party in Milwaukee County which seriously took up the question of recruiting, we were able to work out plans which have brought definite results. These plans carried us up to November 7, and from November 7 we began the next period for continuation of the recruiting drive in light of the achievements up to that point.

It was this positive experience in planning the work of the entire county, the work of the Party in the branches, in the neighborhoods, and in the shops, which made possible our accomplishments. We recruited 238 new members and registered this years 66 per cent more than in the registration of a year ago. We established in accordance with our plans an increase in the number of branches—from 18 to 27, which carry on activity in the language field, among the unemployed, and so on.

We are going to continue the method that helped us in the work so far. We are going to prepare and popularize plans for extension and continuation of recruiting activity and in these plans will take into account certain positive experiences. Our best experiences have been with the use of recruiting meetings and recruiting parties. Fully 40 per cent of the new members in our county were recruited from careful organization of such parties, and the comrades found they could get an average of 75 per cent of their contacts to join through such parties. The other 25 per cent joined through the work of the other Party members who helped participate in the organization and conduct of these recruiting meetings.

This organized method of building our Party is very fruitful. It provides a school of training for those comrades who have had no real practical experience in Party building themselves. They meet under one roof in one room with non-Party contacts, together with other more experienced Party members, and they have the benefit of listening and learning from the comrade whose responsibility it is, in the main, to help bring in these people.

I want to close on the question of retaining new Party members. We have organized new members' classes, but I think one of the things we have to do immediately upon our return is to set up new members' branches of our Party, under the leadership of comrades experienced in personnel work.

Furthermore, we delegates here have a special responsibility to the Party as a whole. We have the responsibility of acquiring the habit of self-study and education that will enable us to guard against a one-sided development and make possible the mobilization of the Party members around us to carry on the work of building the Party. It is not enough for us to lead by example. We delegates here have the special responsibility of leading by organizing the efforts of the entire Party membership. With this approach we are going back to Wisconsin to set in motion the other 80 per cent in order to do our part to help build a mass Communist Party.

HOW TO RECRUIT

1. Explain the policies of the Party to other people. There are many thousands of potential Party members all around us. We can win them if we discuss the position of our Party on the issues facing the American people.

2. Be bold. Bring the Party out into the open. Do not hesitate to ask people to join.

3. Answer Red-baiting by a bold offensive, explaining how such attacks against the Communists are, in reality, directed against the whole progressive labor movement.

4. Not everyone who does not now agree with you is a reactionary. People are looking for a way out of capitalist misery. Today's working-class Democrats, Republicans, even Coughlinites, may be tomorrow's active Communists, if you patiently discuss with them and convince them of the correctness of our program.

5. Link up Party building with mass work. Do not consider any campaign successful unless, in the course of it, you recruit new members. If you yourselves participate directly in mass activity, such as helping to build the unions, fighting for the demands of the unemployed, against the high cost of living, for Negro rights, etc., you will win the confidence and respect of your fellow-workers and neighbors. It will then be easy for you to recruit.

6. Establish direct contact with

progressive leaders of mass organizations, trade unions, etc. Adopt a friendly approach to these organizations, inviting them, and their membership to Party demonstration meetings, affairs. Whenever possible send Party speakers to address the

7. Be patient and understanding in discussing Party policies with others. Try to get the other fellow's point of view; let him talk, and then try to answer his questions. Use as a basis of approach an issue on which there is agreement. Take with people you meet their everyday problems and needs; show a personal interest; see what you can do to help them. Convince the individual you are trying to recruit that the Party needs him, or her, that he can be of service, that he will not be taken out of his present activity in any new organization, but rather be assisted to improve the quality and direction of his activity.

8. The Party press is indispensable in recruiting. Give or sell copies of the "Daily Worker" and "Sun Worker," the "Midwest Daily Worker," the Western "People's Worker" to your contacts, your friends and fellow-workers. Follow up the list of readers of our Party press.

9. Literature is our ammunition. Give or sell pamphlets, books; reassure every person you hope to bring into the Party has some appropriate Communist literature. Utilize literature in house-to-house canvassing.

AS TOLD BY THE DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL PARTY BUILDERS' CONGRESS

low up those who buy pamphlets.

10. If you are concentrating at a particular shop, or in a union, stick to it! Results will come if you persist.

11. Issue shop papers. Explain in them the policies of our Party. Include in each issue direct appeals to join the Party.

12. Build up a list of contacts: comrades, fellow trade unionists, mass readers, people who attend our meetings, etc. Follow up these contacts continuously and persistently. Do not be discouraged if you do not immediately meet with success.

13. Arrange public forums, open branch meetings, to which contacts are invited. At these meetings, make direct appeals to join the Party. Do not let a single Party mass meeting pass without arranging for a strong appeal to join the Party; organize our committees so they can approach people in the audience.

14. Arrange group meetings, social gatherings, house parties, well organized, to which your acquaintances are brought. Assign a comrade to give the main talk. Trade unionists who you know may be persuaded to organize meetings of their friends, relatives and neighbors right in their own neighborhoods.

15. Help the active Party trade unionists to recruit by assigning a comrade to assist them on all details in visiting possible sympathizers, ar-

ranging group meetings, etc. Once you have recruited influential workers in a union, you can, through them, establish contact with large numbers of other active progressive forces.

16. Visit workers in their homes to discuss Party policies and activity.

17. Organize group meetings, with a speaker, of members of such organizations as the International Workers Order.

18. Attend dances and other affairs where you know the people you desire to recruit will be present. Mingle with them socially; show them that Communists are friendly beings.

19. Organize study and discussion circles with Party and non-Party people.

20. Don't neglect members of your own immediate family. Convince them to join.

21. Make use of the method of socialist competition between individuals, branches and groups. Offer awards and recognitions of merit.

22. Plan and organize your recruiting activities; arrange for systematic check-up on all decisions and progress.

23. The Party Builders—those who have learned how to recruit through their own experiences—should explain their methods to the other comrades, and thus help to increase the participation of our membership in recruiting.

Problems of Party Education

By CHARLES KRUMBEIN

I WISH to discuss problems considered in the Educational Commission last Friday. We concluded there that the influence and growth of our Party were really tremendous. We concluded that we are part of all forward movements, the C.I.O., peace, youth, Negro, etc., that actually have in their ranks millions. And we drew this lesson—that these forward movements, with a situation that is very favorable for their continued advance, nevertheless will have a tempo of advance in somewhat the same degree that our Party is properly operating within them. In this connection, as well as in connection with the whole question of Party building, it is necessary to give a little attention to the question of leadership. The Party is bigger. More developed comrades are necessary. We are working in so many fields. Leadership there is necessary. And therefore as was said by Comrade Browder at the Ninth Convention, the questions of leadership is decisive.

Combatting Enemy Ideologies

But that causes us to reflect a moment on something else, namely, that precisely to the extent that we advance; to that extent does the enemy penetrate the movement to a much greater degree, as we see in the Red-baiting campaign that is taking place now. All kinds of alien ideologies are being brought forward. The need for education to combat these enemy ideologies, be they presented through the bourgeoisie or their agents, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, etc., is very real. The way to do that is through education. But also there is the question of special training, education of all the members, self-study, that help keep the members in the Party and to equip them for the work of further Party building.

The question of literature is of the utmost importance. Literature now must be made to fit into every phase of mass work. Use the *Daily Worker*, pamphlets and leaflets,

the *Party Organizer*, *The Communist*, *The Communist International*, as well as the new papers and the language press.

I want to turn now to the question of special Party schools. Generally there has been considerable improvement throughout the Party. There are now four schools running on a national scale. That is a big advance over previous years. We have only made a beginning. Much is yet to be done.

Part-Time Schools

Wherever full-time schools can be organized, do it by all means. But by and large in the entire Party, a form has been developed that can be applied not only in every district center but in every city where there are 100 members. That is the part-time school. There are many forms such schools can take. You can have a school such as we have here in New York three times a week with a conference on Saturday, lasting eight weeks; or week-end schools, or classes based on Bittelman's "Review of the Month," or on editorials on current events. And you have, comrades, now the material and the forces even in the poorest sections of the Party to carry on such schools.

We are in a position in the center to supply you with the lessons and experiences in this field. We can send you curricula and advice. But what I want to get across is this main thought that we can very successfully give a degree of schooling (thereby making the comrades more equipped to satisfy the appetite for self-study) to thousands of comrades in the Party through classes and part-time schools with practically no expense worth speaking about. And, as I say, with the material that we have, you will find a comrade or two or three in every community of 75 or more members, who can prepare themselves to conduct such a class, or part-time school, with at least the results that a group of comrades will be brought up to the level of that comrade—yes, more than the level of that comrade who was not fully equipped, because he too learned a great deal in the course of this work.

Workers Schools

There are now a number of cities that have Workers Schools. These schools, under our leadership, teach Marxism-Leninism, and we can get very great results by systematically organizing in every unit and section comrades who will be assigned to and given as their major task, attending the classes of the Workers Schools. This will solve an additional problem, because many of these schools come and go, precisely because the Party is not conscious of their value. Let's change that. Let's use these splendid institutions and utilize them also for the development of Party personnel.

This job of schooling will be successful to the degree that we set up the machinery to plan, organize and carry it through. And I would advise every one of the districts that run over 2,000 members to set up a special Party School Commission, directly responsible to the District or State Committee, that shall have no other task than the task of Party schooling. The smaller districts should have within their Org-Education Commission a special committee for Party schooling.

"We Helped to Build the Union"

By W., Steel Worker, Western Pennsylvania

I WORK in a mill which employs 6,000 workers, who live in a town which has been controlled by the steel corporation and the bankers for the last 60 years.

Our Party unit a few years ago had ten members, and it was the hardest job to get them to a meeting. Now, our Party has grown to 43 members. How was this done? When the C.I.O. started organization work in steel, there were four of us comrades who put ourselves in the front line to help build the union, I want to say as a Communist that, with my own signature, I have signed 800 members

into the C.I.O. Through such activity, we won the confidence of the men and were able to recruit. Our branch meetings now have a weekly attendance of more than 25.

In our unit meeting, we call on a certain comrade to prepare a very short speech. Then we discuss his speech, a procedure we find very interesting.

In our Party, we have Negroes, native white Americans, some officials of the C.I.O., and one woman. (I guess Comrade Bloor does not like that.) Now, we have also begun to order fifteen copies of the *Daily Worker* in order to keep the new comrades on the line of the Communist Party.

We also had a Lenin Memorial Meeting, with over 200 attending. We as a Communist Party also put ourselves in the front line on the political field, and in the last elections our comrades worked very hard with the progressive forces to defeat the reactionaries, who have controlled the town for the last sixty years. We succeeded.

In 1919, Comrade Foster came to our town. What happened? He was put in jail. He was driven out of town. Now, in the name of our unit, I want to invite Comrade Foster to our town to make a speech. We will rally a big mass meeting. Not only that, but he will also be given police protection.

When I go back to my town, I will see that we not only keep the new members in the Party, but sweep many more in.

A Union Leader Recruits for the Party

By K., Negro Steel Worker, Ohio

IT HAS been said by any number of our Party members who are working in steel and other industries that they do not have time for Party building. But I am an official of a steel workers' local in Ohio and I will give

you a brief summary of just a few of the things I did in some of my leisure time.

Here's the way I built the Party, recruiting 23 members. I called house meetings. Those who came I had made special efforts to reach previously and had approached them on the principles of the Communist Party. I supplied myself with the necessary literature. I called meetings in my own home and in the homes of other comrades, and supplied them also with the literature which I had obtained. After that I generally always followed up the workers who came, as I knew just who the people were.

I tried to obtain the best speaker I could get hold of for the meetings. First I broke the ice by a short introductory talk on the Party, what it has done, what it is doing, and what it desires to accomplish in the future. Then I turned the floor over to the main speaker. As a result I have not only recruited these 23 members, who stood the test, but have picked from that group of 23 a reasonable number, about one-third, to form a shop unit, the first shop unit in the particular industry in which I work.

After we recruited these steel workers and organized this shop unit, we were able with the help of these comrades to put up a good fight against discrimination, which existed in our particular union, and to win this fight.

Another point. Some of us do not understand religious people. We argue with them too much and offend them. But we have to respect the rights of everyone.

These 23 members I recruited were not all Negroes. Some were white. They were former Democrats and Republicans and Socialists.

Now, then, I am leaving this Congress with redoubled determination to go back home and take up recruiting in our branch and in our shop unit so that we may have not 23, but 123 members by May 1, using the same methods as previously.

"Recruit More Railroad Workers — Use the Party Press"

By CORRINNE THAL, New York

I CONCENTRATE on the railroads in Sunnyside, Long Island, even though this is especially difficult work for women. I stand on the railroad bridge, without any shelter whatsoever, and sell the *Daily Worker*. I hold the paper outstretched so the railroad men and the truck-drivers can see it.

Comrades, it is a very difficult job, and you have to be real firm about it, especially when, in the cold weather, your hands are freezing cold and your toes start to hurt so much that you almost cry.

Comrades, it seems a pity that in railroad, the most important industry, we should have only 189 recruits in the drive. I would urge every delegate to go back to his state and press the comrades to start concentration in railroad. The reason why we have so few recruits among railroad men is because we do not have sufficient railroad concentration.

It is true that this is hard work, but we will have to put our shoulders to the wheel. And those of us who realize the necessity of this task must bring other comrades along. *I myself have recruited 33 railroad workers, all Negroes.*

We have issued numerous leaflets on lay-offs. We must point out the grievances of the railroad men, and discuss especially the problem of lay-offs and what to do about these men who have "gotten the ax", as they themselves say. We are now putting out a shop paper.

Now, as to how I recruit. To me it seems quite an easy job. Some comrades say that I have the knack, but there is no such thing as "knack." When the railroad men have read the *Daily Worker* for a couple of months, I say to them: "You have been reading the *Daily Worker* some time now. What do you think of it? Their answer has

been, "Good." Then I say, "You know, it is a Communist paper. Are you a Communist?" They answer, "No." "Why not?" I ask. Some workers have actually told me that no one has ever approached them. I want to say, comrades, that I have signed up some workers right on the railroad bridge, because I always carry cards with me. We must not forget one thing—that these workers are ready for us; they know what we are and what we do. We only have to bring our message forward to them; we have got to be recruiting-conscious. And, comrades, we have also got to use our own initiative. We don't always have to wait for directives.

The Dining Car Local of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which is a very militant and progressive union, runs dances ever so often. I went to the last two dances. I talked with the workers and danced with them. As a result, I recruited three one night and three the next night, including the wife of one.

Comrades, the reason I personally have recruited is because of the influence of our boys who left this country to give their lives in the struggle against fascism in Spain. When one of our leading comrades in Queens County was killed over there, I made a personal pledge that I would fight fascism in this country, since I am a woman and not able to go to Spain. At the memorial meeting for this comrade, I told the people present that this man went to fight the fascists in Spain and we have got to fill this comrade's place and fight the fascists in this country. When you say this to the Negro workers, it hits home.

Our boys in Spain use their rifles to fight for freedom. Here in our country, our rifles are our Party press. Without the *Daily Worker* I could not have recruited, would not have been able to approach workers and ask them to join our Party. The *Daily Worker* stands first and foremost in our recruiting drive, and we have to push it and sell it. That is one of the best ways by which we can open the eyes of the workers. To build our Communist Party, we must build our *Daily Worker*, and let us start right at this Congress.

"More Communists Needed in the Unions"

By B., Steel Worker, St. Louis, Mo.

THIS is the first time I have had the opportunity to get before an audience of this kind. This is a great honor given me. My line is organizing steel workers. I will tell you frankly, in St. Louis there is a great hard struggle, but we are aggressive and enthusiastic in our work. I worked alongside a union leader of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and he said to me: "You would make a good Communist." I said: "Maybe I would." He said to me: "We have to get the union working and we need some Communists to help us build the union." And I said: "Yes, we must." And in two weeks' time, I recruited 25 men—steel workers—into the Party, fifteen of whom are Negroes. We carry on our work through meetings, political rallies and discussions of our problems and difficulties. Our members are active union builders and we are now trying to help set up a woman's auxiliary.

We will try to do our best and accomplish our aim, which is, by this time next year, to have at least 100 members in our branch.

Planning and Organization Brought Results

By BILL CARTER, Section Organizer, South Side, Chicago

I WANT to report here to the Congress on the recruiting campaign in the South Side of Chicago in the year of 1937. The first eight months of 1937 we recruited 125 members. The last four months, from September 1 to January 22, we recruited 336 men and women. One of

the most important things to be reported here is that out of a membership of close to 500 we were able to involve in the recruiting drive only 72. That is, we have 72 people on the South Side who have recruited from one to 35. We have one comrade who was recruited in September and from September on he himself recruited 36.

The next most important point in our recruiting drive was this: up until last year, it was almost impossible for us to recruit Negro women on the South Side of Chicago, with the exception of old women. Well, we have not stopped recruiting older women, but during the campaign we have gone out and brought into the Party many of the young women of the South Side. I can report that we recruited 145 women, the oldest of whom was about 45. We have recruited more young women during the last three months than ever before.

What made it possible for us to recruit so many new members was that as soon as the Central Committee initiated the recruiting drive, we organized an apparatus which had a weekly check-up, we developed real competition among a number of branches, and organized meetings of all kinds. We gave away to the leading branches and organizers quite a few dollars' worth of books in appreciation of the number of people recruited. This made it possible for us to involve more comrades than we ever have in the South Side. We had meetings every week to check up and to see how many people have been recruiting in every branch. Every branch in our section has recruited anywhere from 30 to 100. The branch that led the entire section was Hyde Park. I might say here that this is Ward 5, which takes in the University of Chicago and the western part of Washington Park, known as the black belt. This branch, with eight Negroes in it when the drive started in September, has recruited 100 members. This was also one of the first branches in Chicago to fill its quota of money for the *Midwest Daily Record*.

Now, on how we have been recruiting the unemployed. On the South Side of Chicago the Communist Party is better known among the Negro workers for the campaign

it has carried on for Scottsboro and for relief than in any other part of our district. It was very easy for us to go out and recruit among these people. However, we have a very serious weakness in our recruiting drive. On the South Side there are hundreds and thousands of Negro steel, railroad, and packing house workers. Of these people in the basic industries we were able to recruit only very few. One of the reasons for this was that our comrades did not and do not yet have contact with these masses of Negroes who work on these basic industries. But we are starting a drive from the first of March to July 4 to recruit some 400 to 500 Negro people into the Party. When I go back with the other delegates, I am sure we will be able to mobilize our whole section, and particularly those 300 new people who have been brought into the Party, to achieve this goal.

"Through Tireless Effort and Devotion"

By ARLEY WOODROW, Arkansas

I WANT to tell you about Peculia, the regularly elected delegate from Arkansas who could not be here because she is attending the Southern Training School in Philadelphia. She is a farm laborer, working for 75c a day, as all the rest of the farm laborers work. She is 35 years old, is the mother of two children, and she recruited 22 members into the Communist Party. I asked Peculia how she worked. She said: "Well, I know a lot of people, and I go to them and ask them to join the Party. Sometimes they say: 'I don't know enough about the Communist Party.'" She answers: "Don't worry, you will learn," and she brings them into the Party meetings and there educates them. In her work, she has penetrated into coal mining and has recruited a coal miner.

To give you an illustration of her methods of work: I attended a meeting one night and spoke about Marx and Lenin and the necessity for extending our organizational and educational activities. Immediately she arranged with a woman neighbor for a meeting. The next morning, she put on her corduroy trousers, buttoned up her coat closely, and she and her neighbor comrade got on a mule and rode across the country to arrange the meeting.

Peculia teaches a Sunday school class. She has recruited many members of her church into the Party.

Our Party in Arkansas, while it has increased its membership 400 per cent in the last year, is still very weak. Being weak, we have to concentrate on a couple of points at a time. When we decide to give a radio talk, as we did last Saturday, on Abraham Lincoln's Birthday, we have to concentrate on that one thing. Now, there is Comrade Browder's book *The People's Front*. We have set our quota at 25 for Arkansas. In our district, our method will be to contact the county officers, the county judges, the county clerks, the representatives, the doctors, lawyers and professional men, as well as labor men, trade union members. In this way, we believe we will be able to distribute the 25 copies without any difficulty.

"Literature Is Ammunition for Recruiting"

By D., Metal Worker, Philadelphia, Pa.

I WILL try to explain how I recruited 26 members into the Party. I was very much stimulated by attending the conference held in New York on August 29, when Comrade Browder spoke on recruiting. When I came home I recruited my wife as my first recruit into the Party. After that I started to recruit my union members into the Party. I bought about 25 copies of *What Is Communism?* by Earl Browder. This was my ammunition.

First, I'd speak to my union members and then give them a book, or sell it to them. I asked them to read it, study it, and then see me and discuss it. I followed them all up, and the majority I succeeded in bringing into the Party.

The next thing is, how to keep them in the Party. I am a member of my unit executive committee. I said: "We have got to keep those members in our unit." We organized squads and instructed our comrades to go after two or three, to follow them up, bring them to the unit, give them some activity. After doing that, we had great success.

Let us not be so quick to think that workers who don't at first agree with us are reactionary. We must convince them. I brought one former follower of the fascist Father Coughlin into the Party, because I was patient and through discussions convinced him of the correctness of our policies.

Literature is ammunition for recruiting. I never go to a meeting of the union without a bundle. They always ask me what I've got, and I say, "Something good." I take out a book, and say: "Give me a nickle" or "a quarter." If they haven't got the money, I say: "Take it along and read it anyway." If we all do that, we will double our membership from now until May 1.

"I Visited Their Homes and Talked With Them"

By ADELE, Negro Worker, Los Angeles, Cal.

I RECRUITED seventeen Negroes, ten men and seven women, of whom seven are trade unionists. *I visited the homes of these people, and talked with them.* I pointed out the necessity of the Negro people, and especially the trade unionists, to think politically and utilize the trade unions not only for economic, but also for political gains. I spoke about the duty they owe to their Southern brothers

and sisters to use their efforts to elect progressive people into office, thereby assisting the Negro people of the South to gain their rights.

I recruited two trade union presidents, one of whom immediately gave me a list of nine contacts—progressive trade unionists—for a class. I contacted three of these before I left Los Angeles and they agreed to join the Party. This class is now being taught by a Negro comrade who is a trade union organizer. These nine trade union men are now discussing how they can help build Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Another trade unionist among the same group became so enthusiastic about finding the Party that he immediately asked us to bring some one down to his neighborhood to talk about the Party. We had three sessions with some people and recruited two more. Another important new member is a Negro woman who formerly did important work in the Democratic Party. I worked with this woman, helped her build a women's group, and explained how we help build organizations. She became very enthusiastic about this and has promised to arrange classes where we will speak to progressive Negroes in Los Angeles about the Party.

I want to speak about one of our other comrade's experiences. There is a Chinese laundry in her neighborhood, and all of our comrades had been collecting clothes and money for the Chinese people. The comrade immediately made it her business to take something there every week, and she also took our press with her, the *People's World*. She recruited the whole laundry of Chinese people—eight of them. She did that by pointing out to them how we Communists support the people in China. This is the first time in Los Angeles that we have had Chinese people in our Party.

In our Negro and Mexican territory we had a number of open meetings. At one meeting we recruited 12 people.

We also had a number of Negro history classes at which we recruited most of the Negro members. And in every instance they were astonished to find the traditions

of the Negro people brought to them in these classes. In Los Angeles we do not recruit just to get cards signed up. But we want to get the best people among the working class with the best potentialities for leadership. Our success among the Negro people in Los Angeles is due to the struggles our Party conducts in their behalf.

"We Recruited Daily Worker Readers"

By D., Hartford, Conn.

I WANT to speak about the relation of our press to Party building, as we experienced it in Hartford. We find that in the smaller communities it is rather difficult to get our route carrier to deliver the papers for us. The section is large and it covers quite a bit of territory, and it is impossible to get a person that can get around without a car to cover the whole territory. So we took it upon ourselves to get subscribers for the paper. Well, we got hold of some of our trade union comrades and asked them to give us the names and addresses of the most progressive forces within the trade union movement. We set aside the commissions that we received from the *Daily Worker* and set up a fund whereby we sent out a trial subscription for one month to each one of these contacts and names that our comrades gave us. The results have been startling.

I have recruited eighteen members within a period of a month. The majority of those recruited were people whom we got through reading the *Daily Worker*. Certainly there is no person in our district that can speak better to the workers than Comrade Browder, Comrade Foster and the others whose speeches and articles appear in our press. So I want to urge all the delegates here to utilize the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* for the building of our Party.

Mass Work—The Key to Recruiting

By P., Texas

WE DOUBLED our membership from 242 in the 1937 registration to 442 in the 1938 registration, now having a total membership of over 500, including January recruits.

One of the problems to which we have given some attention is the difference between recruitment of members and dues payments. In December and January, we were able to raise our dues payments considerably, and in January, because we gave sufficient attention to the problem, because we were in competition with the District of Alabama, we managed to raise dues payments to 98 per cent of our membership.

I would like to tell a few of my experiences. I have been working in a town called Corpus Christi, among seamen, oil refinery and chemical workers. I first recruited among the oil refinery workers in the Standard Oil Refinery, where our Party comrades helped to build the union and worked hard to try to educate the union membership on trade union and political questions, even convincing some of the most active union members that a stronger Party among the oil workers would strengthen the union.

Amongst the seamen in Corpus Christi, there really has been a lack of attention to Party building. We asked some of the seamen we did recruit why they hadn't joined the Party before, and they answered, "Nobody ever asked us to." If our comrades who are active in the union would pay attention to Party building, we could recruit many more seamen.

I recruited some women into the Party and helped to organize a couple of ladies' auxiliaries. Our women down there are just as militant as the men; they have influence, and they are really anxious to build the unions as much as the men. In the particular union I am a member of, they had been talking about organizing a ladies' auxiliary for three years. Finally, some other comrade and I got to work

and we organized a ladies' auxiliary. Then the question of bringing women into the Party came up. I had to carry on some polemics with the men comrades about that, because some of them have the idea that all women are good for is to stay at home, raise children, and take care of the house. We have to break down the misconception that woman's place is only the home, in the narrow sense.

We have two oil women's auxiliaries in Corpus Christi, and some of their most active members are in the Party. Yet, one of our men comrades said he was afraid to bring his wife into the Party because she wanted to get out and really fight the company, and she was much more radical than he was. I am convinced that once we get our men comrades convinced of the correctness and necessity of recruiting women and bringing them into political activity, far from destroying their families, we will establish them on a much better foundation.

I also recruited a church official, as well as two Catholics, one a member of the Chemical Workers Union. *This revealed to me that when we participate in struggles, and have close personal ties with our fellow-workers*, when we see them not as elements, not as forces in general, but as persons and individuals, then we can really bring these people into the Party.

"We Made a Bold Attack Against Red-Baiting"

By A. HOFF, Seattle, Washington

IN OUR section in Seattle, which is the harbor section in the center of the lumber industry, we have succeeded in increasing our membership during the Party Building campaign from 92 members to approximately 250 members. We recruited 170 members, of which I recruited 45. Of these recruits, the composition is approximately as follows: 100

lumber workers, twelve maritime workers, five farmers, 23 per cent women. This was possible, because for the last two and a half years we have concentrated our main efforts on helping the trade unions in our section, mainly in the basic industries, and have worked hard to advance the unity of the labor movement. We brought the Party forward in all of the struggles, correctly and boldly. This has served to minimize Red-baiting, and to isolate the Red-baiters, instead of isolating the Communist.

One of the methods we followed was to establish close relations with officials of unions, to meet them and discuss with them frankly and freely how our Party can cooperate to strengthen the unions, advance the cause of the progressives, and establish the unity of labor. We boldly discussed with them political questions, the issues of the election campaign.

In the process of this, and in the struggle against Red-baiting, and for the unification of the labor movement, we submitted letters to the unions, which were read before thousands of members, and of course had their effect. We did not overlook the importance of greetings to the unions at Christmas time from the Communist Party, pledging our support in their struggles.

During some of the recent struggles, after the lumber unions had gone to the C.I.O and the A.F. of L. Hutcheson forces had been concentrated in the Northwest, particularly in the section where I am, some of the Hutcheson forces attempted to create splits and drive wedges into the unions, and create disunity and confusion. In one of these struggles, a terrific barrage of Red-baiting broke out. Consequently at one meeting, we submitted letters to the union, explaining the position of the Communist Party and our trade union policy, and signed by a young comrade, who is a well-known, well-liked, and a well-respected member of that local union. This had a very telling effect and was a serious blow to the Red-baiters.

In this way, we won much more influence, and were able to recruit more readily into the Party.

We had a Lenin Memorial Meeting recently, and, in

preparation, we submitted letters to all the unions inviting the entire membership to attend our meeting and hear the message of the Communist Party. As a result, we had one of the most successful Lenin Memorial Meetings in the history of our section.

In conclusion, I want to say that Party building has been much more than recruiting people into the Party in our section. We have consolidated our Party to a considerable extent. We have established functioning unit and branch bureaus, and have, in the main, built a better Communist Party in every way. We are more fitted and able to take care of the new members who have come in.

As a means of keeping the new members, I make it a special point to have most of these new members brought up to the office, and sit down to have a fifteen, twenty or thirty minute discussion with them on the Communist Party and how they can work in the Communist Party in their respective lines of work.

"The Daily Worker Gave Me the First Break"

By J., New York

IN TRANSPORTATION we have a difficult task. Ninety per cent of the workers are Irish. However in 1934 we had four members in the industry, and now we have a unit in every shop in transportation. The biggest problem in transportation is Red-baiting. There is the Catholic Church which sends its priests into the precincts to help in the Red-baiting, and at the present time, they are forming every type of organization—the Holy Name, the Knights of Columbus, etc.

Communists have been in the front ranks in building the transportation union. But the most serious shortcoming is that there are not yet enough Communists among the trans-

portation workers to fight this Red-baiting the way it's got to be fought.

I myself recruited 20 members. I think the *Daily Worker* gave me the first break, especially the *Sunday Worker*. I gave them out to some of the men, and after a while I was asked why I did not bring them the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* regularly. I did so, and I also got pamphlets to them, especially the one by our great revolutionary Irishman, James Connolly.

I have no more to say. I am not a speaker. The only thing I do is carry on the truth.

"Bring Our Press and Literature into Mass Organizations"

By J. W., Utah

IT IS a great honor for me to be here at this congress, from the backwoods state of half a million population and one of the most reactionary states of the country. The Mormon Church down there dominates the people of the state but, nevertheless, we are making a start to win the confidence of some of these people. That is how I recruited the 25 members into the Communist Party.

I was the main salesman for the *Daily Worker*, and I followed up the readers. I also bought our literature and sold it to different people so that they could learn about our Party, and I invited them to our Workers School, where we had a class once every two weeks. In this way we had a chance to talk to people and convince them to come into our Party.

I recruited Negroes, Spanish, an Indian, as well as white people. We find we have to make our Party meetings interesting for all recruits and everyone present. We have our agenda outlined so that the business part of the meetings is taken care of in very short time and then we have an educational period, with a good instructor.

We have broken into the trade unions with our *People's World*, which I handle now instead of the *Daily Worker*. I have special customers for the *Sunday Worker*. It has been much harder to sell the *Daily Worker* in A. F. of L. unions than in C.I.O. unions, but still I sell the *Daily Worker* there too. I ask the workers if they know about the Communist Party and about communism. They say: "No!" I say: "Read that paper, read something for your own interest." That's how I got them to read the *People's World*, and I have steady customers for the paper in the A. F. of L.

We are trying to reach into every organization with our press and literature and in this way we will have a chance to recruit more members. I think by the time of the Party convention we will be able to double our Party membership in Utah.

How Kansas Recruited

By H.

KANSAS is mostly rural, mostly farming, but we do have railroad, packing, chemical and mining. We also have the Pendergast political machine, one of the most reactionary in the United States. In this situation we have developed a very fine leadership on the part of the Party forces.

The highest recruiter in our district brought in 47 new members. I recruited 37, mostly in and around Kansas City. These recruits have come mostly from the Workers Alliance, as a result of some excellent work our comrades did on the job march last summer, and from the remains of what used to be a Y.C.L. branch. One of the Y.C.L.ers went out with me and we recruited about twelve of them. We also recruited from the Croatian Club. We use the methods of house meetings; of visits in the home, especially the youth, trade unionists and national groups; also

dances in the homes of the youth. In my recruiting work, I was sent by the State Committee to visit two nearby towns to set up units.

The problem that faces us is to hold the recruits that we brought into the Party. First comes the question of education, and we are holding three new members classes weekly in Kansas City. Organizationally, we have this problem: the city of Kansas City, and Kansas generally, is a wide area, and our membership is not large enough to be able to cover it all. We have one large branch in Kansas City which has meetings in three divisions in different neighborhoods. These three divisions will be divided into units when the membership is large enough and developed sufficiently to be able to do so. In Kansas City, we have also two shop units.

We Will Organize Shop Units

By A., Newark, N. J.

AT THE beginning of our drive, Party members in my industry were very slow in getting started, largely because of the "Red bogeyism" which existed in the comrades' minds. The fear at one time was so exaggerated that we would fold or roll the *Daily Worker* into some small bundle, concealing it in our hip or coat pockets.

By hiding the *Daily Worker* we were burying one of the best organizational and political instruments that can be used for the building of our Party. But a few of us were determined to recruit some leather workers—there were only five of us to begin with. Our first efforts, which were difficult, proved to be successful, and the comrades became more encouraged and bolder. Within one month, we recruited five new members. At first this made some comrades feel self-satisfied. They thought we had enough new members. But we discussed the matter thoroughly, and revived the enthusiasm of the older comrades through recruiting and signing up new members

in their presence. By the end of the campaign, we had recruited eighteen new comrades. *We expect to organize three shop units in the near future.*

It was really a revelation to us to see how great are the possibilities for recruiting among the members of our union. The new comrades are of the best type, active leaders of the union, and include five Negroes.

We are now trying to convince the older and newer comrades to attend Party classes and school, trying to get all of the comrades to read more of the Party literature and to take a more active part in the organizational and political discussions. It is only in this way that we will guarantee the growth of our Party.

"Concentrate on Basic Industry"

By S., Baltimore, Maryland

IN THE Maryland district in 1937, we had 358 members, including Maryland and Washington, D. C. In 1938, by January first, there were 800 members, and from January up to last week, 830 members. We have 141 Negroes, 189 women of which 59 are housewives. Of the basic industries, 60 are from steel, 35 from marine.

We have the Bethlehem Steel plant in Baltimore. The lay-offs now total more than 30 per cent. The company wants to cut wages. The union is much stronger today than before, and is active among workers in different national groups and in different parts of the city. I want to state that while the necessities of life itself compel us to build the union, so also the necessities of life impel us to build the Party. In territories where there are basic industries, everyone looks to the big unions for help, and we have to have a strong Party to help build strong unions of the workers. We are concentrating on basic industries to build our Party. Only last Sunday the unit in steel in Baltimore pledged to increase its membership from 60 to 100 by the end of this year.

Let Every Party Member Get One New Member

By H., Mississippi

I WOULD like to speak about the school system, because that is the place where the Party ought to do an awful lot of work. In our section in Mississippi, according to statistics, 25 per cent of the whites go to school. That means that 75 per cent are not going to school. One hundred schools are closed in the state. When you talk about schools there, you talk about white schools. And it wouldn't make much of a difference if they remained closed; they don't get an education that amounts to anything.

We have a tax system and Negroes are forced to pay taxes and are not given the right to vote. The taxes that are paid go for the education of the whites, you know. Money is collected and when the school is built the white bosses take it over and run it. What we have to do is to get the Negroes and whites together to fight for a school system, for free books, and around these issues I think the Negroes and white can come together and in that way bring the Party, which has to function underground in our section, above the ground.

We enjoy confidence among the Negroes. But the Party work is not exactly what it should be. It is probably not my fault, because I have to get up at 4:30 to go to work and I get home late at night. I have no training along Party lines; but will do the best I can. I hope I can do what Comrade Browder said at the Chattanooga Convention. If every rank-and-file member gets at least one new member and keeps that new member and makes an active Party member out of him, then we will be able to advance in Mississippi and in the United States.

CONTENTS (*Continued*)

"More Communists Needed in the Unions"—By B., Steel Worker, St. Louis, Mo.	33
Planning and Organization Brought Results—By Bill Carter, S.O., South Side, Chicago	33
"Through Tireless Effort and Devotion"—By Arley Woodrow, Arkansas	35
"Literature Is Ammunition for Recruiting"—By D., Metal Worker, Phila, Pa.	36
"I Visited Their Homes and Talked With Them"—By Adele, Negro Worker, Los Angeles, Cal.	37
"We Recruited Daily Worker Readers"—By D., Hartford, Conn.	39
Mass Work—The Key to Recruiting—By P., Texas	40
"We Made a Bold Attack Against Red-Baiting"—By A. Hoff, Seattle, Wash.	41
"The Daily Worker Gave Me the First Break"—By J., New York	43
"Bring Our Press and Literature Into Mass Organizations"—By J. W., Utah	44
How Kansas Recruited—By H.	45
We Will Organize Shop Units—By A., Newark, N. J.	46
"Concentrate on Basic Industry"—By S., Baltimore, Md.	47
Let Every Party Member Get One New Member—By H., Mississippi	48

**Approaching the Tenth National Party Convention—
Read! Study! Discuss!**

The March Issue of

THE COMMUNIST

with leading Plenum reports and articles by

**HATHAWAY • STACHEL • HUDSON • BROWN
FORD • BITTELMAN • GEBERT • WILLIAMSON**

on

The 1938 Elections and the Tasks of the Party

Building the Party for Peace, Democracy and Socialism

The Struggle for Trade Union Unity

For Concerted Action—Against Isolation and War!

Rallying the Negro Masses for the Democratic Front!

Political Events of the Month

The Coal Miners' Convention

The Election Struggle in Ohio

(These Plenum reports will not be printed elsewhere.)

NOTE:—The April issue of THE COMMUNIST will contain the Resolutions of the February Plenum of the Central Committee, which will form the basis for study and discussion throughout the Party in preparation for the Tenth National Convention.

Order Your Literature in Your Unit or Branch